

FROM TOPOVSKE ŠUPE TO SAJMIŠTE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
HOLOCAUST IN OCCUPIED SERBIA

Dragan Cvetković





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FOREWORD

*“From Topovske Šupe to Sajmište Camps – A Quantitative Analysis of the Holocaust in Occupied Serbia”*¹ aims to cover the so far insufficiently researched the topic of the internal structure of the losses suffered by the Jewish community from this territory through the numerical determination and quantitative analysis of the personal data of the civilian victims.² In order to properly understand the extent of the perishing of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia, it is necessary to show them comparatively, that is, to observe them in comparison to the losses suffered by other peoples from the occupied territory.

The Holocaust was a planned, ideologically, politically and propaganda-prepared, systematically carried out mass destruction of millions of members of the Jewish people in all parts of Europe who

¹ The views and conclusions contained in this paper do not necessarily represent the official views of the Genocide Victims Museum.

² When considering the total losses of the Jewish community from the territory of occupied Serbia, it is necessary, besides the Jews who perished in the Holocaust, to include the losses of the community suffered during the bombing of Belgrade and other cities in the 1941 April War, as well as the Jews who perished in active resistance to fascism as members of military formations (members of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia who died in the April War or as prisoners of war, members of the Partisan Movement, i.e. NOVJ (“Peoples’ Liberating Army of Yugoslavia), and those who died in allied military formations).

came under the control of the Third Reich and its allies.³ Due to this, the Holocaust is a unique phenomenon and the most extreme form of genocide known so far and the first occurrence of some types of criminal murders and criminal thinking.⁴ The destruction of Jews from occupied Serbia is only a part of a wider and much bigger crime committed against this nation and cannot be viewed outside of the European context.

The Jewish community from the territory of occupied Serbia, although small in terms of the number of people who belonged to it and subsequently in terms of the number of victims in the context of the Holocaust in Europe, has attracted the attention of historians nevertheless. Research on the Holocaust in occupied Serbia is present in domestic historiography, both as the central topic of research⁵ and as

³ Milan Ristović, Uvod u *Jevrejski logor Zemun. Holokaust i kolaboracija u Srbiji*, ur. Nenad i Milan Fogel, Milan Koljanin, (Beograd: Jevrejska opština Zemun, 2012)

⁴ Yehuda Bauer, "Is the Holocaust explicable?", *Izraelsko-srpska naučna razmena u proučavanju holokausta / Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research*, ur. Jovan Mirković (Beograd: The Genocide Victims Museum, 2008), 149.

⁵ Branislav Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u Beogradu 1941–1944*. (Beograd: MŽG, 2012); Ženi Lebl, „Do konačnog rešenja“: *Jevreji u Beogradu 1521–1942. (Bis zur „Endlösung“: Juden in Belgrad)*, (Belgrad: Čigoja, 2001); Milan Ristović, "Jews in Serbia during World War Two. Between "the final solution to the Jewish question" and "the Righteous among Nations" in *Righteous among the nations Serbia*, ed. Milan Fogel (Belgrade: Jewish Community in Zemun, 2010), 260–285; Milan Koljanin, "Nemačka okupaciona politika i genocid nad Jevrejima u Srbiji 1941–1942. Godine", *Genocid u 20. Veku na prostorima jugoslovenskih zemalja*, ur. Jovan Mirković (Beograd: MŽG i INIS, 2005), 110–132; Dragan Cvetković, "Holokaust u Srbiji (nemačko okupaciono područje) – numeričko određenje i kvantitativna analiza", *Tokovi istorije* 3/2017, 111–142; Dragan Cvetković, "Logori Topovske šupe i Sajmište kao centralna mesta holokausta u okupiranoj Srbiji – numeričko određenje i kvantitativna analiza", *Istorija 20. veka* 1/2018, 69–92; Jelena Jovanović, Tijana Kovčić i drugi, *Logor Sajmište, Žrtve Jevrejskog logora Zemun* (Beograd: Historical Archives of Belgrade, 2018); Nebojša Ozimić, *Jevreji u logoru na Crvenom krstu* (Niš: The National Museum Niš, 2014); Milan Ristović, "Progonjeni i njihovi saučesnici: Solidarnost i pomoć Jevrejima u Srbiji 1941–1944", *Izraelsko-srpska naučna razmena u proučavanju Holokausta / Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research*, ur. Jovan Mirković (Beograd: The Genocide Victims Museum, 2008), 169–208; Sanja Petrović Todosijević, "Bekstva Jevreja sa teritorije nemačke okupacione zone u Srbiji 1941–1944", *Tokovi istorije* 2/2019, 59–82; *Eskalacija u holokaust Od streljačkih vodova do gasnog kamiona koncentracionog logora na Sajmištu: dve odlučujuće faze Holokausta u Srbiji*, Zbornik radova, gl. ur. Vjeran Pavlaković (Beograd: The Historical

part of research looking into the perishing of the entire Jewish community in Yugoslavia,⁶ or the losses of the population of Serbia or its parts.⁷ There have been some research on the Holocaust in occupied

Archives of Belgrade, 2017); Milovan Pisari, "I Saw Jews Carrying Dead Bodies On Stretchers": Forced Labour and The Holocaust in Occupied Serbia", *Forced Labour in Serbia Producers, Consumers and Consequences of Forced Labour 1941–1944*. ed. Sanela Schmid and Milovan Pisarri (Beograd: Center for Holocaust Research and Education, 2018) 12–29; Miloš M. Damjanović, "Holokaust na Kosmetu – studija slučaja: Kosovska Mitrovica", *Topola*, 2/2016, 112–139; Radosav Tucović, "Collaboration of the Special Police in the Implementation of the 'Final Solution' in Occupied Serbia (1941–1944)", *Limes plus*, br. 2-3, (2015), 41–59; Sanja Petrović Todosijević, "Odnos Gradskog poglavarstva u Šapcu prema imovini šabačkih Jevreja i Jevreja iz kladovskog transporta 1941–1944.", *Tokovi istorije* 2/2017, 133–154; Vesna Aleksić, "The Political role of financial institution: Bankverein AG and Aryanization of Jewish property in Serbia". *Limes+ XII* (2)/2015, 51–63; Milan Koljanin, "Antisemitski stereotipi i propaganda u Srbiji 1941–1942", *Istorijski časopis* 20. veka, 1/2003, 83 – 118; Nenad Žarković, "Prolazni logor Topovske Šupe", *Nasleđe*. br. 10, 2009, 103–112. O kulturi sećanja na Holocaust, memorijalizaciji i edukaciji: Jovan Bajford, *Staro Sajmište. Mesto sećanja, zaborava i sporenja*. (Beograd: Belgrade Center for Human Rights, 2011), Vesna Lučić i drugi, *Priručnik za učenje o holokaustu* (Beograd: The Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia, 2012); *Upotreba grafičke novele, književnosti i arhivske građe u učenju o holokaustu*, ur. Miško Stanišić (Novi Sad: Terraforming South, 2018); Biljana Albahari, *Pisanje stradanja: Knjiga o knjigama, vodič kroz publikacije o Holokaustu* (Beograd: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, 2017).

⁶ Zdenko Levntal, *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština FNR Jugoslavije, 1952); Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945, žrtve genocida i učesnici narodnooslobodilačkog rata* (Beograd: JIM, 1980); Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem. Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–1945*. (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1998); Milan Koljanin, "Holokaust u Jugoslaviji", *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis*, 1 – 2/1996, 111–122; Milan Koljanin, "Konačno rešenje jevrejskog pitanja u Jugoslaviji", *Priručnik za učenje o holokaustu*, 39–57; Dragan Cvetković, "Holokaust u Jugoslaviji – jedan pokušaj kvantifikacije", *Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research...*, 345–358; For a short review of major works in researching the Holocaust in Yugoslavia, Serbia included, see: Milan Koljanin, "Istraživanje holokausta u Jugoslaviji", *Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research...*, 264–273 and Jovan Čulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji*. (Beograd: PBF i ITI, 2011).

⁷ See more on the joint perishing of Jews, Serbs and other peoples in: Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941–1944*. (Beograd: ISI, 1992); Ljubodrag Dimić, Milan Ristović, "Uvodna studija" u *Logor Banjica – logoraši*, published sources. ed. Branka Prpa (Beograd: The Historical Archives of Belgrade, 2009), 009–049; Sima Begovuć, *Logor Banjica 1941–194*, (Beograd: ISI, 1989); Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: SUBNOR SR Srbije, 1967); Dragan Cvetković, "Holokaust kao ekstremni oblik stradanja civila okupirane Srbije – numeričko određenje i kvantitativna analiza", *Tokovi istorije*, 2/2018, 89–118; Nebojša Ozimić i

Serbia even in foreign historiography, also as a central topic of research in some cases,⁸ however, mainly viewed as part of the general victimhood in Europe, or as an entry of encyclopedic volumes.⁹ Unfortunately, despite all the efforts of domestic and foreign researchers, neither the number of Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia who died in the Holocaust nor that of survivors has been determined with

drugi, *Žrtve lager Niša (1941–1944)* (Niš: The City Museum of Niš, 2014); Miroslav Milovanović, *Nemački koncentracioni logor na Crvenom krstu u Nišu i streljanje na Bubnju* (Beograd: ISI, SUB-NOR Niš i IRO Narodna knjiga, 1983); Branislav Miša Popov, *Nemački zatvori i koncentracioni logori u Banatu 1941–1944*, (Beograd: ISI, 1992); Tomislav Žugić i Milić Miodrag, *Jugoslaveni u koncentracionom logoru Aušvic 1941–1945*, (Beograd: ISI, 1989); Branislav Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu 1941–1944*, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2014); Venceslav Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941–1944*, (Beograd: Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta Srbije, 1970); Milan Koljanin, “Jevreji – žrtve rata 1941–1945. u Vojvodini”, *Istina ...*, ur. Dragoljub Živković (Novi Sad: Skupština AP Vojvodine, 2004), 167–207; Dragan Cvetković, “Pregled stradanja stanovništva Vojvodine u Drugom svetskom ratu”, *Istorija 20. veka 1/2005*, 91–110; Nenad Antonijević, “Holokaust na Kosovu i Metohiji i njegov kontekst”, *Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research...*, 395–407; Nenad Antonijević, *Kosovo i Metohija 1941–1945 godina – ratni zločini* (Beograd: MŽG, 2017).

⁸ Christopher Browning, “The Final Solution in Serbia. The Semlin Judenlager. A case Study”, *Yad Vashem Studies XV* (Jerusalem: 1983), 55–90; Kristofer Brauning, “Konačno rešenje u Srbiji – Judenlager na Sajmištu – studija slučaja”. *Jevrejski istorijski muzej Zbornik 6* (Beograd: 1992), 407–428; Menachem Shelach, “Sajmište – an extermination camp in Serbia”, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1987), 243–260; Walter Manoschek, “Serbien ist Judenfrei”. *Militärsche Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42*. (Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1993); Walter Manoschek, *Holokaust u Srbiji, Vojna okupaciona politika i uništavanje Jevreja 1941–1942*, (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 2007);

⁹ Cristopher Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004); Sol Friedlander, *Godine istrebljenja: nacistička Nemačka i Jevreji 1939–1945*. (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2013); Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing The Axis and the Holocaust 1941–1943*. (London - New York: Routledge, 2002); Bella Gutterman i Avner Shalev (ed.), *To Bear Witness. Holocaust Remembrance at Yad Vashem*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); Robert S. Vistrič, *Hitler i holokaust* (Beograd: AleksandriaPress, 2004); Wolfgang Benc, *Holokaust* (Beograd: Altera, 2012); Aharon Weiss, “Categories of Camps – Their Character and Role in the Execution of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question”, *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, ed. Yisrael Gutman, Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), 115–132; Robert Rozett and Shmuel Spector (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000), 135, 398, 405–406; Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Lexikon des Holocaust* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2002), 206–207, 213–214.

accuracy.¹⁰ The estimates of 13,600 and 15,000 victims are usually mentioned in the literature.¹¹

The existing body of knowledge about the perishing of the Jews of occupied Serbia needs to be expanded by a research on the internal structure of the losses suffered by the Jewish community. This book will provide answers to a number of questions. It will show when the Jews perished, that is, it will determine the time span of the Holocaust in Occupied Serbia. It will show whether there were differences in Jews destruction depending on where they came from or the number of members of their community who inhabited a certain territory. It will consider whether there were differences and, if so, what were the differences in their destruction depending on the size of the place in which they lived? Book will show what the gender, age and professional structures of the victims were. It will highlight whether there were and, if so, what the differences were in their suffering, that is, whether there were differences depending on which part of occupied Serbia Jews came from. It will be deter-

¹⁰ It is unknown how many Jews from the territory occupied Serbia survived. According to the existing data from September 27, 1946, 2,422 Jews survived from the territory of Serbia proper, which should be expanded by the number survivors from the territory of AP Vojvodina (3,729) who came from Banat (482 survivors – cited according to Milan Micić, “Stradanje stanovništva severnog Banata 1941-1945”, *Istina...*, 273), in order to gain insight into the number of survivors from the territory that is approximately equal to the territory of occupied Serbia. Perera, “Neki statistički podaci o Jevrejima u Jugoslaviji”, 136. Undoubtedly, these data should be taken with a critical distance, since all Jews registered in Serbia after the war were not necessarily its residents in the pre-war period, which opens up the possibility of minor deviations. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that not all surviving Jews returned to Serbia, instead, some went directly to Palestine, i.e. the later formed state of Israel, and some stayed and continued, i.e. started life in European or overseas countries. For more information on the repatriation of Jews in the post-war period, see Mladenka Ivanović, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952), Kraj ili novi početak* (Beograd: INIS, 2009). Hence, the number of surviving Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia can be estimated at 2,800 to 3,000 people.

¹¹ See more about the existing data and estimates of the number of victims until 1992 in M. Koljanin, *Sajmište*, 128–131. Yad Vashem (Jerusalem, Israel), the world’s leading institution for Holocaust research, in its permanent museum exhibition, as well as the accompanying catalog of the exhibition, claims 11,000 as the minimum and 12,000 as the maximum number of the Jewish victims from occupied Serbia. B. Guterman and A. Shalev (ed.), *To Bear Witness*, 283.

mined where they died, what were the circumstances of their death, whether there were differences in losses depending on gender, age or profession, and highlight the differences, if any. Historiography has already indicated the shortcomings in the existing body of knowledge about the camps, primarily about the internal structure of the camp prisoners (who they were, what nationality, where they were from, how old they were, what their sex was, what their occupation was).¹² Hence, this book attempts to add to the body of knowledge about the internal structure of the losses suffered in the two largest concentration camps for Jews that were located in Belgrade, and point to other camps where there were significant losses of the Jewish community. Moreover, the existing body of knowledge about the perishing of the Jews of occupied Serbia, needs to be extended by a research that would provide a comparison of their losses with the losses suffered by other nationalities from the same territory and point out the similarities and differences between them. This book seeks to determine the territorial structure of the perished Jews and members of other nationalities (primarily Serbs, as the most numerous), to look at the time span of their perishing, and to establish the differences in the losses depending on their share in the entire population and in certain regions of occupied Serbia. It is necessary to determine and compare the sex, age and professional structure of the victims, to highlight similarities and differences, and to determine and compare the circumstances of their perishing. The comparison of the civilian victims of Jewish, Serbian and other nationalities is aimed at providing a better understanding of the impact of the losses of the Jewish community on the future demographic, economic and cultural development of the society in Serbia. At the same time, it is aimed at expanding and supplementing the existing body of knowledge, confirming or refuting some indications presented in

¹² Milan Koljanin, "Represija kao sistem – logori u Okupiranoj Srbiji", *Heretikus*, 1/2007, 158, 167–169.

previous research, as well as raising new questions, and indicating the direction of future research.

The book was based on the partially revised list “The Victims of the War 1941–1945” from 1964¹³, as a basic historical source. The list “The Victims of the War 1941–1945” from 1964, which was made according to the administrative division into republics and provinces of that time, determined the number of 147,025 victims from the territory of the SR Serbia, among whom there were 13,023 Jews. Among the Jews who lost their lives, 9,488 came from Vojvodina, 3,461 from Serbia and 74 from Kosovo and Metohija. The assessment of the commission in charge of the endeavor was that the list included 56–59% of those who should have been listed.¹⁴ The process of revising the list resulted in the number of 154,954 victims from the territory of the Republic of Serbia, among whom 16,145 were Jews. The revised number of Jews shows an increase of 23.97%, while the revised number of Jewish victims from Serbia proper was raised to 5,173, which is an increase of 49.46% (1,712 persons).¹⁵ The source as such has its limita-

¹³ Arhiv Jugoslavije (AY *Archives of Yugoslavia), fund 179, “List of the Victims of the War 1941–1945”; AMŽG (GVMA *Genocide Victims Museum Archives), the fund: The Victims of the War 1941–1945, Database of the Victims of the War 1941–1945. For more on the listing and the revision of “The Victims of the War 1941–1945”, see Dragan Cvetković, “*Gubici pripadnika partizanskog pokreta sa teritorije Jugoslavije 1941–1945*” (doctoral dissertation, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, 2016), 6–10 .

¹⁴ The Federal Statistical Office, The Victims of the War 1941–1945, The Listing Results (Beograd: 1966, reprint 1992), 4–23. The assessment referred to the total losses of Yugoslavia, excluding the “collaborationists” who were killed. In the case of the Jews from the territory of the Republic of Serbia, it should be noted that the coverage of the victims to be listed was better in the territory of Vojvodina (differences also existed in the coverage of the identified victims within Vojvodina as such, so the Jews from Srem were included within the average of 56–59%, those from Bačka in a slightly higher percentage, and the Jews from Banat in a slightly lower percentage), and much worse in the territory of Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija.

¹⁵ The process of revising the list resulted in the number of 10,891 killed Jews from the territory of Autonomous Province Vojvodina (an increase of 14.79%), while the number of killed Jews

tions, since it is incapable of presenting the exact number of civilian victims of occupied Serbia, including the Jewish Holocaust victims, but it can certainly set the lowest number of victims and, through its expansion during the revision, provide a chance to come to an approximate number of the victims.¹⁶

On the other hand, the name-by-name list of the victims, with all its inherent limitations,¹⁷ is excellent in providing an opportunity to observe the internal structure of the losses suffered, which is the focus of this book. The topic of the book, with its spatial and temporal scope, caused changes in the observed territory by the fact that from the total losses of the Republic of Serbia, the territory where occupied Serbia was located was separated, and all analyzes of the losses suffered were done for that territory. The three basic parameters of the research – space, time and people – enabled creating a three-dimensional picture of the perishing, and perceiving it more easily and more comprehensively. For the sake of higher transparency and mastering the abundance of numerical values expressed in the text, they were expressed using graphic models, so the research results are presented in 85 tables and 127 graphs.

The three aforementioned studies, published in the journals *Tokovi istorije* and *Istorija 20. veka*, served as the basis for this text. The necessary cuts were made in the text, in order to avoid repetitions

from Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija increased by 12.16% (nine people). In addition to the newly identified persons entered in the list, in the case of Jews, the increase in the number came also as a result of correcting incorrect data on the nationality of the victims that occurred during the development of the List in 1964.

¹⁶ Due to the lack of accurate data on the victims of the bombing, the Jews who perished in those circumstances were included as victims of the Holocaust in this book.

¹⁷ The name-by-name lists of human losses of the Second World War and the post-war period were created both by using documents and based on the testimonies of survivors (relatives, friends, eyewitnesses, etc.). This raises the question of the reliability of the data obtained, and they should be taken with critical caution in regard to the circumstances, time and place of perishing, as well as claims about the crime perpetrators. One of the tasks of the list revision was to check the data by comparing them with the information from other sources, and verifying or rejecting them.

caused by their merging, and at the same time, the text was significantly expanded and supplemented, and the observed minor errors were removed or corrected. The statistical method, which was used in the book (in addition to the analytical method), has an insidious danger of dehumanizing victims by reducing them to numerical data, but it is still a good way to present human losses more accurately, specifically, the perishing of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia, as well as providing the method of their comparison, that is, the data are presented in comparison with the losses suffered by other peoples from this territory. Therefore, each number of victims shown in the book, however high it may be, should be viewed as a sum of people who had their own lives and personal backgrounds.

INTRODUCTION

The policy of neutrality that Yugoslavia used in an attempt to stay out of the European war yielded no results in the long term. The unfavorable external political environment and the internal political problems of the multinational community contributed to Yugoslavia's unpreparedness to meet the pending trials. The acceptance and the subsequent rejection of the alliance with the fascist bloc caused the attack of the Axis powers on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The April War led to a rapid military collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, so, after its disintegration, Serbia formed a separate territory under the German occupation and direct military administration.¹⁸ According to German data, the territory of Serbia under German military command (hereinafter: occupied Serbia) occupied an area of 60,876 km² with an estimated population of 4,450,000.¹⁹ According to the 1931 Listing, in the territory that was to become occu-

¹⁸ See more in: Dragan Aleksić, "Srbija pod nemačkom okupacionom upravom u Drugom svetskom ratu - Osobnosti okupacione uprave", *Oslobodjenje Beograda 1944. - zbornik radova*, ur. Aleksandar Životić (Beograd: INIS, 2010), 53–72.

¹⁹ Jovan Marjanović, *Ustanak i narodnooslobodilački pokret u Srbiji 1941*. (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1963), 23. Based on a note from the archives of the Nedić government, 3,773,000 inhabitants lived in the territory of occupied Serbia, of which 89.24% were Serbs (3,367,000), 0.61% were Croats (23,000), 1.35% other Slavic nations (51,000), 2.70% Hungarians (102,000), 3.87% Germans (146,000), 1.75% Romanians (66,000) and 0.48% others (18,000). (*Ibid.*) Calculation for 1941 based on the 1931 Listing shows that the territory of occupied Serbia had 4,149,678 inhabitants. *Demografska statistika, Izračunato stanovništvo Jugoslavije za 1941. i 1945. godinu* (Beograd: State Statistical Office, 1945), 5–8.

pied Serbia, there were 3,824,516²⁰ inhabitants living in 10 geographical regions²¹ of unequal demographic potential.²² In the occupied territory, Serbs took the largest share in the population with 85.06%.²³ In a multinational environment, Jews had a minimal share, accounting for 0.35% of the population of the future occupied territory (13,285). According to the 1931 Listing, Jews were mostly concentrated in Belgrade and its vicinity, where three fifths (59.56%) of the community lived, slightly less than a third of them lived in Banat (30.19%) and a tenth inhabited the remaining eight regions of the occupied territory (10.24%).²⁴ Their share in the population of different parts of the occu-

²⁰ As the 1941 Listing was not conducted due to the outbreak of the war, all calculations for the population of occupied Serbia, individual regions and cities and towns were conducted on the basis of the 1931 Listing. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine, knjiga I; Prisutno stanovništvo, broj kuća i domaćinstava* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1937).

²¹ The regions should be viewed exclusively as geographical units, since they did not exist as administrative units in that period and were created from the need to obtain an insight into the perishing of the population, and to enable a comparative presentation of the losses suffered in this book. The regions included municipalities or their parts according to the 1964 administrative division.

²² According to the 1931 Listing, 9.40% of the population (359,699) lived in the Belgrade region, 15.31% (585,549) in Banat and the other eight regions (Northwestern Serbia, part of Western Serbia, Central Serbia, Northeastern Serbia, part of Eastern Serbia, part of Southwest Serbia, part of South Serbia, part of Kosovo and Metohija) 75.28% of the population (2,879,268).

²³ According to the 1931 Listing, 85.06% of Serbs (3,253,249 - this figure includes Montenegrins and Macedonians, who could not be presented separately), lived in the territory of occupied Serbia, 3.87% of Germans (148,186), 2.69% Hungarians (103,067), 1.50% Albanians (57,547), 0.89% Slovaks (34,001), 0.80% Muslims (30,805), 0.79% Croats (30,433), 0.35% Jews (13,285), 0.26% Slovenians (10,119), 3.76% others and unknown (143,825). All calculations of the national structure in the text are based on *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine, knjiga II, Prisutno stanovništvo prema veroispovesti* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1938), the publications *Demografska statistika, Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovesti i maternjem jeziku po popisu od 31-III-1931. god., pregled po srezovima* (Beograd: State Statistical Office of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, 1945), *Demografska statistika Stanovništvo prema veroispovesti i maternjem jeziku prema popisu 31-III-1931, Srbija sa Vojvodinom i Kosovo - Metohijom, Pregled po opštinama*, (Beograd: State Statistical Office of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, 1945).

²⁴ According to the 1931 Listing, out of the 13,285 Jews from the territory to become occupied Serbia, 7,913 lived in the Belgrade region, 4,011 in Banat, and 1,361 in the other eight regions. 8,936 members of the Jewish community lived within the Administration of the City of Belgrade,

pied territory varied from 2.20% in the Belgrade region, 0.68% in Banat, and 0.05% in the other eight regions of occupied Serbia.²⁵ In the territory where 86.32% of the population inhabited 3,934 places with a population of less than 10,000,²⁶ the Jews were a highly urban community. Almost all the Jews of the occupied territory (88.88%) lived in the cities and towns with a population over 10,000, with 83.24% inhabiting the seven largest cities and towns (11,058). Three fifths of the Jews from the occupied territory lived in Belgrade (59.51%), a quarter

out of which 507 lived in Pančevo, and 523 in Zemun, so, according to the wartime division of the territory, they should be considered as Banat (within occupied Serbia) or Srem (NDH *Independent State of Croatia) Jews. If we look only at the territory of the City of Belgrade within the Administration of the City of Belgrade (which is a smaller territory than the Belgrade region), Jews (7,906) accounted for 3.31% of the population. Besides Belgrade, a significant number of Jews lived in the Banat towns of Veliki Bečkerek - Zrenjanin (1,352), Pančevo (507), Kikinda (418), Vršac (404), Nova Kanjiža - Novi Kneževac (269) and Novi Bečej (249), while in the other eight regions of occupied Serbia, there were a significant number of them in Niš (376), Novi Pazar (249), Kosovska Mitrovica (109), Kragujevac (95) and Leskovac (93). *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta.1931.godine, knjiga II, Prisutno stanovništvo prema veroispovesti*, (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1938), VIII – XII. Since the population listing scheduled for 1941 was not carried out due to the outbreak of war, when observing the territorial distribution of Jews during the war period, their migrations during the previous decade, primarily towards Belgrade, of both the Jews from this territory and their compatriots from the entire Yugoslav area should be taken into account (mostly from Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), which affected to a certain extent the territorial structure shown (see more on the problem of identification of these victims from Macedonia in Sofija Grandakovska, "Identifikacija na Evreite od Makedonija vo Srbija i Nezavisna država Hrvatska vo 1941 i 1942 godina", *Godišnjak za istraživanje genocida*, br. 11, 1/2019, 203 – 240.). On the estimates of the number of Jews in the territory of occupied Serbia (14,320 - 17,000), see Koljanin, *Sajmište*, 130. Based on the results of the 1931 Listing, with an assumed ten-year natural increase of 9% to 11%, the number of Jews in the territory of occupied Serbia in 1941 would have been between 14,481 and 14,746 persons.

²⁵ **Belgrade region:** 82.67% Serbs (297,349), 3.85% Croats (13,939), 1.65% Slovenes (5,944), 3.97% Russians, Slovaks, Czechs (14,273), 0.77% Muslims (2,763), 1.66% Hungarians (5,966), 0.27% Albanians (961), 2.95% Germans (10,598), 2.20% Jews (7,913); **Banat:** 43.97% Serbs (257,471), 0.59% Croats (3,433), 16.35% Hungarians (95,760), 20.57% Germans (120,450), 5.29% Slovaks (31,000), 0.68% Jews (4,011), 12.54% others and unknown (73,424); **Other eight regions:** 93.72% Serbs (2,698,429), 0.05% Jews (1,361) and 6.23% others (179,471).

²⁶ Dragan Cvetković, "Gubici pripadnika partizanskog pokreta sa teritorije Jugoslavije 1941–1945" (doctoral dissertation, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, 2016), 74–75.

(23.73%) in towns with 20 to 50 thousand inhabitants (3,152), of which four were located in Banat,²⁷ and two in the other eight regions.²⁸ Another 5.64% of Jews lived in towns with 10 to 20 thousand inhabitants (750), all of which were located in the other eight regions.²⁹ The remaining ninth of the Jewish community (11.12%) lived in places with less than 10,000 inhabitants (1,477).³⁰ Their concentration in cities, towns and other populated places varied, so they accounted for 3.31% of the population of Belgrade, 4.12% of the inhabitants of Veliki Bečkerek (today's Zrenjanin), 2.29% in Pančevo, 1.48% in Kikinda, 1.37% in Vršac, 1.06% in Niš and 0.35% in Kragujevac.

The military collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and its subsequent division did not mean the end of the war in that area, much less the end of the perishing of its population. The resistance to the occupation and division of Yugoslavia, and the mass terror of armed formations in the newly formed Independent State of Croatia, led to the strengthening of repression carried out by the occupying forces and their collaborators locally in all parts of Yugoslavia. All the contrasts and antagonisms existing in the pre-war Yugoslav society reached their peak during the war and led to inter-ethnic conflicts. The extremely complex war waged in the territory of Yugoslavia, with several warring sides of different military, political, economic, national, religious and ideological interests and aspirations, was manifested as liberating, anti-fascist, national, civil, revolutionary, ideological and religious, and, at the same time, caused massive civilian victims. The

²⁷ Zrenjanin (Veliki Bečkerek), Vršac, Kikinda and Pančevo.

²⁸ Niš and Kragujevac.

²⁹ Šabac, Valjevo, Smederevo, Požarevac, Zaječar, Kruševac, Leskovac, Novi Pazar and Kosovska Mitrovica.

³⁰ The majority of the Jews in populated places with less than 10,000 inhabitants lived in the territory of Banat (1,289), which was 87.27% of all Jews who lived in populated places of that size. Most of them were in Debeljača and the places of the Kovačica county, followed by Jaša Tomić, Kovin, Bela Crkva, Alibunar, and in the places in the vicinity of Kikinda, Veliki Bečkerek (Zrenjanin) and Nova Kanjiža (Novi Kneževac), while a significantly lower number of them inhabited the populated places in other eight regions were, mostly in Jagodina and Užice.

civilian losses were directly related to the frequent commission of war crimes, crimes of genocide and crimes that had almost all the characteristics of genocide, which was especially pronounced in the NDH (*Independent State of Croatia) territories.³¹

The Holocaust, as the most extreme form of genocide carried out, in the territory of the conquered and subsequently divided Yugoslavia had a number of distinctive characteristics related to “solving the Jewish question”, as in no other part of Europe, which, however, does not make it stand out from the general context of the perishing of European Jews in any way. Despite the distinctiveness of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia (different organizers and perpetrators of crimes, different time frames for their implementation, etc.), the Holocaust carried out in the territory of occupied Serbia was most similar to that in other European countries. The German occupation apparatus in Serbia inspired the Holocaust, it led its planning and implementation, and was the direct executor of the crime committed. In order to carry out the Holocaust, the German occupation government formed numerous institutions, organizations, departments and units with specific roles and tasks within its military-police and administrative apparatus. These units and institutions had all the necessary support from regular military and police units, which partly took over the commission of the crime. Collaborators from the occupied territory assisted the Germans in certain segments of the implementation of the program of destruction of Jews.

³¹ More about the scope of civilian casualties in the territory of NDH (Independent State of Croatia) see in Dragan Cvetković, “Jasenovac Concentration Camp and Its Role in the Destruction of the NDH People: Calculation of the Possible Number of Victims Based on the Partially Revised 1964 Listing”, in *Jasenovac Concentration Camp: An Unfinished Past*, ed. Adriana Benčić Kužnar, Stipe Odak, Danijela Lučić (London and New York: Routledge, 2023), 138 – 187; Dragan Cvetković, “Konzentracijski logor Jasenovac i njegova uloga u uništavanju naroda NDH – izračun mogućeg broja žrtava na temelju djelomično revidiranog popisa iz 1964. godine”, in *Jasenovac – manipulacije, kontroverze i povjesni revizionizam*, ur. Adriana Benčić, Stipe Odak, Danijela Lučić (Jasenovac: JUSP Jasenovac, 2018), 171–219, and Dragan Cvetković, “Geostatistička analiza ljudskih gubitaka u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac”, *Istorija 20. veka*, 1/2019, 93–120.

**THE NUMERICAL DETERMINATION
AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
HOLOCAUST IN OCCUPIED SERBIA**





Photograph of the previous page: View of Belgrade, The Bridge of King Alexander I (Most kralja Aleksandra I), Fair and Confluence of the Sava into the Danube = Belgrade: la poire et l'embouchure de la Save et Danube, around the year of 1938 (Fund of photo documents of the National Library of Serbia, Pr 785/II-50)

The German military-occupational administration established in the territory of divided Serbia introduced anti-Jewish measures and began their intensive implementation immediately. Registration of Jews followed in the first month of the occupation, along with movement restriction and property confiscation measures. Forced labor was introduced soon afterwards, followed by the imprisonment of able-bodied men. The outbreak of the uprising in Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia, only accelerated the implementation of the planned “final solution of the Jewish question”. After individual murders and executions of smaller groups in the middle of the year, mass liquidations began in the fall – the deportation of the entire Jewish community to the camps during the last month of 1941, which ended with its complete destruction in the following period.

THE YEARS OF PERISHING, DISTRIBUTION OF HOLOCAUST VICTIMS BY THE TERRITORY THEY CAME FROM AND LOSSES SUFFERED BY POPULATED PLACES

The revision of the “Victims of the War 1941-1945” listing from 1964 has so far determined by name the number of 6,254 Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia who died in the Holocaust.³² Collectively designated for destruction by the Nazi occupiers, the Jews of occupied Serbia were annihilated in the first two years of the war. During the last three years of the war, after the culmination of the Holocaust in the occupied Serbian territory, the few Jews remaining in the camps lost their lives,³³ as well as those members of the Jewish community who unsuccessfully tried to find refuge by hiding in the occupied territory, in other parts of divided Yugoslavia or abroad.³⁴

³² The Jews who were Yugoslav citizens, that is, the Jews who, in the pre-war period, lived in the territory where the German occupation administration was established, were taken into account. In addition to them, the Jews from other parts of Yugoslavia, as well as the Jews from European countries who found themselves in this territory and shared the fate of native Jews as legal immigrants, “unwanted tourists”, or refugees, died in the territory of occupied Serbia, and they are not included in this number. More information on Jewish refugees, see in Milan Ristović, “Jugoslavija i jevrejske izbeglice 1938–1941”, *Istorija 20 veka*, 1/1996, 21–43; *Kladovo transport*, ur. Andrej Mitrović (Beograd: JIM 2006).

³³ These were mainly Jews imprisoned in the Banjica and Crveni krst camps. More on the perishing of the Jews in the Banjica and Crveni krst camps, see in *Logor Banjica, Logoraši*, ur. Branka Prpa, (Beograd: The Historical Archives of Belgrade, 2009) and Nebojša Ozimić, *Jevreji u logoru na Crvenom krstu* (Niš: The National Museum Niš, 2014).

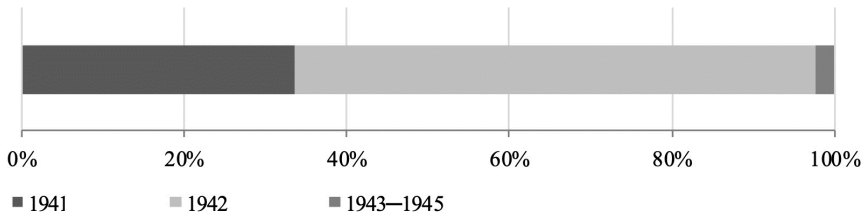
³⁴ The Jews from the occupied territory who unsuccessfully tried to find refuge outside occupied Serbia or abroad mostly perished outside the territory they came from, or, a smaller number of them were returned to the territory of occupied Serbia, i.e. handed over to the Germans. More on the successful and unsuccessful attempts of escaping the Holocaust, see in Milan Ristović, “Progonjeni i njihovi saučesnici: solidarnost i pomoć Jevrejima u Srbiji 1941-1944”, *Izrael-*

Table 1 Occupied Serbia, Jews – destruction timeline

Jews	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943	%	1944	%	1945	%
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	87	1.39	51	0.81	6	0.09

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 1 Occupied Serbia, Jews – destruction timeline



The scope of the brutality of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia is reflected in the fact that during the first two years of the war, 97.69% of all Jewish victims lost their lives. Thereafter, one third of the victims were killed in the second half of 1941,³⁵ while two thirds were killed during the following year. Of these, most Jews lost their lives in the first four and a half months of 1942.³⁶ This makes the death rate, considering the twice as long period of destruction in 1942, equal, which indicates the unabated desire of the Germans to completely annihilate them. The process of the destruction of the Jewish community

ko-srpska akademska razmena u istraživanju Holokausta/Israeli-Serbian academic exchange in Holocaust research, ur. Jovan Mirković (Beograd: The Genocide Victims Museum, 2008), 169–208; Sanja Petrović Todosijević, “Bekstva Jevreja sa teritorije nemačke okupacione zone u Srbiji 1941–1944”, *Tokovi istorije* 2/2019, 59–82 and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem. Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od Holokausta 1941–1945*. (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1998).

³⁵ The individual liquidations or killing of small groups of Jews began shortly after the occupation, in the first days of July. Out of the Jews who died in 1941 with a known date of death, 90.41% lost their lives during October and November (1,885).

³⁶ In fact, most of the Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia who died in 1942 lost their lives in a short period of less than three months, the second half of March, April and the first days of May. They account for 89.08% of all the losses with a known date of execution that year. Thus, the process of destruction of the Jewish community of the occupied territory was practically completed a year after its occupation.

in occupied Serbia was practically completed in 1942, so the Jewish losses in 1943 were 49.06 times lower than in the previous year. Only 2.30% of the Jewish victims of occupied Serbia lost their lives in the last three years of the war, so their losses in that period were realistically 65.78 times lower than in the first two years.

Having inhabited the entire territory of occupied Serbia, Jews perished everywhere. As the largest community in this territory, the Jews from the Belgrade region accounted for almost three fifths of the losses. They were followed by their compatriots from Banat, who accounted for more than a quarter of the losses, while a sixth of the Jews who died came from the other eight regions.

Table 2 Occupied Serbia, Jews – losses by region

Jews of OS	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Total	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.80

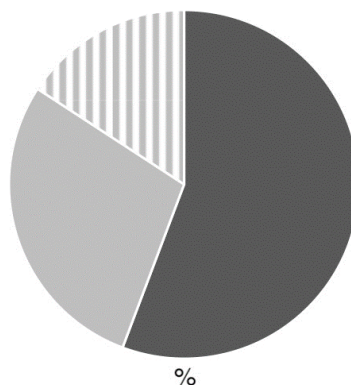
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 2 Occupied Serbia, Jews – losses by region

Belgrade region

Banat

Other eight regions



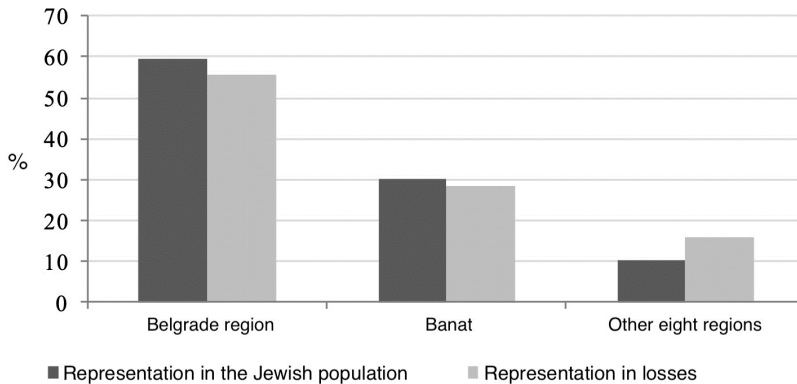
The Jewish community from the occupied territory that perished in the Holocaust, despite having been targeted as a whole, did not suffer equal losses in all the areas where Jews lived. The perishing of the Jews from different regions did not completely match their share in the total number of Jewish community members in occupied Serbia.

Table 3 Occupied Serbia, Jews – representation in the entire Jewish population and the representation of their losses by region

Jews of OS	Percentage in the total number of Jews in OS	Percentage in losses
Belgrade region	59.56	55.71
Banat	30.19	28.49
Other eight regions of OS	10.24	15.80

The 1931 Listing, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 3 Occupied Serbia, Jews – representation in the entire Jewish population and the representation of their losses by region (%)



The representation of Jews from the Belgrade region and Banat, as the most numerous, in the total losses of the Jewish community was 1.07 and 1.06 times less than their representation in the Jewish national corps. On the other hand, the representation of the losses of the Jewish victims from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia

was 1.54 times higher than their representation in the total number of Jewish community members in occupied Serbia.³⁷

Members of the Jewish community from different parts of occupied Serbia perished throughout the war. What they all had in common was their mass destruction in the first two years of the war, during which 99.32% of the Jews from Banat, 97.33% from Belgrade and 96.05 % from the other eight regions of the occupied territory were killed. The timeline of the losses suffered as well as the representation of the losses of Jews from different regions were not uniform throughout the war.

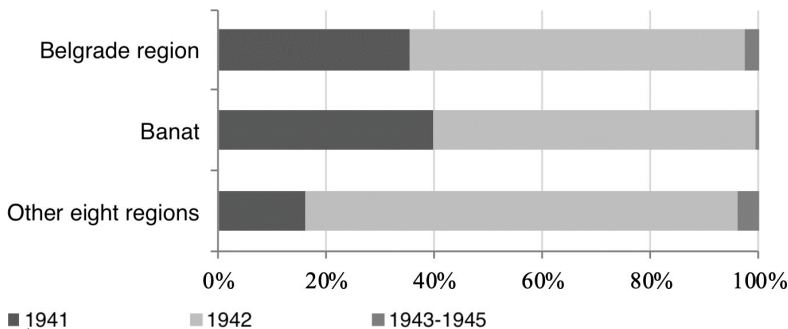
³⁷ Such a great difference between the share in the entire number of Jews who lived in the territory of the eight regions and the number of victims from these regions, i.e. their share in the losses, may be a consequence and probably a combination of several factors. It is possible that the perishing of the Jews of these areas was greater, since they were easier to find in smaller places, or that the coverage of the "The Victims of the War" list was greater in areas with smaller Jewish communities, since it was easier to list the victims than in larger areas. Moreover, it is possible that the difference came as a result of a wrong determination of where they came from, and that some of the Jews who were listed as victims of this part of the territory of occupied Serbia actually lived in Belgrade, and that they should be counted as losses there. The records show an unrealistically large number of killed Jews who came from Niš – 610. Based on the number of Jews who lived in Niš before the war, and based on the coverage of the recorded victims (which in the case of Jews was less than 56% to 59%), the number of the Jews listed as originating from Niš should not be more than 180 to 200, which indicates that between 410 and 430 more were listed in Niš, while they were probably residents of other places, mostly Belgrade, and to a smaller extent of the towns located in the other eight regions of the occupied territory. If only half of them lived in Belgrade (while two thirds is more likely), this gives a more accurate comparative picture of the perishing, which is balanced with the representation of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia in the total number of Jews (Belgrade region 59.15% of losses, Banat 28, 49% and the other eight regions 12.36% of victims). During the revision process of "The Victims of the War 1941-1945" list, these doubts must be addressed.

Table 4 Occupied Serbia, Jews – losses by region and year of destruction

Jews in OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943	%	1944	%	1945	%
Belgrade	3,484	1,236	35.48	2,155	61.85	62	1.78	27	0.77	4	0.11
%	55.71	58.77	//	53.78	//	71.26	//	52.94	//	66.67	//
Banat	1,782	708	39.73	1,062	59.60	4	0.22	7	0.39	1	0.06
%	28.49	33.67	//	26.50	//	4.60	//	13.72	//	16.67	//
Other eight regions	988	159	16.09	790	79.96	21	2.12	17	1.72	1	0.10
%	15.80	7.56	//	19.71	//	24.14	//	33.33	//	16.67	//
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	87	1.39	51	0.81	6	0.09

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

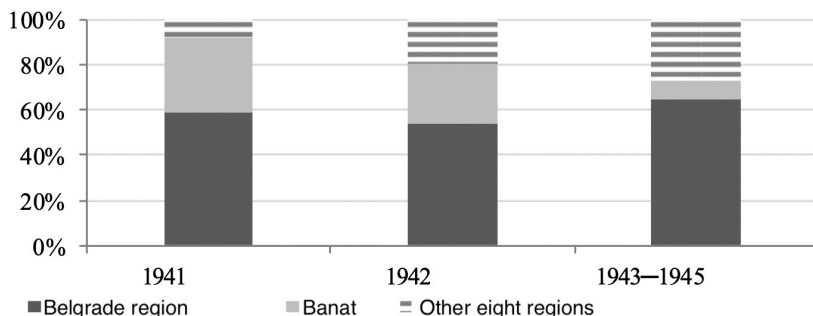
Graph 4 Occupied Serbia, Jews – destruction timeline by territory



In the temporal pattern of the Jewish perishing in occupied Serbia, significant differences can be observed between those inhabiting the two northern regions and other parts of the territory. Two fifths of the Jews from Banat and more than a third of the Jews from the Belgrade region lost their lives in the first year of the war, while a sixth of the Jews from the rest of occupied Serbia perished in the same period. Thus, the share of the Jewish victims from Banat and Belgrade during 1941 was 2.47 and 2.20 times higher than the Jewish losses from the other eight regions. The rate of the destruction of all of them reached its peak in 1942, whereas four fifths of the Jews from the other eight regions lost their lives, while three fifths of the Jews from Belgrade

and Banat were killed during that period.³⁸ In comparison to the previous year, 1.72 and 1.50 times more Jews from the Belgrade region and/or Banat, and 7.73 times more Jews from other parts of occupied Serbia were killed. Considering the timeframe of perishing in the first two years of the war (6 months versus 12 month), the Belgrade and Banat Jewish losses in 1941 were actually 1.15 and 1.33 times higher than in the following year, while the death rate of the Jews from other parts of occupied Serbia was 2.48 times higher in 1942 than in the previous year. The loss of Jewish lives suffered in the last three years of the war was extremely small in all three observed parts of occupied Serbia,³⁹ whereas the representation of the Jews from the eight regions who died in that period (3.95%) was 1.48 or 5.81 times higher than the representation of victims from Belgrade (2.67%) and Banat (0.68%).⁴⁰

Graph 5 Occupied Serbia, Jews – representation in losses by territory and year of destruction



³⁸ The share in the losses of the Jews from the eight regions of occupied Serbia who died in 1942 was 1.29 and 1.34 times higher than the share in the losses of their compatriots from the Belgrade region and Banat who died in the same period.

³⁹ The perishing of the Jews from all parts of the occupied territory was practically completed in 1942, so the losses suffered in the following year were multiply lower everywhere, in the Belgrade region and the other eight regions 34.75 and 37.72 times respectively, and in Banat 270.91 times lower.

⁴⁰ The representation of the losses of the Jews from the Belgrade region who died in the last three years of the war was 3.93 times higher than the representation of their compatriots from Banat who died in the same period.

The representation of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia in the losses per year was not equal and it varied during the war. As the largest community, the majority of the victims belonged to, the Belgrade Jews accounted for three fifths of the losses suffered in the first year of the war, almost three quarters in 1943⁴¹ and two thirds in the last year of the war, with the smallest representation of just over half of the victims in 1942 and in 1944. The Banat Jews accounted for a third of the losses suffered in the first year of the war, a quarter in the second, only a twenty-second part in 1943 (5.76 times less than in the previous year) and a sixth of the victims in the last year of the war.⁴² The representation of Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia in the losses were constantly increased during the first four years of the war, from a thirteenth part of the victims in 1941, to over a fifth and a quarter of the losses in the following two years (increased by 2.61 and 1.22 times in relation to on the previous year), up to a third of the losses in 1944 ⁴³ (an increase of 1.38 times), but in the last year of the war their representation decreased and made up a sixth of the losses.

JEWISH LOSSES ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE

As a highly urban community with nine tenths of its members living in the 16 largest cities and towns with a population of more than 10,000, Jews inhabited settlements in all parts of occupied Serbia. All

⁴¹ A significant representation of those who died in 1943 were the Jews who found temporary refuge in the territories annexed by Bulgaria or Italy, as well as those who died in the Banjica concentration camp.

⁴² The increased representation in the losses of the Jews from Banat in the last two years of the war was influenced by the perishing of those who found temporary refuge in the territory annexed by Hungary.

⁴³ The increased representation in the losses in 1943 and 1944 of the members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions was a consequence of the perishing of those who found temporary refuge mostly in the territory annexed by Bulgaria and partly in the territory annexed by Italy, or in the territory annexed by Greater Albania.

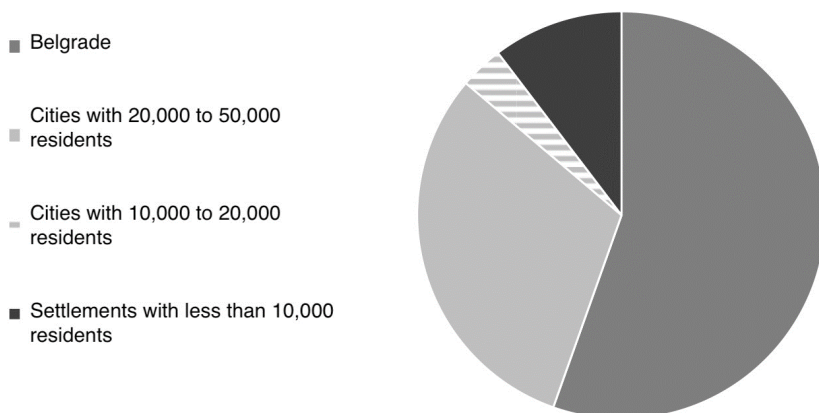
members of the Jewish community from the occupied territory from populated places of all sizes were affected by the Holocaust.

Table 5 Occupied Serbia, Jews – losses according to the population size of the place

Jews OS – populated place	Total
Total	6,254
Belgrade	3,466
%	55.42
Towns with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	1,925
%	30.78
Towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants	216
%	3.45
Places with less than 10,000 inhabitants	647
%	10.34

Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 6 Occupied Serbia, Jews – losses by population size of the places they originated from



Almost three fifths of the perished Jews came from Belgrade, the largest city in occupied Serbia and the place where the largest Jew-

ish community lived. A third of the victims were from six cities with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, while twenty-ninth part of the perished Jews were from nine cities with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. A tenth of the losses suffered by the Jewish community came from populated places with less than 10,000 inhabitants.

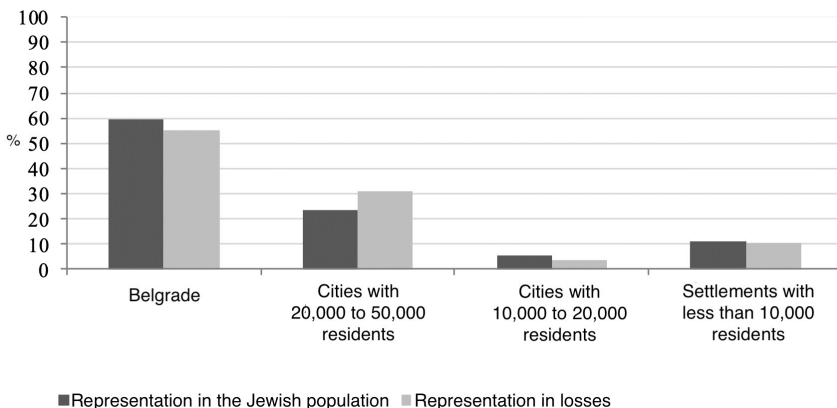
Systematically destroyed in the Holocaust, members of the Jewish community suffered losses regardless of the population size of the place where they lived. The perishing of Jews from places of diverse population sizes did not always correspond with the size of the Jewish community that lived in them as compared to the entire Jewish population of occupied Serbia.

Table 6 Occupied Serbia, Jews –Jewish population by place size and representation in losses by settlement size

Jews OS – populated places	Percentage in the entire Jewish population of OS	Percentage in losses
Belgrade	59.51	55.42
20,000–50,000	23.73	30.78
10,000–20,000	5.64	3.45
Less than 10,000	11.12	10.34

The 1931 listing, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 7 Occupied Serbia, Jews –Percentage of Jewish population by place size and representation in losses by place size



The Belgrade Jews, as the largest community, suffered losses that were 1.07 times lower than their share in the entire Jewish population from the occupied territory, and the Jews who lived in the places with population size of less than 10,000 inhabitants suffered equally lower losses (1.07 times). Compared to the share in the total Jewish population of occupied Serbia, the greatest losses (1.30 times greater) were suffered by members of the Jewish community who lived in towns with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants (four of which were located in the territory of Banat, and two in the other eight regions), while the Jews living in towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants (all located in the other eight regions) suffered the least losses, with a share 1.63 times lower than their share in the entire Jewish population of occupied Serbia.⁴⁴

Four-fifths of the Jews of the occupied territory lived in seven largest cities and towns with different shares in their population. They were the victims of the Holocaust in all of them, which caused irreparable losses. In all seven urban areas, the share of Jews in civilian casualties was many times higher than their share in the urban population.

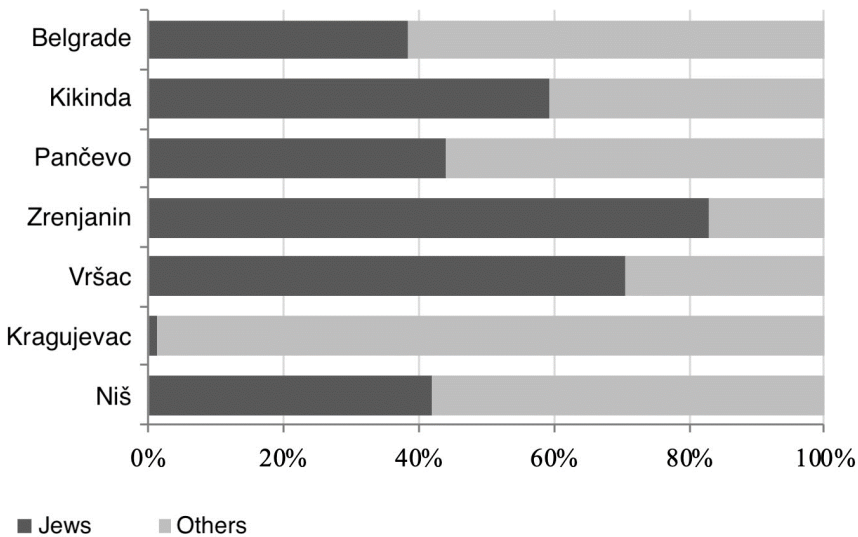
⁴⁴ The reasons for this disparity in perishing are the same as in the case of the disparity in the losses suffered in different regions (see footnote 29). The unrealistically large number of registered killed Jews from Niš (410 to 430 more registered) is the cause of the differences that appeared. If the assumption is taken as correct that 2/3 of them actually lived in Belgrade, and 1/3 in the towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants (all of which were located in the other eight regions of the occupied territory), this gives a balanced picture of the perishing of Jews by populated place, according to which 59.90% of them came from Belgrade, 24.06% from six towns with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, 5.69% from nine towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants and 10.34% from places with less than 10,000 inhabitants. During the revision process of "The Victims of the War 1941-1945" list, these doubts must be addressed.

Table 7 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share in civilian casualties in seven largest urban areas

Jews of OS	Total civilian losses	Jews	%
Belgrade	8,992	3,466	38.54
Kikinda	471	279	59.23
Pančevo	234	103	44.02
Zrenjanin/Veliki Bečkerek	860	714	83.02
Vršac	259	183	70.66
Kragujevac	2,773	36	1.30
Niš	1,456	610	41.89

Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 8 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share in civilian casualties in seven largest urban areas



The Jewish share in the losses of the population of the largest cities and towns was not equal everywhere and depended on the circumstances of the war and the events in them and/or on the extent of

their civilian casualties. The Jewish community in Belgrade affected by the Holocaust, accounted for two fifths of the civilian losses suffered there. The Jews of Banat accounted for the civilian losses from four towns of Banat, which ranged from four fifths of the casualties in Zrenjanin (Veliki Bečkerek of that time), over two thirds or three fifths of the casualties in Vršac and Kikinda, to more than two fifths of the civilian losses in Pančevo. The share of Jews in the civilian losses of Niš and Kragujevac was diametrically opposite, accounting for two fifths of the victims in the former,⁴⁵ and a minimal percentage in the latter.

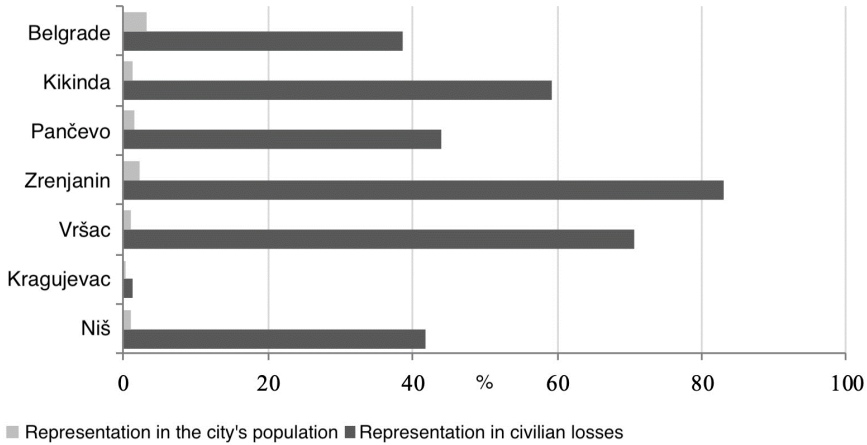
Table 8 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share in population and share in civilian losses in seven largest urban places

Jews of OS in the city/town losses	Share in the urban population	Share in the urban losses
Belgrade	3.31	38.54
Kikinda	1.37	59.23
Pančevo	1.48	44.02
Zrenjanin/Veliki Bečkerek	2.29	83.02
Vršac	1.06	70.66
Kragujevac	0.35	1.30
Niš	1.06	41.89

The 1931 listing, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

⁴⁵ The aforementioned problem with the identification of the Jews of Niš (610) was reflected in the apparent representation in the civilian losses of that city. The unrealistically large number of registered killed Jews from Niš (410 to 430 more registered) is the cause of the differences that appeared. If the assumption is taken as correct 2/3 of them actually lived in Belgrade, and 1/3 in the towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, located in the other eight regions of the occupied territory, we get a balanced picture of the perishing of the Jews of Niš. Accordingly, the Jews of Niš would account for 18.34% of the civilian losses there, while the representation of the Belgrade Jews in the civilian losses there would increase to 40.40%.

Graph 9 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share in population and share in civilian losses in seven largest urban places



A high concentration of Jews in Belgrade and major towns, and the almost complete destruction of the Jewish community in them, resulted in their disproportionately large share in the civilian losses of those cities/towns compared to their share in the urban population. In the civilian losses of Belgrade, Jews had 11.64 times greater share than their share in the city's population. The Jews from Banat had an even greater disproportion in the losses suffered, with their share in the civilian losses in Vršac 66.66 times higher than the share in the town's population, in Kikinda and Zrenjanin 43.23 and 36.25 times higher respectively, while in Pančevo it was 29.75 times larger. The representation of Jews in civilian casualties in Kragujevac and Niš was completely different, but in both towns it was many times higher than their representation in the urban population, that is, 3.71 and 39.52 times, respectively.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Due to the aforementioned problem with the identification of the Jews of Niš, it is more likely that their representation in the losses was 17.30 times higher than their representation in the population there, while the representation of the Jews from Belgrade was 12.20 times higher.

TOTAL DESTRUCTION

The Nuremberg Laws legalized the social inequality of the Jews and foreshadowed the fate of the Jewish community in the Third Reich, as well as the fate of all other members of this nation from the territories under their control or the control of their allies. According to the plans of Nazi Germany, and in accordance with the racist ideology, as well as the laws and practices that arose from it, the European Jews, in the circumstances of the world war conflict, were predestined for complete annihilation, regardless of their gender, age or occupation.

TOTAL DESTRUCTION – THE SEX STRUCTURE OF THE LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community from occupied Serbia shared the fate of its compatriots from other European countries. The losses suffered by the Jews from the occupied territory included members of both sexes. The planned and systematically implemented destruction of the entire nation resulted in their perishing being almost equal, with a slightly higher share of men in the losses suffered. The ratio of men to women killed was 1.13:1.⁴⁷

Table 9 Occupied Serbia, Jews – sex structure

Jews of OS – sex	Total	Men	%	Women	%
Total	6,254	3,313	52.97	2,941	47.02

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

⁴⁷ The ratio among the killed Jews of the occupied territory almost completely matches the sex ratio of the surviving members of the community from the territory of Yugoslavia. Among the surviving Jews of Yugoslavia in 1946, women accounted for 51.71%, and men 48.29%. David Perera, "Neki statistički podaci o Jevrejima u Jugoslaviji u periodu od 1938. do 1965. godine", *Jevrejski almanah 1968–1970*, (Beograd, 1971), 140. This ratio of surviving men and women is not necessarily applicable to the Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia, but it is indicative for understanding of the losses suffered.

Graph 10 Occupied Serbia, Jews – the sex structure of losses suffered



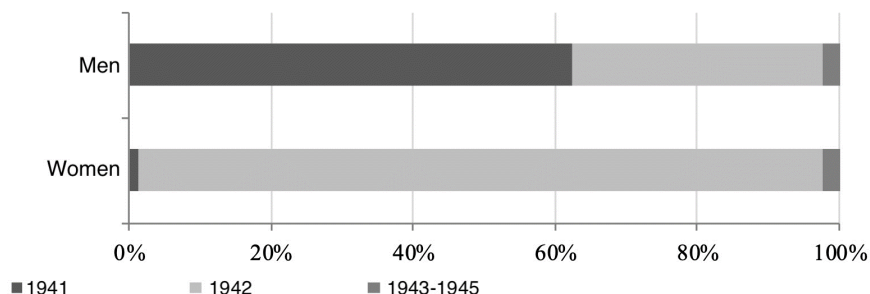
In the Holocaust-affected Jewish community in the territory of occupied Serbia, members of both sexes suffered losses and both were doomed to total destruction. The temporal patterns of the losses suffered by the men and women of the Jewish community were not the same, just as their representation in the losses during the war was not equal. Regardless the differences, the final result of their destruction was the same.

Tabela 10. Occupied Serbia, Jews – sex structure by year of destruction

Jews of OS – sex	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Men	3,313	2,063	62.27	1,174	35.44	76	2.29
%	52.97	98.10	//	29.30	//	52.78	//
Women	2,941	40	1.36	2,833	96.33	68	2.31
%	47.02	1.90	//	70.70	//	47.22	//
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	144	2.30

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

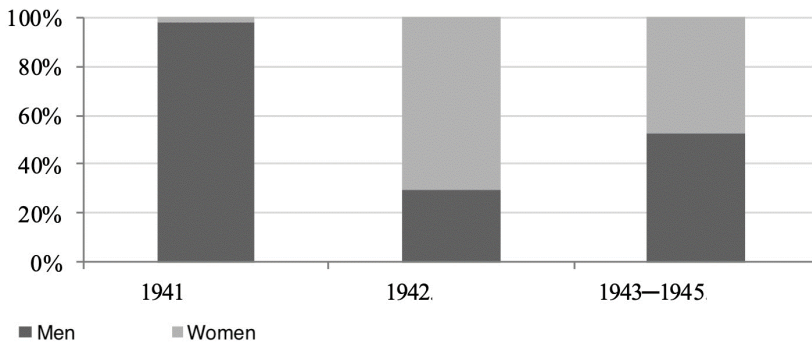
Graph 11 Occupied Serbia, Jews –
destruction timeline by sex



After the deportation of almost all men and a smaller number of women to the camps in the summer of 1941, the male members of the Jewish community were killed in mass executions throughout Serbia from the fall that year. The executions of Jews were partly carried out as an act of retribution for German soldiers who were killed fighting with members of the resistance movements or as a measure of intimidation of the population to deter them from joining the national uprising. Hence, more than three fifths of male Jews perished in 1941. The continued destruction of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia resulted in the fact that a third of the male members lost their lives in 1942, while significantly fewer were killed in the period until the end of the war. In the first year of the war, 1.76 times more men were killed than in the following year, but, considering the twice longer period of their destruction in 1942 than in the previous year, their casualties in 1941 were realistically 3.51 times higher. On the other hand, the male losses in 1942 were in real terms 36.06 times greater than the loss in the later three-year period. The mass killing of Jewish women was carried out in 1942, so a negligible percent perished in the previous and subsequent periods of the war. The female losses in 1942 were in real terms 35.41 times higher than in the previous year and 96.73 times higher than the losses suffered in the last three years of the

war. In the first year of the war, the share of killed men was 45.79 times higher than the share of killed women, while in 1942, the share of killed Jewish women was 2.72 times higher than the share of the killed men. For both sexes, the share of losses in the last three years of the war was equal.

Graph 12 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share in the losses by sex



The different destruction timelines between the sexes of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia largely determined their share in the losses during the war. Men accounted for almost the only victims in the first year of the war, with a representation in the losses that was 51.63 times higher than the representation of women. The mass executions of Jewish women in 1942 brought about a change in the representation of the sexes in the losses. Women accounted for more than two thirds of the losses suffered at that time, which was a 2.41 times higher representation than the representation of men in the losses. Compared to the previous year, the representation of men in the Jewish losses was reduced 3.38 times, while the representation of women in the losses was 37.21 times higher. In the last three years of the war, when the Holocaust process was almost over, the sexes had an equal share in the losses, which corresponded to their share in the total losses.

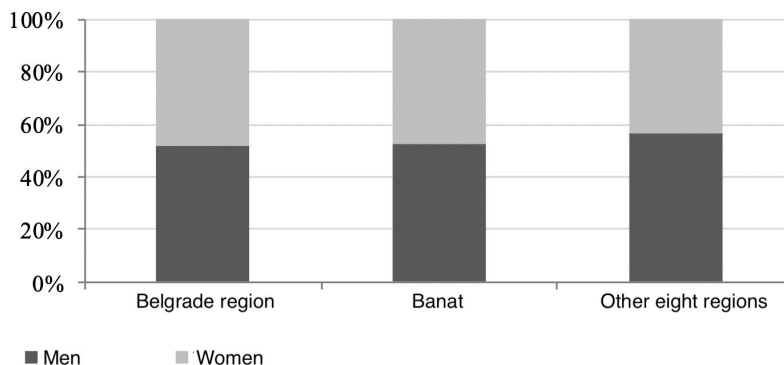
Systematically killed, the Jews from occupied Serbia suffered losses in members of both sexes in all parts of the occupied territory. In these losses, there were minimal differences, both in the share of the sexes in the losses, as well as the percentage that the Jews from a certain part of the occupied territory had in the losses of the sexes.

Table 11 Occupied Serbia - Jews – sex structure by territory

Jews of OS – sex	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Men	3,313	1,814	54.75	940	28.37	559	16.87
%	52.97	52.07	//	52.25	//	56.58	//
Women	2,941	1,670	56.78	842	28.63	429	14.59
%	47.02	47.93	//	47.75	//	43.42	//
Total	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.80

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

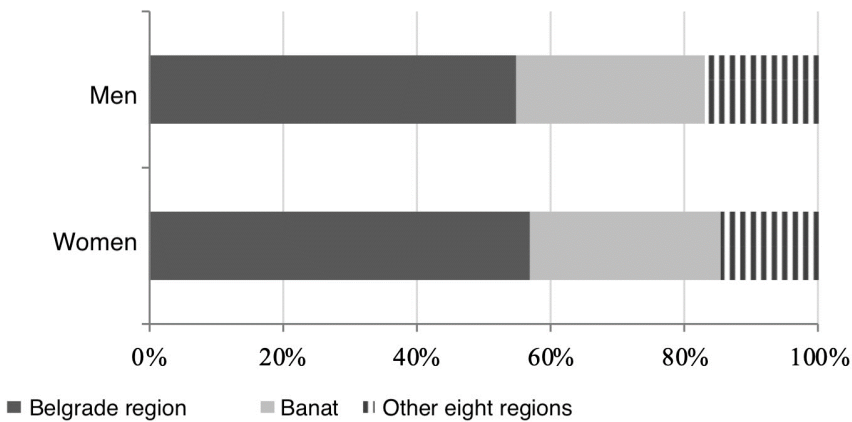
Graph 13 Occupied Serbia, Jews – sex structure by territory



In the universal perishing of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia, there were minimal differences in the percentage of sexes in the losses, depending on which part of the occupied territory they came from. Among the killed Jews of the Belgrade region and Banat, the percentage of men in the losses was 1.09 times higher than the

percentage of women, while among the killed members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions, the percentage of men in the losses was 1.30 times higher than the percentage of women. In comparison to the total number of victims, the Jewish men from the other eight regions had a slightly higher percentage than in other parts of occupied Serbia, and their percentage in the losses was 1.09 and 1.08 times higher than that of the members of the community in the Belgrade region and Banat. On the other hand, the percentage of women was 1.10 times higher among the killed Jews of the Belgrade region and Banat than among their compatriots from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia.

Graph 14 Occupied Serbia, Jews – territorial origin by sex



There were also minimal differences in the share that the Jews from a certain part of the occupied territory had in the losses of sexes. In comparison to the shares in the total losses of the community, the members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region had a slightly lower share in the losses of men and a slightly higher share in the losses of women. The Jews of Banat had equal shares in the losses of sexes, while their compatriots from the other eight regions had 1.07

times higher share in men's losses, and 1.08 times lower share in women's losses. The Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia had a 1.16 times higher share in male casualties than Jewish women from this part of the occupied territory had among the killed women of this nationality.

TOTAL DESTRUCTION – THE AGE STRUCTURE OF
THE LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Holocaust, according to Nazi plans, systematically affected the entire Jewish community in the territory of occupied Serbia, with a clearly expressed ambition to destroy the entire group. The age structure of the losses shows that Jews of all ages died in the Holocaust.⁴⁸

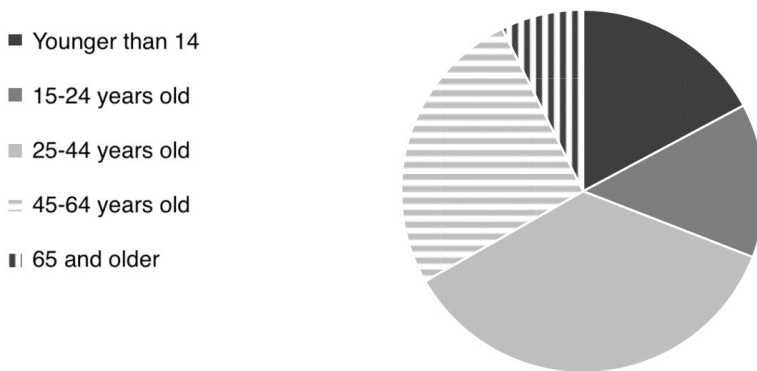
Table 12 Occupied Serbia - Jews – age structure

Jews of OS – age	Total
Of known age	5,660
Up to 14	972
%	17.17
15–24	778
%	13.74
25–44	2,027
%	35.82
45–64	1,467
%	25.91
65 and over	416
%	7.35

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

⁴⁸ The year of birth is unknown for a tenth of the Jews who died in occupied Serbia (594 - 9.50%), and this poses a problem when determining the age structure, which should be addressed in the further process of revising the list.

Graph 15 Occupied Serbia, Jews – age structure



In the completely destroyed Jewish community from the occupied territory, children under the age of 14 accounted for a sixth of the losses suffered, and together with those under the age of 24, they accounted for a third of the victims. The other two thirds of Jewish losses were persons aged 25 to 44, that is, 45 and older.

In accordance with the German determination to carry out a total destruction of the Jews, the members of this community from the territory of occupied Serbia who perished in the Holocaust suffered losses in all age groups, regardless of their sex.⁴⁹

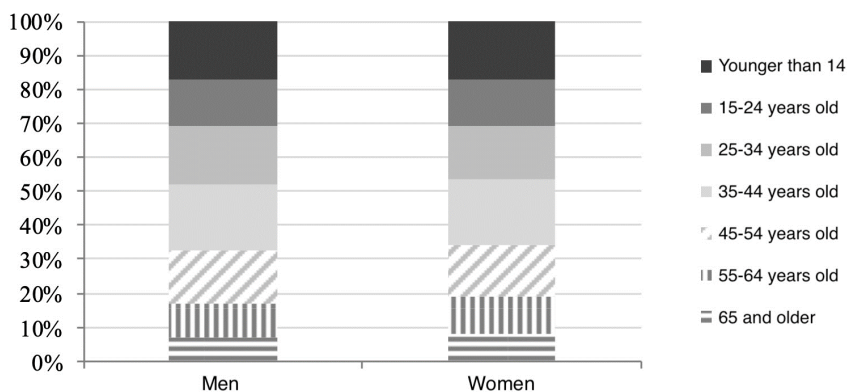
⁴⁹ A tenth of the men (325 - 9.81%) and an eleventh part of the women (269 - 9.15%) of the Jewish nationality were of unknown age, and these data is still being sought in the sources and literature in the process of revising the list.

Table 13 Occupied Serbia, Jews – age structure by sex

Jews of OS – age	Total	Men	%	Women	%
Up to 14	972	509	52.37	463	47.63
%	17.17	17.03	//	17.33	//
15–24	778	413	53.08	365	46.92
%	13.74	13.82	//	13.66	//
25–34	932	513	55.04	419	44.96
%	16.47	17.17	//	15.68	//
35–44	1,095	583	53.24	512	46.76
%	19.35	19.51	//	19.16	//
45–54	868	467	53.80	401	46.20
%	15.33	15.63	//	15.01	//
55–64	599	300	50.08	299	49.92
%	10.58	10.04	//	11.19	//
65 and over	416	203	48.80	213	51.20
%	7.35	6.79	//	7.97	//
Total known	5,660	2,988	52.79	2,672	47.21
Unknown	594	325	54.71	269	45.29
%	9.50	9.81	//	9.15	//
Total	6,254	3,313	52.97	2,941	47.02

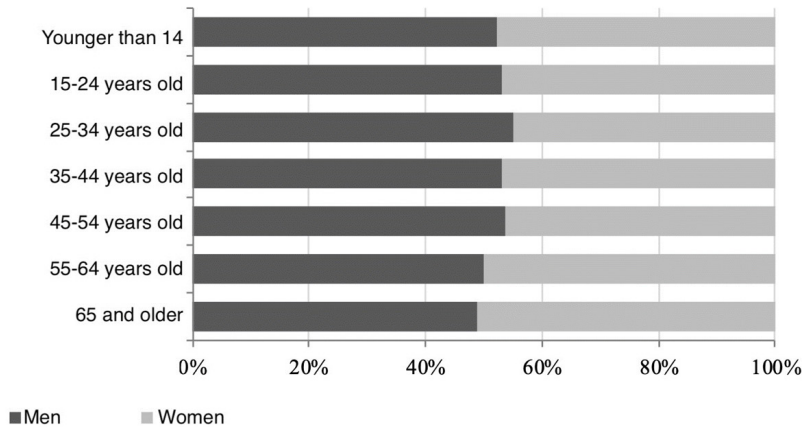
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 16 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share of age groups in the losses by sex



Among the killed members of the Jewish community of different sexes, the percentage of age groups in the losses suffered was almost equal, with minimal differences visible in some age groups. Among the losses suffered by men, there was a 1.09 times higher percentage of the victims aged 25 to 34 than those suffered by women. On the other hand, among the killed Jewish women, the percentage of those over 55 was 1.14 times higher than among the killed men.

Graph 17 Occupied Serbia, Jews –
share of the sexes in the age group losses



In the shares that the members of both sexes had in the losses of certain age groups, there were minimal deviations in comparison to the shares in the total Jewish losses. Men had a slightly higher share of losses (1.04 times) in the age group from 25 to 34 years, while women had higher shares in the age groups from 55 to 64 and 65 and over, 1.06 and 1.08 times more, respectively.

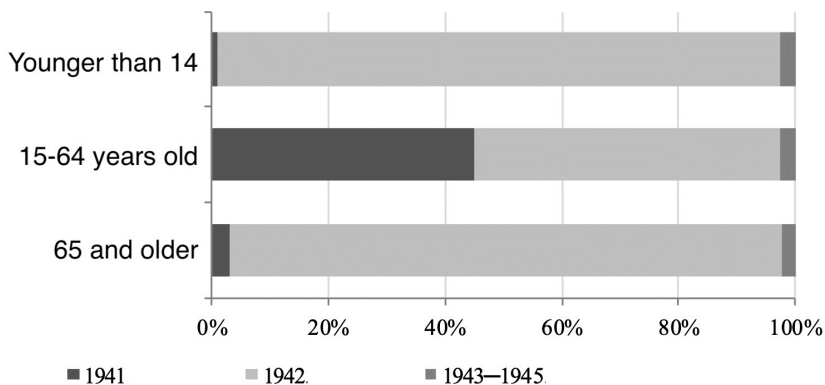
The destruction timeline and the percentage in the losses suffered were not equal in all age groups. The German decision to kill most of the men of the Jewish community in 1941, and to destroy the remaining members of this national group in the following year, significantly influenced the age structure of the losses suffered in different periods of the war.

Table 14 Occupied Serbia, Jews – age structure by year of destruction

Jews of OS – age	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Up to 14	972	9	0.92	938	96.50	25	2.57
%	17.17	0.46	//	26.21	//	17.73	//
15–24	778	328	42.16	428	55.01	22	2.83
%	13.74	16.91	//	11.96	//	15.60	//
25–34	932	447	47.96	464	49.78	21	2.25
%	16.47	23.04	//	12.96	//	14.89	//
35–44	1,095	504	46.03	568	51.87	23	2.10
%	19.35	25.98	//	15.87	//	16.31	//
45–54	868	409	47.12	437	50.34	22	2.53
%	15.33	21.08	//	12.21	//	15.60	//
55–64	599	230	38.40	351	58.60	18	3.00
%	10.58	11.85	//	9.81	//	12.76	//
65 and over	416	13	3.12	393	94.47	10	2.40
%	7.35	0.67	//	10.98	//	7.09	//
Total known	5,660	1,940	34.27	3,579	63.23	141	2.49
Unknown	594	163	27.44	428	72.05	3	0.50
%	9.50	7.75	//	10.68	//	2.08	//
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	144	2.30

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 18. Occupied Serbia, Jews – destruction timeline by age

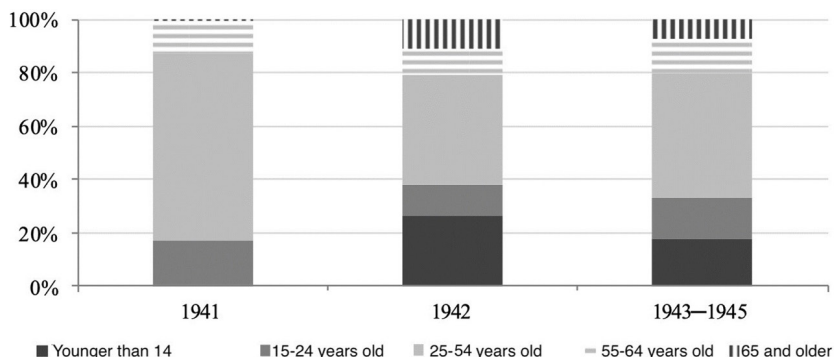


In the initial phase of the implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, the age groups that included persons between 15 and 64 years of age were targeted first. Almost half of the victims between the ages of 25 and 54 lost their lives in the first year of the war, which was 1.47, that is, 1.41, that is, 1.44 times higher, respectively, than the total number of Jewish victims in the first year of the war. In the same period, two fifths of Jews aged 15 to 24 and 55 to 64 were killed, which was 1.29 and 1.17 times the share in the losses of these age groups, respectively, than the average losses in that period. On the other hand, the perishing of Jews younger than 14 years and older than 65 was almost negligible, with a share in losses 35.52 and 10.47 times lower than the total number of victims in 1941. This clearly shows the desire of the Nazis to eliminate the most vital part of the Jewish community in the first year of the war.⁵⁰ The unabated impact of the Holocaust in the second year of the war and occupation hit the youngest and oldest age groups the most. At that time, almost all the perished Jews of this age lost their lives, which was the share greater by half (1.53 and 1.49 times) than the share of victims of 1942 in the total losses. In the same period, almost three fifths of the Jews aged 15 to 24 and 55 to 64 were killed, as well as a half of the members of other age groups.⁵¹ The destruction timeline of different age groups in the last three years of the war was approximately equal to the total losses suffered in that period.

⁵⁰ The 1941 losses suffered by the members of the Jewish community aged 25 to 54 was nominally lower than in the following year, but, considering the periods of perishing, their realistic losses were 1.93, 1.68 and 1.87 times higher. Moreover, the real losses suffered by the age groups 15 to 24 and 55 to 64 in the first year of the war was 1.53 and 1.31 times higher than in the following year.

⁵¹ All these age groups had a lower representation in the losses than the average death rate in 1942: the age groups from 25 to 54 1.27, 1.22 and 1.26 times lower, and the victims aged 15 to 24 1.15 times lower than the total losses suffered in that period.

Graph 19. Occupied Serbia, Jews – age structure by year of destruction



The destruction timeline of the age groups' destruction also affected the percentage of certain age groups in losses during the war. Almost three quarters of the Jews killed in the first year of the war (71.10%) were between the ages of 25 and 54. That was 1.37 times higher representation than the representation of those ages in the total losses of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia (51.15%). One sixth of the 1941 losses were Jews between the ages of 15 and 24 and one eighth between the ages of 55 and 64, with 1.23 and 1.12 times higher share in the total losses, respectively. The second year of the war was worst for the youngest and the oldest age categories. Their representation in the losses increased several times compared to the previous year (56.98 and 16.39 times, respectively) and together they accounted for almost two fifths of the losses (37.19%) in 1942. The share in the losses of the age groups that suffered the greatest losses in the previous year (from 25 to 54 years of age) was almost halved in 1942. They accounted for two fifths of the Jews who died at that time (41.04%), which was a 1.73 times lower share than in the losses the previous year. At the same time, the representation of the victims between the ages of 15 and 24 in the losses in 1942 was 1.41 times lower than in the previous year. In the three-year period following the

culmination of the Holocaust in 1942, the age groups perished evenly and corresponding to their share in the total losses.

TOTAL DESTRUCTION – THE
PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE
LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Populating urban areas, Jews had a socio-economic structure corresponding to urban population, with a high percentage of educated people among them.⁵² Subjected to total destruction, the Jewish community in occupied Serbia suffered losses in all professional groups.⁵³

⁵² An approximate picture of the social and economic structure of the Jews of occupied Serbia can be obtained through observing it in the Yugoslav framework, bearing in mind the influence of Belgrade as the administrative, political, economic, educational and cultural center of the state on the professional structure of the population, especially Jews, majority of whom lived in this city. According to incomplete data from 1938, the Jewish community of Yugoslavia was composed of 0.15% farmers, 12.60% businessmen, 4.30% workers, 8.05% clerks, experts and members of liberal professions, 10.30% pupils and students and 64.60% of all other professions. D. Perera, "Neki statistički podaci o Jevrejima," 145–146. Tax duties in religious municipalities provide a partial insight into the professional structure of Belgrade's Jews in 1940, noting that only the wealthiest, that is, those who qualified, paid taxes. Among the 2,002 taxpayers of the Sephardic community, 27% were merchants, 21% clerks or state employees, 8% craftsmen, 4% doctors and engineers. The 1,091 taxpayers of the Ashkenazi community consisted of 25% of clerks, 20% of merchants, 8% of members of liberal professions, and 6% of craftsmen. Harijet Pas Frajdenrajh (Harriet Pass Freidenreich), "Jevreji Beograda između ratova", Zbornik 6, ur. Radovan Samardžić (Beograd: The Jewish Historical Museum, 1992), 366. In 1939, there were 346 craftsmen, 1,102 merchants, commercial agents and traveling salesmen, 70 industrialists, 24 bankers and currency exchange brokers in the Jewish community of the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, while in the Moravian Banovina there were 18 craftsmen, 43 merchants, three industrialists, and six bankers. Nebojša Popović, *Jevreji u Srbiji 1918–1941*. (Beograd: ISI 1997), 103.

⁵³ The occupation is unknown for a ninth of the Jewish victims (682 - 10.90%) of occupied Serbia, which makes it difficult to accurately determine the professional structure of the losses suffered, and this is a problem that should be addressed in the further process of revising the list.

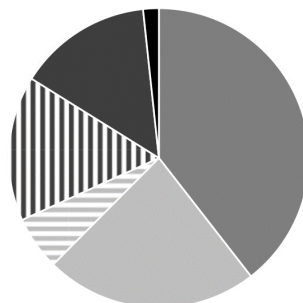
Table 15. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure

Jews of OS – occupation	Total
Total known	5.572
Dependents	2.201
%	39,51
Businessmen	1.277
%	22,92
Workers	323
%	5,80
Clerks, experts, liberal professions	873
%	15,67
Pupils, students	804
%	14,43
Other occupations	94
%	1,69

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 20. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure

- Dependents
- Businessmen
- Workers
- Clerks, experts, liberal professions members
- Pupils and students
- Other



The most numerous among the Jewish losses were dependents (housewives, children, elderly people, people with special needs), who accounted for two fifths of the victims. A quarter of the losses suffered were businessmen (from factory owners, merchants, bankers, landlords, to retailers, craftsman, etc.), followed by a sixth of clerks, experts, and members of the liberal professions (lawyers,

artists, musicians, actors, writers, journalists, independent doctors, dentists, etc.), while pupils and students accounted for a seventh of the losses.⁵⁴

The members of the Jewish community from all parts of the occupied territory were affected by the Holocaust, and representatives of all professional groups suffered losses. The professional structure of the losses suffered by the Jews from different regions was similar, yet not identical.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Students accounted for 3.44% of the killed (192) members of the Jewish community with a known occupation, while among the killed pupils and students they accounted for a quarter of the losses (23.88%).

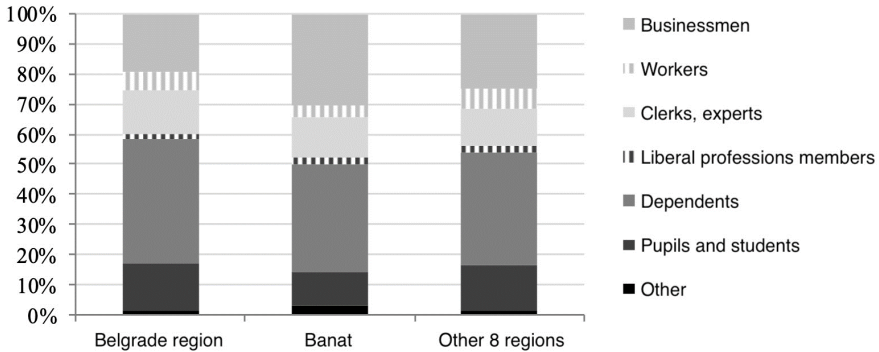
⁵⁵ The professional structure has been determined with most accuracy for the Jews from the Belgrade region, while it is known to a much lesser extent for the members of the Jewish community from other parts of occupied Serbia, which is one of the tasks in the revision process.

Table 16. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure by region

Jews of OS – professions	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Farmers	20	4	20.00	15	75.00	1	5.00
%	0.36	0.12	//	1.03	//	0.12	//
Businessmen	1,277	634	49.65	438	34.30	205	16.05
%	22.92	19.18	//	30.19	//	25.12	//
Workers	323	215	66.56	57	17.65	51	15.79
%	5.80	6.50	//	3.93	//	6.25	//
Army and police	2	1	50.00	--	--	1	50.00
%	0.03	0.03	//	--	//	0.12	//
Clerks/experts	767	471	61.41	196	25.55	100	13.04
%	13.76	14.25	//	13.51	//	12.25	//
Liberal professions	106	54	50.94	33	31.13	19	17.92
%	1.90	1.63	//	2.27	//	2.33	//
Dependents	2,201	1,373	62.38	520	23.62	308	13.99
%	39.51	41.54	//	35.84	//	37.74	//
Pupils and students	804	520	64.68	163	20.27	121	15.05
%	14.43	15.73	//	11.23	//	14.83	//
Other occupations	23	11	47.83	10	43.48	2	8.69
%	0.41	0.33	//	0.69	//	0.24	//
Income	37	18	48.65	15	40.54	4	10.81
%	0.66	0.54	//	1.03	//	0.49	//
Unemployed	12	4	33.33	4	33.33	4	33.33
%	0.21	0.12	//	0.27	//	0.49	//
Total known	5,572	3,305	59.31	1,451	26.04	816	14.64
Unknown occupation	682	179	26.25	331	48.53	172	25.22
%	10.90	5.14	//	18.57	//	17.41	//
Total	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.78

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 21. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure by region



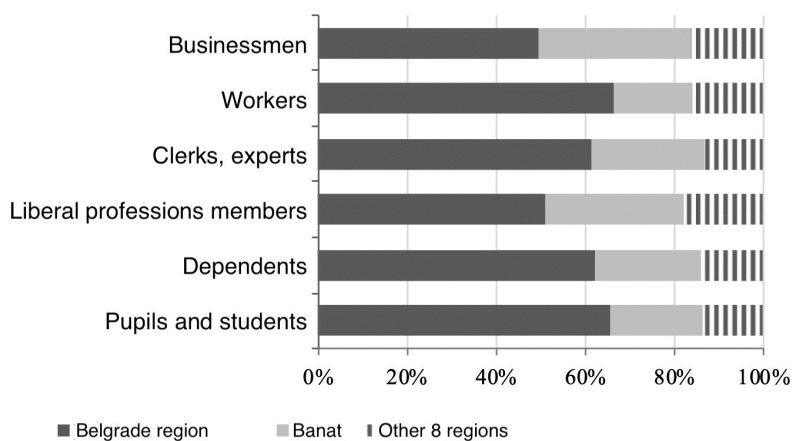
Dependents were the single most numerous group among the killed Jews from all three parts of occupied Serbia. They accounted for two fifths of the losses of the Jews from Belgrade and the Jews from the other eight regions, while their representation in the losses of the Jews from Banat was slightly lower, accounting for a third of the victims (1.16 times less compared to Belgrade’s Jews). Pupils and students accounted for a slightly higher number of victims among the Jews of Belgrade (1.40 times more compared to Banat Jews),⁵⁶ as well as clerks and experts, compared to their compatriots from other parts of Serbia.⁵⁷ The representation in the losses of members of liberal professions among the victims of the Jews of Banat and the other eight regions of occupied

⁵⁶ The representation of students in the losses of Jews from different parts of the occupied territory was not uniform, since they accounted for 3.60% of the victims from the Belgrade region (119), 2.96% from Banat (43) and 3.68% of the losses from the other eight regions (30). The representation of students in the losses in the professional group of pupils and students was not equal in all parts of the occupied territory. Students accounted for 22.88% of the victims in the losses of pupils and students in the Belgrade region, 26.38% in Banat, and 24.79% of the victims among pupils and students from the other eight regions.

⁵⁷ The representation in the losses of the members of liberal professions among the victims of the Jews from Banat and the other eight regions of occupied Serbia was 1.39 and 1.43 times higher, respectively, than among the Jews of Belgrade. Although they had a negligible representation in the total losses, farmers accounted for 8.58 times more among the Jews of Banat than among their perished compatriots from other parts of the occupied territory.

Serbia was 1.39 and 1.43 times higher, respectively, than among the Jews of Belgrade. Although they had a negligible representation in the total losses, farmers were 8.58 times more represented among the Jews of Banat than among the perished compatriots from other parts of the occupied territory.

Graph 22 Occupied Serbia, Jews – share according to the region of the victims in the losses of professional groups



The Belgrade Jews, as the largest community among the killed compatriots of occupied Serbia, were dominant in the losses of all professional groups, but not with an equal share. In comparison to the share in total losses with a known occupation, they had a slightly higher share in the losses of pupils and students,⁵⁸ dependents (1.09 and 1.05 times respectively) and workers 1.12 times, while their share in the losses of businessmen, and members of liberal professions was 1.19 and 1.16 times lower, respectively. Among the businessmen killed, the Jews from Banat accounted for a third of the losses, which was a share, higher by a third (1.32 times) than the average share of the

⁵⁸ Out of all Jewish students who lost their lives during the Holocaust, 61.98% came from the Belgrade region, 22.39% from Banat and 15.62% from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia.

Banat Jews in losses with a known occupation, while their representation among the dependents and students was 1.10 or 1.28 times lower.⁵⁹ The Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia had one-tenth higher representation in the losses of businessmen (1.10 times) than their representation in the total losses.

The members of the Jewish community of both sexes were affected by the Holocaust, and since the nation was destroyed as a whole, the losses suffered included representatives of all the professional groups that existed in the pre-war period with all the differences that existed. The professional structure of the losses suffered by Jews of different sexes reflected these differences.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Banat Jews accounted for three quarters of the killed farmers among their compatriots (2.88 times the average share), while their share among the workers killed during the Holocaust was 1.47 times lower.

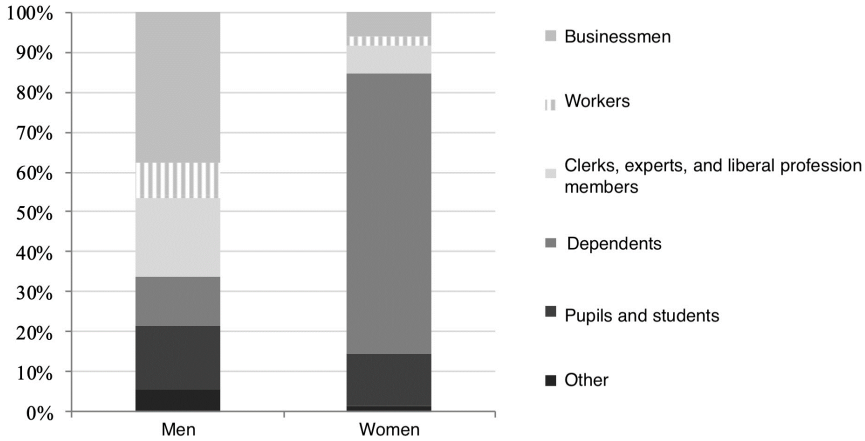
⁶⁰ The professional structure of the perished Jews of occupied Serbia of different sexes was not known to the same extent, so, it has remained unknown for a tenth of men (347 - 10.47%) and a ninth of women (335 - 11.39%). One of the tasks of revising the list of victims is to eliminate the existing deficiencies.

Table 17. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure by sex

Jews of OS – professions	Total	Men	%	Women	%
Farmers	20	14	70.00	6	30.00
%	0.36	0.47	//	0.23	//
Businessmen	1,277	1,121	87.78	156	12.22
%	22.92	37.79	//	5.99	//
Workers	323	258	79.88	65	20.12
%	5.80	8.70	//	2.49	//
Army and police	2	2	100.0	--	--
%	0.03	0.07	//	--	//
Clerks/experts	767	588	76.66	179	23.34
%	13.76	19.82	//	6.87	//
Liberal professions	106	96	90.57	10	9.43
%	1.90	3.24	//	0.38	//
Dependents	2,201	368	16.72	1,833	83.28
%	39.51	12.41	//	70.34	//
Pupils and students	804	467	58.09	337	41.91
%	14.43	15.74	//	12.93	//
Other occupations	23	15	65.22	8	34.78
%	0.41	0.50	//	0.31	//
Pensioners	37	29	78.38	8	21.62
%	0.66	0.98	//	0.31	//
Unemployed	12	8	66.67	4	33.33
%	0.21	0.27	//	0.15	//
Total known	5,572	2,966	53.23	2,606	46.77
Unknown occupation	682	347	50.88	335	49.12
%	10.90	10.47	//	11.39	//
Total	6,254	3,313	52.97	2,941	47.02

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 23. Occupied Serbia, Jews – professional structure by sex

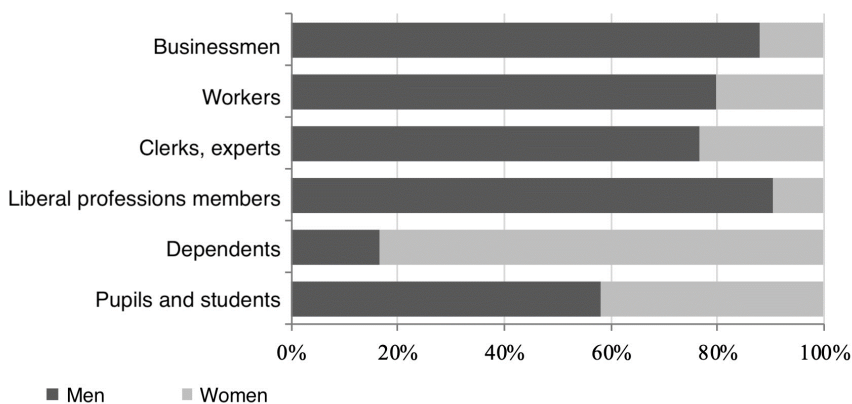


Businessmen accounted for two fifths of the losses of the men who died, followed by a fifth of clerks and experts and a sixth of pupils and students,⁶¹ while dependents accounted for an eighth of their losses. On the other hand, two thirds of the losses suffered by women were dependents, followed by an eighth of pupils and students.⁶² For this reason, businessmen represented 6.31 times more in the losses of men than in the losses of women, workers 3.49 times, clerks and experts 2.88 times, pupils and students 1.22 times. On the other hand, dependents had a 5.67 times higher representation in the losses of women than men.

⁶¹ Students (122) among the men killed accounted for 4.11% of the losses, and 26.12% of those killed in the group of pupils and students.

⁶² Female students (70) accounted for 2.69% of the casualties among the female losses, and 20.77% of the casualties within the group of pupils and students.

Graph 24. Occupied Serbia, Jews – representation of sexes in the professional groups' losses



Nearly equal in representation of total Jewish community losses, women had a larger representation only in the group of dependents, 4.98 times that of men and 1.78 times their representation in total losses with a known occupation. In addition, two fifths of the female victims were pupils and students, which was 1.11 times less than their representation in the total losses. In all other professional groups, men had shares higher than their representation in total losses with a known occupation, with businessmen 1.65 times, clerks and experts 1.44 times, and pupils and students 1.09 times higher. Among the victims belonging to the group of businessmen, men were 6.45 times more numerous than women, in the group of clerks and experts 3.02 times more, in members of liberal professions 9.60 times, in workers 3.97 times, and in pupils and students 1.39 times more.⁶³

During the war, the destruction timeline and the representation in the losses suffered by different professional groups were not equal. The decision of the occupying authorities to annihilate most of the Jewish community men in the initial phase of the Holocaust in occu-

⁶³ Among all Jewish students who died, 63.54% were male and 36.46% were female, that is, men had a 1.74 times higher share in casualties.

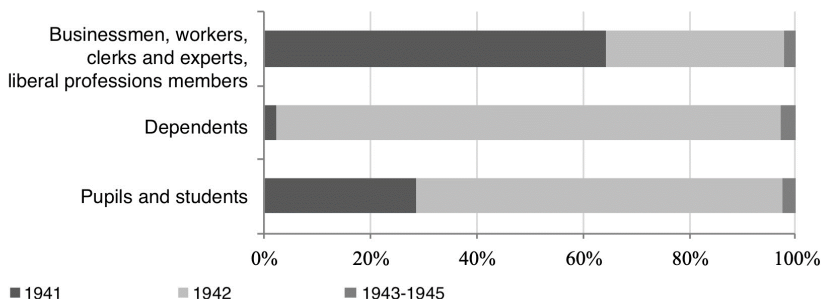
pied Serbia, and the remaining members of this national group in the following year, had a significant impact on the professional structure of the losses suffered in different periods of the war.

Table 18. Occupied Serbia, Jews –
professional structure by year of destruction

Jews of OS – professions	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Farmers	20	10	50.00	9	45.00	1	5.00
%	0.36	0.52	//	0.25	//	0.75	//
Businessmen	1,277	833	65.23	427	33.44	17	1.33
%	22.92	43.68	//	12.09	//	12.69	//
Workers	323	210	65.01	102	31.58	11	3.40
%	5.80	11.01	//	2.89	//	8.21	//
Army and police	2	1	50.00	1	50.00	--	--
%	0.03	0.05	//	0.03	//	--	//
Clerks/experts	767	477	62.19	271	35.33	19	2.48
%	13.76	25.01	//	7.67	//	14.18	//
Liberal professions	106	70	66.04	31	29.24	5	4.72
%	1.90	3.67	//	0.88	//	3.73	//
Dependents	2,201	51	2.32	2,089	94.91	61	2.77
%	39.51	2.67	//	59.16	//	45.52	//
Pupils and students	804	230	28.61	555	69.03	19	2.36
%	14.43	12.06	//	15.72	//	14.18	//
Other occupations	23	11	47.83	11	47.83	1	4.34
%	0.41	0.58	//	0.31	//	0.75	//
Income	37	10	27.03	27	72.97	--	--
%	0.66	0.52	//	0.76	//	--	//
Unemployed	12	4	33.33	8	66.67	--	--
%	0.21	0.21	//	0.23	//	--	//
Total known	5,572	1,907	34.22	3,531	63.37	134	2.40
Unknown occupation	682	196	28.74	476	69.79	10	1.47
%	10.90	9.32	//	11.88	//	6.94	//
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	144	2.30

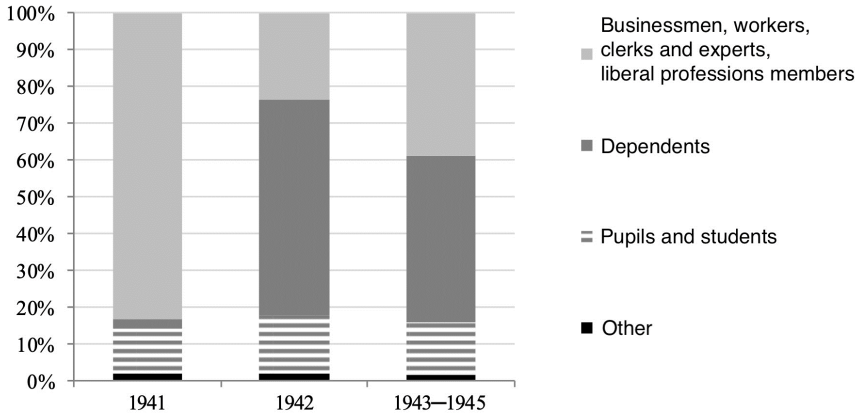
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 25. Occupied Serbia, Jews –
destruction timeline by profession



The first year of the war took the lives of two thirds of each group – businessmen, workers, members of the liberal professions – with a share in the losses twice as high (1.91 times) than the average death rate in 1941, while clerks and experts accounted for only a slightly lower share (1.82 times from the total perishing in that period). On the other hand, slightly more than a quarter of pupils and students who died in the first year of the war had a share that was 1.20 times lower than the average death rate in 1941, while the share of dependents who died in the same period was 14.75 times lower. During 1942, almost all dependents lost their lives (1.50 times higher share in the losses than the average death rate in that year), as well as two thirds of pupils and students. On the other side, the shares of businessmen, workers, members of liberal professions and clerks and experts were twice lower than the share of the 1942 victims in total losses (1.89 times lower).

Graph 26. Occupied Serbia, Jews –
professional structure by year of destruction



Two fifths of all Jewish losses in 1941 were businessmen, followed by a quarter of clerks and experts, and a ninth of workers. These three professional groups accounted for a total of 83.37% victims, which was 1.87 times greater representation in losses than the representation of these professional groups in the total losses of the Jewish community (44.38%). Pupils and students accounted for an eighth of the losses in the first year. The following year of the war brought the perishing of the dependents who had been “spared” until then. Dependents were accounted for three fifths of the losses in 1942, which was a 22.16 times greater representation in the losses than in the previous year and half as much (1.50 times) of their share in the total losses. Professional groups that accounted for the largest percentage of the 1941 victims, in 1942 accounted for a quarter of the losses (23.53%), which is 3.54 times lower representation than a year earlier, while there were a third more pupils and students (1.30 times). In the last three years of the war, a “balance” was established in the deaths of dependents and other professions.

OCCUPIED SERBIA AS THE PRIMARY TERRITORY OF DESTRUCTION

The situation in 1941, in which a mass people's uprising against German occupation significantly complicated the war events in this territory, conditioned and determined both the time of destruction of the Jews and the territory where they lost their lives. The abandonment of the original plans for the relocation of the Jews from the occupied territory "to the East" resulted in the "final solution of the Jewish question" being implemented in the territory. The few Jews who tried to find refuge in other territories of occupied Yugoslavia or abroad, if they were not handed over to the German authorities in occupied Serbia after their arrest, perished in those territories or were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

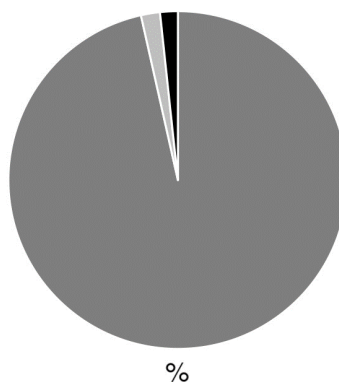
Table 19. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of destruction

Jews	Total	Occupied Serbia	%	In Yugoslavia	%	Abroad	%	Unknown	%
Total	6,254	6,027	96.37	113	1.81	106	1.69	8	0.13

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 27. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of annihilation

- In occupied Serbia
- In Yugoslavia
- Abroad



Occupied Serbia was the primary territory of extermination for the members of the Jewish community, since almost all of them lost their lives there, with very small percentage perished in the rest of Yugoslavia⁶⁴ or abroad.⁶⁵ The loss of victims in occupied Serbia was 26.55 times greater than the losses suffered in other territories, i.e. 53.24 times greater than the losses suffered in the rest of Yugoslavia, i.e., 57.02 times greater than the losses suffered abroad.⁶⁶

The territories where the Jews from occupied Serbia perished had different representation in the losses during the years of the war, just as the timeline of their destruction in different territories was unequal.

Table 20. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of destruction by time of destruction

Jews of OS – territory of destruction	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Occupied Serbia	6,027	2,061	34.20	3,934	65.27	32	0.53
%	96.37	98.00	//	98.18	//	22.22	//
Other territories	219	37	16.89	71	32.42	111	50.68
%	3.50	1.76	//	1.77	//	77.08	//
Unknown	8	5	62.50	2	25.00	1	12.50
%	0.13	0.24	//	0.05	//	0.69	//
Total	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	144	2.30

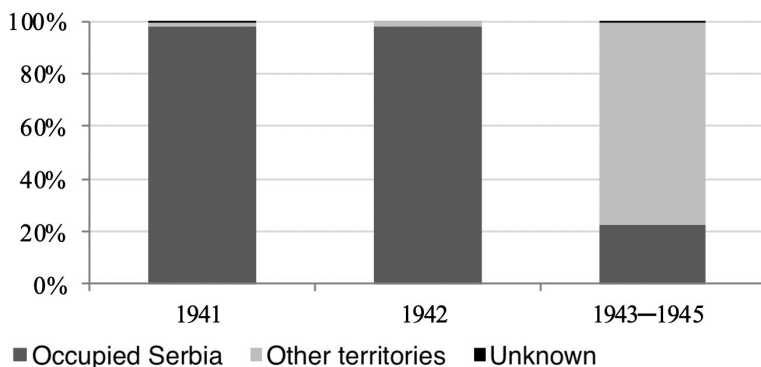
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

⁶⁴ Among the Jews of occupied Serbia who died outside this territory, but in the other parts of Yugoslavia, 88.49% lost their lives in the NDH (*Independent State of Croatia) (100).

⁶⁵ Among the Jews from the occupied territory who perished abroad, 83.02% lost their lives in the territory of Germany or occupied Poland (88).

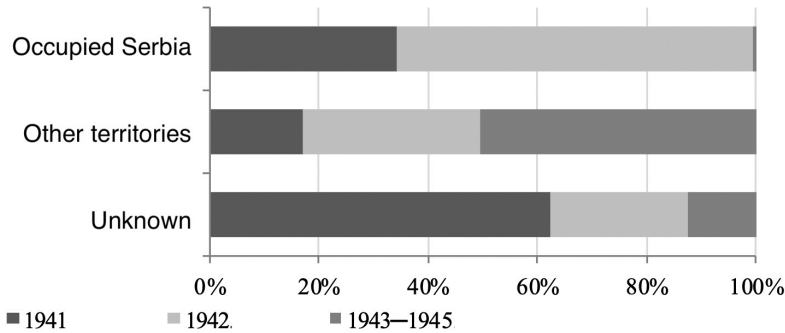
⁶⁶ Among the few Jews of occupied Serbia who perished outside its territory, the losses of victims in the rest of Yugoslavia was slightly higher than the losses suffered abroad (1.07 times).

Graph 28. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of destruction by year of destruction



At the time of the intensive implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia during the first two years of the war, the home territory was also the primary territory of their perishing. Almost all Jews who lost their lives at that time died in the occupied territory, with the representation in the losses that was 55.68 and 55.47 times higher than the losses suffered in other territories in the same period. In the second part of the war, occupied Serbia was the territory where only slightly more than a fifth of the Jewish victims lost their lives in that period, which was a 4.42 times lower share in the losses than in 1942. Other territories, where members of the Jewish community either tried to find refuge and hide or were taken to concentration camps, took the primacy in perishing, so more than four fifths of the Jews of occupied Serbia lost their lives in that period. The representation of the other territories in the Jewish losses suffered from 1943 to 1945 was 43.55 times higher than in the previous two years.

Graph 29. Occupied Serbia, Jews – destruction
 timeline by territory of destruction



The accelerated implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia resulted in the fact that all the Jews killed in its territory lost their lives in the first two years of the war, with a third killed in 1941 and two thirds killed in the following year. The temporal pattern of the perishing of the Jews of the occupied territory in other territories was different. A sixth of the Jews who perished there lost their lives in the first year of the war, a third in 1942, and in the last three years of the war, a half of the members of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia who perished outside that territory lost their lives.⁶⁷

Although they basically had the same territories of perishing, there were still minimal differences in the losses suffered by the Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia. The differences were mainly a result of different times of their collection and taking to the camps,

⁶⁷ Among the Jews from occupied Serbia who lost their lives in other territories, there were differences in the temporal pattern of the losses suffered depending on whether they died in the territory of the rest of Yugoslavia or abroad. The first two years of the war were the most disastrous for the Jews of the occupied territories who lost their lives in the territory of the rest of Yugoslavia, as 74.34% of them died in that period (84). They also accounted for 77.78% of the losses of the Jews of occupied Serbia who died in other territories in 1941 and 1942. In contrast, three quarters (77.36%) of the members of the Jewish community who died abroad lost their lives in the last three years of the war (82). The Jews who died abroad also accounted for 73.87% of all the Jews from the occupied territory who died in other territories in the period 1943–1945.

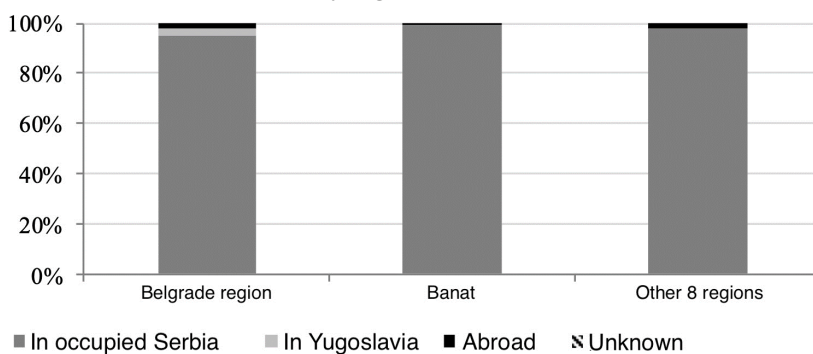
i.e. the existence of a short period in which they had the chance to try to find safety by hiding or taking refuge in some other territory outside of occupied Serbia.

Table 21. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of destruction by region victims were from

Jews of OS – territory of destruction	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
In occupied Serbia	6,027	3,319	55.07	1,767	29.32	941	15.61
%	96.37	95.26	//	99.16	//	95.24	//
In Yugoslavia	113	82	72.57	3	2.65	28	24.78
%	1.81	2.35	//	0.17	//	2.83	//
Abroad	106	77	72.64	12	11.32	17	16.04
%	1.69	2.21	//	0.67	//	1.72	//
Unknown	8	6	75.00	--	--	2	25.00
%	0.13	0.17	//	--	//	0.20	//
Total	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.78

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

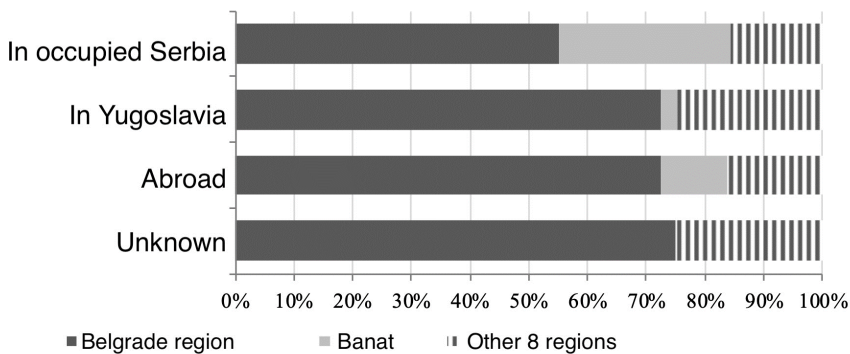
Graph 30. Occupied Serbia, Jews – territory of destruction by region victims were from



Most of the Jews from all three parts of occupied Serbia perished in its territory, with absolutely all the victims from the territory of Banat losing their lives there, and only slightly lower number of the

Jews from Belgrade and other parts of occupied Serbia. The secondary and tertiary places of perishing of the Jews from the Belgrade region and the other eight regions collectively accounted for a twenty-second part of their losses. Attempts to hide in other parts of the disintegrated and divided Yugoslavia and their subsequent arrest caused the loss of the forty-third and thirty-fifth of the victims of the Jews from Belgrade and the other eight regions of occupied Serbia. Forty-fifth of the Jews from the Belgrade region and fifty-eighth of the Jewish community from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia perished abroad.

Graph 31. Occupied Serbia, Jews – share of regional origin in the losses by territory of destruction



Slightly less than three fifths of the members of the Jewish community who died in occupied Serbia were the Jews from Belgrade, with almost a third from Banat and a sixth from the rest of the home territory. Among the Jews who perished in the rest of Yugoslavia and abroad, members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region accounted for three quarters of the losses suffered,⁶⁸ the Jews from the rest of occupied Serbia accounted for a quarter or a sixth of the

⁶⁸ The NDH (*Independent State of Croatia) and occupied Poland stand out as the territories of perishing.

losses,⁶⁹ while the Jews from Banat accounted for a ninth of the losses suffered abroad.⁷⁰

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DESTRUCTION

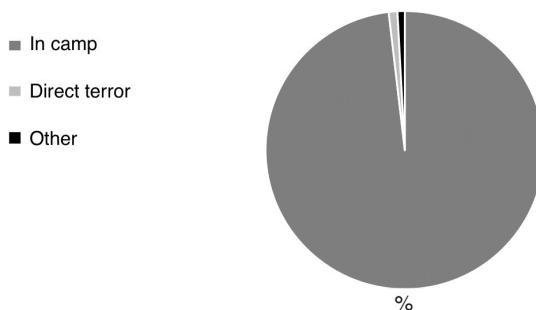
In a very complex war that was waged on the territory of occupied Serbia, civilians suffered in various circumstances. The specificity of the perishing of the Jewish community was also reflected in the circumstances in which they lost their lives. As was the case with the Holocaust in most other European countries, the perishing of Jews was connected with concentration camps or with directly carried out executions, while a negligible part lost their lives in other or unknown circumstances.

Table 22. Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction

Jews - circumstances of destruction	Total	In camp	%	Direct terror	%	Other and unknown	%
Total	6,254	6,138	98.14	63	1.01	53	0.85

GVMA (*Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 32. Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction



⁶⁹ Most of them died in occupied Poland, and fewer in NDH (*Independent State of Croatia).

⁷⁰ Occupied Poland was stated as the most common place of perishing.

The largest part of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia was connected with the previous staying or perishing in one of the concentration camps, while only a small portion of them (one fifty-fourth) lost their lives in other circumstances (1.86%).⁷¹ The loss suffered by the Jews in concentration camps or after their stay there was 97.17 times greater than the loss suffered in direct terror.

The circumstances of the perishing of Jews had a different representation in the losses during the years of war, just as the dynamics of perishing in different circumstances were different.

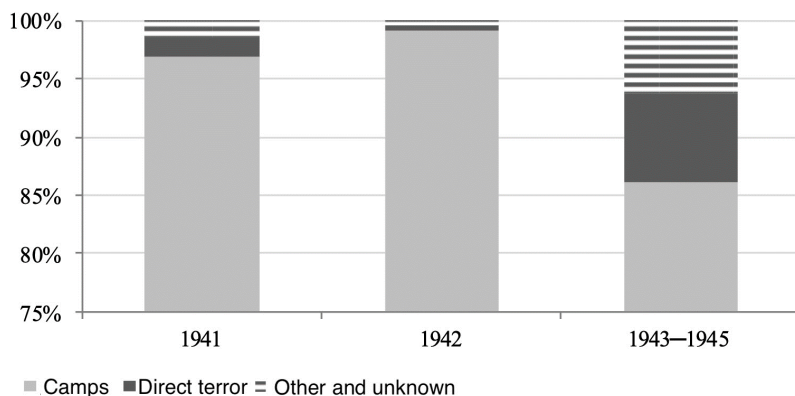
Table 23. Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to time of destruction

Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943– 1945	%
In concentration camp	6,138	2,038	33.20	3,976	64.78	124	2.02
%	98.14	96.91	//	99.22	//	86.11	//
Direct terror	63	36	57.14	16	25.40	11	17.46
%	1.01	1.71	//	0.40	//	7.64	//
Other and unknown	53	29	54.72	15	28.30	9	16.98
%	0.85	1.38	//	0.37	//	6.25	//
Total	6.254	2.103	33,63	4.007	64,07	144	2,30

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

⁷¹ Among the Jews in occupied Serbia who suffered in other circumstances, half (63) lost their lives in direct terror (54.31%), a broadly defined term that included everything from individual murders to mass atrocities, while the other half suffered in other or unknown circumstances.

Graph 33. Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to year of destruction

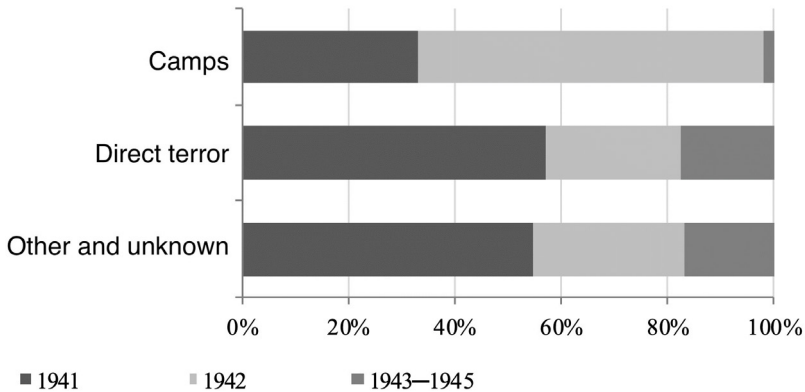


The loss of lives in concentration camps was the dominant circumstance of destruction for Jews in the occupied Serbian territory throughout the entire war, and in 1942 it was almost the only one circumstance. The amount of losses in destruction in concentration camps was more pronounced in the first two years of the war than in the last three: 1.12 and 1.15 times, respectively. The prevalence of losses when it comes to perishing in outright terror and other and unknown circumstances of destruction varied more during the war, with the highest representation being from 1943 to 1945 when they represented the thirteenth and sixteenth part of the losses. The proportion of those who suffered in direct terror in the losses of Jews was 4.27 times higher in the first year of the war than in 1942, but also 4.47 times lower than in the last three years of the war.⁷² The perishing of Jews in other and unknown circumstances had a prevalence of losses that was 3.73 times higher in the first year of the war than in 1942, but also 4.53 times lower than in the last three years of the war.⁷³

⁷² The representation of victims of outright terror in the losses in 1942 was 19.10 times lower than in the period 1943-1945.

⁷³ The representation of victims in other and unknown circumstances in the losses of Jews in 1942 was 16.89 times lower than in the last three years of the war.

Graph 34. Occupied Serbia, Jews - destruction timeline according to circumstances of destruction



The absolutely dominant suffering of the Jews of occupied Serbia in the concentration camps also determined the shares in the total losses of the community suffered during the war, with a third of the victims in the first and two thirds in the second year of the war. The other two groups of circumstances of destruction, outright terror and perishing in other and unknown circumstances, had almost identical dynamics of losses suffered, with almost three-fifths or more than half of the victims in the first year of the war, a quarter of losses in 1942, and one-sixth of the victims in the last three years of the war. The share of those who died in direct terror and in other and unknown circumstances in 1941 was 1.70 and 1.63 times higher than the share of those who died that year in the total losses of the Jewish community, as was the share of those who died in the last three years under these circumstances of the war was 7.59 and 7.38 times higher, respectively. On the other hand, the proportion of victims in these circumstances of the outright terror in 1942 was 2.52 and 2.26 times lower than the proportion in the overall losses suffered during the same period.

Among the perished Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia, there were minimal differences in the circumstances of their suf-

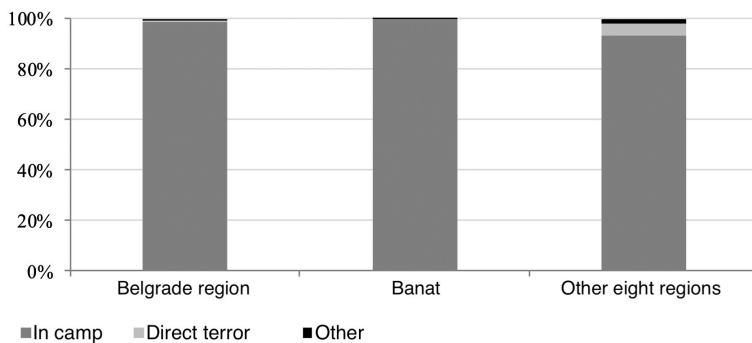
fering. The differences were mainly a consequence of the Germans' decision to send them to concentration camps or to carry out their extermination immediately after their arrest.

Table 24 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction by territory

Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
In concentration camp	6,138	3,436	55.98	1,778	28.97	924	15.05
%	98.14	98.62	//	99.77	//	93.52	//
Direct terror	63	16	25.40	1	1.59	46	73.01
%	1.01	0.46	//	0.06	//	4.65	//
Other and unknown	53	32	60.38	3	5.66	18	33.96
%	0.85	0.92	//	0.17	//	1.82	//
Total	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.78

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

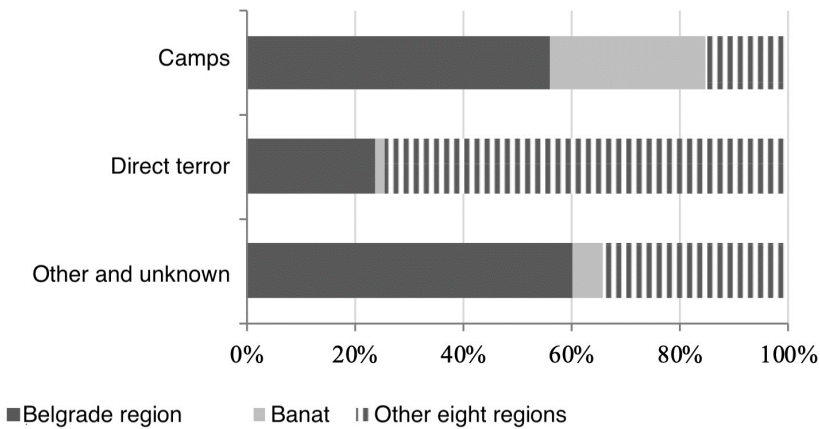
Graph 35 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction by territory



The Jews of Banat perished exclusively in concentration camps, while a negligible part of the Belgrade Jews were not sent to the concentration camps before losing their lives while this was the case with

one-fifteenth of the victims from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia (6.47%). The representation of victims in direct executions in the losses of Jews from the other eight regions of the occupied territory was 10.11 times higher than it was among members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region, and 77.50 times higher than it was among compatriots from Banat.⁷⁴ The representation of victims who lost their lives in other and unknown circumstances among Jews from the other eight regions of the occupied territory was twice as high as their representation in the losses of compatriots from the Belgrade area, and many times higher than among the Jews of Banat.

Graph 36 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - losses according to circumstances of destruction by territory



The absolute domination of those who perished in the concentration camps in all parts of occupied Serbia determined the share of regions in the total losses of the Jewish community. The shooting immediately after the arrest of some members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia made them represent

⁷⁴ The proportion of those killed in direct executions in the losses of Belgrade Jews was 7.17 times higher than that of compatriots from Banat.

three quarters of all Jews killed in direct terror. Thus, Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia had a 4.73 times greater share among the victims in these circumstances than their representation in the total losses of the Jewish community. One-fourth of those who suffered in direct terror came from the Belgrade region, with a minimum share of those who suffered from Banat.⁷⁵ Three-fifths of the Jews who lost their lives in other and unknown circumstances came from the Belgrade region, with a third from the other eight regions of the occupied territory.

In different circumstances of destruction, both male and female members of the Jewish community lost their lives on the occupied territory and beyond. The gender representation in losses was not equal in all circumstances of destruction, just as the proportion of destruction under certain circumstances was not equal among members of the Jewish community of different genders.

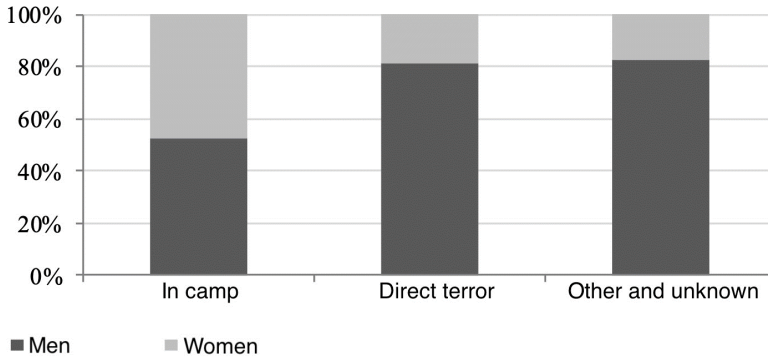
Table 25 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to gender structure of losses

Jews – circumstances / gender	Total	In concentration camp	%	Direct terror	%	Other and unknown	%
Man	3.313	3.218	97,13	51	1,54	44	1,33
%	52,97	52,43	//	80,95	//	83,02	//
Women	2.941	2.920	99,28	12	0,41	9	0,31
%	47,02	47,57	//	19,05	//	16,98	//
Total	6.254	6.138	98,14	63	1,01	53	0,85

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

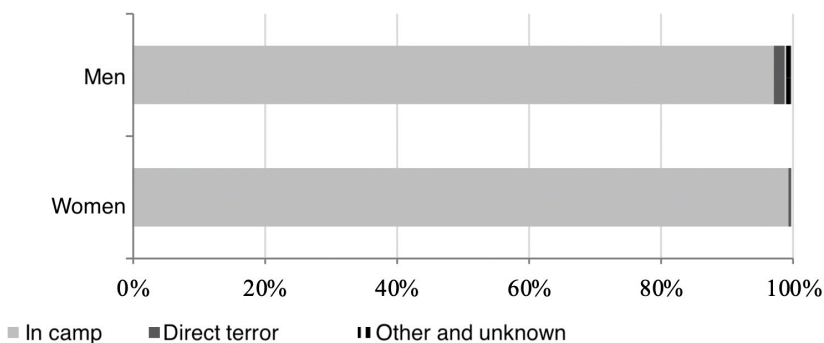
⁷⁵ The proportion of Jews from the other eight regions in the losses caused by direct executions was 2.87 times higher than the proportion of victims from the Belgrade region and 45.92 times higher than the proportion of Jews from Banat, while the proportion of victims in these circumstances among Belgrade Jews was 15.97 times higher than the proportion of compatriots from Banat.

Graph 37 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to gender of losses



The absolute dominant destruction of the Jews in occupied Serbia in concentration camps caused their gender structure, in which men and women make up half of the losses, to coincide with the gender structure of the total losses of the Jewish community. The gender structure of the few Jews who suffered outside the concentration camps was completely different. Among them, men make up the absolute majority of losses, with women representing a fifth of those who suffered from outright terror and a sixth of the losses among those who suffered in other and unknown circumstances.

Graph 38 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - sex structure of losses according to circumstances of destruction



The destruction of almost all the Jews of occupied Serbia, regardless of their gender, was related to the concentration camps. Among a small number of members of the Jewish community who lost their lives outside of concentration camps, there were significantly more men. Jewish men who lost their life exposed to outright terror or in other and unknown circumstances had a 3.76 and 4.29 times higher share in the losses of male victims than Jewish women who died in the same circumstances had among the female victims.

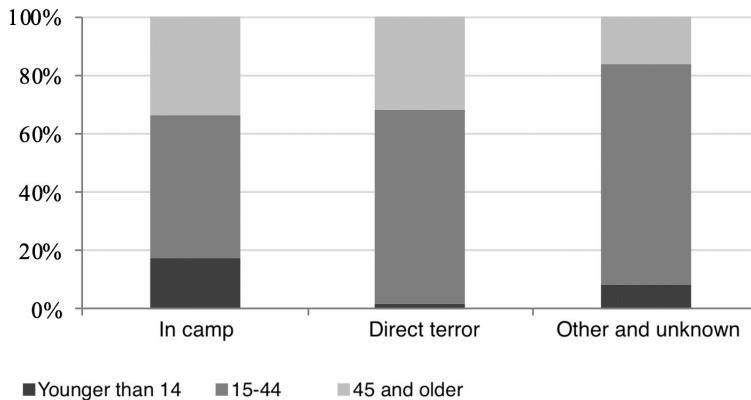
Members of the Jewish community from the occupied territory suffered in different circumstances, and people of all ages lost their lives. The age structure of the suffered losses was not the same in all circumstances of destruction, nor was the share of destruction under certain circumstances the same for members of the Jewish community of different ages.

Table 26 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to age structure of losses

Jews, OS – age	Total	In concentration camp or prison	%	Direct terror	%	Other and unknown	%
Up to 14	972	967	99.48	1	0.10	4	0.41
%	17.17	17.42	//	1.59	//	8.00	//
15–24	778	753	96.79	9	1.16	16	2.06
%	13.74	13.57	//	14.28	//	32.00	//
25–34	932	902	96.78	19	2.04	11	1.18
%	16.47	16.26	//	30.16	//	22.00	//
35–44	1,095	1,070	97.72	14	1.28	11	1.00
%	19.35	19.29	//	22.22	//	22.00	//
45 and older	1,883	1,855	98.51	20	1.06	8	0.42
%	33.27	33.44	//	31.75	//	16.00	//
Total - known	5,660	5,547	98.00	63	1.11	50	0.88
Unknown	594	591	99.49	--	--	3	0.51
%	9.50	9.63	//	--	//	5.66	//
Total	6,254	6,138	98.14	63	1.01	53	0.85

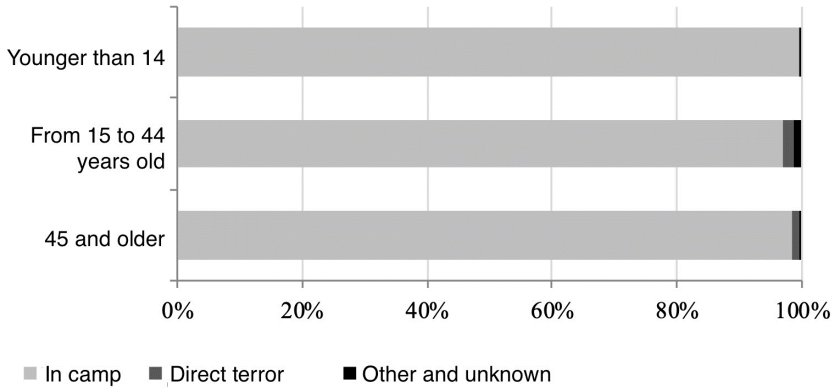
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 39 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - circumstances of destruction according to the age of losses



The absolutely dominant suffering of the Jews of occupied Serbia in the camps had the effect that the age structure of the losses there, in which all ages are represented in proportion to their representation in the pre-war community, coincides with the age structure of the total losses of the Jewish community. On the other hand, a small number of members of the Jewish community who suffered outside of concentration camps had a different age structure of losses. Among Jews who suffered in outright terror and in other and unknown circumstances, ages 15 to 44 accounted for two-thirds (66.67%) and three-quarters (76.00%) of the losses suffered, respectively, which was 1.36 and 1.55 times more prevalent than their representation among victims in concentration camps. Among the perishing Jews in outright terror, there was minimal representation of children up to 14 years old, 10.59 times less than among those who suffered in camps, while the representation of those over 45 years old was equal. In losses suffered in other and unknown circumstances, the representation of children up to 14 years old and those over 45 years old was half as much (2.18 and 2.09 times less, respectively) than in losses suffered in concentration camps.

Graph 40 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - age structure of losses according to circumstances of destruction



In all age groups, those who suffered in the camps were almost entirely members of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia. The proportion of losses in the camps was slightly higher than the average proportion of Jewish losses in known circumstances, at the youngest age (1.02 times), while the proportion of losses among Jews aged 15 to 44 was slightly lower (1.01 times). Those who suffered outright terror had almost twice the proportion (1.84 times) of losses among the age group of 25 to 34 compared to their proportion in total losses, while their proportion of losses among children under 14 years old was 11.10 times smaller. Victims in other and unknown circumstances in the age group from 15 to 24 had a 2.34 times greater share of losses than the average share of victims in these circumstances in total losses, while their shares in the losses of the youngest and oldest ages were twice as small.

**CAMPS AS AN INSTITUTIONAL
SOLUTION FOR DESTRUCTION**





Photograph on the previous page: *Forced Taking of the arrested Jews to Sajmište.*
Photographed in Belgrade in 1941. (Museum of Vojvodina (*Muzej Vojvodine*) inventory
number 13290/19409)

Relying on terror and repression as the main methods of governing conquered territories, the Germans formed a system of camps that supported these methods, or which had a role in their implementation. On the territory of Serbia, under the German military administration, a series of camps of different types and purposes were formed.⁷⁶ Among the concentration camps, there were the camps for Jews that represented a special category, as part of a planned program for their destruction. The presence of specialised or separate camps for Jews does not mean that they suffered exclusively in them, nevertheless, they lost their lives in other concentration camps as well.

⁷⁶ See more: Koljanin, M. "Represija kao sistem – logori u Okupiranoj Srbiji", *Heretikus*, 1/2007, 157–171.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The Jewish community from occupied Serbia suffered in multiple camps located either within the occupied territory, outside of it, in the divided Yugoslavia or abroad. Four camps, which were formed in the occupied territory, stand out for the number of victims. Two of those were specialized or separate camps for Jews, Topovske šupe (Jewish camp, Jewish transit camp in Belgrade) and the Jewish camp Zemun (Judenlager Semlin), commonly known as Sajmište, later known as Staro Sajmište (in tables: Camp Sajmište). Both of them were also camps for Roma. The other two, Banjica (Anhaltelager Dedinje)⁷⁷ and Crveni krst in Niš (Anhaltelager Nisch)⁷⁸, were concentration camps of general type, to which, along with others (mostly Serbs), members of the Jewish community were also brought. Specialized or separate camps for Jews had the primary role in their destruction. In these camps the nine tenths (88.10%) of all members of the Jewish community who perished in the concentration camps lost their lives.

⁷⁷ Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia who perished in Banjica (229) represented 76.84% of the losses of compatriots from Yugoslavia who lost their lives in this camp (298). Among the Jews from the occupied territory who died in Banjica, 75.98% were male. All age groups were represented in the losses of the Jews of this camp. Children under the age of 14 represented 7.86% of the victims, while those over 65 accounted for 6.55% of the losses suffered. Jewish foreign citizens who were also detained in the Banjica camp were not included in the loss shown, nor Jews, Yugoslav citizens, from territories outside of occupied Serbia.

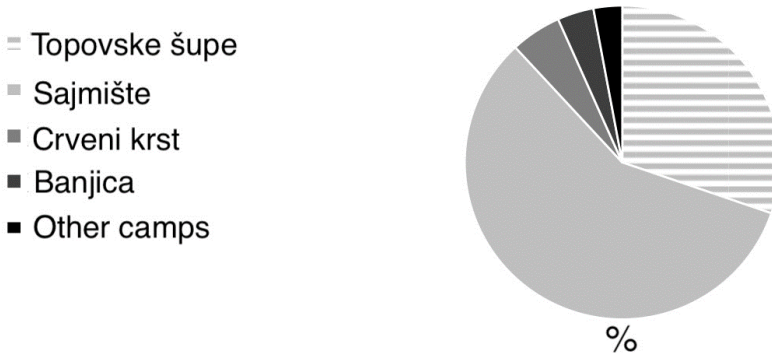
⁷⁸ In the camp on the Crveni krst in Niš, man over the age of 15 died, among whom those aged 65 and over accounted for 6.87% of the losses. Jewish foreign citizens who were also detained in the camp in Niš were not included in the loss shown, neither were the Jews, citizens of Yugoslavia, from territories outside of occupied Serbia.

Table 27 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - concentration camps

Jews - camps	Total
Total in camps	6,138
Topovske šupe	1,857
%	30.25
Sajmište	3,551
%	57.85
Crveni krst	320
%	5.21
Banjica	229
%	3.73
Other and unknown	181
%	2.95

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 41 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - camps as places of destruction



The territorial distribution of concentration camps shows that the capital of occupied Serbia was the centre of the implementation of the Holocaust. In three concentration camps located in Belgrade⁷⁹,

⁷⁹ In fact, the Belgrade fair, where the Judenlager Semlin was formed, was located on the

nine-tenths of all Jews who perished from occupied Serbia⁸⁰ lost their lives. Jews from the occupied territory also suffered significant losses in the concentration camp in Niš (Crveni krst), as well as in several other concentration camps outside the territory of occupied Serbia, but in far smaller numbers.⁸¹

Jews from occupied Serbia who lost their lives in one of the camps, whether on the homeland, the rest of Yugoslavia, or abroad, came from all its parts. Not all camps had the same role in the perishing of Jews from different parts of the occupied territory, and their proportion in the losses of any of the camps was not equal.

territory of the NDH after the division of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. At the time of the formation of the concentration camp (December 1941), it had extraterritorial status, according to the agreement concluded between Nazi Germany and the NDH. The agreement stipulated that it must be managed exclusively by the Germans and that the Serbian authorities could have no role in its work. M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, 51.

⁸⁰ The Jews who lost their lives in the three concentration camps in Belgrade represented 91.83% of all compatriots killed in the camps, that is, 90.13% of all killed members of the Jewish community from the occupied territory.

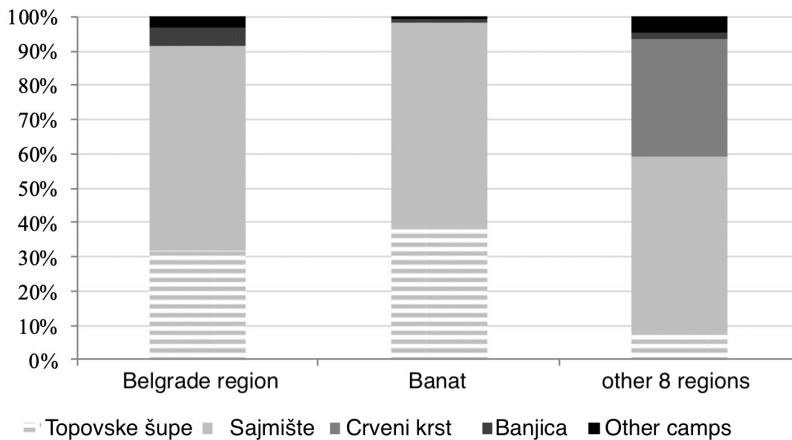
⁸¹ Among other camps, Jasenovac in the Independent State of Croatia stands out as a camp in the territory of the remaining part of Yugoslavia, where 86 Jews from occupied Serbia lost their lives, which is 47.51% of all those who perished in other and unknown camps. Additionally, Auschwitz and Treblinka, among the camps located outside the country, on the territory of the Third Reich or in occupied countries, had 56 and 13 victims respectively, which represents 30.94% and 7.18% of the losses suffered in other and unknown camps.

Table 28 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - perished in camps according to territory

Jews, OS – camps	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Topovske šupe	1,857	1,088	58.59	693	37.32	76	4.09
%	30.25	31.66	//	38.98	//	8.22	//
Sajmište	3,551	2,026	57.05	1,054	29.68	471	13.26
%	57.85	58.96	//	59.28	//	50.97	//
Crveni krst	320	5	1.56	--	--	315	98.44
%	5.21	0.14	//	--	//	34.09	//
Banjica	229	190	82.97	18	7.86	21	9.17
%	3.73	5.53	//	1.01	//	2.27	//
Other and unknown	181	127	70.16	13	7.18	41	22.65
%	2.95	3.70	//	0.73	//	4.44	//
Total	6,138	3,436	55.98	1,778	28.97	924	15.05

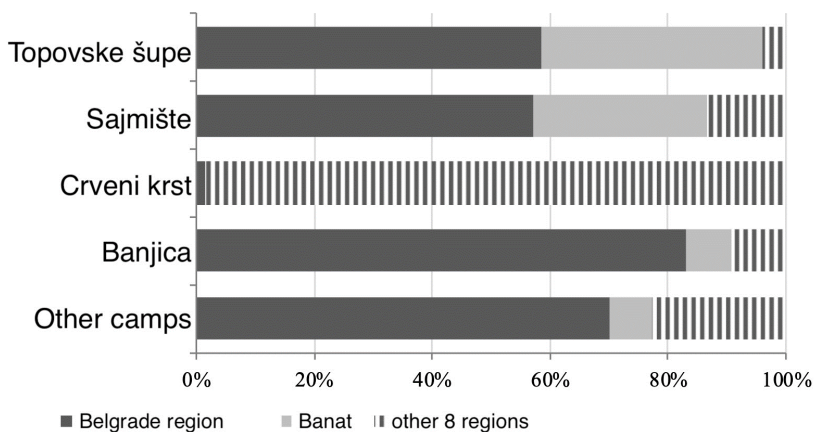
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 42 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation of camps in losses by territory



Members of the Jewish community from various parts of the occupied territory did not suffer equally in all camps. Three-fifths of the Jews from the Belgrade region and Banat lost their lives in the Jewish camp in Zemun, while two-fifths of the Jews of Banat and one-third of those from Belgrade suffered in Topovske Šupe. Belgrade Jews suffered significantly in Banjica (one-twentieth of the total losses), while their perishing in other camps was minimal.⁸² The perishing of Banat Jews was almost exclusively related to the camps of Topovske šupe and Sajmište.⁸³ On the other hand, half of the Jews from the rest of the occupied Serbia lost their lives in the Jewish camp in Zemun, only one-twelfth in Topovske šupe, while a third of them suffered in the Crveni krst camp, with minimal losses in other camps.⁸⁴

Graph 43 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - share of losses in camps by territory



⁸² Most of the Belgrade Jews who lost their lives in one of the other and unknown camps died in the Jasenovac (the Independent State of Croatia) camps, and in the Auschwitz and Treblinka camps.

⁸³ Among other and unknown camps where the Jews from Banat died, Auschwitz is most often mentioned.

⁸⁴ Most Jews from the other eight regions of the occupied territory who died in other and unknown camps lost their lives in Treblinka and Jasenovac.

The share of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia in the losses suffered in any of the camps was not equal. Belgrade Jews represented three-fifths of the losses in the camps of Topovske šupe and Sajmište, four-fifths of the losses in the Banjica camp, and more than two-thirds among the victims in other and unknown camps, while their proportion in losses at the Crveni krst camp was negligible. Jews from Banat represented slightly more or slightly less than a third of the victims in the camps of Topovske šupe and the Jewish camp in Zemun, respectively. Their proportion in the losses at Banjica and in other and unknown camps was extremely small, making up their thirteenth and twelfth parts, respectively, while they were not among the losses at the Crveni krst camp. On the other hand, almost the only Jews who suffered in the Crveni krst camp were from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia. They represented an eighth of the losses of their compatriots in Sajmište, a twenty-fifth of the victims in Topovske šupe, an eleventh of the losses of Jews in Banjica, and almost a quarter of all those who suffered in other and unknown camps.

TOPOVSKE ŠUPE CONCENTRATION CAMP

The camp organized by the Germans in Topovske šupe on Autokomanda (Jewish camp, Jewish transit camp in Belgrade) from August was used for the imprisonment of Jews, but also of some Roma.⁸⁵ During the three months of its existence, the camp primarily served as a source of hostages for shootings due to German losses suffered in battles with insurgents in Serbia.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ For further information about the camp, time, reasons and general context of its creation and architecture, see M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, 26–42; Milovan Pisari, *Beleške o istoriji logora Topovske šupe u Beogradu: avgust – novembar 1941*. (<http://topovskesupe.rs/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Beleske-o-istoriji-logora-Topovske-supe.pdf> – accessed on 21st October, 2019); Nenad Žarković, 'Prolazni logor Topovske Šupe'. *Nasleđe*. no. 10, 2009, 103–112.

⁸⁶ Further about the shootings of Jews in the vicinity of Belgrade in Milovan Pisari, 'Fragmenti holokausta u Beogradu', Jewish Historical Museum, Collection 10, 2015, 393–414.

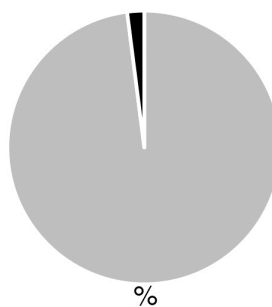
Table 29 - Topovske šupe camp – by territory

Topovske šupe	Total	Occupied Serbia	%	Other territories	%
Total	1,942	1,903	97.99	39	2.01

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 44 – Topovske šupe camp –
the victims by territory

- Occupied Serbia
- Other territories



Formed as a camp for prisoners from the territory of occupied Serbia, the camp received prisoners who were collected from that territory. Among the prisoners there was a small number of people from other territories who found themselves on the occupied territory at the time of their arrest for various reasons. They represented one-fiftieth of the camp's victims.

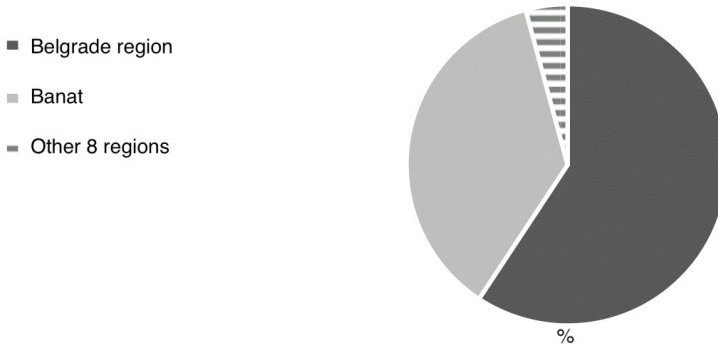
Formed during the initial phase of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, Topovske šupe camp received prisoners from all parts of the occupied territory, but they were not brought to the camp in equal numbers.

Table 30 – Topovske šupe camp - victims from occupied Serbia by territory

Topovske šupe	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Total	1,903	1,128	59.27	695	36.52	80	4.20

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 45 - Topovske šupe camp – victims from occupied Serbia by territory



Three-fifths of all losses suffered in the camp at Autokomanda, located in Topovske šupe, were from the Belgrade region, over a third from Banat, while only one twenty-fourth came from other parts of the occupied territory. The uneven distribution of prisoners in the camp was, on one hand, a consequence of its original purpose as a camp for Jews, whose representation in the population of occupied Serbia determined from which territory the camp's victims were, while on the other hand, the territory from which the inmates were, was influenced by the existence of other concentration camps.

The Nazi's racist ideology and clearly defined policy of destruction, which they relied on to carry out the idea of "cleansing" Europe of inferior nations, were also implemented on the territory of occu-

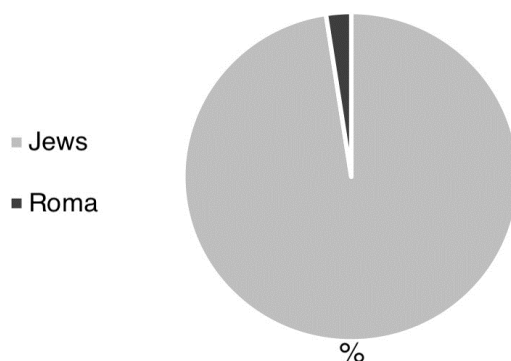
ped Serbia. Accordingly, the camp received members of “inferior races” designated for complete destruction.

Table 31 - Topovske šupe camp - national structure of victims from occupied Serbia

Topovske šupe	Total	Jews	%	Roma	%
Total	1,903	1,857	97.58	46	2.42

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 46 - Topovske šupe camp - national structure of victims from occupied Serbia



The national structure of those who suffered in the Jewish camp shows that not only Jews suffered there. In addition to them, who represented the largest number of victims, Roma were also brought to the camp, mainly from Belgrade.⁸⁷ Jews who were previously in

⁸⁷ Out of the total number of the Roma who died in Topovske šupe camp, 86.96% came from the Belgrade region, 4.35% from Banat and 9.69% from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia. In the listing “Victims of the War 1941–1945” in 1964, the Roma were not treated as a separate national group, but, in the case of the observed territory, they were mostly listed as Serbs, and in a smaller number as Muslims. One of the goals of the revision of the listing conducted by the Museum of Genocide Victims is to eliminate that mistake by identifying the victims of the Roma community. For more information on the perishing of Roma from the territory of occupied Serbia, see Pisari, Milovan, *Stradanje Roma u Srbiji za vreme holokausta*, Belgrade: Forum for applied history, 2014.

Topovske šupe and were killed by shooting represented 88.30% of the victims of their fellow citizens in 1941.

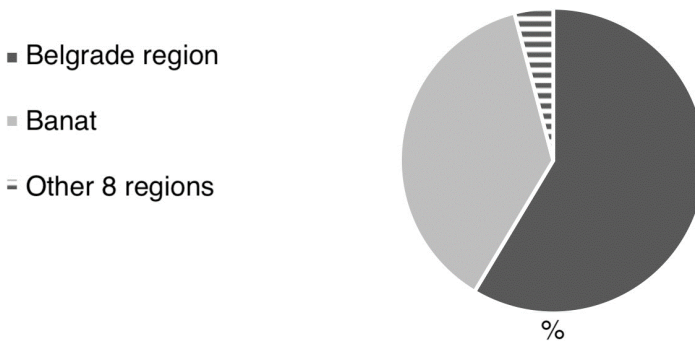
In Topovske šupe camp, Jewish men from the entire occupied Serbia were brought. Three-fifths of the victims in the camp were Jews from the Belgrade region, just over one-third were from Banat, while Jewish men from other parts of occupied Serbia accounted for a twenty-fifth part of the losses.

Table 32 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - victims from occupied Serbia by territory

Topovske šupe – Jews	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Total	1,857	1,088	58.59	693	37.32	76	4.09

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 47 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - victims from occupied Serbia by territory



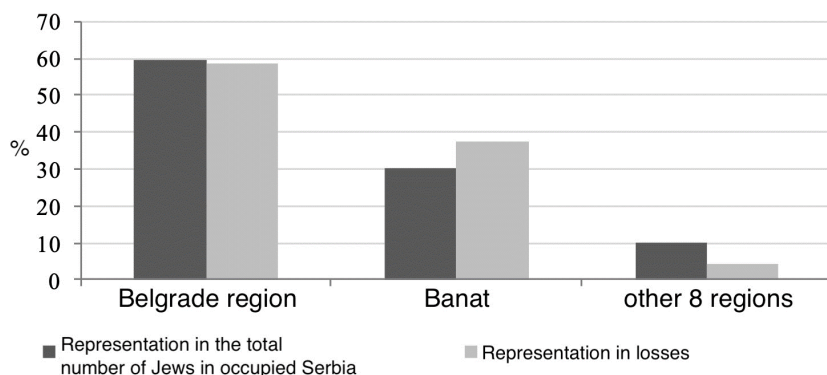
The representation of Jews in the camp depended on their representation in the population of individual parts of the occupied territory, but also on the existence of other concentration camps in those areas. Therefore, the proportion of Jews from different regions in the losses in Topovske šupe camp was not always in line with their share in the total number of Jewish community members.

Table 33 - Topovske šupe Camp, Jews - proportion in the total number of Jewish community members and proportion in losses by region

Jews OS	Proportion in total number of Jewish community members	Proportion in losses
Belgrade region	59.56	58.59
Banat	30.19	37.32
Other eight regions	10.24	4.09

Listing in 1931, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 48 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - representation in the total number of Jewish community members and representation in losses by region



With two-fifths of the losses in the camp, Jews from Banat suffered a 1.24 times greater loss than their representation in the total number of Jewish community members. Making up three-fifths of the losses, members of the Jewish community from Belgrade were in line with their representation in the total number of Jewish community members, while the representation of Jews from other parts of occupied Serbia was 2.50 times less than their proportion in the total

number of Jewish community members. Therefore, the loss suffered by Jews from Banat in Topovske Šupe camp was 1.59 times lower than the loss of Jews from Belgrade, and 9.12 times higher than the loss of compatriots from other parts of the occupied territory. However, considering the representation of Jews from different parts of the occupied territory in the total number of Jewish community members, their loss was actually 1.24 or 3.09 times greater. The actual loss of Jews from Belgrade in Topovske šupe camp was 2.46 times greater than the loss suffered by compatriots from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia (excluding Banat).

TOPOVSKE ŠUPE CAMP –
THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE VICTIMS

The Germans' aspiration to destroy the most vital part of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia in the initial phase of the Holocaust significantly influenced the age structure of the prisoners in Topovske Šupe camp, and thus the age structure of the losses suffered.⁸⁸ In the camp, Jewish men between the ages of 15 and 60 were the ones who suffered.

Table 34 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - age structure

Jews OS age	Total known	15– 24	%	25– 34	%	35– 44	%	45– 54	%	54– 65	%
Total	1,702	308	18.10	392	23.03	443	26.23	361	21.21	198	11.63

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

⁸⁸ The age structure has been established for 91.65% of the victims of Topovske šupe camp, while data for the other 8.35% are still being sought in sources and literature.

Graph 49 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - age structure



Members of the Jewish community of various ages who were victims in Topovske šupe camp did not experience equal losses. Men aged 25 to 34 and 35 to 44 represented a quarter of the losses suffered in the camp, so that these two age groups represented half of the victims. A fifth of the men who were killed were between the ages of 15 and 24 and between 45 and 54, while a ninth of the casualties were Jews between the ages of 55 and 64.⁸⁹

Male members of the Jewish community of a certain age were brought to Topovske šupe camp from all parts of the occupied territory. The age structure of Jews who suffered in Topovske šupe camp from different regions of occupied Serbia was not equal.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Among the Jewish victims aged 55 to 64, three-quarters of the losses (75.75%) were men aged 55 to 60.

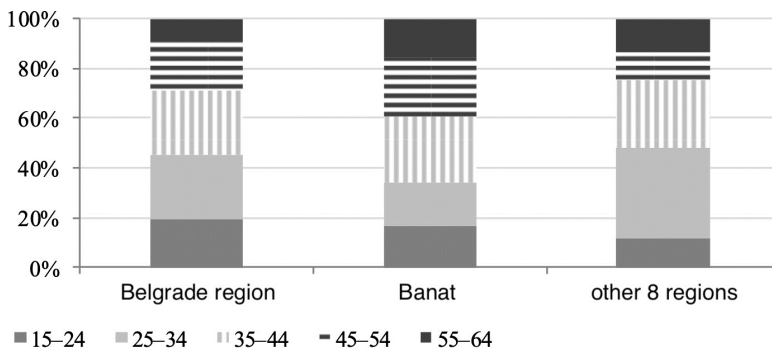
⁹⁰ The age structure of victims in Topovske šupe camp from different parts of occupied Serbia was not known to the same extent, so it was best determined among Jews from the Belgrade region, somewhat less among Jews from Banat, while it was least determined among their compatriots from other parts of occupied Serbia, where it is unknown for two-fifths of the losses. One of the goals in the process of revising the list of “Victims of War” is to eliminate deficiencies, that is, to supplement the missing data.

Table 35 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - age structure by territory

Topovske šupe – Jews, age structure	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Younger than 14	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
%	--	--	//	--	//	--	//
15–24	308	201	65.26	101	32.79	5	1.62
%	18.10	19.22	//	16.50	//	11.36	//
25–34	392	270	68.88	106	27.04	16	4.08
%	23.03	25.81	//	17.32	//	36.36	//
35–44	443	269	60.72	163	36.79	12	2.71
%	26.23	25.72	//	26.63	//	27.27	//
45–54	361	208	57.62	148	41.00	5	1.38
%	21.21	19.88	//	24.18	//	11.36	//
55–64	198	98	49.49	94	47.47	6	3.03
%	11.63	9.37	//	15.36	//	13.64	//
65 and older	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
%	--	--	//	--	//	--	//
Total known	1,702	1,046	61.46	612	35.96	44	2.58
Unknown	155	42	27.10	81	52.26	32	20.64
%	8.35	3.86	//	11.69	//	42.10	//
Total	1,857	1,088	58.59	693	37.32	76	4.09

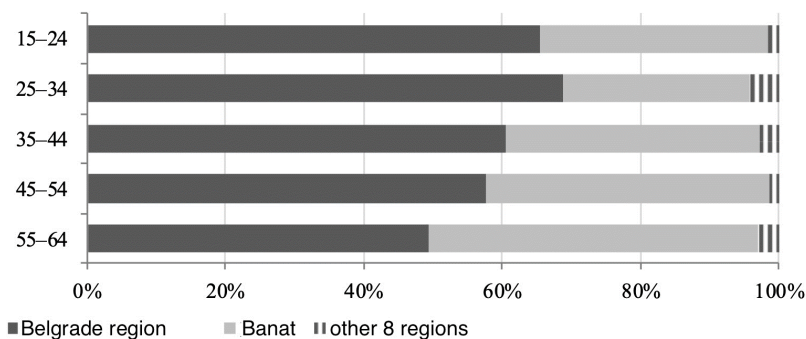
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 50 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews - representation of age in losses by territory



Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia did not have equal representation in terms of age among the losses suffered in Topovske šupe camp. Nearly half of the victims from the Belgrade region (45.03%) and the other eight regions of the occupied territory (47.72%) were men aged 15 to 34. However, older age groups (25-34 years) among the victims from the Belgrade region were 1.34 times more represented in losses than the younger group, while among the victims from the rest of occupied Serbia, they had 3.20 times greater representation. On the other hand, among the Banat Jews, victims from these age groups represented a third of the losses suffered (33.82%), with equal representation of both age groups. The representation of these younger age groups (15-34 years) in losses among Jews from the Belgrade region and the other eight regions of occupied Serbia was 1.33 and 1.41 times higher, respectively, than among Jews from Banat. Two-fifths of the victims from Banat (39.54%) were of the age group between 45 and 64 years old, and were on average considerably older than their compatriots from Belgrade (29.25%) and other parts of the occupied territory (25.00%), with 1.35 and 1.58 times higher representation of these age groups in losses, respectively.

Graph 51 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews -
share of losses by age, by territory



Belgrade Jews, who constituted three fifths of the losses, represented the largest portion of those who suffered in all age groups, but

with uneven distribution, so they made up two thirds of those who suffered in the age groups from 15 to 24 and from 25 to 34, but less than half of the losses in the age group from 55 to 64.⁹¹ On the other hand, the Jews from Banat who suffered had a larger share among the older age groups, making up half of the losses in the age group from 55 to 64.⁹² Their compatriots from the other eight regions of the occupied territory had different shares, which varied in relation to the average share in losses with known age, being more significant in losses in the age group from 25 to 34, while their share was smaller in losses in the age group from 15 to 24 and from 45 to 54.⁹³

TOPOVSKE ŠUPE CAMP –
THE PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE VICTIMS

The intention of the Germans to destroy men of a certain age in the first phase of the Holocaust on the territory of occupied Serbia conditioned the professional structure of the inmates gathered in the first specialized camp for Jews in Belgrade. As a result, the professional structure of the victims of Topovske šupe camp was also specific.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Among the victims aged 15 to 24 and 25 to 34, the Jews of the Belgrade region had a 1.32 and 1.39 times higher proportion than they had in the casualties aged 55 to 64.

⁹² Banat Jews had a proportion in the losses of the 55 to 64 age group that was 1.75 times higher than the proportion they had in the losses of the 25 to 34 age group and 1.45 and 1.29 times higher, respectively, than age groups from 15 to 24 and from 35 to 44 years.

⁹³ The proportion of Jews from the other eight regions in the losses of the age group from 25 to 34 years was 2.53 and 2.96 times higher than the proportion they had in the age groups from 15 to 24 and from 45 to 54 years.

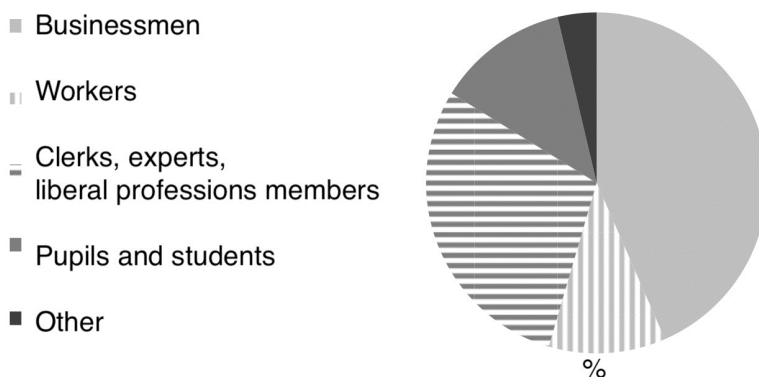
⁹⁴ Unknown professions were held by one-eleventh (170 - 9.15%) of Jews who perished in Topovske šupe camp, and information about their occupations is being sought through the process of revising listing records and consulting sources and literature.

Table 36 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews - professional structure

Topovske šupe – Jews, professional structure	Total
Total known	1,687
Businessmen	733
%	43.45
Workers	187
%	11.08
Clerks, experts, liberal professions members	494
%	29.28
Pupils, students	211
%	12.51
Dependents	29
%	1.72
Other and unknown professions	33
%	1.96

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 52 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews – professional structure



More than two-fifths of the Jews who suffered in Topovske šupe camp were businessmen (43.45%), who, together with the perishing workers (11.08%), accounted for more than half of the losses endured. A third of the losses were represented by clerks and experts of var-

ious profiles (25.84%), together with members of liberal professions (3.44%), followed by pupils and students who represented an eighth of the losses.⁹⁵ Dependent persons among the perishing Topovske šupe prisoners represented only one fifty-eighth of them.

The Jews from different parts of the occupied territory who suffered in Topovske šupe camp did not have the same professional structure.⁹⁶ The different professional structures of the Jewish community members from different regions of occupied Serbia who suffered in the camp were conditioned by their pre-war professional structure, as well as by the number of Jews from those regions sent to the camp.

⁹⁵ In Topovske šupe camp, 90 students lost their lives, and they represented 5.33% of the total losses in the camp with a known occupation, as well as two fifths of the pupils and students who died (42.65%).

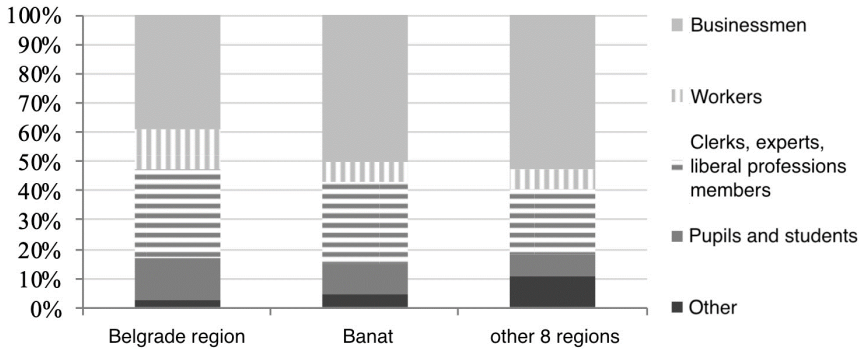
⁹⁶ The professional structure of members of the Jewish community from different parts of occupied Serbia who died in Topovske šupe camp was not known to the same extent. It is the worst established among Jews from Banat, much better among Jews from the Belgrade region, while it is best established among their compatriots from other parts of occupied Serbia, of whom it is fully known. One of the tasks of the current revision of the list of victims is to complete the data.

Table 37 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews -
professional structure territory

Topovske šupe – Jews, according to professional structure	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Agriculturists	9	--	--	8	88.89	1	11.11
%	0.53	--	//	1.37	//	1.31	//
Businessmen	733	400	54.57	293	39.97	40	5.46
%	43.45	38.99	//	50.08	//	52.63	//
Workers	187	142	75.93	40	21.39	5	2.67
%	11.08	13.84	//	6.84	//	6.58	//
Army and police	1	1	100.0	--	--	--	--
%	0.06	0.10	//	--	//	--	//
Clerks /experts	436	278	63.76	143	32.80	15	3.44
%	25.84	27.09	//	24.44	//	19.74	//
Liberal professions	58	34	58.62	22	37.93	2	3.45
%	3.44	3.31	//	3.76	//	2.63	//
Dependents	29	15	51.72	7	24.14	7	24.14
%	1.72	1.46	//	1.20	//	9.21	//
Pupils and students	211	144	68.25	61	28.91	6	2.84
%	12.51	14.03	//	10.43	//	7.89	//
Other professions	9	5	55.56	4	44.44	--	--
%	0.53	0.49	//	0.68	//	--	//
Personal income	10	5	50.00	5	50.00	--	--
%	0.59	0.49	//	0.85	//	--	//
Unemployed	4	2	50.00	2	50.00	--	--
%	0.24	0.19	//	0.34	//	--	//
Total known	1,687	1,026	60.82	585	34.68	76	4.50
Unknown professions	170	62	36.47	108	63.53	--	--
%	9.15	5.70	//	15.58	//	--	//
Total	1,857	1,088	58.59	693	37.32	76	4.09

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

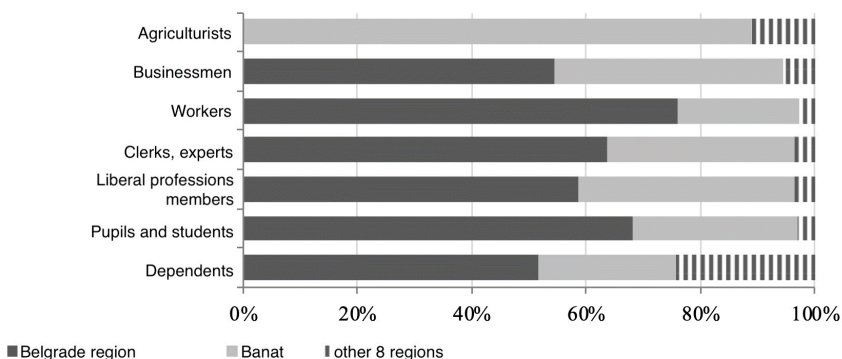
Graph 53 - Topovske šupe camp, Jews - representation of professions in losses by territory



The proportion of professions in the losses of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia who suffered in Topovske šupe camp was not equal. Businessmen represented the largest professional group among the perishing Jews from all three parts of the occupied territory. They accounted for two-fifths of the victims from Belgrade and half of the losses from Banat and other parts of occupied Serbia, which was 1.28 and 1.35 times greater proportion in losses than among Belgrade Jews. The representation of workers in the losses of Belgrade Jews, among whom they represented one-seventh of the losses, was twice as high (2.02 and 2.10 times) than among compatriots from the other two parts of the occupied territory. Clerks and experts of various profiles, as well as members of liberal professions, represented one-third or more than one-fourth of the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region and Banat (30.40% and 28.20%) who suffered in Topovske šupe camp, which was 1.36 and 1.21 times greater proportion than among compatriots from the other eight regions of the occupied territory (22.37%). University students and mostly high school pupils represented one-seventh of the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region who suffered in Topovske šupe camp, which was 1.34 and 1.78 times greater representation in losses than among Jews from Banat and Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia. Agriculturists, who were not among the perishing

Jews from Belgrade, represented a negligible representation in losses among Jews from Banat and other parts of occupied Serbia.⁹⁷ Dependents among the perishing Jews from the other eight regions had a significantly higher representation in losses than among those from the other two regions.

Graph 54 – Topovske šupe camp, Jews - the proportion of losses by profession and territory



The Jews of Belgrade, who accounted for three-fifths of the losses in Topovske šupe concentration camp, represented the largest proportion of victims in almost all professional groups, but with unequal distribution. They accounted for three-quarters of the victimised workers and two-thirds of pupils and university students⁹⁸, but also for half of the losses among businessmen.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Jews from

⁹⁷ University students, among the Jews of the Belgrade region who perished in Topovske šupe camp, accounted for 5.75% of the losses (59), from Banat 4.96% (29) and from the rest of the occupied territory 2.63% (2). Among the perished pupils and students in the camp university students from the Belgrade region represented 40.97% of the losses, from Banat 47.54%, and among the victims from the other eight regions 33.33%.

⁹⁸ Among the students who perished in Topovske šupe camp, 62.13% came from the Belgrade region, 33.98% from Banat and 3.88% from the other eight regions of the occupied territory.

⁹⁹ In relation to the representation in the total losses in Topovske šupe camp, the Jews of the Belgrade region had a 1.25 times higher proportion of the losses of workers, a 1.12 times higher proportion of pupils and students, an equal proportion of the losses of clerks, experts and mem-

Banat had larger share in the losses among victimized businessmen and members of liberal professions, and accounted for nine-tenths of the victimised agriculturists, but had much smaller shares among the victimised workers.¹⁰⁰ Their compatriots from the rest of the occupied territory had much higher proportions among the victimised dependents and agriculturists, a larger proportion in the losses of businessmen, and smaller proportions in the losses suffered by all other professional groups.¹⁰¹

SAJMIŠTE CONCENTRATION CAMP – JUDENLAGER SEMLIN

For the more efficient implementation of the “final solution of the Jewish question” in occupied Serbia, the Germans decided to convert the planned concentration camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds, intended for the enemy population of the occupied territory, into a camp for Jews, Judenlager Semlin. The formation of a general purpose concentration camp was left for later.¹⁰² The first prisoners were brought to the Jew-

bers of the liberal professions, but and a 1.11 times lower proportion among businessmen who suffered. Thus, the Jews of the Belgrade region had a 1.39 times greater proportion of losses among the victimised workers than among businessmen.

¹⁰⁰ The Jews of Banat, in relation to the proportion in the losses in Topovske šupe camp, had a 2.56 times higher share among the victimised agriculturists, 1.15 and 1.09 times higher proportion among the victimised businessmen and members of the liberal professions, but also 1.20 and 1, 62 times smaller representation among the victims of pupils and students as well as workers. Thus, the Banat Jews had a 1.87 times larger share among the businessmen who suffered than they had among the workers.

¹⁰¹ In relation to the representation in the losses in Topovske Šupe camp, Jews from the other eight regions had a 5.36 and 2.47 times greater share in the losses of dependents and agriculturists, businessmen a 1.21 times greater proportion, but also 1.58 and 1, 68 times smaller proportion among the victims of schoolchildren and univeristy students, as well as workers. Thus, Jews from the other eight regions had a 2.04 times greater proportion of losses among the businessmen who died than they had among the workers who died.

¹⁰² The intention that the camp at the Belgrade Fairground serve as a camp for incarceration of the hostile population of the occupied territory was implemented by the Germans after the elimination of all inmates from the Zemun Jewish camp. Since the beginning of May, Sajmište has become the Zemun concentration Camp (Anhaltelager Semlin - a temporary detention camp), to which

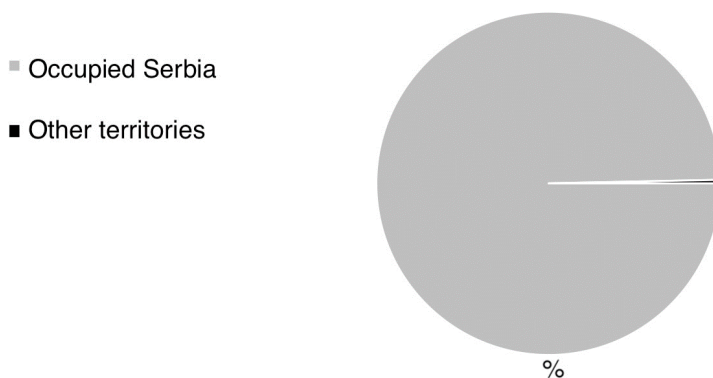
ish camp Zemun in early December.

Table 38 – The Camp in Zemun (Sajmište) - victims by territory

Sajmište Camp	Total	Occupied Serbia	%	Other territories	%
Total	3,616	3,604	99.67	12	0.33

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 55 – Sajmište camp - victims by territory



Formed as a concentration camp for Jews from the occupied territory of Serbia, the camp received prisoners who were gathered in

inmates from all over Yugoslavia, and partly from some European countries, are transported. According to the available data from the "Victims of War 1941–1945" database, 7,149 people lost their lives in Sajmište camp between May 1942 and April 1944 (only Yugoslav citizens were taken into account). During 1942, half (53.10%) of the camp inmates lost their lives, the following year another third (34.73%), and in the four months of the camp's existence in 1944, an eighth (12.18%) of the total losses suffered. Thus, the death rate in the camp in 1942 was 2.29 times higher than in the following year, and in the last year of the camp's existence it was slightly higher than in the previous one (1.05 times). The largest part of those who died in the camp came from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia (90.91%), while 5.92% came from occupied Serbia and 3.17% from other parts of Yugoslavia. Men made up 96.12% of the victims. Almost all those killed in the camp were of Serbian nationality (93.56%). Members of the Partisan movement made up 3.43% of the camp that suffered losses. For further information about the Zemun Reception Camp, see: M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu*, 151–444.

that area. Among the inmates were a small number of prisoners from other parts of Yugoslavia who were found on the occupied territory for various reasons at the time of their arrest. They represented a negligible part of the camp's victims. Additionally, the camp was used to destroy the remaining Jewish emigrants who had found themselves in the occupied territory during the initial phase of the war, and until then had mostly been located in the camp in Šabac.¹⁰³

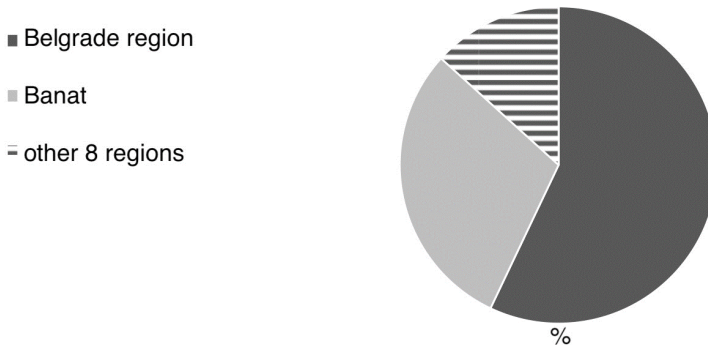
From the beginning, the camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds was conceived as the largest and main German camp. Prisoners were brought there from all parts of the occupied territory, so the victims came from all parts of occupied Serbia.

Table 39 – Sajmište camp - victims from occupied Serbia by territory

Sajmište camp	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Total	3,604	2,070	57.44	1,054	29.24	480	13.32

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 56 – Sajmište camp - victims from the occupied territory by region



¹⁰³ For further details on the fate of the Jewish emigrants from the Šabac camp, see Koljanin, M. „Poslednje putovanje Kladovskog transporta“, *Kladovo transport / The Kladovo transport, Zbornik radova*, editor Andrej Mitrović, 65–101, Belgrade: JIM, 2006.

The inmates from the Belgrade region represented the largest group in the losses suffered in the camp, accounting for three-fifths of the victims. They were followed by people from Banat, who made up a third of the victims, while inmates from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia represented an eighth of the losses at Sajmište camp.

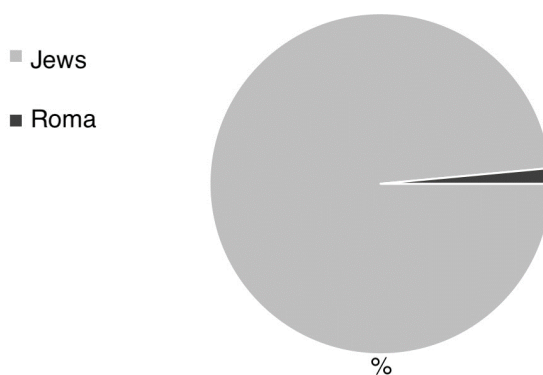
Following the provisions of racial laws, the German occupation authorities in Serbia brought a group of Roma to the camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds, in addition to the Jews for whom the camp was initially established. Both nationalities suffered losses in the camp.

Table 40 - Sajmište camp - national structure of victims from occupied Serbia

Sajmište camp	Total	Jews	%	Roma	%
Total	3,604	3,551	98.53	53	1.47

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 57 – Sajmište Camp - national structure



The purpose of the camp to serve as a final solution to the Jewish issue in occupied Serbia also conditioned the national structure of its victims. Almost all of those who suffered in the camp were members of the Jewish community.¹⁰⁴ The largest portion of imprisoned

¹⁰⁴ The number of those killed in the camp among Jews at the Belgrade Fairgrounds also in-

Roma in the camp were released¹⁰⁵ by the end of March or beginning of April 1942, so they represented only one sixty-eighth of the losses suffered in the Judenlager.¹⁰⁶

The first groups of Jews were brought to the camp at Sajmište immediately after its formation in the first half of December 1941. Poor nutrition, inadequate accommodation and lack of hygiene, along with scant hospital facilities, caused Jewish perishing in the camp to begin with its formation and ended with their complete annihilation by the beginning of May of the following year. The majority of Jews in the camp were killed with gas, using a specially adapted truck (gas van - "Dušegupka"). Only a smaller portion of them being shot, mostly during the period when the truck was broken or died due to the poor living conditions in the camp.¹⁰⁷

cludes victims from the Jewish Hospital in Belgrade, both the patients and the hospital staff and their family members who were there (between 300 and 400 people).

¹⁰⁵ For more detailed information on the fate of the Roma in Sajmište camp, see M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu*, 98106.

¹⁰⁶ Two-thirds of the Roma (67.92%) who died in Sajmište camp lost their lives in 1941, due to poor housing conditions (worse than for Jews), winter (Roma were much worse dressed than Jews), hunger and disease. Among the Roma who died in the camp at the Belgrade fairground, 83.02% came from the Belgrade region, and 16.98% from the eight regions of the occupied territory, while there were no Roma from Banat among them. Three-fifths of the Roma victims in the camp were women (60.38%), while among the men, half (47.62%) were children under 14 years of age. Children represented 35.85% of the total losses of the Roma at Sajmište camp, and 78.95% of them lost their lives during December 1941. They represented 59.37% of the losses suffered by Roma in the camp in 1941, so their death rate in December was 2.61 times higher than that of adults of this nationality.

¹⁰⁷ In addition to testimonies about the unbearable conditions of stay in the camp, constant hunger and the psychological state of the inmates, Hilda Dajč left a direct testimony about the high death rate in the camp at Sajmište in her last (fourth) letter from the first half of February 1942, in which she talks about 27 corpses of camp inmates housed in the Turkish Pavilion. It is not possible to conclude from the letter what was the cause of their death. Cited according to Teodor Kovač, „Kontakti zatočenih Jevreja u koncentracionim logorima u Beogradu sa spoljnim svetom tokom Drugog svetskog rata” (“Contacts of imprisoned Jews in concentration camps in Belgrade with the outside world during the Second World War”), *The Jewish Historical Museum Collection* 10, 2015, 379.

Table 41 - Sajmište camp, Jews - losses according to year of destruction

Sajmište camp	Total	1941	%	1942	%
Total	3,551	8	0.22	3,543	99.78

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

The losses suffered by Jews during the first half-month of the existence of the camp in 1941 were minimal, so all the perishing in the Jewish camp in Zemun is associated with 1942. In fact, of all those who perished in the Sajmiste camp in 1942, 78.27% lost their lives during the month of April, 6.83% in May, 4.80% during March, and 10.10% during other months (January and February), or their month of perishing is unknown.

The culmination of the Holocaust in the occupied territory of Serbia in 1942 affected Jews from all parts of it. First, Jews from Belgrade, both locals and those interned in it from Banat, were brought to the Judenlager, and then their fellow citizens from other parts of occupied Serbia. The largest groups of those who arrived later, at the end of winter and early spring of 1942, were internees from the camp in Niš, then Jews from Novi Pazar and from parts of Kosovo and Metohija that were then located in the camp in Kosovska Mitrovica.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ At the same time, Jews from the camp in Šabac, who were mostly foreign citizens, were brought to the camp at Sajmište.

Table 42 – Sajmište camp, Jews - victims according to year of destruction by region

Sajmište camp	Total	1941	%	1942	%
Belgrade	2,026	5	0.25	2,021	99.75
%	57.05	62.50	//	57.04	//
Banat	1,054	1	0.09	1,053	99.91
%	29.68	12.50	//	29.72	//
Eight regions	471	2	0.42	469	99.58
%	13.26	25.00	//	13.24	//
Total	3,551	8	0.22	3,543	99.78

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 58 – Sajmište Camp, Jews – by region



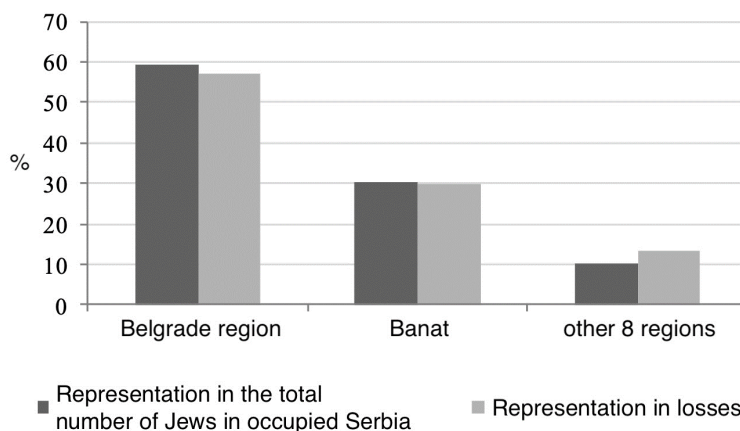
Three-fifths of the losses in the camp at Sajmište were Jews from Belgrade, almost a third were their compatriots from Banat, and slightly more than an eighth were Jews from other parts of occupied Serbia. The destruction of Jews from different parts of the occupied territory was not in line with their representation within the total number of Jewish community members.

Table 43 - Sajmište camp, Jews - representation in the total number of Jewish community members and proportion in losses by region

Jews in occupied Serbia, Sajmište camp	Representation in the national corps	Representation in the losses in the camp
Belgrade region	59.56	57.05
Banat	30.19	29.68
Other eight regions	10.24	13.26

Listing in 1931, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 59 – Sajmište Camp, Jews - proportion in the total number of Jewish community members and proportion in losses by region (%)



In Sajmište concentration camp, the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region and Banat, as the largest communities, were proportional to their representation in the total number of Jewish community members.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, the losses of Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia were 1.29 times higher than their propor-

¹⁰⁹ More precisely, the representation of Belgrade Jews in the camp losses at Sajmište was 1.04 times less than their proportion in the total number of Jewish community members.

tion in the total number of Jewish community members. The loss suffered by Jews from Belgrade in the camp was twice as high (1.92 times) as the loss of Jews from Banat, and 4.30 times higher than the loss of fellow Jews from other parts of the occupied territory. However, considering the representation of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia in the total number of Jewish community members, the loss of Jews from the eight regions in the interior of the occupied territory was realistically 1.34 and 1.31 times higher than the loss of fellow Jews from Belgrade and Banat, respectively.

JUDENLAGER SEMLIN –
THE SEX STRUCTURE OF THE VICTIMS

The time of the formation of the Jewish camp in Zemun, after the end of the initial phase of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, significantly influenced the sex structure of the camp prisoners. Although Jews of both sexes were interned there, four-fifths of the victims in the camp were female.

Graph 60 – Sajmište Camp, Jews - sex structure

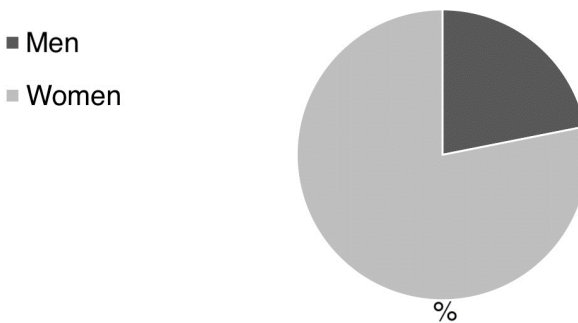


Table 44 – Sajmište camp, Jews - sex structure
according to year of destruction

Sajmište camp – sex structure of victims	Total	1941	%	1942	%
Men	777	8	1.03	769	98.97
%	21.88	100.0	//	21.71	//
Women	2,774	--	--	2,774	100.0
%	78.12	--	//	78.29	//
Total	3,551	8	0.39	3,543	99.61

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

In the minimal losses during the less than a month of the camp's existence in 1941, caused by poor living conditions in the camp, all the victims were male.¹¹⁰ All the women who suffered in the camp lost their lives in 1942. The men who suffered in the Jewish camp in Zemun in 1942 represented 65.50% of the losses of this sex that year, while Jewish women represented 97.92% of the women who suffered in the camp in 1942.

Members of the Jewish community of both genders from all ten regions of occupied Serbia were brought to the camp in Sajmište. Among the perishing Jews from different parts of the occupied territory, there were minimal differences in the losses suffered by gender.

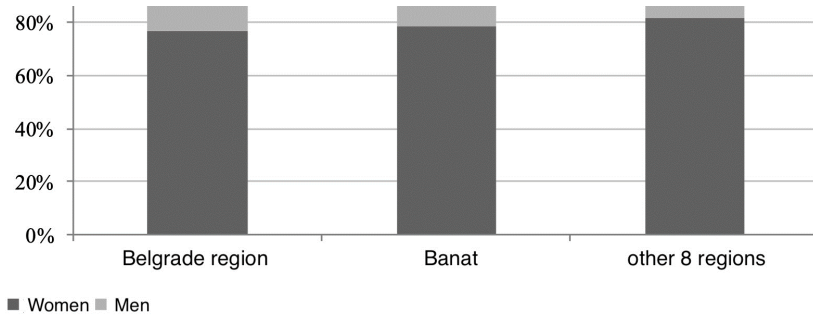
¹¹⁰ Poor housing and food conditions in Sajmište concentration camp primarily affected the youngest and oldest inmates. Half of those killed in the camp in 1941 were children under the age of 14, and a quarter were people aged 74 and over.

Table 45 – Sajmište camp, Jews - sex structure by territory

Sajmište camp – sex structure of victims	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Men	777	466	59.97	226	29.09	85	10.94
%	21.88	23.00	//	21.44	//	18.05	//
Women	2,774	1,560	56.24	828	29.85	386	13.91
%	78.12	77.00	//	78.56	//	81.95	//
Total	3,551	2,026	57.05	1,054	29.68	471	13.26

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 61 – Sajmište Camp, Jews - sex representation in losses by territory

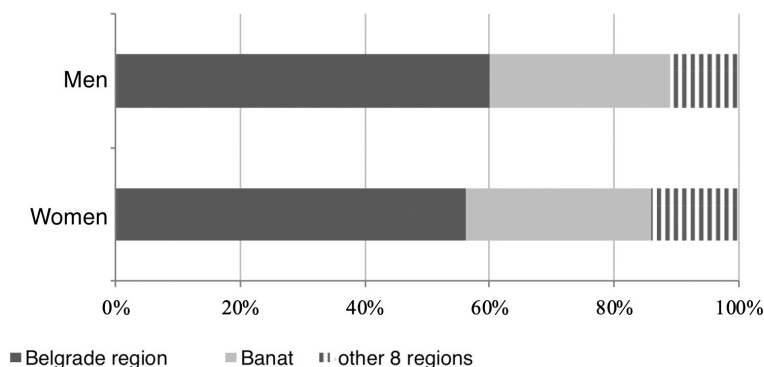


Women were the absolutely dominant group compared to men in terms of the number of victims in the camp, regardless of which part of occupied Serbia they came from, with minimal differences in representation in the losses. Thus, women from the Belgrade region represented three-quarters of the losses of Jews from this region who perished at Sajmište, while women from the other two parts of the occupied territory represented four-fifths of their losses.¹¹¹ The representation of

¹¹¹ Among the Jews who perished in the camp from the other eight regions, women had a 1.06

men in the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region was slightly higher (1.07 times) than the representation of male victims among Banat Jews and 1.27 times higher than the representation of men among victims of co-nationals from the rest of the occupied Serbia.

Graph 62 - Sajmište Camp, Jews -
share of sex losses by territory



The absolute dominance of women among the victims of the Jewish camp in Zemun determined the fates of Jews from different parts of occupied Serbia in the total losses in the camp. Insignificant differences in the proportion existed among men from different parts of the occupied territory. Belgrade Jews had a slightly higher share (1.05 times), Banat Jews had an equal proportion, while the share of male losses from the rest of the occupied Serbia was 1.21 times lower than the average share of the victims from these eight regions in the total camps losses. The Jews of the Belgrade region had a 1.07 times higher share in the losses of men than their share among the perished women in the camp, compatriots from the Banat had equal shares, while the perished Jews from the other eight regions had a quarter (1.27 times) higher share of the women's losses than the men's.

times higher proportion in the losses than the Jewish women in the losses of compatriots from the Belgrade region and a 1.04 times higher rate than women from Banat.

JUDENLAGER SEMLIN –
THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE VICTIMS

Sajmište camp was established as the largest specialized or separate camp for Jews in the occupied territory of Serbia, and it received prisoners of all ages. Therefore, all age groups of the Jewish community were included in the losses suffered in the camp. The time of the camp's creation, after the first phase of the Holocaust, greatly influenced the age structure of the victims.¹¹²

Table 46 - Sajmište Camp, Jews - age structure

Sajmište camp – age structure of victims	Total
Known total	3,231
Younger than 14	919
%	28.44
15–24	371
%	11.48
25–54	1,272
%	39.37
55–64	314
%	9.72
65 and older	355
%	10.99

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

¹¹² The age structure of the victims in Sajmište camp has been established in 90.99% of cases, while in the sources and literature during the current listing revision process, data on the other 9.01% of unknown age is being sought (320).

Graph 63 - Sajmište camp, Jews -
age structure of the victims



The individually largest group among the victims, accounting for more than a quarter of the losses, consisted of children up to 14.¹¹³ Age groups ranging from 25 to 54 years old made up two-fifths of the losses. As they were being destroyed as a nation, Jews aged 15 to 24 and 65 and older represented a ninth of the losses in the camp, with one-tenth of the victims between the ages of 55 and 64.

The time frame in which Judenlager Semlin existed significantly influenced the age structure of the Jewish community members who perished there. The formation of the camp in Belgrade's fairground after the elimination of the majority of the male part of the Jewish population resulted in a different age structure of the Jews of different sex who perished in it.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ On the basis of the scarcely preserved archival materials, it is possible to partially see the age structure in the camp. That's how it was on 6th February, 1942. 21.44% of children under the age of 16 were in the camp, ten days later their representation was 22.50%, and on 27th April, they were in 20.60%. M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, 62. From the existing documentation, it is impossible to evidence how many children died in the previous period or were transferred to the Jewish Hospital in Belgrade.

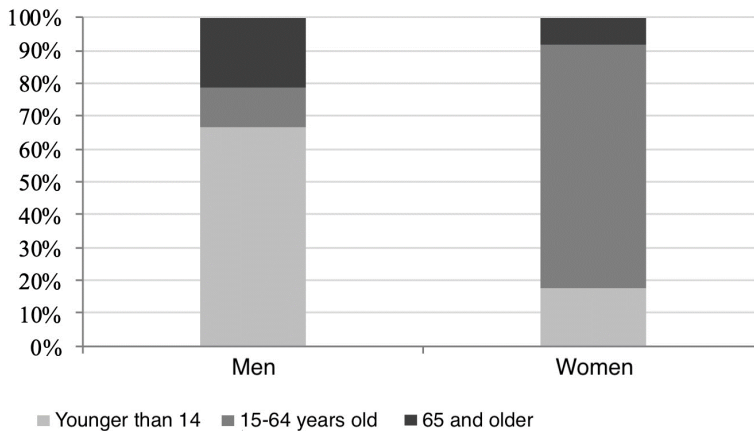
¹¹⁴ The age structure is still unknown for the thirteenth part of the men who died in the camp (59 - 7.59%) and the eleventh part of the women who died there (261 - 9.41%).

Table 47 – Sajmište camp, Jews - age structure according to sex

Sajmište camp – age structure	Total	Male	%	Female	%
Up to 14	919	480	52.23	439	47.77
%	28.44	66.85	//	17.47	//
15–24	371	32	8.62	339	91.38
%	11.48	4.46	//	13.49	//
25–34	395	1	0.25	394	99.75
%	12.22	0.14	//	15.68	//
35–44	492	6	1.22	486	98.78
%	15.23	0.83	//	19.34	//
45–54	385	11	2.86	374	97.14
%	11.91	1.53	//	14.88	//
55–64	314	36	11.46	278	88.54
%	9.72	5.01	//	11.06	//
65 and older	355	152	42.82	203	57.18
%	10.99	21.17	//	8.08	//
Known total	3,231	718	22.22	2,513	77.77
Unknown	320	59	18.44	261	81.56
%	9.01	7.59	//	9.41	//
Total	3,551	777	21.88	2,774	78.12

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

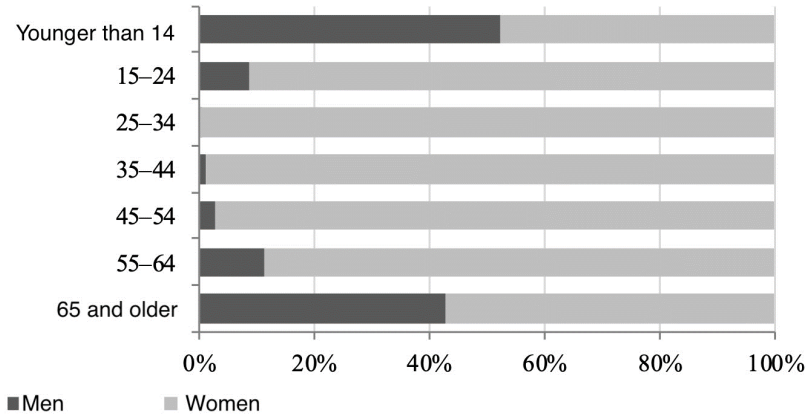
Graph 64 - Sajmište camp, Jews - representation of age in losses by sex



Two-thirds of the male victims in the camp were children under the age of 14, with one-fifth of the losses being those over 65 years old. Only an eighth of the losses of men in the camp were represented by persons aged between 15 and 64 (11.97%), with the fact that in the age group from 55 to 64, 88.89% were men over 60, while in the age group from 15 to 24 years old, four fifths (78.12%) were 15-year-old boys. Jewish men aged 15 and over accounted for 7.37% of the total victims of Judenlager Semlin.¹¹⁵ In contrast to men, the representation of different age groups in the losses of women was much more balanced and corresponded to the actual age structure of the entire Jewish community. Girls under the age of 14 accounted for one-sixth of female losses, while those over the age of 65 accounted for one-twelfth. The representation of these age groups in female losses was 3.82 and 2.82 times lower than in male losses, respectively. Therefore, on the other hand, age groups that included individuals aged 15-64 were 6.22 times more represented in female losses (74.45%) than in male losses.

¹¹⁵ According to preserved archival documents, men older than 16 years represented 6% of the camp prisoners on 16th February, 1942, but by 27th April, their number had decreased to only 3.6%. M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, 62. It is impossible to determine from the existing documentation how many men of this age group died in the previous period or were transferred to the Jewish hospital in Belgrade.

Graph 65 – Sajmište Camp, Jews - sex proportion
in age group losses



The representation in losses in particular age groups with different sexes was largely determined by the absolute dominance of Jewish women in the losses in Sajmište camp. They represented almost the only victims in the age groups from 25 to 54 years. On the other hand, men had a more than twice as high share in losses of the age group up to 14 (2.35 times higher than the representation of men in the losses of the camp), and they also represented two-fifths of the losses of persons older than 65 years (1.93 times higher share than the representation of men in total losses in the camp).

JUDENLAGER SEMLIN –
THE PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE VICTIMS

As they were designated for destruction as a nation as a whole, among the Jews in the camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds, there were representatives of all professional groups that existed in the pre-war period. The time and circumstances of the creation of the camp influenced the professional structure of the prisoners.¹¹⁶

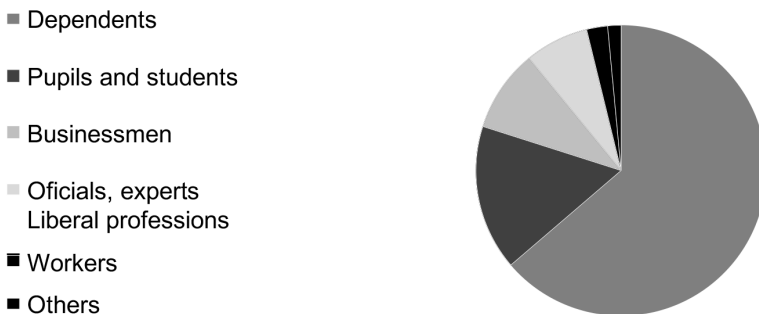
¹¹⁶ The professional structure of victims in Sajmište camp is known for nine tenths of the losses

Table 48. Sajmište camp, Jews -
professional structure

Sajmište camp - victims by profession	In total
Total known	3.203
Dependents	2.041
%	63,72
Pupils, students	519
%	16,20
Businessmen	293
%	9,15
Workers	75
%	2,34
Clerks, experts, liberal professions	228
%	7,11
Other occupations	47
%	1,47

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 66. Sajmište camp, Jews -
professional structure of losses



Almost two-thirds of all victims in Sajmište camp were dependents, as the absolutely dominant professional group in the losses suffered. One-sixth of the camp inmates who died were pupils and stu-

suffered, while the remaining 9.80% of cases (348) are being sought in sources and literature.

dents,¹¹⁷ with one-ninth of the losses represented by businessmen and workers, and one-fourth by officials and experts of various profiles along with members of the free lance professions, while the representation of other professional groups was far less.

As a central place for the implementation of the Holocaust in the territory of occupied Serbia, members of the Jewish community from all parts of the occupied territory were brought to the Zemun Jewish camp. The professional structure of victims from different regions was not equal, just as the share of Jewish victims from different parts of the occupied territory in the losses of professional groups was not the same.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Students (66) accounted for 2.06% of the losses of Jews at Sajmište camp, while among the pupils and students who died, they represented 12.62% of the losses.

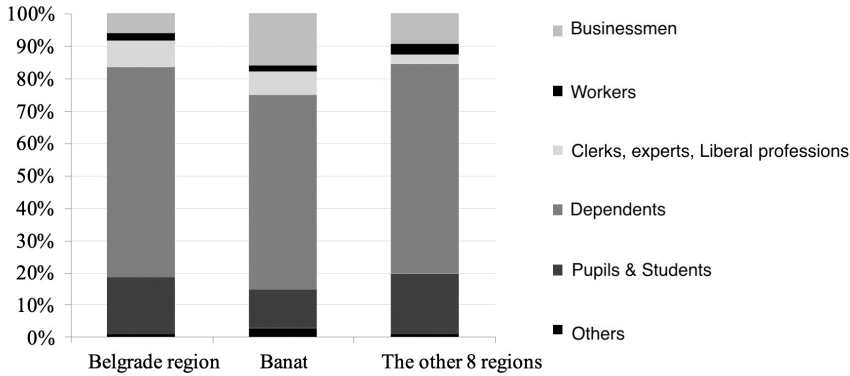
¹¹⁸ The professional structure of the losses suffered in Sajmište camp has not been established equally among Jewish victims from different parts of occupied Serbia. The worst situation is among Jews from Banat, among whom it is unknown for a fifth of the victims (221 - 20.97%), then among their compatriots from the other eight regions of the occupied territory, it is unknown for an eighth of the victims (56 - 11.89%), while is the best among Jews from the Belgrade region, among whom it remains to be determined for 3.50% of victims (71).

Table 49. Sajmište camp, Jews - professional structure by region

Sajmište camp - victims by profession	In total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	The other eight regions	%
Farmers	9	3	33,33	6	66,67	--	--
%	0,28	0,15	//	0,72	//	--	//
Businessmen	293	120	40,95	134	45,73	39	13,31
%	9,15	6,14	//	16,09	//	9,40	//
Workers	75	46	61,33	16	21,33	13	17,33
%	2,34	2,35	//	1,92	//	3,13	//
Army and police	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
%	--	--	//	--	//	--	//
Clerks/experts	209	151	72,25	48	22,97	10	4,78
%	6,52	7,72	//	5,76	//	2,40	//
Liberal professions	19	6	31,58	10	52,63	3	15,79
%	0,59	0,31	//	1,20	//	0,72	//
Dependents	2.041	1.269	62,17	503	24,64	269	13,18
%	63,72	64,91	//	60,38	//	64,82	//
Pupils and students	519	341	65,70	100	19,27	78	15,03
%	16,20	17,44	//	12,00	//	18,79	//
Other occupations	9	5	55,55	4	44,44	--	--
%	0,28	0,25	//	0,48	//	--	//
Personal income	23	12	52,17	10	43,48	1	4,35
%	0,72	0,61	//	1,20	//	0,24	//
Unemployed	6	2	33,33	2	33,33	2	33,33
%	0,19	0,10	//	0,24	//	0,48	//
Total known	3.203	1.955	61,04	833	26,01	415	12,96
Unknown occupations	348	71	20,40	221	63,50	56	16,09
%	9,80	3,50	//	20,97	//	11,89	//
In total	3.551	2.026	57,05	1.054	29,68	471	13,26

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 67. Sajmište camp, Jews - representation of professions in losses by territory

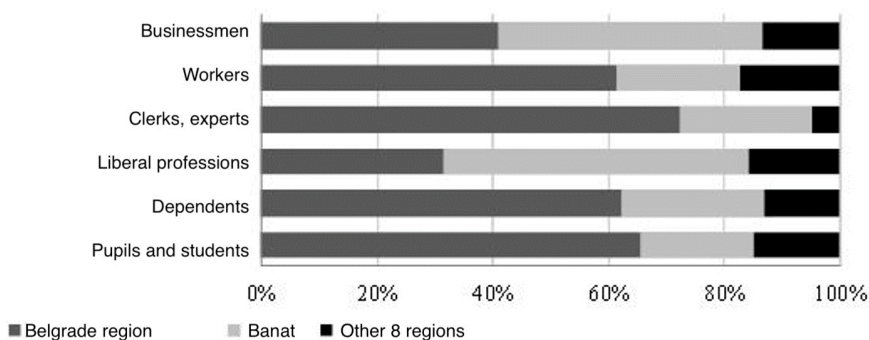


Among the Jews from all three parts of the occupied territory who perished in Sajmište camp, dependents represented the dominant group in the losses suffered. They accounted for two-thirds of the losses in the Belgrade region and the other eight regions, while three-fifths of them were among the victims from Banat, which was 1.07 times less than among the victims from the other two parts of occupied Serbia. Pupils and students were the second professional group in terms of the number of victims among members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and the other eight regions, with the representation of a sixth of the victims. They had a 1.45 and 1.56 times higher representation in the losses of the camp inmates of these two regions than among the victims from Banat, where they were in the third place in terms of representation in the losses suffered.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the representation of businessmen among the victims

¹¹⁹ University students accounted for 2.35% of the losses (46) among the Jews of the Belgrade region, 1.44% (12) of the Banat and 1.93% (8) of the rest of the occupied territory. At the same time, among the victims from the group of pupils and students from the Belgrade region, students represented 13.49% of the losses, from Banat 12.00%, and among the victims from the other eight regions 10.26%.

from Banat (a sixth of the victims) was 2.62 and 1.71 times higher than their representation in the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region and the other eight regions of the occupied territory. Clerks and experts who perished in the Zemun Jewish camp had the highest representation in the losses of Jews from the Belgrade region, 1.34 or 3.22 times higher than among their compatriots from Banat and the other eight regions of occupied Serbia.¹²⁰

Graph 68. Sajmište camp, Jews - share of losses by profession, by region



The shares in the total losses in the camp of Jews from all parts of occupied Serbia were determined by the dependents, as the absolutely dominant group among the victims at Sajmište. The proportion in the losses of the dependents of the victims from the Belgrade region, as well as from the other eight regions, being slightly higher in relation to their representation in the total losses at Sajmište, while the share of victims from Banat was slightly smaller (1.05 times). Pupils and students from the Belgrade region, as well as from the other eight regions, had a 1.08 and 1.16 times higher share in the losses of this professional group than the share of the victims of these regions in the total losses in the camp, while the share of their compatriots

¹²⁰ The representation of clerks and experts in the losses of camp inmates from Banat was 2.40 times higher than among Jews who perished in the camp from the other eight regions.

from Banat was a third smaller (1.35 times).¹²¹ On the other hand, in the losses of businessmen and members of free lance professions, Jews from Banat represented half of the victims, which was 1.76 and 2.02 times higher than their representation in the total losses at Sajmište. The Jews of the Belgrade region represented three-quarters at Sajmište of fallen clerks and experts, which was 1.18 times higher than the share of representation in the total losses in the camp, while their share in the losses among members of the free lance professions was 1.93 times lower. Among the workers killed in the camp, Jews from the other eight regions had a third higher share of losses (1.34 times) than their representation in the total losses at Sajmište.

The time of the formation of the Zemun Jewish camp, after the end of the initial phase of the Holocaust in Occupied Serbia, in which most of the men of the Jewish community perished, significantly influenced the professional structure of the camp inmates of different sexes.¹²²

¹²¹ Of the students killed at Sajmište, 69.70% came from the Belgrade region, 18.18% from Banat and 12.12% from the other eight regions. Thus, the share of students from the Belgrade region was 1.14 times higher than the share of Jews from this region in the total losses of the camp, while the share of students from Banat and the other eight regions was 1.43 and 1.07 times lower, respectively.

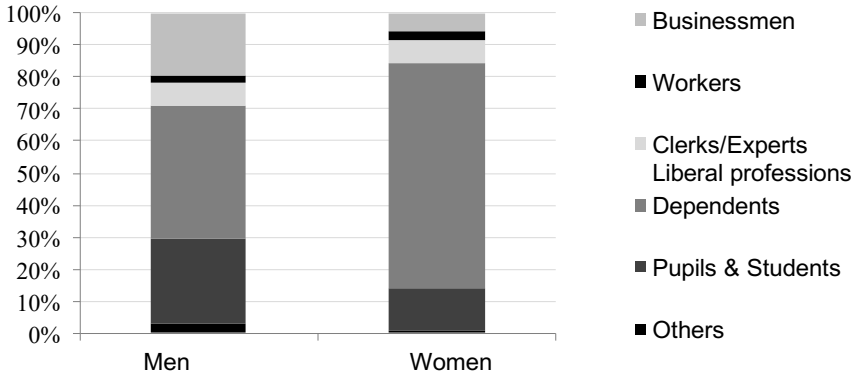
¹²² The professional structure of the victimized Jews of different sexes at Sajmište was not equally determined, so through the process of revising the list of victims, it remained to discover the occupations of one-twentieth of the men who died there (39 - 5.02%) and one-ninth of the women (309 - 11.04%).

Table 50. Sajmište camp, Jews - professional structure according to sex

Sajmište camp - Jews by profession	In total	Men	%	Women	%
Farmers	9	3	33,33	6	66,67
%	0,28	0,41	//	0,24	//
Businessmen	293	146	49,83	147	50,17
%	9,15	19,78	//	5,96	//
Workers	75	16	21,33	59	78,67
%	2,34	2,17	//	2,39	//
Army and Police	--	--	--	--	--
%	--	--	//	--	//
Clerks/experts	209	41	19,62	168	80,38
%	6,52	5,56	//	6,81	//
Liberal professions	19	11	57,89	8	42,11
%	0,59	1,49	//	0,32	//
Dependents	2.041	304	14,89	1.737	85,11
%	63,72	41,19	//	70,47	//
Pupils and students	519	197	37,96	322	62,04
%	16,20	26,69	//	13,06	//
Other occupations	9	2	22,22	7	77,78
%	0,28	0,27	//	0,28	//
Personal income	23	16	69,56	7	30,44
%	0,72	2,17	//	0,28	//
Unemployed	6	2	33,33	4	66,67
%	0,19	0,27	//	0,16	//
Total known	3.203	738	23,04	2.465	76,96
Unknown occupations	348	39	11,21	309	88,79
%	9,80	5,02	//	11,14	//
In total	3.551	777	21,88	2.774	78,12

GVMA, Database "Victims of the War 1941–1945"

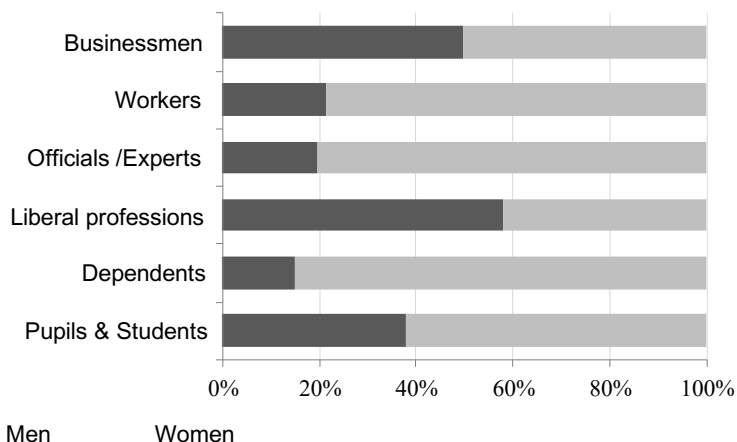
Graph 69. Sajmište camp, Jews - representation of professions in losses according to sex



Among the women who perished in the camp at Sajmište, dependents accounted for more than two-thirds of the losses, with pupils and students representing an eighth of the losses. Dependents represented the most numerous professional group among the men who died, but with the representation of two fifths of the losses, with a quarter of the victims made up of pupils and students and a fifth of the losses represented by businessmen. In the losses of members of the Jewish nationality who lost their lives in the concentration camp at Sajmište, female dependents were 1.71 times more represented among the victims than men, while businessmen, as well as pupils and students, had 3.32 and 2.04 times respectively greater representation in the losses of men than women.¹²³

¹²³ Representation of clerks and experts in women's losses was 1.22 times higher than in men's losses, while the representation of workers in gender losses was slightly higher for women (1.10 times).

Graph 70. Sajmište camp, Jews - share of losses by profession, according to sex



The share in the losses of professional groups that had persons of different genders was largely determined by the absolute dominance of women in the losses of the Jewish camp in Zemun, but with a few exceptions. Women had a higher share than their average share of losses among dependents who died (1.10 times). Although women in the camp were four times more numerous than men, the share of businessmen's losses was equal, while the share of men was higher among the victims of free lance professions and persons with personal income (pensioners). In relation to the representation in the total losses in the camp with a known occupation, men had a 2.16 times higher share among the victims of businessmen and a 2.51 times higher share among members of the free lance professions. Men had a larger share than their average share in losses (1.45 and 1.65 times, respectively) among the perished farmers (a third of the victims) and pupils and students (two fifths of the losses).¹²⁴

¹²⁴ All the male from the group of pupils and students who perished in Sajmište camp were mainly elementary school pupils, since all the university students who perished in the camp were women, as well as the majority of high school students (93.94%). The existence of the university in Belgrade and the emancipatory role of the big city, as an educational, cultural, admin-

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF TOPOVSKE ŠUPE AND SAJMIŠTE CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN OCCUPIED SERBIA

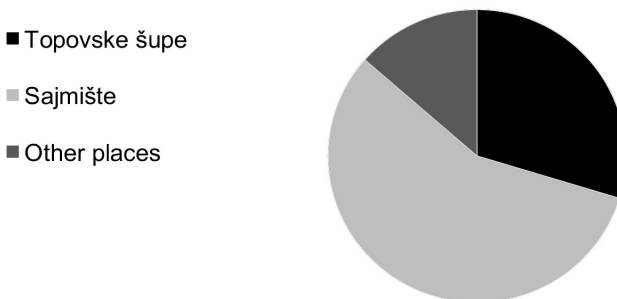
In the two camps for Jews formed by the Germans in Belgrade, 86.47% of all the victims of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia lost their lives, and at the same time, they were the places where 89.73% of the victims in that territory lost their lives. The loss suffered by the Jews at Sajmište was twice as high (1.92 times) than in Topovske šupe. This made these two camps stand out as the central places of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia. One seventh of the members of the Jewish community of the occupied territory were killed in all other places (other concentration camps, places of mass or individual shootings, etc.).

Table 51. Occupied Serbia, Jews - places of destruction

Jews OS	In total	Topovske šupe	%	Sajmište	%	Other places	%
In total	6.254	1.857	29,69	3.551	56,78	846	13,53

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 71. Occupied Serbia, Jews - places of destruction



istrative and economic center, influenced the fact that in the losses of women at Sajmište, the representation of female students from the Belgrade region among the victims was 1.63 and 1.22 times higher, respectively, than among the women victims. from Banat and other eight regions of occupied Serbia.

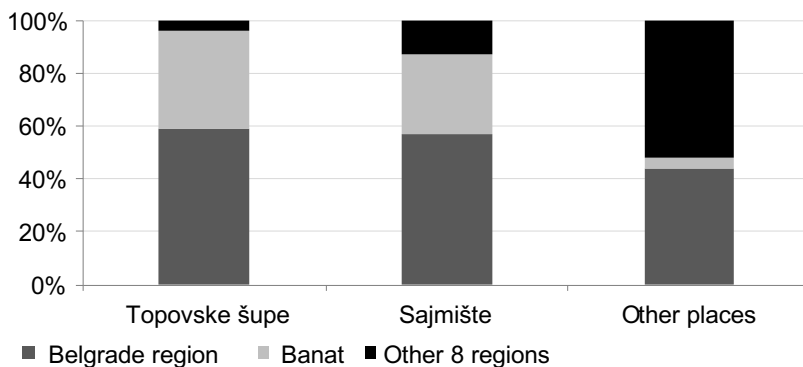
Members of the Jewish community from all parts of occupied Serbia were brought to these two camps. As the central places of the Holocaust, the Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps did not play an equal role in the destruction of Jews from different regions of the occupied territory.

Table 52. Occupied Serbia, Jews - the role of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in the destruction of Jews according to the territory from which they were

Jews – regions	In total	Topovske šupe	%	Sajmište	%	Other places	%
Belgrade	3.484	1.088	31,23	2.026	58,15	370	10,62
%	55,71	58,59	//	57,05	//	43,73	//
Banat	1.782	693	38,89	1.054	59,15	35	1,96
%	28,49	37,32	//	29,68	//	4,14	//
Other 8 regions	988	76	7,69	471	47,67	441	44,63
%	15,80	4,09	//	13,26	//	52,13	//
In total	6.254	1.857	29,69	3.551	56,78	846	13,53

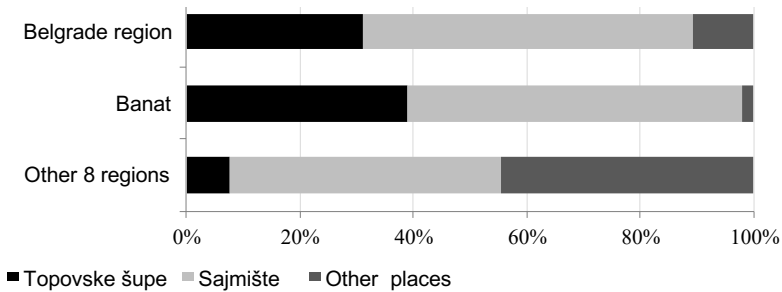
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 72. Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in losses by territory, by place of destruction



Belgrade Jews accounted for three-fifths of the losses in Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps, while in the losses in other places they represented two-fifths of the victims. Thus, their representation in the losses in these two Belgrade camps was 1.35 and 1.30 times higher than in the losses suffered in other places. With two-fifths of the losses in Topovske šupe, Jews from Banat had a representation in the losses of this camp that was a quarter higher than in the losses at Sajmište (1.26 times), where they accounted for slightly less than a third of the victims and 9.01 times the representation of representation in the losses suffered in other places, where they represented the twenty-fourth part of the martyred compatriots. In the losses suffered outside of these two camps, half of all victims were Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia, which was 3.93 or 12.74 times higher representation than their representation in the losses in the camps at Sajmište and Topovske šupe.

Graph 73. Occupied Serbia, Jews - share of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in losses by territory



Three-fifths of the Jews from the Belgrade region and the Banat each lost their lives in the Zemun Jewish camp, while two-fifths of the Jews from the Banat and one-third from Belgrade perished in Topovske šupe. Ninth of the Belgrade Jews lost their lives somewhere else, while the destruction of their compatriots from Banat outside these two camps was minimal. On the other hand, half of the Jews from the rest of occupied Serbia lost their lives in the Jewish camp in Zemun, only

thirteen in Topovske šupe, while more than two fifths of them perished somewhere else. Thus, the role of Topovske šupe in the destruction of the Jews of the Belgrade region and Banat was 4.06 and 5.06 times greater than the role of this camp in the destruction of members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions of the occupied territory. The Jewish camp in Zemun played a leading role in the destruction of Jews from all parts of occupied Serbia, with the fact that it was 1.22 and 1.24 times higher in the perishing of members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and Banat than among their compatriots from the other eight regions . On the other hand, the role of other places of perishing in the destruction of Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia was 4.22 and 22.77 times higher than that of members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and Banat.

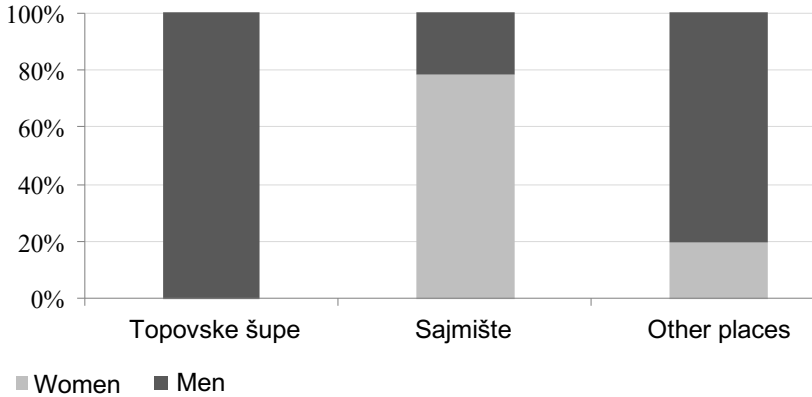
Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps, formed by the Germans as central places for the implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, played a decisive role in the brutal destruction of Jews of both sexes. Four fifths of the Jewish community male victims (79.51%) and almost all the women victims (94.32%) were killed in them. Nine tenths of all Jewish men killed in 1941 (90.01%) perished in Topovske šupe, while two thirds of those killed in 1942 lost their lives at Sajmište (66.18%). Of all Jewish women who died in 1942, 97.92% were killed in the Zemun Jewish camp.

Table 53. Occupied Serbia, Jews - the role of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in the destruction, by sex

Jews – sex	In total	Topovske šupe	%	Sajmište	%	Other places	%
Men	3.313	1.857	56,05	777	23,45	679	20,49
%	52,97	100,0	//	21,88	//	80,26	//
Women	2.941	--	--	2.774	94,32	167	5,68
%	47,02	--	//	78,12	//	19,74	//
In total	6.254	1.857	29,69	3.551	56,78	846	13,53

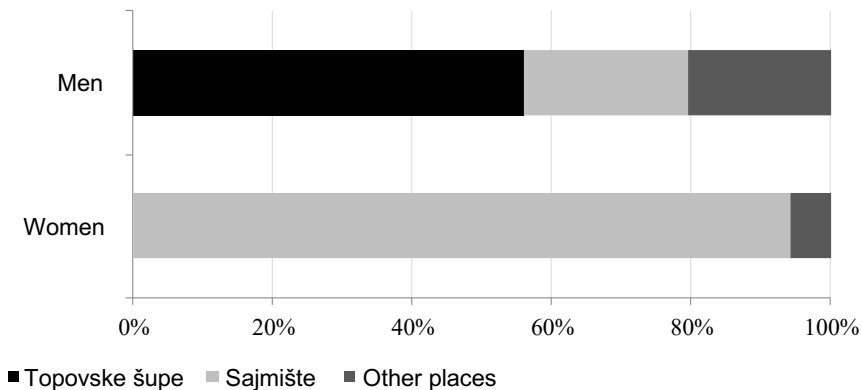
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 74. Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in losses by place of destruction, by sex



Men represented the only victims in Topovske šupe camp, while in the losses at Sajmište they represented one fifth of the Jews who died there, which was 3.57 times less than the representation of women in the losses in this camp. In the losses of the Jews of occupied Serbia outside of these two German camps in Belgrade, men were 4.06 times more numerous than women.

Graph 75. Occupied Serbia, Jews - share of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in losses by sex



In the concentration camps of Topovske šupe and Sajmište, almost all the women and four fifths of the men lost their lives among the martyred members of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia, with the fact that 2.39 times more men were killed in the concentration camp of Topovske Šupe than in Sajmište. The share of Topovske šupe in the destruction of men was 1.89 times higher than the share of victims of this camp in the total losses of the Jewish community, while the share of Sajmište in the destruction of men was 2.42 times smaller. On the other hand, the role of Sajmište in the destruction of women was 1.66 times greater than the share of victims of this camp in the total losses of Jews from the occupied territory. Among the Jews who perished outside Topovske šupe and Sajmište, men had a 1.51 times greater share than the representation of those who perished outside these two camps in the total losses of Jews in occupied Serbia,¹²⁵ while the proportion of women's losses was 2.38 times lower. The role of Sajmište in the destruction of women of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia was 4.02 times greater than the role the camp had in the destruction of men, while, on the other hand, the share of other places of perishing in the loss of men was 3.61 times greater than their role in destruction of Jewish women.

According to the German racial laws and according to the prepared plans, the Jews were destroyed as a whole, and they suffered losses in all ages. Topovske šupe camp and the Zemun Jewish camp had primary roles in the implementation of the program of their destruction on the territory of occupied Serbia. Almost all of the children under the age of 14 who perished in Holocaust were killed in these two camps (94.55%), as well as seven-eighths of those aged 15 to 24 (87.28%), five-sixths of those aged 25 to 34 (84, 44%) and six sevenths of all other age groups. The age structure of the losses suffered by the Jewish community in these two camps and outside them was not equal.

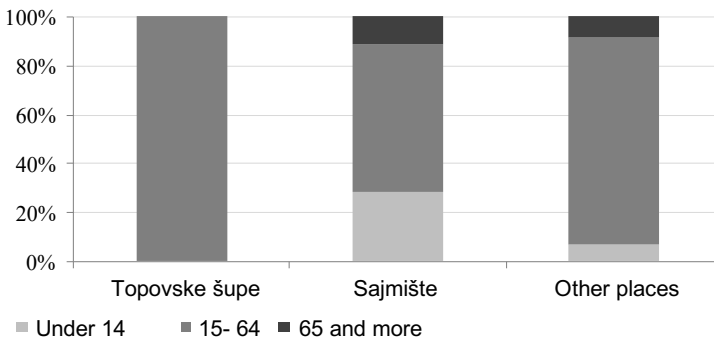
¹²⁵ Most of these men perished in the Crveni krst camps in Niš (Anhaltelager Nisch) and Banjica in Belgrade (Anhaltelager Dedinje), as well as in the executions of individuals and small groups throughout occupied Serbia.

Table 54. Occupied Serbia, Jews - the role of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in the destruction by age groups

Jews – by age groups	In total	Topovske šupe	%	Sajmište	%	Other places	%
Under 14	972	--	--	919	94,55	53	5,45
%	17,17	--	//	28,44	//	7,29	//
15–24	778	308	39,59	371	47,69	99	12,72
%	13,74	18,10	//	11,48	//	13,62	//
25–34	932	392	42,06	395	42,38	145	15,56
%	16,47	23,03	//	12,22	//	19,94	//
35–44	1.095	443	40,46	492	44,93	160	14,61
%	19,35	26,03	//	15,23	//	22,01	//
45–54	868	361	41,59	385	44,35	122	14,05
%	15,33	21,21	//	11,91	//	16,78	//
55–64	599	198	33,05	314	52,42	87	14,52
%	10,58	11,63	//	9,72	//	11,97	//
65 and more	416	--	--	355	85,34	61	14,66
%	7,35	--	//	10,99	//	8,39	//
Total known	5.660	1.702	30,07	3.231	57,08	727	12,84
Unknown	594	155	26,09	320	53,87	119	20,03
%	9,50	8,35	//	9,01	//	14,07	//
In total	6.254	1.857	29,69	3.551	56,78	846	13,53

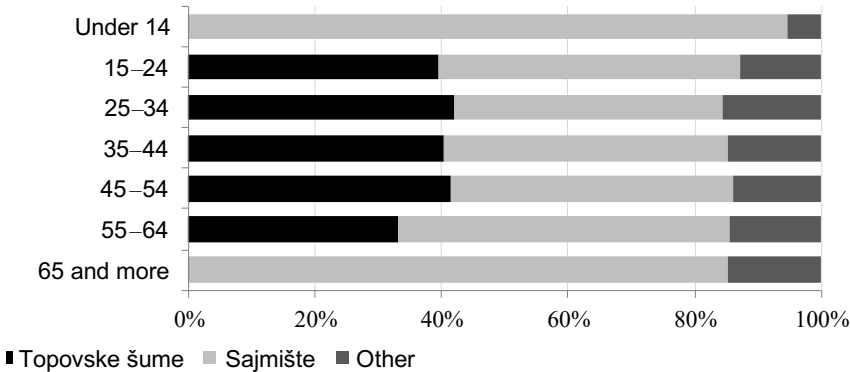
Listing in 1931, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 76. Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in losses by place of destruction, according to age



The targeted killing of Jews between the ages of 16 and 60 in Topovske šupe caused the representation of the age group from 15 to 54 in their losses (88.37%) to be 1.74 times higher than in the losses at Sajmište (50.84%). Children under 14 years of age represented more than a quarter of the losses in the Jewish camp in Zemun, which was 3.90 times higher representation than in the losses suffered in other places. With the exception of the youngest age group, where representation in losses was 2.35 times lower, all other age groups of Jews killed outside of these two camps had approximately the same or slightly higher representation in their average representation in total losses (1.21 times higher representation in the group from 25 to 34 years of age and 1.14 times higher in the next age group).

Graph 77. Occupied Serbia, Jews - share of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in losses by age groups



Almost all members of the Jewish community under the age of 14 died in the Zemun Jewish camp, as well as six-sevenths of those over the age of 65. With specially targeted age groups that were destroyed in Topovske šupe camp, the share of casualties between the ages of 25 and 54 in this camp (41.31%) was 1.37 times higher than the share of victims of this camp in the total losses. On the other hand, the share of Sajmište in the destruction of the age group up to 14 years and the age group of 65 and over was 1.65 and 1.49 times higher than the share of the victims of this camp in the total losses of the Jewish community. Jews killed in other places had a slightly increased share of casualties over the age of 25 compared to their share of total losses (1.21 times higher in the age group from 25 to 34), but also a 2.35 times smaller share in victims aged up to 14 years.

Formed as the central sites of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps played a leading role in the destruction of members of all professional groups. Almost all dependents (94.05%), nearly all pupils and students (90.80%), as well as five-sixths of clerks and experts (84.09%), four-fifths of businessmen (80.35%) and workers (81.12%) with three quarters of liberal professions (72.64%), lost their lives in them. The different time of their formation, and the different structure of the inmates in

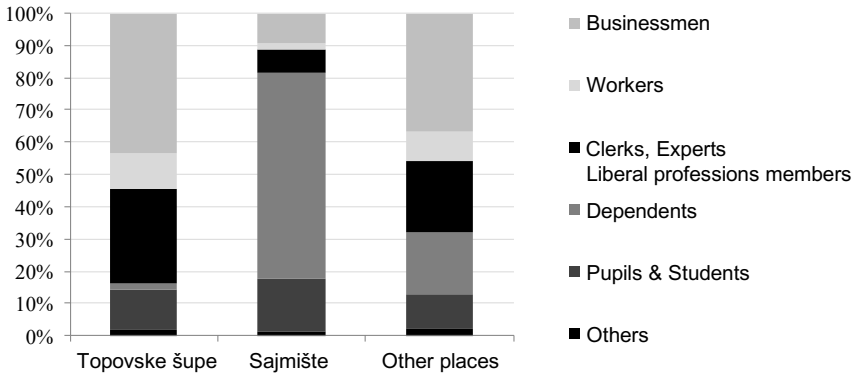
them caused differences in the professional structure of the losses suffered by the Jewish community, both in them and in other places of destruction.

Table 55. Occupied Serbia, Jews - the role of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in the destruction of the professional groups

Topovske šupe – Jews by professions	In total	Topovske šupe	%	Sajmište	%	Other places	%
Farmers	20	9	45,00	9	45,00	2	10,00
%	0,36	0,53	//	0,28	//	0,29	//
Businessmen	1.277	733	57,40	293	22,94	251	19,65
%	22,92	43,45	//	9,15	//	36,80	//
Workers	323	187	57,89	75	23,22	61	18,88
%	5,80	11,08	//	2,34	//	8,94	//
Army and Police	2	1	50,00	--	--	1	50,00
%	0,03	0,06	//	--	//	0,15	//
Officials/experts	767	436	56,84	209	27,25	122	15,91
%	13,76	25,84	//	6,52	//	17,89	//
Liberal professions	106	58	54,72	19	17,92	29	27,36
%	1,90	3,44	//	0,59	//	4,25	//
Dependents	2.201	29	1,32	2.041	92,73	131	5,95
%	39,51	1,72	//	63,72	//	19,21	//
Pupils and students	804	211	26,24	519	64,55	74	9,20
%	14,43	12,51	//	16,20	//	10,85	//
Other Occupations	23	9	39,13	9	39,13	5	21,74
%	0,41	0,53	//	0,28	//	0,73	//
Personal income	37	10	27,03	23	62,16	4	10,81
%	0,66	0,59	//	0,72	//	0,59	//
Unemployed	12	4	33,33	6	50,00	2	16,67
%	0,21	0,24	//	0,19	//	0,29	//
Total known	5.572	1.687	30,28	3.203	57,48	682	12,24
Unknown occupations	682	170	24,93	348	51,03	164	24,05
%	10,90	9,15	//	9,80	//	19,38	//
In total	6.254	1.857	29,69	3.551	56,78	846	13,53

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

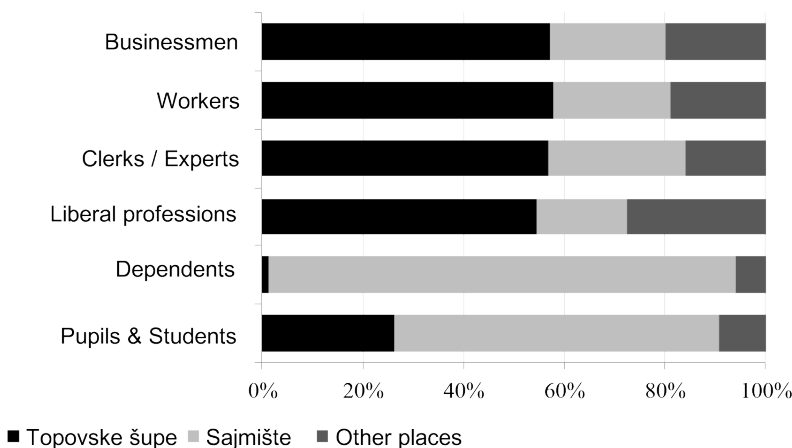
Graph 78. Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in losses by place of destruction, by professions



The different gender and age structure of the victims in Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps caused the different representation of professional groups in their losses. Thus, businessmen were 4.75 times more represented among the casualties in Topovske šupe than in the losses of the Zemun Jewish camp, workers 4.73 times, clerks and experts 3.96 times, and members of the liberal professions 5.83 times. On the other hand, dependents were 37.05 times more represented among the victims at Sajmište than in the losses suffered in Topovske šupe, while pupils and students had a 1.29 times higher representation.¹²⁶ Among the victims in other places, outside of these two camps, the representation of businessmen, workers, clerks and experts (63.63%) was 1.50 times higher than the average representation of these professions in the total losses of Jews (42.48%), while the representation of members of liberal professions was 2.24 times higher. On the other hand, the representation of dependents was twice less (2.06 times) than the average representation of these professions in total losses, and the representation of pupils and students was a third less (1.33 times).

¹²⁶ The representation of students in the losses in Topovske šupe camp (5.33%) was 2.59 times higher than in Sajmište (2.06%).

Graph 79. Occupied Serbia, Jews - share of Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps in losses by professional groups



The determination of the Germans to kill men aged 15 to 60 in the initial phase of the Holocaust, and later the remaining Jews, was reflected in the professional structure of the losses suffered in the two central camps and outside of them. Thus, three-fifths of businessmen, workers, clerks and experts each died in Topovske šupe, which was almost twice the share of the losses of these professional groups than the share of the victims of this camp in the total losses of Jews (businessmen 1.89 times, workers 1.91 times, officials and experts 1.88 times), while, on the other hand, the share of dependents who died in it was 22.94 times lower. In contrast, in the Zemun Jewish camp, nine tenths of all victims of dependents of the Jewish community lost their lives, which was 1.61 times the share in the losses of this professional group than the representation of the victims of this camp in the total losses of the Jewish community, as well as the share of pupils and students killed in it was 1.12 times higher.¹²⁷ On the other hand, the

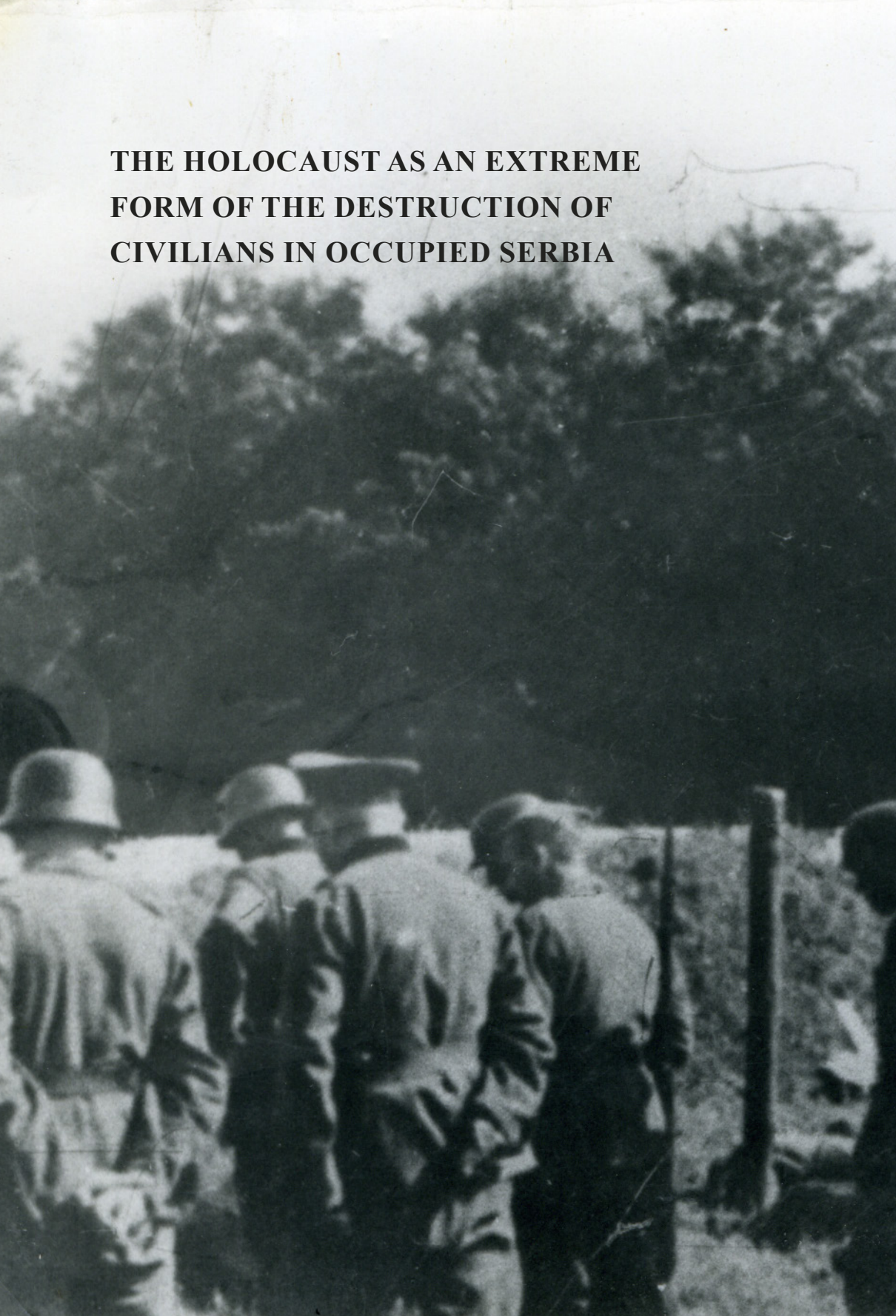
¹²⁷ Of all the murdered students, 46.87% lost their lives in Topovske šupe (90), 34.37% at Sajmište (66) and 18.75% in other places outside these two camps (36). Thus, the share of students who died in Topovske šupe camp was 1.55 times higher than the share of camp victims in the total losses, while the share of students who died in Sajmište was 1.67 times lower. Since all the

share of all other professional groups who died at Sajmište was several times smaller than the representation of the victims of this camp in the total losses of the Jewish community, officials and experts, 2.11 times smaller, businessmen 2.50 times, and liberal professions 3.21 times smaller. Jews who perished in other places, outside of these two camps, in relation to their representation in the total losses of the Jewish community, had larger shares in the losses of businessmen and workers 1.60 and 1.54 times respectively, officials and experts, and members of free lance professions 1, 30, i.e. 2.23 times higher, while their share in the losses of pupils and students was 1.33 times lower, and that of dependents was twice as low (2.06 times).

university students executed in Topovske šupe were men, and those perished in Sajmište were women, among the students victims in other places were 88.89% men (32) and 11.11% women (4).

*The numerical determination and quantitative
analysis of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia*

**THE HOLOCAUST AS AN EXTREME
FORM OF THE DESTRUCTION OF
CIVILIANS IN OCCUPIED SERBIA**





Photograph on the previous page: *Scene after the shooting of a group of the patriots in Jajinci* (Historical Archive of Belgrade (*Istorijski arhiv Beograda*), private collection of the journalist Vojin M. Đorđević, inventory number IAB-4498-VMD 41)

The destruction of the population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not end with the military defeat in April 1941 and the subsequent division of the state. In Serbia, under German military command, the war was expressed as a liberation, anti-fascist, civil, national, revolutionary, ideological, and religious struggle, and it caused massive destruction of the civilian part of the population.¹²⁸ The implemented Holocaust in occupied Serbia was part of the process of destroying the Jews carried out by Nazi Germany. One of its specificities in this territory was the connection, often interwoven, with the mass destruction of other populations in occupied Serbia, primarily Serbs and Roma.¹²⁹ It is not always easy to distinguish when the Holocaust was taking place as an independent process, and when it was part of the general destruction of civilians in occupied Serbia. The intertwining of destruction was most evident in mass shootings during the first year of the war.

¹²⁸ For further information about the war in Serbia, see Branko Petranović, *Srbija u drugom svetskom ratu 1939–1945*, (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992).

¹²⁹ In addition to the above-mentioned studies, on the perishing of the population of Serbia, see in more detail in Staniša Brkić, *Ime i broj. Kragujevačka tragedija 1941.*, (Kragujevac: Memorial park - Kragujevački oktobar, 2007); Silvija Krejaković, *Identiteti žrtava streljanih u Kraljevu oktobra 1941.* (Belgrade: MŽG, 2013); Stanoje Filipović, “Nemački zločini u Jadru 1941.” in *Jadar u prošlosti*, ed. Petar Bojić et al. (Loznica: Muzej Jadra, 1990), 497–575; Djordje Lopičić, *Nemački ratni zločini 1941–1945, Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova (Nemački ratni zločini 1941–1945.)* (Belgrade: MŽG, 2009); Miodrag Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mathausen* (Belgrade: ISI, 1992), Nikola Živković, *Ratna šteta koju je Nemačka učinila Jugoslaviji u Drugom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: ISI, 1975).

THE YEARS OF DESTRUCTION, TERRITORIAL BELONGING, AND NATIONALITIES - SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The complexity and stratified nature of the war waged on the territory of occupied Serbia, among several warring parties, caused losses among the civilian population.¹³⁰ The destruction of civilians from the territory of occupied Serbia began on the first day of the war with the bombing of Belgrade and other cities, and continued until the liberation of Serbia, i.e. until the end of the war.¹³¹

Table 56 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – destruction timeline

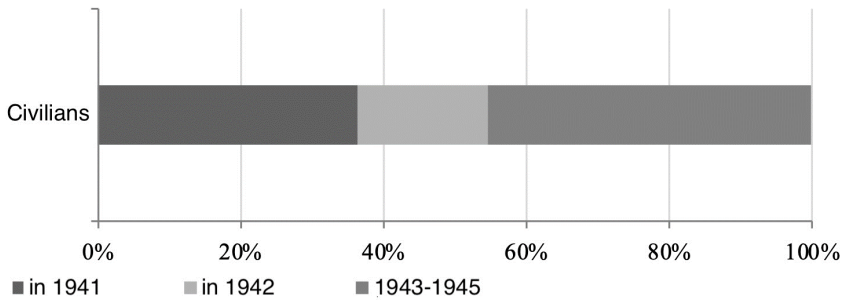
Civilians OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943 - 1945	%
Total	55,830	20,342	36.43	10,177	18.23	25,311	45.33

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

¹³⁰ When analyzing the perishing of the population, those residents who, at the time of the outbreak of the war, had their residence in the area that became occupied Serbia were taken into account. Citizens from other parts of the divided Yugoslavia also lost their lives in that territory during the war, mostly Serbs who found refuge there from persecution in their homelands (mostly from the Independent State of Croatia), and who were not included in the reported number of victims. On the other hand, it should be noted that part of the population of Serbia who lived in it at the beginning of the war left this territory and returned to their homeland, part of which lost their lives there and they entered into the stated loss.

¹³¹ Civilians of Serbia also suffered after its liberation in the fall of 1944, whether it was those who lost their lives in concentration camps throughout the unliberated part of Europe or citizens of Serbia who found themselves in the still unliberated part of Yugoslavia, whether it was the issue of victims of civil war and revolutionary terror in Serbia.

Graph 80 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – destruction timeline



The terror carried out on civilians in an attempt to suppress the uprising and intimidate the population, in parallel with the implementation of the Holocaust, caused a third of all victims to lose their lives in the first year of the war. The collapse of the uprising in occupied Serbia in the late autumn of 1941 led to a gradual reduction of terror against civilians, so the losses suffered in 1942, despite the outbreak of the civil war, were half that of the previous year.¹³² In the last three years of the war, less than half of the civilian victims of the occupied territory lost their lives.¹³³

The war was waged with variable intensity on the entire territory of occupied Serbia and caused the loss of the civilian population in all its parts, with the fact that the destruction was not equal in all regions.

¹³² In fact, if the duration of the war in those two years is taken into account, then the civilian loss suffered in 1942 was realistically 2.66 times lower than in the previous year. Although nominally smaller, the civilian losses suffered in 1941 were, in comparison to the losses in the last three years of the war, 2.86 times greater in real terms, which indicates the scale of terror and the magnitude of the crimes committed by the Germans in the first year of the war in order to suppress the uprising.

¹³³ The average death rate in the last three years of the war, considering the duration of the war in them, was equal to that of 1942, with the fact that the share of civilian casualties in 1943 was 1.17 times higher than in the previous year, and in the last year of the war (when this territory was already freed from the occupiers) in real terms was 1.64 times lower than in 1944.

Graph 81 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – losses by territory

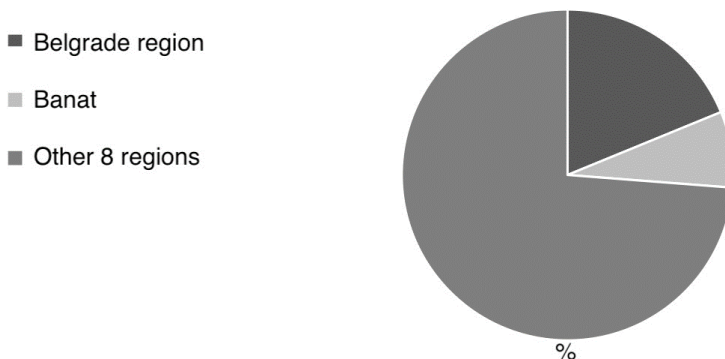


Table 57 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – losses by territory

Civilians OS	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Total	55,830	10,497	18.80	4,148	7.43	41,185	73.77

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

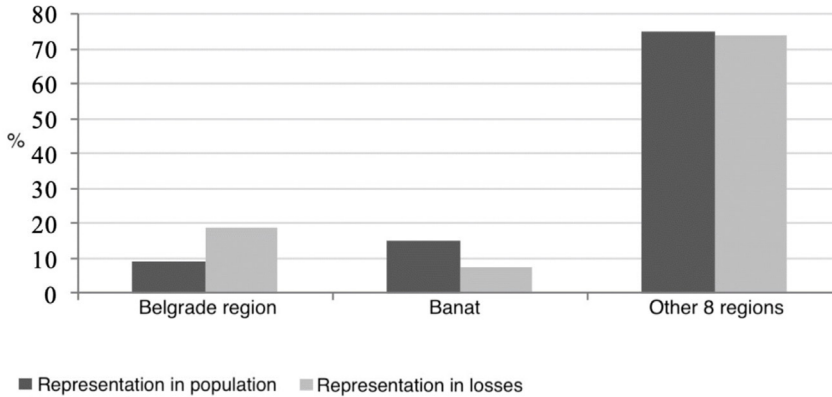
One fifth of the civilians executed in the occupied territory came from the Belgrade region, one thirteenth from Banat, while three quarters of the losses suffered came from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia. Suffered losses of civilians from different parts of occupied Serbia were not in accordance with the representation of the regions, from which the victims came, in the total population of the territory.

Table 58 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - victims according to representation in losses and representation in the population by territory

Civilians OS	Representation in population	Representation in losses
Belgrade region	9.40	18.80
Banat	15.31	7.43
Other eight regions	75.28	73.77

Listing in 1931, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 82 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - victims according to representation in losses and representation in the population (%) by territory



The loss suffered in the Belgrade region was twice as large as the share of the population that region had, in Banat it was twice as low (2.06 times), while the loss of civilians in the other eight regions was equal. Thus, the loss suffered by the civilians of the Belgrade region was realistically 4.12 times higher than the loss of civilians in Banat, i.e. 2.04 times higher than the loss suffered by the civilians of the other eight regions of the occupied territory. The loss suffered by civilians from the other eight regions of the occupied Serbia was realistically 2.02 times higher than the loss of civilians from Banat.

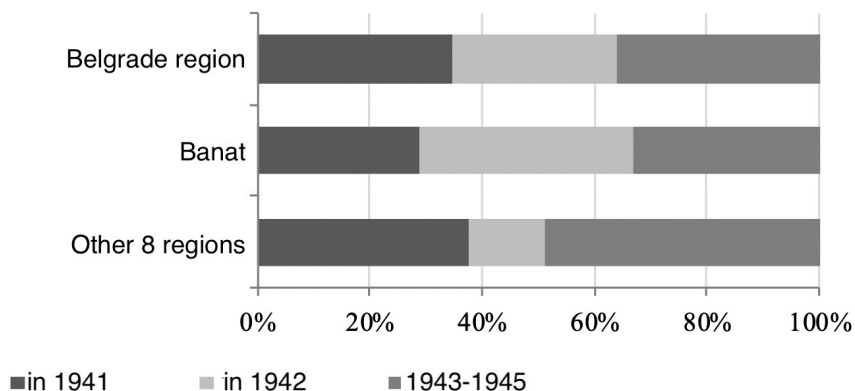
War events and changing war circumstances in the occupied territory affected the perishing of civilians in all its parts. The dynamics of destruction and representation in the losses of civilians from different regions of occupied Serbia during the war were not equal. In the first two years of the war, the Belgrade region and Banat each lost two-thirds of the civilian casualties, while in the same period half of the civilian casualties from the other eight regions of the occupied territory lost their lives.

Table 59 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - losses according to year of destruction by territory

Civilians OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Belgrade region	10,497	3,654	34.81	3,071	29.26	3,772	35.93
%	18.80	17.96	//	30.17	//	14.90	//
Banat	4,148	1,195	28.81	1,578	38.04	1,375	33.15
%	7.43	5.87	//	15.50	//	5.43	//
Other eight regions	41,185	15,492	37.61	5,529	13.42	20,164	48.96
%	73.77	76.16	//	54.33	//	79.66	//
Total	55,830	20,342	36.43	10,177	18.23	25,311	45.33

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

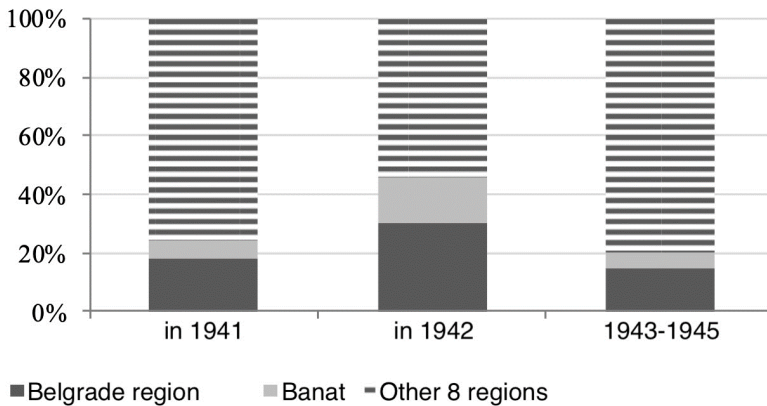
Graph 83 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – destruction timeline according to the territory from where the losses were



Terror against the population in order to suppress the uprising in 1941 was carried out in parallel with the implementation of the Holocaust. In the first year of the war, one third of the total civilian victims of the Belgrade region lost their lives, as well as two fifths of the civilians from the other eight regions of the occupied territory. At the same time, a quarter of the total civilian casualties of the Banat lost their lives. The general reduced destruction of civilians in 1942 was

not equal in all parts of the occupied territory. Considering the duration of the period of destruction, the real civilian loss in Banat was the same as in the previous year, in Belgrade it was 1.59 times lower in real terms, while in the other eight regions the loss suffered in 1942 was in real terms 3.74 times lower than in the previous one. The share of victims in the last three years of the war in Belgrade and Banat was 1.36 and 1.48 times lower than in the other eight regions of occupied Serbia.

Graph 84 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - representation in losses by territory



Victims of civilians from different parts of occupied Serbia were not equally represented in the losses during the war. In civilian losses, the representation of victims from the Belgrade region was permanently higher than their representation in the population of the occupied territory: 1.91 times in the first year of the war, 3.21 times higher in 1942, and 1.58 times higher in the last three years of the war. Representation in the losses of victims from Banat was equal to the representation of this region in the population of occupied Serbia only in 1942, while in the first and last three years of the war it was less, 2.61 and 2.82 times, respectively. In the first year of the war, the representation of victims from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia

in civilian losses was equal to their representation in the population of the occupied territory, in 1942 it was 1.38 times less, and while in the last three years of the war it was slightly higher (1.06 times).

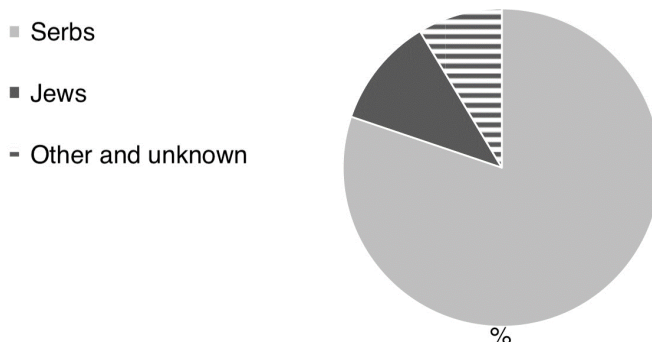
All national groups represented in the population of occupied Serbia were affected by the war. Recognized as bearers of resistance to the occupation, and therefore exposed to terror, but also ideologically divided and in conflict with each other, the Serbs suffered the greatest losses, accounting for four fifths of all civilian casualties. Predestined for annihilation by German racial laws, Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia represented a ninth of the losses suffered. Among the diverse group of other and unknown nationalities, which accounted for a twelfth of the losses, Roma suffered the most.

Table 60 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
national structure of losses

Civilians OS	Total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Other and unknown	%
Total	55,830	44,770	80.19	6,254	11.20	4,806	8.61

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 85 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
national structure of losses



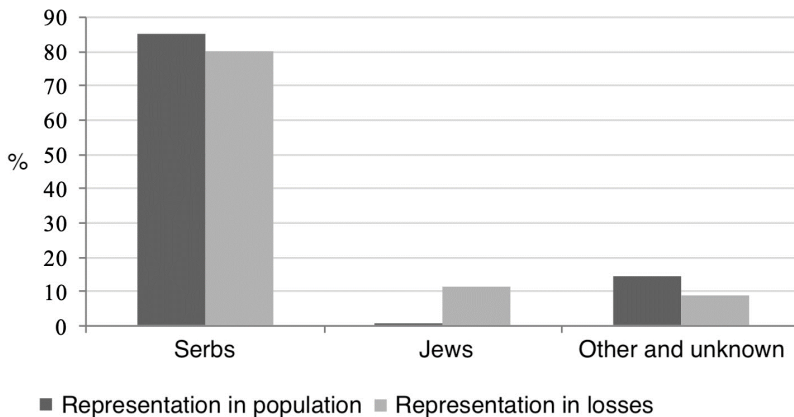
In the complex and highly stratified war that was fought on the territory of occupied Serbia, the losses suffered by different nationalities were not always in accordance with their representation in the population. The planned, prepared and almost completely implemented Holocaust in the occupied territory significantly influenced the disproportions in the losses suffered.

Table 61 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - representation in the population and representation in losses according to nationality

Civilians OS	Representation in population	Representation in losses
Serbs	85.06	80.19
Jews	0.35	11.20
Other and unknown	14.59	8.61

Listing in 1931, GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 86 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - national population structure and national structure of losses (%)



Serbs, as the largest national group, had a representation in civilian casualties that was slightly lower than their representation in

the population (1.06 times), while members of other and unknown nationalities had 1.69 times lower representation. On the other hand, the Jewish community destroyed in the Holocaust suffered losses 32 times higher than their representation in the population of occupied Serbia. The losses among the civilians suffered by the Serbs were 7.16 times higher than the losses of the Jews, but, considering the representation of the two nations in the population of the occupied territory, the losses of the Jews were realistically 33.94 times higher.¹³⁴

The changing circumstances of the war in occupied Serbia, along with the ever-present intention of the Germans to completely implement the plan to destroy the Jews, had a significant impact on the destruction of its civilians. The dynamics of the losses suffered by civilians of different nationalities and their representation in the losses during the war were not constant.

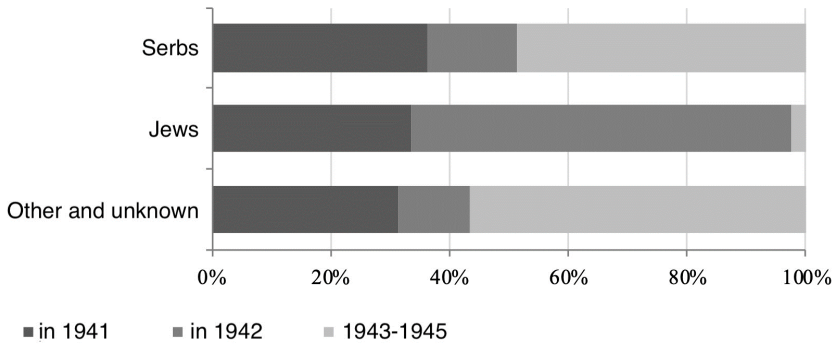
Table 62 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - losses according to nationality and year of destruction

Civilians OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Serbs	44,770	16,723	37.35	5,602	12.51	22,445	50.13
%	80.19	82.21	//	55.04	//	88.68	//
Jews	6,254	2,103	33.63	4,007	64.07	144	2.30
%	11.20	10.34	//	39.37	//	0.57	//
Other /unknown	4,806	1,516	31.54	568	11.82	2,722	56.64
	8.61	7.45	//	5.58	//	10.75	//
Total	55,830	20,342	36.43	10,177	18.23	25,311	45.33

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

¹³⁴ The losses of Jews were in real terms 54.22 times higher than the losses suffered by civilians belonging to other and unknown nationalities, while the real losses of civilians of Serbian nationality were 1.60 times higher.

Graph 87 - Occupied Serbia, civilians – destruction timeline of the losses according to nationality

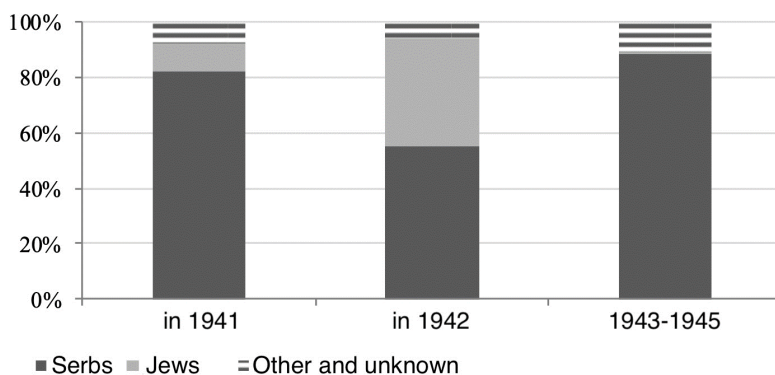


The destruction of civilians in the occupied territory lasted throughout the war, but it occurred with different dynamics. The implementation of the pre-planned first phase of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia coincided with the retaliatory measures taken by the German occupier in order to suppress the uprising in Serbia. The mass executions of civilians of Serbs, Jews, Roma and members of other nationalities, which culminated in the fall of 1941, caused the loss of almost two-fifths of the total number of perished Serbs, one third of Jews and one third of members of other national groups. The collapse of the uprising in Serbia, the abandonment of its territory by the main units, military and political leadership of the partisan movement, and the passivisation of the Ravnogorski pokret (*Chetnik movement) and its partial “legalisation”, led to the mitigation of repression against the people and the reduction of terror in the following year. Thus, the loss suffered by Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities in 1942, despite the victims in the civil war, was 2.98 and 2.67 times lower than in the previous year.¹³⁵ On the other hand, the Holocaust was carried out according to the established dynamics. There was no

¹³⁵ In fact, if we take into account the duration of the war in these two years, then the loss suffered by Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities in 1942 was realistically 3.98 and 3.56 times lower than in 1941, respectively.

reduction in the destruction of Jews in 1942, so their real loss was the same as in the previous year.¹³⁶ The share of Jews killed in 1942 in relation to the total loss of this nationality was 5.12 times higher than the share of Serbs killed in the same period in relation to the total loss of civilians of that nationality. The Holocaust on the territory of occupied Serbia was practically over by the end of 1942,¹³⁷ while the destruction of civilians of Serbian nationality and members of other nationalities continued until the end of the war.

Graph 88 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
representation in losses by nationality



The Jews who died in the Holocaust had a different representation in the total civilian losses of occupied Serbia during the war. Their representation in civilian losses in 1941 was approximately equal to their representation in total losses (1.08 times less rep-

¹³⁶ Nominally, the loss of Jews in 1942 was twice as much, but, considering the periods of the Holocaust in them, the loss was realistically equal.

¹³⁷ In the perishing in the last three years of the war, a small number of Jews imprisoned in the Banjica camp, and subsequently arrested in attempts to hide, lost their lives, as well as those members of the Jewish community who unsuccessfully tried to find refuge in other territories of the divided Yugoslavia or abroad.

resentation),¹³⁸ as was the case with other nationalities.¹³⁹ The culmination of the Holocaust in 1942, along with the reduced losses of other nationalities, led to the fact that Jews represented two-fifths of the civilian casualties in that year. Their representation in the losses of civilians in 1942 was 3.81 times higher than in the previous year. The representation of the Jews in losses in 1942 was 112.48 times higher than their representation in the population.¹⁴⁰ Since the issue of Jews in occupied Serbia was practically “solved” in 1942, in accordance with German plans, their representation in civilian losses in the following period of the war was negligible. The losses of Jews in the last three years of the war were 69.07 times lower than in 1942, but they were still 1.63 times higher than their representation in the population of the occupied territory

Civilian losses suffered in different parts of the occupied territory were not equal for all the nationalities that inhabited them. Differences existed both in the representation of certain nationalities in the civilian losses of the region, and in the representation of the losses of a certain nationality from various regions in the total civilian losses of that nation.

¹³⁸ The representation of Jews in civilian losses in the first year of the war was 29.54 times higher than their representation in the population of occupied Serbia.

¹³⁹ The representation of Serb victims in civilian losses in 1941 was equal to the representation in the population of the occupied territory (1.02 times higher), while the representation of members of other and unknown nationalities was 1.15 times lower.

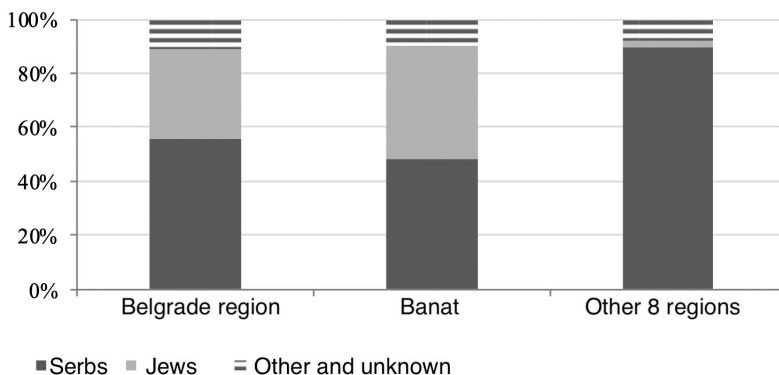
¹⁴⁰ The suffered loss of Jews in 1942 was 1.40 times lower than the loss of Serbs, but, taking into account the representation of the two nations in the population of the occupied territory, it was 184.11 times greater in real terms.

Table 63 - Occupied Serbia - national structure of civilian losses by territory

Civilians OS	Total	Belgrade region	%	Banat	%	Other eight regions	%
Serbs	44,770	5,853	13.07	1,970	4.40	36,947	82.53
%	80.19	55.76	//	48.49	//	89.71	//
Jews	6,254	3,484	55.71	1,782	28.49	988	15.78
%	11.20	33.19	//	42.96	//	2.40	//
Other/unknown	4,806	1,160	24.14	396	8.24	3,250	67.62
	8.61	11.05	//	9.55	//	7.89	//
Total	55,830	10,497	18.80	4,148	7.43	41,185	73.77

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 89 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - national structure of losses by territory

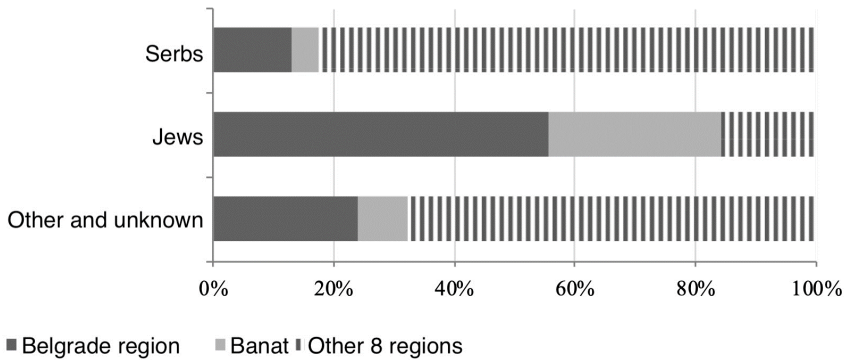


As the most numerous people in all parts of the occupied territory, the Serbs represented the largest part of the civilians who were victims, but their representation in the losses was not in accordance with their representation in the local population in all regions.¹⁴¹ The Jews

¹⁴¹ In relation to the representation in the population of the region, the representation of Serbs in losses was 1.10 times higher in Banat, in the other eight regions it was equal, while in

who were victims in the Holocaust accounted for two fifths of the civilian losses in Banat, one third in Belgrade¹⁴² and forty-second part of the losses in the other eight regions.

Graph 90 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - national structure of losses by territory



The different distribution of the scopes of the parts of the total number of Jewish community members that inhabited the regions of occupied Serbia caused differences in the scope of the losses suf-

the Belgrade region it was 1.48 times lower.

¹⁴² In addition to the fact that Jews represented a third of the civilian losses of the Belgrade region (that is, two fifths - 38.54% of the civilian losses of the city of Belgrade) and two fifths of the losses of the Banat (that is, 83.02% of the civilian losses of the city of Zrenjanin, 70.66% of Vršac, 59.23 % of Kikinda), their suffering did not remain rooted as a memory in the collective consciousness of fellow citizens. The reasons for this should be sought, on the one hand, in the long-term ideologically colored and consciously created interpretation of the past in the socialist Yugoslavia, with the tying of the losses suffered exclusively to the context of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution. On the other hand, there was a complete change in the demographic structure of the population of Belgrade and Banat. These changes were caused by population losses (war and post-war) and emigration, followed by accelerated and massive settlement in Belgrade of people from all over Yugoslavia in the post-war period, as well as mass colonization of the Banat in the same period. Newly arrived residents brought with them the historical memory of the victims of their homeland, and often, consciously or unconsciously, they were involved in ideologically coloured explanations and interpretations of the past, and the creation of desirable narratives and even myths, which corresponded to the then (but also later) political establishment.

ferred. Thus, almost three fifths of the Jews who died came from the Belgrade region, more than a quarter from Banat and almost one sixth from the other eight regions. On the other hand, one eighth of the victim Serbs came from the Belgrade region, and four fifths from the other eight regions, with a small part of the victims from Banat.¹⁴³

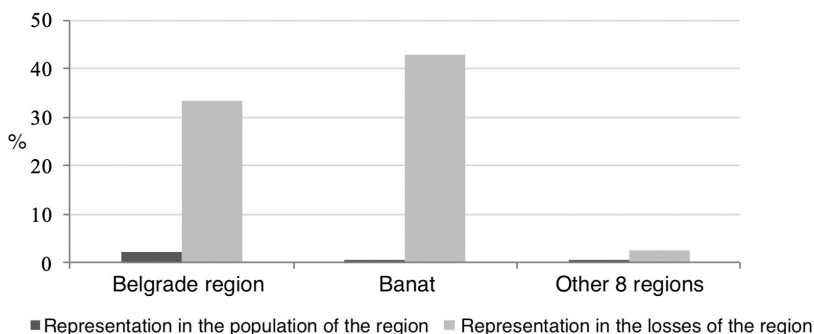
Planned for complete destruction, which was systematically carried out, the Jews who died in the Holocaust represented a disproportionately large part of the losses in all parts of occupied Serbia.

Table 64 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in the regional population and representation in the regional civilian losses

Jews OS	Representation in the population of the region	Representation in civilian losses
Belgrade region	2.20	33.19
Banat	0.68	42.96
Other eight regions	0.05	2.40

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 91 - Occupied Serbia, Jews - representation in the regional population and representation in the regional civilian losses



¹⁴³ The losses of civilians of Serbian nationality from the Belgrade region were 1.43 times higher than their representation of the total number of Serbs from the occupied territory, from Banat 1.80 times lower, while the share of casualties from the other eight regions was equal to their representation in the total number of the members of Jewish community in the occupied territory.

In relation to the representation in the population of the regions where they lived, the representation of Jews in civilian losses in the Belgrade region was 15.09 times higher, while in Banat, i.e. in the other eight regions of the occupied territory, their representation in losses was 63.18, and 48 times higher. The proportionally disproportionate destruction of Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia in all its parts was realistically many times greater than the losses suffered by other nationalities. The losses suffered by the Jews of the Belgrade region were in real terms 22.37 times higher than the losses of Serbs there, while the losses of Jews from Banat and the other eight regions of occupied Serbia were in real terms 57.29 and 50.14 times higher than the losses of civilians of Serbian nationality.

JEWES IN CIVILIAN LOSSES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF OCCUPIED SERBIA

The circumstances of the war, which were not the same in various parts of occupied Serbia, caused differences in the suffering of civilians there. The specifics of the of destruction of the Jewish community in those parts of the occupied territory additionally influenced the resulting differences in the civilian losses suffered. The dynamics of the losses suffered by Jews from different parts of the occupied territory was not equal to the losses suffered by other nationalities from those regions, just as their representation in the losses of civilians varied during the war.

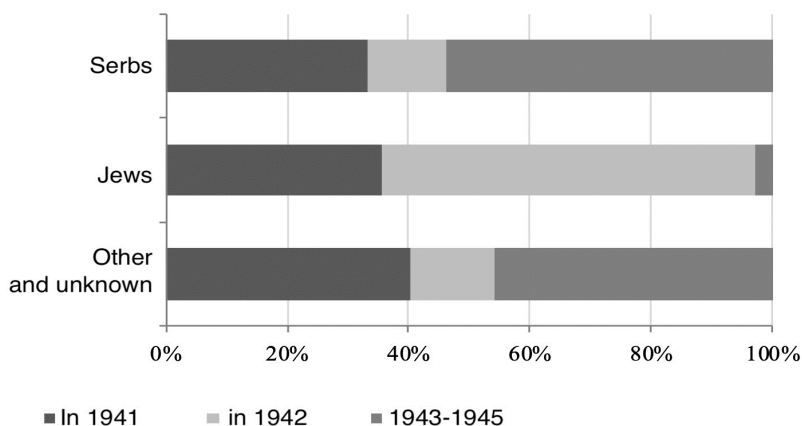
Belgrade and its surroundings were specific in many ways. It was the seat of the occupying and collaborationist authorities, the largest Jewish community of the occupied territory lived there, as well as a large Roma community, there were two specialised or special camps for Jews and the largest concentration camp of the general type. The destruction of its population lasted throughout the war, and all the nationalities that lived there were affected. The dynamics of the losses suffered and the representation in the losses of members of different nationalities varied during the war.

Table 65 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, Belgrade region - losses according to nationality and year of destruction

Belgrade region – civilians	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Serbs	5,853	1,951	33.33	753	12.86	3,149	53.80
%	55.76	53.39	//	24.52	//	83.48	//
Jews	3,484	1,236	35.48	2,155	61.85	93	2.67
%	33.19	33.82	//	70.17	//	2.46	//
Other /unknown	1,160	467	40.26	163	14.05	530	45.69
	11.05	12.78	//	5.31	//	14.05	//
Total	10,497	3,654	34.81	3,071	29.26	3,772	35.93

Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 92 - Occupied Serbia, Belgrade region, civilians- destruction timeline according to nationality



The terror carried out by the German occupying forces in the first year of the war affected all the inhabitants who lived in the Belgrade region, causing them losses regardless of their nationality. The share of victims of other and unknown nationalities (primarily Roma) was slightly higher than the losses suffered by Serbs and Jews, 1.21 and 1.13 times, respectively. In the generally reduced suffering of civilians in the Belgrade region in 1942, the Holocaust was carried out according

to a predetermined plan, with the unabated destruction of the Jewish community.¹⁴⁴ The share of members of the most numerous Jewish community in civilian losses in 1942 was 4.81 and 4.40 times higher than the share of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities that perished in the same time. Almost completely destroyed, the Jews of the Belgrade region suffered minimal losses in the last three years of the war, when their share of losses was many times smaller than the share of other nations (20.15 times than that of Serbs and 17.11 times than that of members of other and unknown nationalities).

Graph 93 - Occupied Serbia, Belgrade region - representation in losses according to nationality



The Jewish community of the Belgrade region, affected by the Holocaust, suffered losses that represented a third of all civilian casualties in the region in the first year of the war, that is, more than two thirds of the losses in 1942. In 1942, the representation of Jews

¹⁴⁴ The loss suffered by civilians of Serbian nationality in the Belgrade region in 1942 was 2.59 times lower than in the previous year, but, considering the duration of the war in those years, the real loss was 3.45 times lower, while the loss of members of other of unknown nationalities was realistically 3.82 times lower. In reality, the perishing of Belgrade Jews was 1.15 times higher in 1941 (only during the six months of the Holocaust) than in the following year.

in the losses was doubled compared to the first year of the war (2.07 times), while the representation of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities in the losses was 2.18 and 2.41 times lower, respectively. In the subsequent period of the war, the losses of the Jewish community constituted a small part of the civilian losses, with a representation 28.52 times lower than in 1942, but they still had a representation among the victims slightly higher than their representation in the population of the region. During the first two years of the war, the representation of Jews in civilian casualties in the Belgrade region was 15.37 and 31.89 times higher than their representation in the population there.

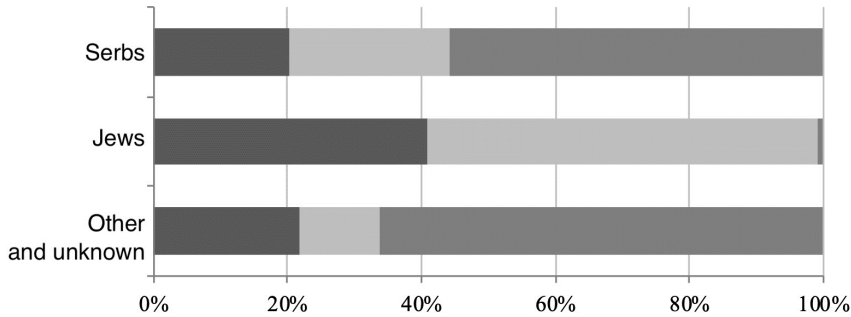
In Banat, the northernmost region of occupied Serbia, which was characterized by a multi-ethnic population structure, and which was under the direct administration of the German national minority, the terror did not equally affect all the peoples who lived there. The Jewish community in Banat was the first to be attacked.

Table 66 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, Banat - nationality of losses according to the year of destruction

Banat – civilians	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943–1945	%
Serbs	1,970	401	20.35	468	23.76	1,101	55.89
%	48.49	33.56	//	29.66	//	80.07	//
Jews	1,782	708	39.73	1,062	59.60	12	0.67
%	42.96	59.25	//	67.30	//	0.87	//
Other /unknown	396	86	21.72	48	12.12	262	66.16
	9.55	7.20	//	3.04	//	19.05	//
Total	4,148	1,195	28.81	1,578	38.04	1,375	33.15

Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

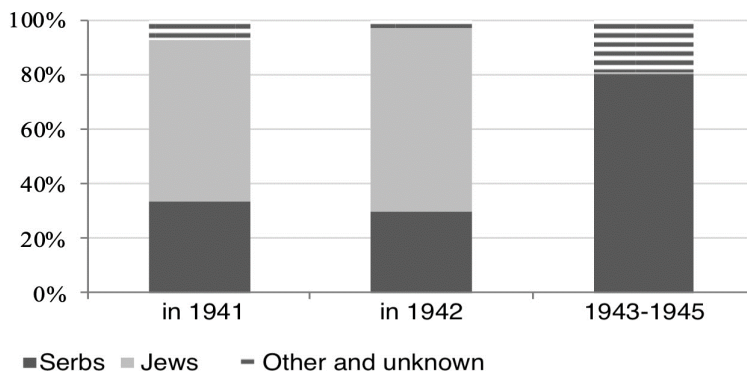
Graph 94 - Occupied Serbia, Banat, civilians -
destruction timeline according to nationality



The short-term placement in the camps in Banat, followed by the internment of Jews in Belgrade, and the re-taking to the camp and the killing of most of the men caused the share of Jewish victims in civilian losses in 1941 were double (1.95 times) or 1.83 times greater than the share of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities who suffered at that time. The escalation of the Holocaust in 1942 meant for the Jews of Banat their complete destruction. The share of Jews who were killed at that time in the total losses of the Jewish community of this region was 2.51 and 4.92 times higher than the share of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities who died during that year.¹⁴⁵ The insignificant share in the losses of Jews from Banat in the last three years of the war was incomparably smaller than the share of other nations who suffered in the same period.

¹⁴⁵ The perishing of civilians of Serbian nationality from Banat in 1942 was 1.17 times higher than in the previous year, but, considering the duration of the war in those years, the real loss was 1.14 times lower, while the loss suffered by members of other and of unknown nationalities was, in real terms, 2.39 times lower. The loss suffered by the Banat Jews in 1941 (only during the six months of the Holocaust) was 1.33 times greater than the following year.

Graph 95 - Occupied Serbia, Banat -
representation in losses by nationality



The Jewish community in Banat, affected by the Holocaust, represented the absolute majority of the losses suffered in the first two years of the war in the destruction of the civilians there, making up three fifths or two thirds of them. The representation of Jews in losses in 1942 was 1.13 times higher than in the first year of the war, while the representation of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities in losses that year was reduced by 1.13 and 2.37 times, respectively. The complete destruction of the Jewish community in the first two years of the war resulted in their representation in the losses in the last three years of the war being 77.36 times less than in 1942. During the first two years of the war, the representation of Jews in civilian casualties was 87.13 and 98.97 times higher than their representation in the population of the region, while their minimal representation in losses in the second half of the war was still higher than the representation in the population of the region (1.28 times).

The central part of occupied Serbia, the largest territorially (eight regions), where the largest part of the population lived, but also where the smallest part of the Jewish community lived, witnessed the destruction of the civilian population of all nationalities throughout the war. The suffered loss of civilians of different nationalities was not

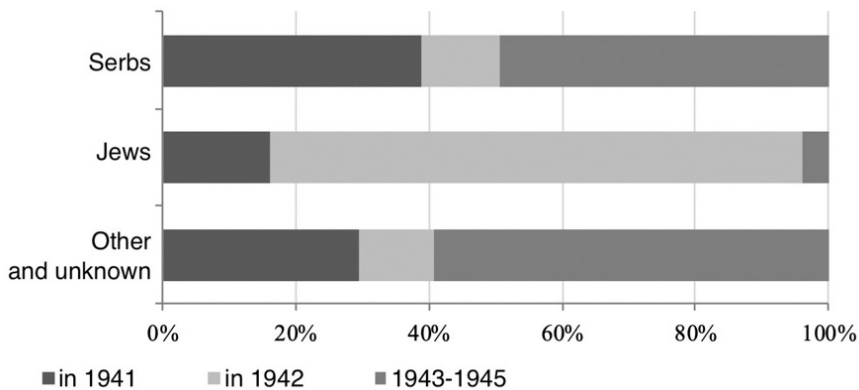
equal either in terms of the dynamics of their destruction, or in terms of their representation in the losses during the war.

Table 67 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, other eight regions - losses according to the year of destruction and nationality

Other eight regions – civilians	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943 – 1945	%
Serbs	36,947	14,371	38.90	4,381	11.86	18,195	49.25
%	89.71	92.76	//	79.24	//	90.23	//
Jews	988	159	16.09	790	79.96	39	3.95
%	2.40	1.03	//	14.29	//	0.19	//
Other /unknown	3,250	962	29.60	358	11.01	1,930	59.38
	7.89	6.21	//	6.47	//	9.57	//
Total	41,185	15,492	37.61	5,529	13.42	20,164	48.96

Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

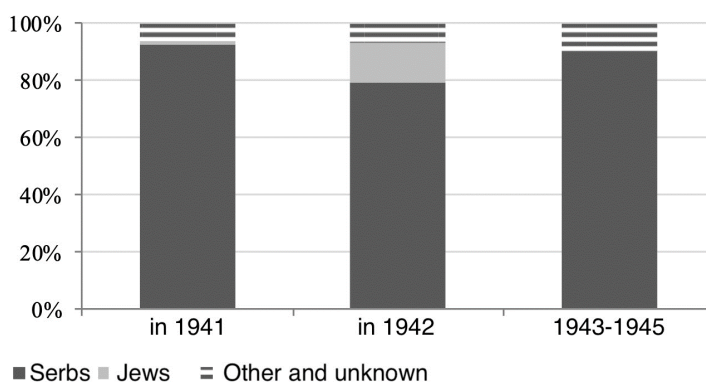
Graph 96 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, other eight regions - destruction timeline according to nationality



In order to intimidate the population and deter the uprising, the Germans carried out terror against the population in the central parts of the occupied territory in parallel with the implementation of the program of extermination of the Jews. In the first year of the war, two-fifths of all Serb victims of these regions lost their lives, whose share in the

losses was 2.42 or 1.31 times higher than the losses suffered by Jews and members of other and unknown nationalities at that time. In the generally reduced destruction of civilians in the these eight regions, despite the outbreak of the civil war, in 1942 (3.28 times less for Serbs and 2.69 times less for members of other and unknown nationalities), the Holocaust was carried out according to a predetermined plan with undiminished intensity. During 1942 four fifths of the victims of the Jews of these regions were killed.¹⁴⁶ The share of victims in 1942 in the total losses of Jews from these eight regions was 6.74 and 7.26 times higher than the share in the losses of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities. During the last three years of the war, the twenty-fifth part of the Jewish community from these eight regions lost their lives, and their share in the losses was many times lower than the share of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities (12.47 and 15.03 times, respectively).

Graph 97 - Occupied Serbia, other eight regions -
representation in losses by nationality



¹⁴⁶ The suffered loss of civilians of Serbian nationality from the other eight regions in 1942 was 3.28 times lower than in the previous year, but, considering the duration of the war in those years, the real loss was 4.37 times lower, while the loss of of other and unknown nationalities was realistically 3.58 times lower. The perishing of Jews from the other eight regions in 1942 was 4.97 times higher than in the previous year, but the loss suffered that year was 2.48 times higher in real terms than in 1941 (only during the six months of the Holocaust).

The small Jewish community settled in the central parts of the occupied territory suffered permanently, but its representation in the losses during the war varied. After a minimal representation in the losses in the first year of the war, their representation among the civilians who died in 1942 was increased 13.87 times, making up a seventh of the losses suffered at that time. In the following period of the war they represented a negligible part of the civilian casualties, 75.21 times lower than in 1942. During the entire war, the representation of Jews in civilian casualties exceeded their representation in the population of these eight regions several times: in the first year of the war - 20.60 times, in 1942 - 285.80 times and in the last three years of the war - 3.80 times.

THE SEX STRUCTURE OF TOTAL CIVILIAN LOSSES WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SPECIFICITY OF THE JEWISH VICTIMS

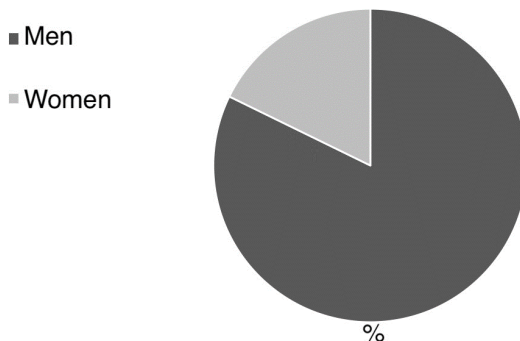
In the extremely complex war that was fought on the territory of occupied Serbia, members of both sexes suffered losses, which was especially visible among the civilians who died. One sixth of the total civilian losses from the occupied territory were women.

Table 68 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - sex structure of losses

Civilians OS – sex	Total	Men	%	Women	%
Total	55,830	45,918	82.25	9,912	17.75

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 98 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
sex structure of losses



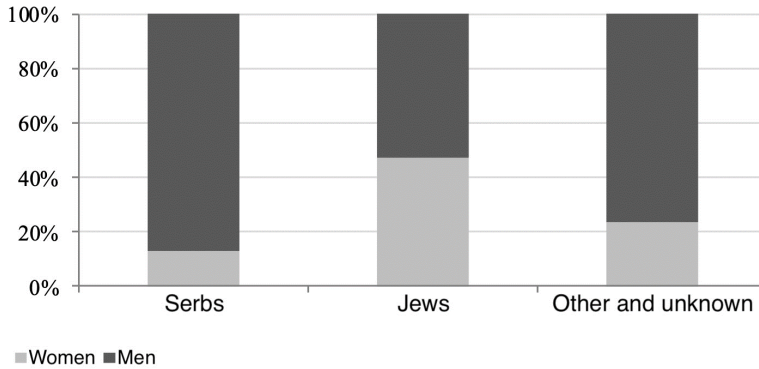
The sex structure of the victimized civilians of different nationalities was not equal. The differences were influenced, on the one hand, by the changing circumstances of the war in which the civilian population found themselves, and which affected the scale of the terror carried out, while, on the other hand, there was the intensification of the Germans to carry out the planned Holocaust.

Table 69 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
sex structure of losses according to nationality

Civilians OS-sex	Total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Other and unknown	%
Men	45,918	38,943	84.81	3,313	7.21	3,662	7.96
%	82.25	86.98	//	52.97	//	76.20	//
Women	9,912	5,827	58.79	2,941	29.67	1,144	11.54
%	17.75	13.02	//	47.02	//	23.80	//
Unknown	55,830	44,770	80.19	6,254	11.20	4,806	8.61

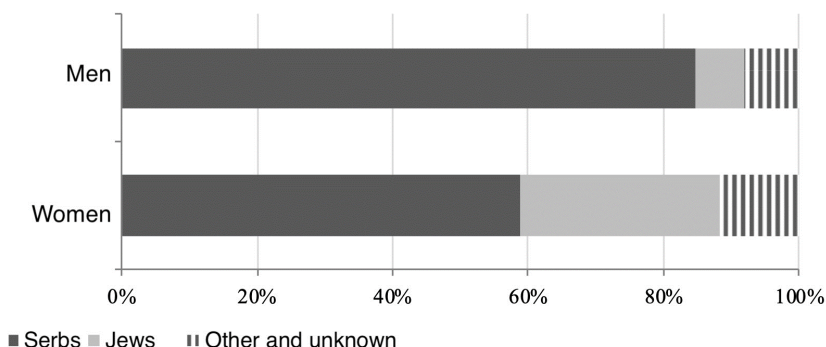
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 99 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - sex structure according to nationality



Methodically exterminated as a nation as a whole, the Jews had an almost equal representation of the sexes in the losses. Among the Serbs who died, women represented an eighth of the civilian casualties as well as a quarter of those of other and unknown nationalities. Thus, the ratio in the perishing of men and women among civilians of different nationalities from the occupied territory was completely different. While in the losses suffered by the Serbs, one woman died for every 6.68 men, and among members of other and unknown nationalities one woman died for every 3.20 men, the ratio among the Jewish victims of both sexes was quite even - 1.13:1. The representation of women among the victims of Jews was 3.61 times higher than in the losses of Serbs and 1.97 times higher than among members of other and unknown nationalities.

Graph 100 - Occupied Serbia, civilians -
national structure according to sex



The Serbs represented the absolutely dominant group in the loss of male civilians from the occupied territory with five sixths of representation. Among the martyred men, Jews made up a fourteenth part of the martyred. Thus, their loss among men was 11.76 times lower than the loss of Serbs, but, considering the representation of the two nations in the population, the loss of male Jews was realistically 20.66 times higher than the loss of men of Serbian nationality. Among the martyred women from the territory of occupied Serbia, Jewish women accounted for a third of the losses. Their loss was twice lower than the loss suffered by women of Serbian nationality, nevertheless, taking into account the representation of the two nations in the population, it was 122.65 times higher in real terms. The share of Jewish women among the perished women was 4.11 times higher than the share of their male compatriots among the perished men.

In the general destruction of civilians in occupied Serbia, members of both sexes suffered losses throughout the war. The dynamics of the losses suffered by members of both sexes of different nationalities was not equal, just as the representation of the sexes in the losses was not the same during the war. victims, among whom the Jewish

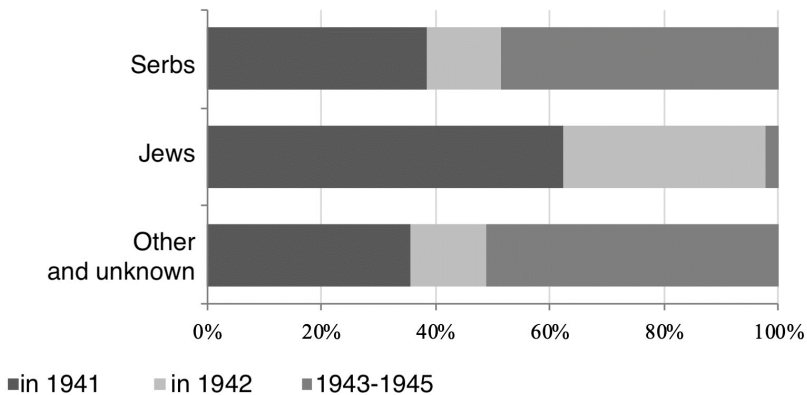
women perished in the Holocaust had a more significant representation in the total losses of women than the representation of their compatriots among the perished men.

Table 70 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, men - losses according to nationality and year of destruction

Men civilians - OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943 – 1945	%
Serbs	38,943	15,020	38.57	4,964	12.75	18,959	48.68
%	84.81	81.70	//	74.98	//	90.66	//
Jews	3,313	2,063	62.27	1,174	35.44	76	2.29
%	7.21	11.22	//	17.73	//	0.36	//
Other/Unknown	3,662	1,302	35.55	482	13.16	1,878	51.28
	7.97	7.08	//	7.28	//	8.98	//
Total	45,918	18,385	40.04	6,620	14.42	20,913	45.54

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 101 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, men - destruction timeline according to the nationality of the losses



Recognized by the Germans as bearers of resistance to the occupation, and consequently exposed to terror and reprisals, male civilians of Serbian nationality already suffered two-fifths of the total losses in the

first year of the war. After the crushing of the mass uprising at the end of 1941, their suffering was reduced 3.02 times in 1942, to an eighth of the total losses. The other half of the losses was suffered in the next three years of the war. In a planned and systematically executed Holocaust, in which men were first targeted for destruction, Jews suffered three-fifths of the losses already in the first year of the war. The proportion of killed Jewish men in the first year of the war was 1.61 and 1.75 times higher than the proportion of killed male civilians among Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities, respectively. The general reduction of terror against civilians in 1942 did not apply to Jews. The share of men of Jewish nationality perished in 1942 was 2.78 and 2.69 times higher than the share of Serbian men and members of other and unknown nationalities who died in that time. The practical annihilation of the entire Jewish community of occupied Serbia in 1942 resulted in a small proportion of men of this national group who died in the last three years of the war, many times lower than other national groups.

Graph 102 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, men -
representation in losses by nationality



Destined for destruction, the Jews already had a high proportion in the losses suffered by men from the first years of the war, making up one ninth and one sixth of them in the first two years of the war.

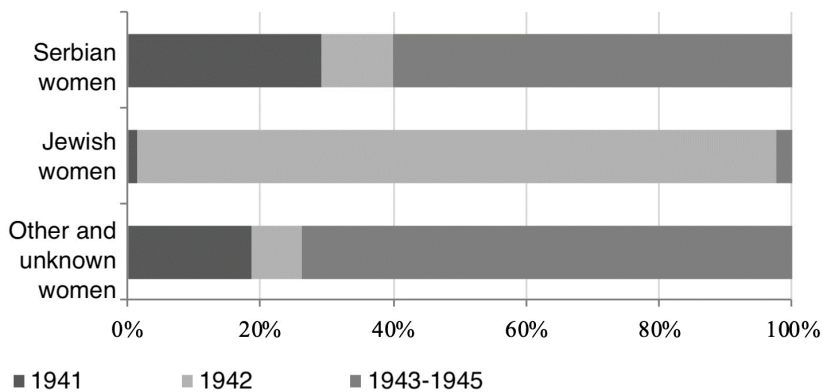
At that time, their representation in male civilian losses was 1.56 and 2.46 times higher than the representation in total male civilian losses in occupied Serbia, but their representation among victims in the last three years was 20.03 times lower. The representation of Jews in the losses of male civilians in the first two years of the war was 32.06 and 50.66 times higher than their representation in the population, but in the last three years the representation was equal.

Table 71 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - losses according to nationality and year of destruction

Women civilians - OS	Total	1941	%	1942	%	1943-1945	%
Serbian women	5,827	1,703	29.23	638	10.59	3,486	59.82
%	58.79	87.02	//	17.94	//	79.26	//
Jewish women	2,941	40	1.36	2,833	96.33	68	2.31
%	29.67	2.04	//	79.64	//	1.55	//
Other/unknown	1,144	214	18.71	86	7.52	844	73.78
	11.54	10.93	//	2.42	//	19.19	//
Total	9,912	1,957	19.74	3,557	35.88	4,398	44.37

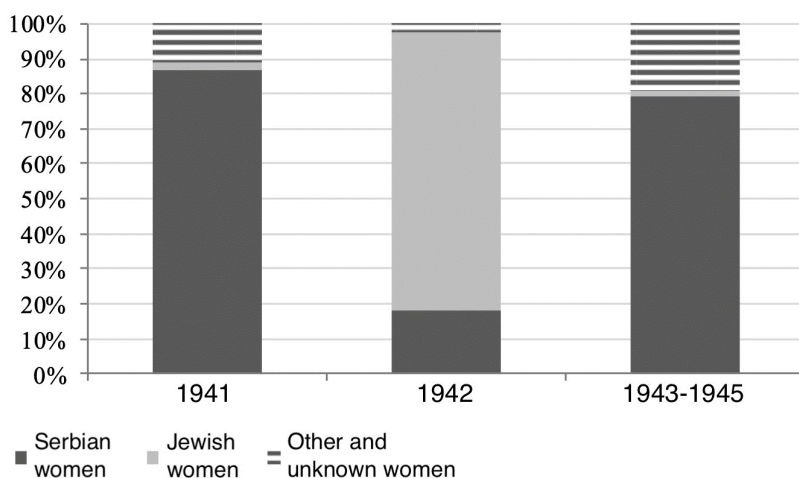
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 103 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - destruction timeline according to the nationality of the losses



According to the losses of the entire national cohort in occupied Serbia, Serbian women suffered the greatest losses in the first year of the war, with losses that were 3.68 times higher in real terms than in the following year. Members of other and unknown nationalities also had real losses in the first year of the war 3.32 times higher than in the next. Contrary to them, almost all Jewish women perished in 1942, with a real loss that was 35,41 times higher than in the previous year and 96.73 times higher than the loss suffered in the last three years of the war. The share of Jewish women who died in 1942 in their total losses was 9.10 and 12.81 times higher than the share of Serbian women who died at that time and female members of other and unknown nationalities. Consequently, their share of losses in the previous and subsequent periods of the war was many times smaller.

Graph 104 - Occupied Serbia, civilians, women -
representation in losses by nationality



As they were designated for destruction in the second year of the war, when the Holocaust in occupied Serbia reached its peak, Jewish women made up four-fifths of all women who died in

1942.¹⁴⁷ Their representation in the losses of women was then 39.04 and 51.38 times higher than in the previous and subsequent years of the war. During the entire war, the representation of Jewish women in the losses of women was higher than their representation in the population of the occupied territory (5.83 times higher in the first year of the war, 227.54 times higher in 1942 and 4.43 times higher in the following three years).

THE AGE STRUCTURE OF TOTAL CIVILIAN LOSSES WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SPECIFICITY OF THE JEWISH VICTIMS

The war waged on the territory of occupied Serbia affected its society as a whole, in which significant losses were suffered by the civilian population. Destruction in the German terror, the Holocaust and the civil war in the occupied territory resulted in the losses suffered by citizens of all ages.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ The representation of Jewish women in the losses of women in 1942 was not equal in all parts of the occupied territory. In the Belgrade region, Jewish women who were killed (1,606) represented 92.83% of the female losses in 1942 (1,703), in Banat (830) they made up 95.29% of the losses of women there (871), while in the other eight regions (397) they represented 41, 53% of the women victims in that year (956).

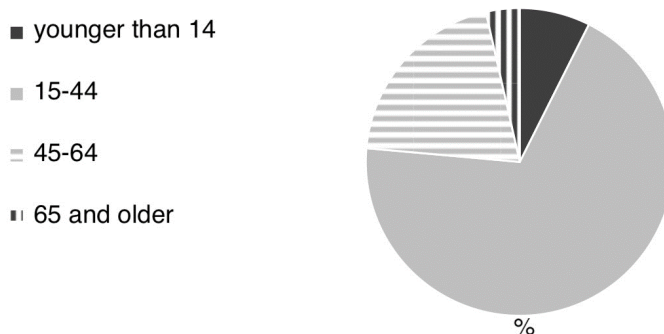
¹⁴⁸ The age structure of the population of occupied Serbia can only be approximately determined on the basis of the Population Listing from 1931. In doing so, one should bear in mind the changes in the demographic and age structure of the population in the pre-war period, primarily the growth of the population of Belgrade as a center that attracted young people either for education or as a workforce, as well as changes during the war (the taking into captivity of members of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, who represented a large part of the population of occupied Serbia between the ages of 18 and 40). According to the Population Listing from 1931, age up to 14, i.e. those who were between the ages of 10 and 24 in 1941, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, accounted for 20.22%, in the Danube Banovina there were 30.57% and in the Moravska Banovina 35.17% (according to the average value, ages between 5 and 14 years old, who in 1941 were between 15 and 24 years old, in the territory of the City of Belgrade Administration they made up 14.44%, in the Danube Banovina they were 21.83% and in the Moravian Banovina 25.12%), ages between 15 and 24 years old, who in 1941 were between 25 and 34 years old, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, they made up 25.09%, in the Danube Banovina they were 18.37% and in the Moravska Banovina 18.79%, ages between 25 and 34 years

Table 72 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - age structure of losses

Civilians OS – age structure	Total known	Up to 14 years old	%	15 – 44	%	45 – 64	%	65 and older	%
Total	54,370	4,031	7.41	37,523	69.01	10,888	20.02	1,928	3.55

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 105 - Occupied Serbia, civilians - age structure of losses



The age structure of the suffered losses¹⁴⁹ shows that two-thirds of the civilians who died (69.01%) belonged to the age group between

old, who in 1941 were between 35 and 44 years old, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, they made up 22.61%, in Danube Banovina there were 16.43% and in Moravska Banovina 16.10%, ages between 35 and 44, who in 1941 were between 45 and 54 years old, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration they made up 14.53%, in the Danube Banovina they were 11.77% and in the Moravska Banovina 10.48%, aged between 45 and 54 years, who in 1941 were between 55 and 64 years old, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration accounted for 9.23%, in the Danube Banovina they were 10.22% and in the Moravska Banovina 8.58%, there were those between the ages of 55 and 64, who were 65 to 74 years old in 1941, in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, they accounted for 4.97%, in the Danube Banovina they were 6.52% and in the Moravian Banovina 5.73% and older over 65 years old, who in 1941 were 75 or older or had already passed away, accounted for 3.33% in the territory of the Belgrade City Administration, 6.09% in the Danube Banovina and 5.27% in the Moravska Banovina. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31.3.1931.godine, knjiga III; Prisutno stanovništvo po pismenosti i starosti*, (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1938), 5, 6, 12.

¹⁴⁹ The age structure of civilians killed in occupied Serbia is known in 97.39% of cases, while unknown data is still being sought in sources and literature.

15 and 44, as the most able to work and reproduce. The brutality of the war waged in the occupied territory is reflected in the destruction of civilians under the age of 15 and over 65, who together represented a ninth of the total losses (10.96%).

The age structure of the victims of civilians of different nationalities was not equal.¹⁵⁰ The differences were influenced, on the one hand, by the variable circumstances of the war, in which there was a civilian population that suffered in terror and reprisals carried out by the occupation regime or in the civil war, and, on the other hand, by the intention of the Germans to carry out the complete destruction of the Jews as a nation on this territory.

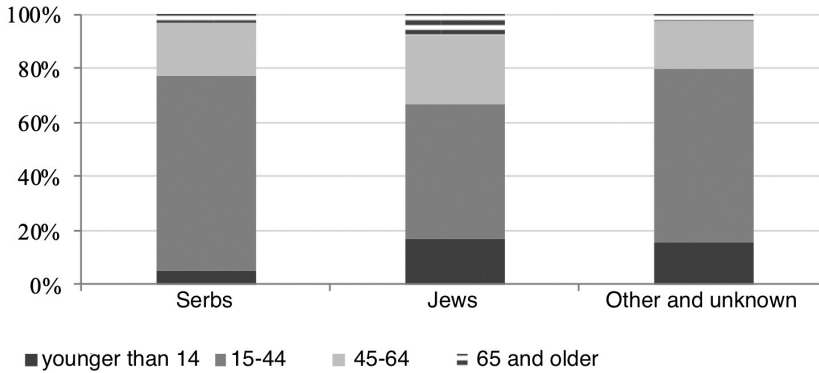
¹⁵⁰ The age structure of the civilians killed in occupied Serbia is not equally established among all nationalities. While it is almost completely known for the victimized Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities (98.26 and 98.17%, respectively), for the victimized Jews, it is necessary to obtain data on the age of one tenth of the losses suffered.

Table 73. Occupied Serbia, civilians - age structure of losses
according to nationality

Civilians of OS – age	In total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others and unknown	%
Under 14	4.031	2.309	57,28	972	24,11	750	18,60
%	7,41	5,25	//	17,17	//	15,90	//
15–24	13.129	11.355	86,49	778	5,92	996	7,59
%	24,15	25,81	//	13,74	//	21,11	//
25–34	12.077	10.099	83,62	932	7,72	1.046	8,66
%	22,21	22,96	//	16,47	//	22,17	//
35–44	12.317	10.251	83,23	1.095	8,89	971	7,88
%	22,65	23,30	//	19,35	//	20,58	//
45–54	6.896	5.474	79,38	868	12,59	554	8,03
%	12,68	12,43	//	15,33	//	11,74	//
55–64	3.992	3.111	77,93	599	15,01	282	7,06
%	7,34	7,07	//	10,58	//	5,98	//
65 and over	1.928	1.393	72,25	416	21,58	119	6,17
%	3,55	3,17	//	7,35	//	2,52	//
Total known	54.370	43.992	80,91	5.660	10,41	4.718	8,68
Unknown	1.460	778	53,29	594	40,68	88	6,03
%	2,61	1,74	//	9,50	//	1,83	//
In total	55.830	44.770	80,19	6.254	11,20	4.806	8,61

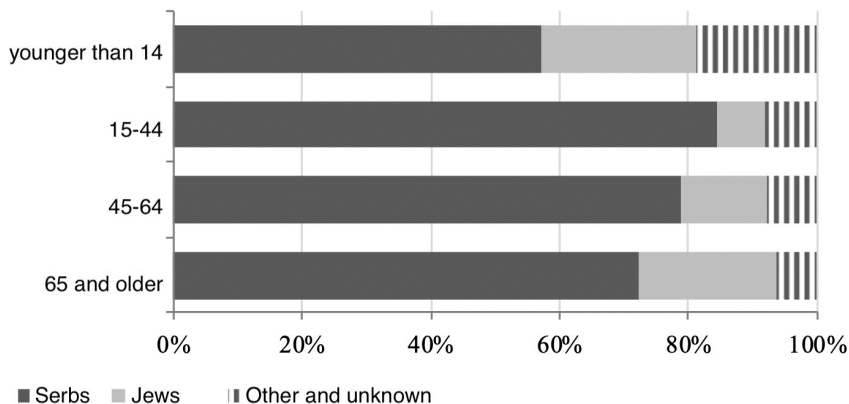
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 106. Occupied Serbia, civilians - age structure according to nationality



With the representation of four fifths among the civilians who died, the Serbs determined the age structure of the total losses of occupied Serbia. As potentially the greatest threat to the occupier, three-quarters of the martyred Serbs were civilians aged 15 to 44 (72.08%). Destroyed as a nation in total, the Jews had a completely different age structure of the losses suffered. Among them, children up to the age of 14 represented a sixth of the losses, which was 3.27 times the representation of this age group than among the victims of Serbs and slightly higher than among members of other and unknown nationalities. Also, the representation of people over the age of 65, who represented one-fourteenth of the Jewish losses, was 2.32 and 2.92 times higher than that of the victims of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities. On the other hand, the age group that included victims from 15 to 44 years old was among the Jewish victims (46.56%) 1.55 times less represented than it was in the losses of civilians of Serbian nationality and 1.37 times less than among members of the of other and unknown nationalities (63.86%).

Graph 107. Occupied Serbia, civilians -
national structure by age



The representation of Jews out of a ninth of the total civilian losses was not the same in all age groups. Jews represented a quarter of all child casualties under the age of 14 (2.32 times their share of total casualties of known age) and a fifth of civilian casualties aged 65 and over (2.07 times the share of total casualties). On the other hand, the share in losses of the age group from 15 to 44 years (7.47%) was 1.39 times lower than their representation in total losses.¹⁵¹ Nominally smaller than the loss of Serbs in all age groups of civilians who died, the loss suffered by Jews, considering the representation of two nations in the population of the occupied territory, in the age group under 14 years of age was realistically 102.29 times higher, in the group from 15 to 44 years of age 21.51 times higher and at the age of 65 and older it was realistically 72.59 times higher.

In the complex and multilayered war waged on the territory of occupied Serbia, women accounted for a sixth of the civilian casualties. During the war, women of all ages lost their lives, but not to the same extent.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ The share of Jews in the losses of the age group from 45 to 64 years (13.47%) was 1.20 times higher than their representation in the total losses.

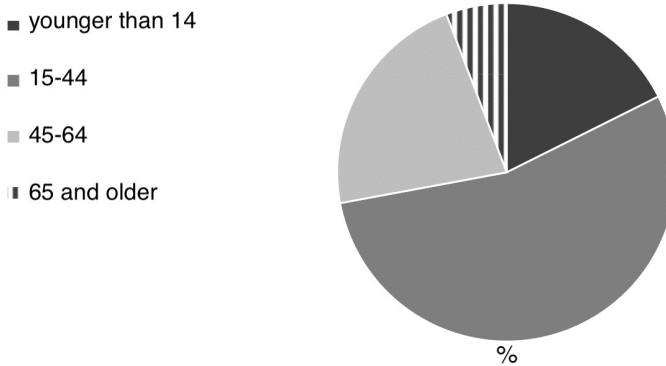
¹⁵² The age structure of female victims is known in 96.10% of cases, while the remaining 3.90%

Table 74. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - age structure of losses

Civilian women of OS - age	Total known	Under 14 years of age	%	15-44	%	45-64	%	65 and older	%
In total	9.525	1.677	17,61	5.188	54,47	2.107	22,12	553	5,80

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941-1945" ("Victims of War 1941-1945")

Graph 108. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - age structure of losses



More than half of the losses of women were represented by women aged 15-44, as members of the most reproductively and labor-productive part of society, with a fifth of victims aged 45-64. Children under the age of 14 accounted for a sixth of the losses suffered by women, while people aged 65 and older represented a seventeenth part of the female losses.

Women of different nationalities from the occupied territory suffered losses in all age groups,¹⁵³ with the fact that the age structure of the losses suffered was not equal. Differences existed both in the

are still being sought in sources and literature during the listing revision process.

¹⁵³ The age structure has not been established equally for female victims of all nationalities. In contrast to the martyred women of Serbian nationality and members of other and unknown nationalities, for whom the age structure is almost completely determined, in the case of the Jewish victims, it is necessary to determine the age of the eleventh part of the victims.

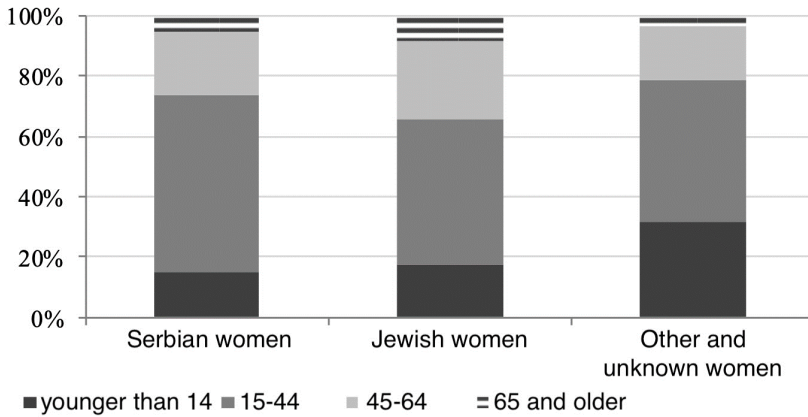
representation of a certain age in the losses of women of the same nationality, as well as in the share that women of different nationalities had in the losses of certain age groups.

Table 75. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - age structure of losses according to nationality

Civilian women of OS – age	In total	Serbian women	%	Jewish women	%	Other and unknown women	%
Under 14	1.677	855	50,98	463	27,61	359	21,41
%	17,61	14,92	//	17,33	//	31,94	//
15–24	1.792	1.244	69,42	365	20,37	183	10,21
%	18,81	21,71	//	13,66	//	16,28	//
25–34	1.646	1.039	63,12	419	25,45	188	11,42
%	17,28	18,13	//	15,68	//	16,72	//
35–44	1.750	1.083	61,88	512	29,26	155	8,86
%	18,37	18,90	//	19,16	//	13,79	//
45–54	1.253	724	57,78	401	32,00	128	10,21
%	13,15	12,64	//	15,01	//	11,39	//
55–64	854	480	56,21	299	35,01	75	8,78
%	8,96	8,38	//	11,19	//	6,67	//
65 and older	553	304	54,97	213	38,52	36	6,51
%	5,80	5,31	//	7,97	//	3,20	//
Total known	9.525	5.729	60,15	2.672	28,05	1.124	11,80
Unknown	387	98	25,32	269	69,51	20	5,17
%	3,90	1,68	//	9,15	//	1,75	//
In total	9.912	5.827	58,79	2.941	29,67	1.144	11,54

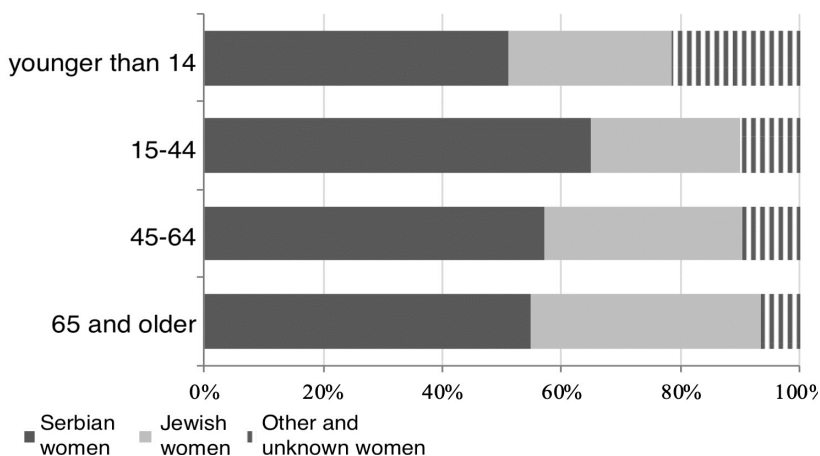
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 109. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - age structure according to nationality



Jewish women had a structure that corresponded to their age structure in the pre-war period. One-sixth of the losses were girls under 14 years of age, which was slightly higher than among the victims of Serbian women (1.16 times), but also almost twice less than among women of other and unknown nationalities (1.84 times). Half of the victimized Jewish women were between the ages of 15 and 44 (48.50%), whose representation was equal to the representation of women of other and unknown nationalities, but also with 1.21 times less representation than the representation of these ages among the victims of Serbian women nationalities (58.74%). Among the older ages, from 45 to 64 years (26.20%) and 65 and older, Jewish women had a higher representation in the losses than was the case with female Serbian victims (1.25 and 1.50 times, respectively) and members of other and of unknown nationalities (1.45 and 2.49 times, respectively).

Graph 110. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - national structure of losses by age



Making up almost a third of the female victims of the occupied territory, Jewish women did not have equal shares in the losses of all age groups. They represented a fifth of the victims of women between the ages of 15 and 24, a quarter of the victims of girls under the age of 14, as well as women between the ages of 25 and 44, they made up a third of the victims of women between the ages of 45 and 64, and two fifths of the losses of women over the age of 65. Nominally smaller than the loss of Serbian women in all age groups of female civilian victims, the loss suffered by Jews, considering the representation of two peoples in the population of the occupied territory, in the age group under 14 years of age was realistically 131.62 times higher, in the group from 15 to 44 aged 93.57 times higher and at the age of 65 and older 170.30 times higher in real terms.

THE PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF TOTAL CIVILIAN LOSSES WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SPECIFICITY OF THE JEWISH VICTIMS

The entire population of occupied Serbia was affected by the complex and layered war waged on its territory. All the professions that were present in the pre-war society¹⁵⁴ were among the victims of civilians from the occupied territory.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ A partial overview of the professional structure of the population of the territory that later became occupied Serbia is approximately possible through the data of the 1931 Listing, according to the then existing administrative division into banovina. In doing so, one should take into account the fact that in the ten-year development of society, until the beginning of the war, there were changes in the professional structure due to the development of industry, the improvement of education, the development of administration, both state and economic, as well as the fact that parts of the pre-war banovina included in this territory, were also part of other occupation zones. In the area that later became the territory of occupied Serbia, there are regional differences in the socio-economic structure of the population, but in all parts there was a dominant presence of agriculturists and dependents. In the Danube Banovina, the largest part of which became part of occupied Serbia, workers (together with wage earners and servants and apprentices) made up 12.85% of the population, clerks and experts (including members of the army) 1.90%, businessman (independent and tenants in industry and crafts, trade, loans and traffic) 3.23%, in the Moravian Banovina, which was almost entirely part of occupied Serbia, there were 3.71% workers, 1.15% clerks and 1.43% businessman, in the greater part of the Administration of the city of Belgrade, which was in the newly formed territory (Belgrade and Pančevo), there were 23.87% of workers, 12.99% of clerks and experts, 6.71% of businessman, while in the part of Drinska banovina, which a smaller part was found in occupied Serbia, namely 4.49% of workers, 1.53% of civil servants and 1.56% of businessman. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine, Prisutno stanovništvo po glavnom zanimanju*, book IV (Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1940), 116–117, 158–159, 186–187, 334–335. According to German data, in Serbia around 160,000 people worked in non-agricultural production and service activities, 80,000 in industry and mining and 45,000 artisans, and the rest in trade and other service activities. Dragan Aleksić, *Privreda Srbije u drugom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: INIS, 2002), 325. Considering the number of inhabitants, in the population of occupied Serbia there were about 1.93% of workers and 1.93% of tradesmen and service workers. Based on the number of pupils and students in the Banovinas of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in school year 38/39, high school students represented 9.37% of the population of the Belgrade City Administration, 1.70% in the Danube Banovina, 1.21% in Moravska and 1.64% in the Drina Banovina. Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*, I–III (Belgrade: Pillars of Culture, 1997), 187–189.

¹⁵⁵ The professional structure has been established for 97.52% of the civilian victims of occupied Serbia, and unknown data are being sought in sources and literature in the process of revising the listing.

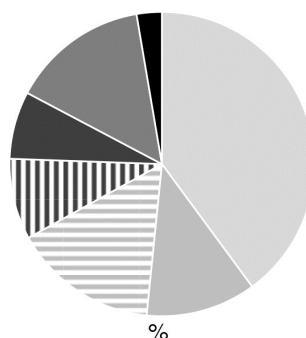
Table 76. Occupied Serbia, civilians -
professional structure of losses

Civilians of OS - professions	In total
Total known	54.443
Agriculturists	21.735
%	39,92
Businessmen	6.353
%	11,70
Workers	8.357
%	15,35
Clerks, experts, liberal professions	4.687
%	8,61
Pupils and students	3.914
%	7,19
Dependents	7.944
%	14,59
Other occupations	1.453
%	2,67

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 111. Occupied Serbia, civilians -
professional structure of losses

- Agriculturists
- Businessmen
- Workers
- ▣ Clerks, experts, liberal professions members
- Pupils and students
- Dependents
- Other and unknown



In a predominantly agrarian area, such as the territory of occupied Serbia, two-fifths of the civilian casualties were agriculturists as the dominant group in the professional structure of the civilian casualties. A quarter of the losses were businessmen and workers (a seventh or a ninth of the losses), a seventh of the losses were dependents, with a significant representation of clerks and experts, as well as pupils and students,¹⁵⁶ who together made up another seventh of the civilian casualties.

The different nationalities represented in the civilian casualties had a different professional structure of the victims.¹⁵⁷ Since the Jews were being destroyed as a people as a whole, the occupational structure of the losses suffered reflects the pre-war occupational structure of the Jewish community. Among the Serb victims, the professional structure of the losses does not fully reflect the pre-war Serbian society, for the most part due to the targeted killing of the population, mostly male and of a certain age, and the urban population to a greater extent than its real representation in society, which disturbed the image of the professional commitment of the majority population to occupied territory.

¹⁵⁶ In civilian losses in the occupied territory, university students accounted for 2.31% of casualties (1,256). Among the perished pupils and students, university students made up a third of the losses suffered (32.09%). Women (214) represented 17.04% of the perished university students.

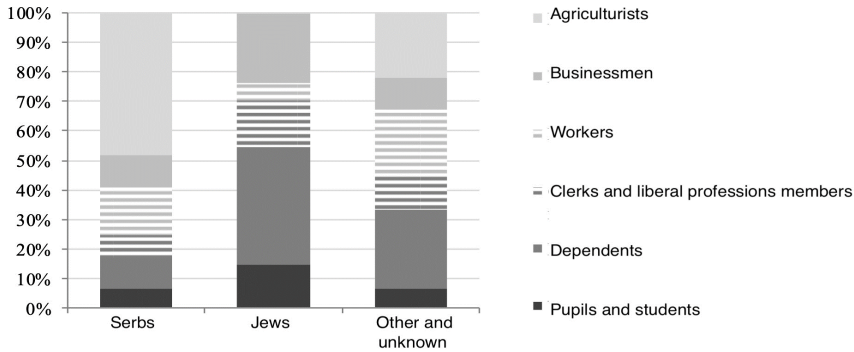
¹⁵⁷ The professional structure of the civilian victims of occupied Serbia is not equally established among all nationalities. It is almost completely known for Serbian victims and members of other and unknown nationalities, while for the Jewish victims, it is necessary to obtain data on the occupations for a ninth of the losses, which is one of the tasks of the current revision of the listing.

Table 77. Occupied Serbia, civilians - professional structure of losses according to nationality

Civilians of OS - professions	In total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others and unknown	%
Agriculturists	21.735	20.731	95,38	20	0,09	984	4,53
%	39,92	46,94	//	0,36	//	20,91	//
Businessmen	6.353	4.604	72,47	1.277	20,10	472	7,43
%	11,70	10,42	//	22,92	//	10,03	//
Workers	8.357	7.062	84,50	323	3,86	972	11,63
%	15,35	15,99	//	5,80	//	20,66	//
Army and police	848	694	81,84	2	0,23	152	17,92
%	1,56	1,57	//	0,03	//	3,23	//
Clerks/experts	3.809	2.617	68,70	767	20,14	425	11,16
%	7,00	5,92	//	13,76	//	9,03	//
Liberal professions	878	645	73,46	106	12,07	127	14,46
%	1,61	1,46	//	1,90	//	2,70	//
Dependents	7.944	4.564	57,45	2.201	27,71	1.179	14,84
%	14,59	10,33	//	39,51	//	25,05	//
Pupils and students	3.914	2.814	71,89	804	20,54	296	7,56
%	7,19	6,37	//	14,43	//	6,29	//
Other occupations	247	157	63,56	23	9,31	67	27,12
%	0,45	0,35	//	0,41	//	1,42	//
Personal income	302	243	80,46	37	12,25	22	7,28
%	0,55	0,55	//	0,66	//	0,47	//
Unemployed	56	35	62,50	12	21,43	9	16,07
%	0,10	0,08	//	0,21	//	0,19	//
Total known	54.443	44.166	81,12	5.572	10,23	4.705	8,64
Unknown occupations	1.387	604	43,55	682	49,17	101	7,28
%	2,48	1,35	//	10,90	//	2,01	//
In total	55.830	44.770	80,19	6.254	11,20	4.806	8,61

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Źrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

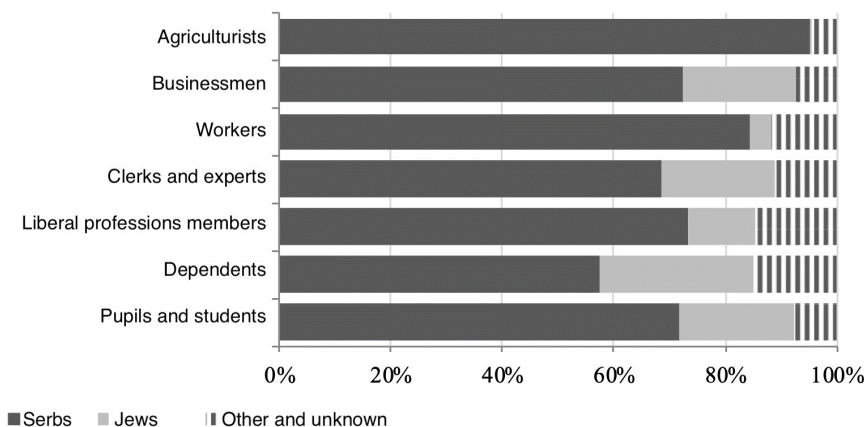
Graph 112. Occupied Serbia, civilians - professional structure according to nationality



As a nation with the most civilian losses, the Serbs determined the professional structure of total losses, with the fact that they had a slightly higher representation of agriculturists in losses (1.17 times) compared to the average, and a lower representation of dependents (1.41 times). The Jewish community destroyed in the Holocaust had a completely different professional structure of losses. Dependents represented two fifths of the Jewish losses, which was 3.82 times higher than among the victims of Serbian civilians. The specifics of the social and economic structure of Jews in pre-war society also affected the professional structure of losses. Thus, businessmen, who represented a quarter of the losses of Jews, were 2.20 times more represented than in the losses of Serbs, clerks, experts and members of the liberal professions (15.66%) 2.12 times, and pupils and students 2.26 times.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Perished university students (989) accounted for 2.24% of the losses of Serb civilians and 35.14% of the losses of the group of pupils and students of this nationality. Thus, students in the losses of the Jewish community (3.44%) had 1.53 times more representation than students among the perished civilians of Serbian nationality.

Graph 113. Occupied Serbia, civilians - national structure according to profession



Jews represented a ninth of the total civilian casualties of occupied Serbia, but they did not have the same share in the losses of all professional groups. They represented a quarter of all deceased dependents, which was 2.71 times the share of their representation in total losses. The destruction of the Jewish community had great consequences for the future economic and intellectual development of society, since Jews represented one fifth of the victims of businessman, clerks and experts, as well as pupils and students,¹⁵⁹ which was twice the share of the losses of those professional groups than the share of Jews in the total losses civilians, as well as an eighth of the victims of the liberal professions.

The professional structure of the martyred women from the territory of occupied Serbia was determined by their position in the pre-war society. Making up a sixth of the total civilian losses of the occupied territory, women suffered losses in all occupational groups.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Jews represented 15.29% of the students who died, which was 1.49 times the share of this group's losses than the share of the Jewish community in the total losses of civilians from the occupied territory with a known occupation.

¹⁶⁰ The professional structure is known for 95.21% of female victims, while for the remaining

Table 78. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - professional structure of losses

Civilian women of OS - occupations	In total
Total known	9.437
Dependents	6.472
%	68,58
Pupils and students	930
%	9,85
Clerks and experts, liberal professions	483
%	5,12
Businesswomen	254
%	2,69
Workers	360
%	3,81
Agriculturists	847
%	8,95
Other occupations	91
%	0,96

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 114. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - professional structure of losses



4.79%, unknown occupations are still being sought in the listing revision process.

In the patriarchal and rural environment of Serbia at the time, two-thirds of all women who died were dependents, with the eleventh part made up of agricultural women. Female pupils and students, together with female clerks and experts, represented a seventh of the losses, while businesswomen and workers made up a fifteenth of the victims.

The professional structure of female victims of different nationalities was not equal.¹⁶¹ The differences were, on the one hand, a consequence of the different occupations they were engaged in in pre-war society, and on the other hand, in the uneven destruction of different nationalities, in which the complete destruction of the Jewish community in the Holocaust stands out.

Table 79. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women -
professional structure of losses according to nationality

Civilian women of OS - professions	In total	Serbian women	%	Jewish women	%	Other and unknown women	%
Agriculturists	847	793	93,62	6	0,71	48	5,67
%	8,95	13,89	//	0,23	//	4,27	//
Businesswomen	254	76	29,92	156	61,42	22	8,66
%	2,69	1,33	//	5,99	//	1,96	//
Workers	360	252	70,00	65	18,05	43	11,95
%	3,81	4,41	//	2,49	//	3,83	//
Army and police	5	4	80,00	--	--	1	20,00
%	0,05	0,07	//	--	//	0,09	//
Clerks/experts	464	242	52,15	179	38,58	43	9,27
%	4,92	4,24	//	6,87	//	3,83	//
Liberal professions	19	7	36,84	10	52,63	2	10,53
%	0,20	0,12	//	0,38	//	0,18	//

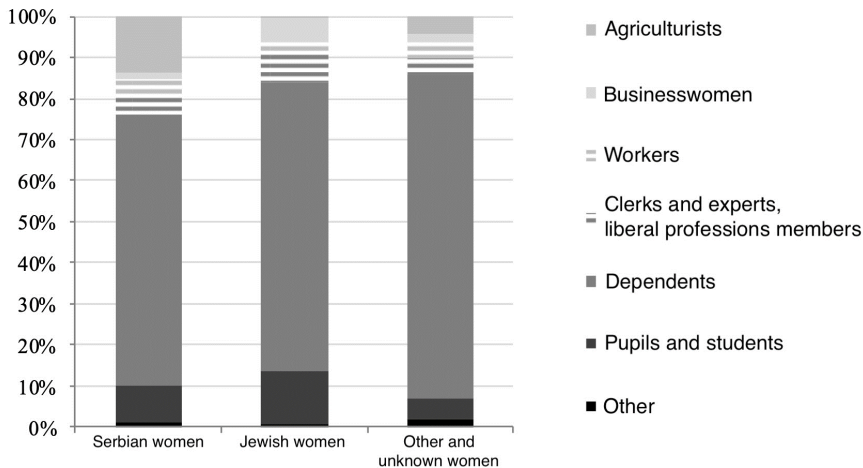
¹⁶¹ The professional structure of female victims is not known to the same extent for all nationalities, so it remains a problem for a ninth of female Jewish victims, while the situation among other nationalities is much better. One of the tasks of the listing revision process is to eliminate such deficiencies.

Table 79. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - professional structure of losses according to nationality (continuation)

Civilian women of OS - professions	In total	Serbian women	%	Jewish women	%	Other and unknown women	%
Dependents	6.472	3.754	58,03	1.833	28,32	885	13,65
%	68,58	65,77	//	70,34	//	78,81	//
Pupils and students	930	533	57,31	337	36,24	60	6,45
%	9,85	9,34	//	12,93	//	5,34	//
Other professions	41	18	43,90	8	19,51	15	36,59
%	0,43	0,31	//	0,31	//	1,33	//
Personal income	31	20	64,52	8	25,81	3	9,67
%	0,32	0,35	//	0,31	//	0,27	//
Unemployed	14	9	64,28	4	28,57	1	7,15
%	0,15	0,16	//	0,15	//	0,09	//
Total known	9.437	5.708	60,48	2.606	27,62	1.123	11,90
Unknown occupations	475	119	25,05	335	70,53	21	4,42
%	4,79	2,04	//	11,39	//	1,83	//
In total	9.912	5.827	58,79	2.941	29,67	1.144	11,54

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

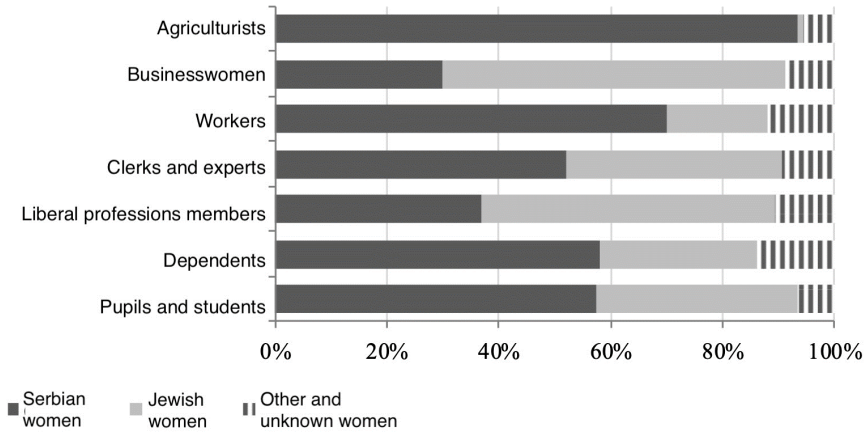
Graph 115. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - professional structure of losses according to nationality



All the women who were killed, regardless of their nationality, had a common dominance of dependents in the losses they suffered, to whom belonged two-thirds of Serbian and Jewish women and four-fifths of other and unknown nationalities. The specificity of the Jews as an urban community meant that among them the presence of agricultural women was negligible, while they made up a seventh of the Serbian women who died (60.39 times greater representation). On the other hand, among Jewish victims, the representation of businesswomen was 4.50 times higher than among Serbian women and 3.0 times higher than among women of other and unknown nationalities. Also, the representation of female clerks and experts of various profiles among Jewish women was 1.62 and 1.79 times higher than that of Serbian women and members of other and unknown nationalities, and members of liberal professions 3.17 and 2.11 times, respectively. The representation of female pupils and students in the losses of women of Jewish nationality was 1.38 times higher than among Serbian women¹⁶² and 2.42 times higher than among women of other and unknown nationalities.

¹⁶² Women (141) represented 14.26% of the victims that were students of Serbian nationality. Among the victims of Serbian women, female students accounted for 2.47% of the losses. The representation of female students of Jewish nationality in the total losses of fellow women (2.69%) was only slightly higher (1.09 times) than the representation of female students of Serbian nationality in the losses of women of that nationality. The representation of Jewish women in the losses of students of this nationality (36.46%) was 2.56 times higher than the representation of Serbian women among the victims of Serbian students.

Graph 116. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - national structure according to profession



The shares of all national groups in the total losses of women, with their dominant representation among the victims, were practically determined by dependents.¹⁶³ The attachment of the Jewish community to urban occupations had the effect that Jewish women had a 2.22 times greater share in the losses of businesswomen than their share in the total losses of women. They also had a 1.90 and a 1.40 times higher share among the victims of liberal professions, as well as clerks and experts, and a 1.31 times higher share of the losses suffered by female pupils and students,¹⁶⁴ but also a 1.53 times smaller share among the victims of workers. Jewish women represented three-fifths of businesswomen perished in the war and half of the members of liberal professions, and in the losses of women there were 2.05 and 1.43 times more than Serbian women who were engaged in these occupations, but they made up only one-fifth of the perished

¹⁶³ Only among women of other and unknown nationalities, the share in the losses of dependents was 1.15 times higher than their share in the total losses of women.

¹⁶⁴ Jewish women represented 36.91% of the total number of female university students killed (214). Their share in the losses of female university students was 3.15 times higher than the share (11.71%) that male members of this national group (122) had among the fallen university students (1,042).

women workers, 3.88 times less than the victims of Serbian women of same occupation.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIANS WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SPECIFICS OF THE JEWISH VICTIMS

Civilians from the territory of occupied Serbia lost their lives in various circumstances during the war. Half of the losses were those who died in direct terror, a broad definition that included everything from individual murders to mass crimes. A third of the perished civilians lost their lives in camps and prisons, while a sixth of the losses were related to all other circumstances (during battles and bombings, during forced labor, etc.) or the circumstances of their suffering are unknown.

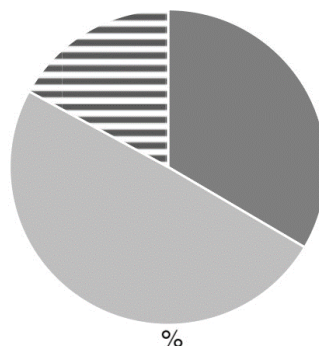
Table 80. Occupied Serbia, civilians -
circumstances of destruction

Civilians - circum- stances	In total	Concentra- tion camps and prisons	%	Direct terror	%	The rest and un- known	%
In total	55.830	18.696	33,49	27.625	49,48	9.509	17,03

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 117. Occupied Serbia, civilians -
circumstances of destruction

- Camps and prisons
- Direct terror
- Other and unknown



In the civilian losses of the occupied territory, the representation of victims in direct terror was 1.48 times higher than the representation of victims in camps and prisons, as well as 2.90 times higher than the representation of victims in other and unknown circumstances, while the representation of victims in camps and prisons was 1.97 times higher than the representation of victims in other and unknown circumstances.¹⁶⁵

The circumstances of destruction were not equal for all nationalities represented in the civilian casualties of occupied Serbia. Destruction in camps and prisons, mass shootings and individual murders carried out by the occupying authorities in the occupied territory, implementation of the Holocaust, then individual and mass murders in the civil war had a significant impact on the circumstances in which civilians of different nationalities lost their lives.

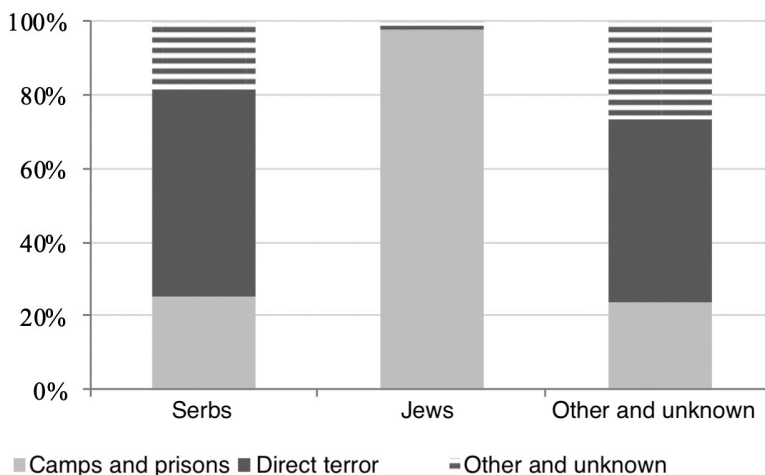
Table 81. Occupied Serbia, civilians - circumstances of destruction according to nationality

Civilian of OS – circumstances of destruction	In total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others and unknown	%
Camps/prison	18.696	11.417	61,07	6.138	32,83	1.141	6,10
%	33,49	25,50	//	98,14	//	23,74	//
Direct terror	27.625	25.159	91,07	63	0,23	2.403	8,70
%	49,48	56,20	//	1,01	//	50,00	//
Other/unknown	9.509	8.194	86,17	53	0,56	1.262	13,27
%	17,03	18,30	//	0,85	//	26,26	//
In total	55.830	44.770	80,19	6.254	11,20	4.806	8,61

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

¹⁶⁵ Roughly speaking, out of the six civilians who perished in occupied Serbia, three were killed in direct terror, two lost their life in concentration camps or prisons and one person in other and unknown circumstances.

Graph 118. Occupied Serbia, civilians - circumstances of destruction according to nationality

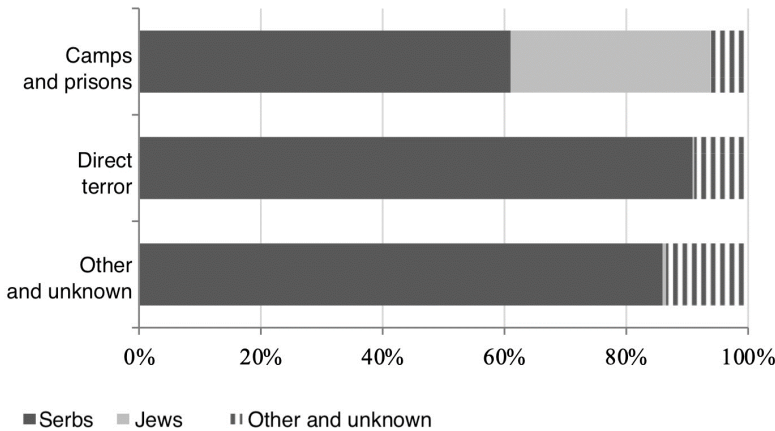


In contrast to Serbs and members of other nationalities, three-fifths or half of whom lost their lives in direct terror, the destruction of Jews from the occupied territory was almost exclusively related to their previous stay in a concentration camp.¹⁶⁶ The representation of victims in the camps in the losses of Jews was four times higher than representation of perished under the same circumstances in the losses of Serbs or members of other and unknown nationalities (3.85 and 4.13 times, respectively). On the other hand, only one-fiftieth of the losses suffered by the Jews were not connected to the concentration camps. The representation of victims of direct terror in the losses of Jews was 55.64 and 49.50 times less than the representation of victims in these

¹⁶⁶ In the losses of civilians of Serbian nationality from occupied Serbia, the representation of victims in direct terror was 2.20 times higher than the representation of victims in camps and prisons, as well as 3.07 times higher than the representation of victims in other and unknown circumstances, while the representation of victims in camps and prisons was 1.38 times higher than the representation of victims in other and unknown circumstances. Among members of other and unknown nationalities, the representation of those killed in direct terror was twice as high as the representation in the losses of those killed in camps and prisons (2.11 times) or in other and unknown circumstances (1.90 times).

circumstances in the losses of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities.

Graph 119. Occupied Serbia, civilians - national structure according to the circumstances of destruction



The connection between the losses of the Jews of occupied Serbia and the concentration camps determined their shares in the losses of various circumstances of destruction. The Jews perished in the Holocaust represented a third of all civilians of occupied Serbia killed in camps and prisons.¹⁶⁷ That was 2.93 times greater share of losses suffered in these circumstances than their share in the total losses of the civilian population of the occupied territory. On the other hand, their share among the victims of direct terror or in other and unknown circumstances was negligible.

¹⁶⁷ With a share of a third of the total losses in camps and prisons, Jews from the territory of occupied Serbia did not have an equal share in the losses among those who suffered under these circumstances in different parts of the occupied territory. Members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and Banat accounted for three-fifths (56.51 and 57.86%) of the total number of civilians who died in camps and prisons from these regions, while Jews from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia represented a tenth (9.58 %) of the losses suffered there under these circumstances.

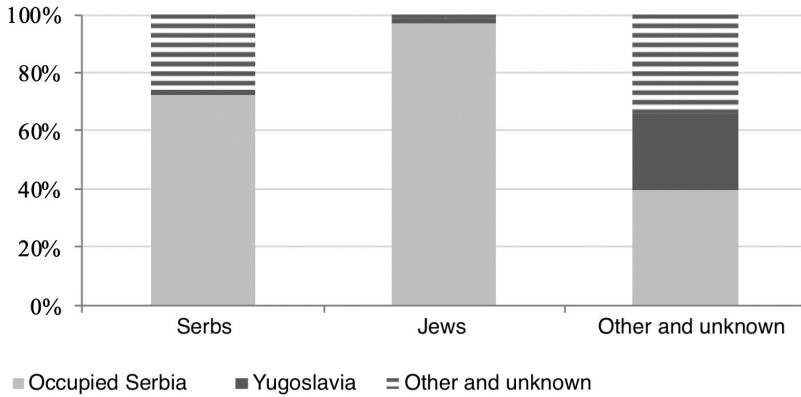
Civilians of the occupied territory were killed in numerous concentration camps and prisons, whether they were in occupied Serbia or outside it, that is, on the territory of Yugoslavia or abroad. Shares of losses suffered in camps and prisons in different territories were not equal among all nationalities, just as the share of different nationalities in losses in the same territory was not equal.

Table 82. Occupied Serbia, civilians, concentration camps - nationality according to the territory of destruction

Civilian of OS - camps and prisons	In total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others and unknown	%
Occupied Serbia	14.418	8.187	56,78	5.964	41,36	267	1,85
%	79,37	72,09	//	97,23	//	39,56	//
Yugoslavia	530	264	49,81	86	16,22	180	33,96
%	2,92	2,32	//	1,40	//	26,67	//
Foreign countries	3.218	2.906	90,30	84	2,61	228	7,08
%	17,71	25,59	//	1,37	//	33,78	//
Total known	18.166	11.357	62,52	6.134	33,77	675	3,75
Unknown	530	60	11,32	4	0,75	466	87,92
%	2,83	0,52	//	0,06	//	40,84	//
In total	18.696	11.417	61,07	6.138	32,83	1.141	6,10

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 120. Occupied Serbia, civilians, concentration camps - representation of the territory of destruction according to the nationality of the victims

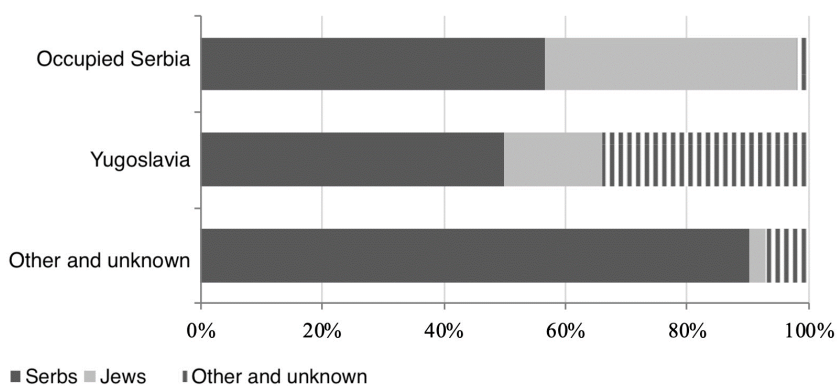


The domicile territory was the primary place of destruction for members of all nationalities of occupied Serbia who lost their lives in concentration camps and prisons. In the concentration camps on the territory of occupied Serbia, almost all the Jews who died lost their lives, as well as three quarters of the Serbian victims perished in the camps and prisons and two fifths of members of other and unknown nationalities. Thus, the representation of victims in the camps in the occupied territory among Jews was 1.35 times higher than among Serbs and 2.46 times higher than among members of other and unknown nationalities.¹⁶⁸ A quarter of the victims of the Serbs in the camps lost their

¹⁶⁸ Among the Jews who died in camps, the share of those who lost their lives in occupied Serbia was 70.97 times higher than the representation of those who died in camps abroad and 69.45 times higher than the share of those who died in camps on the territory of Yugoslavia outside the occupied territory. In the losses of civilians of Serbian nationality from occupied Serbia who died in camps and prisons, the representation of those who died in the occupied territory was 2.82 times higher than the representation of those who died in camps and prisons abroad and 31.07 times higher than the representation of those who died in camps on the territory of Yugoslavia outside occupied Serbia.

lives abroad, with a representation in losses that was 18.68 times higher than that of Jews, but also a third less than that of members of other and unknown nationalities (1.32 times), while their destruction in the camps of Yugoslavia (outside the occupied territory) was minimal. A quarter of members of other and unknown nationalities, victims under these circumstances, lost their lives in the camps on the territory of divided Yugoslavia, outside the occupied territory, which was 11.49 and 19.05 times higher representation in losses than among Serbs and Jews.

Graph 121. Occupied Serbia, civilians, concentration camps - national structure according to the territory of destruction



The Serbs, as the national group with the most victims who died in concentration camps, had the most losses suffered in all territories, accounting for three fifths of the victims in occupied Serbia, half of the losses in the camps in the rest of Yugoslavia and nine tenths of the victims abroad. In the losses suffered in the camps in occupied Serbia, Jews represented two fifths of the victims, one sixth in the losses suffered in the camps in Yugoslavia and a small part of those who lost their lives in concentration camps abroad. Their share in the losses suffered in the concentration camps in occupied Serbia was 2.55 times

greater than the share in the losses suffered in the rest of Yugoslavia, i.e. 15.85 times greater than the share in the losses suffered abroad.

THE SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF LOSSES
ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES OF DESTRUCTION

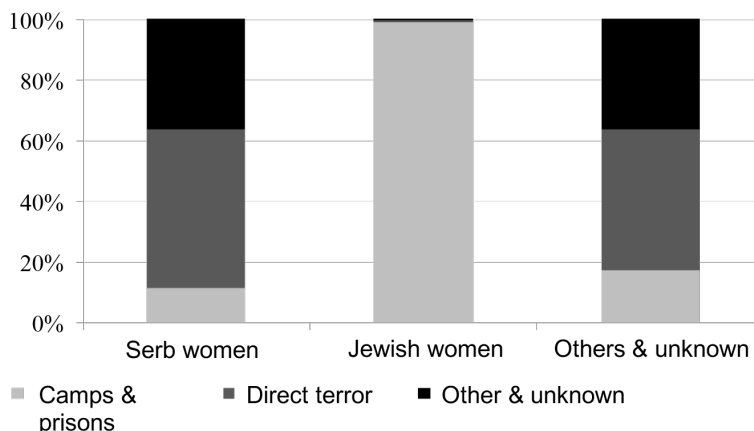
In the civilian casualties of occupied Serbia, members of both sexes were represented. With a representation of one sixth of the total civilian losses of occupied Serbia, women suffered in all circumstances, regardless of their nationality. Two-fifths of the women victims lost their lives in camps and prisons, a third killed in direct terror and a quarter in other and unknown circumstances. The shares of the circumstances of destruction in the losses of women of different nationalities were not equal, just as the shares of women of different nationalities in destruction in certain circumstances were not the same.

Table 83. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women -
circumstances of destruction according to nationality

Civilians of OS- circumstances of destruction	In total	Serbian women	%	Jewish women	%	Other and unknown women	%
Camps/prison	3.786	667	17,62	2.920	77,13	199	5,26
%	38,20	11,45	//	99,28	//	17,39	//
Direct terror	3.581	3.039	84,86	12	0,33	530	14,80
%	36,13	52,15	//	0,41	//	46,33	//
Other/unknown	2.545	2.121	83,34	9	0,35	415	16,31
%	25,67	36,40	//	0,31	//	36,28	//
In total	9.912	5.827	58,79	2.941	29,67	1.144	11,54

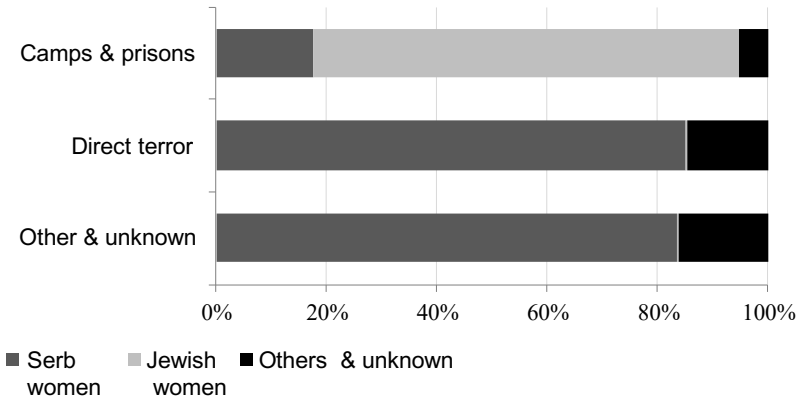
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), "Žrtve rata 1941–1945" ("Victims of War 1941–1945")

Graph 122. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women -
nationality according to circumstances of destruction



All Jewish women who suffered in the Holocaust lost their lives in one of the concentration camps. Representation of this circumstance of destruction in their losses was 8.67 and 5.71 times higher than the representation of the same circumstance of destruction in the losses suffered by Serbian women and female members of other and unknown nationalities. On the other hand, half of Serbian women and members of other and unknown nationalities lost their lives in direct terror, and a third in other and unknown circumstances, while the representation of these circumstances of destruction in the losses of Jewish women was negligible.

Graph 123. Occupied Serbia, civilians, women - circumstances of destruction according to nationality



Jewish women represented three quarters of all women who lost their life in camps and prisons ¹⁶⁹, while in the losses of those who died in other circumstances they made up a negligible part, 226.85 times less than among those who died in the camps. The share of Jewish women among women who died in camps and prisons was 2.60 times higher than their representation in the total losses of women in the occupied territory, while their share in losses among women who died in other circumstances was several times lower (87.26 times). On the other hand, four fifths of those killed in direct terror and in other and unknown circumstances were Serbian women, along with one sixth of those killed in camps and prisons. Female members of

¹⁶⁹ Although members of the Jewish community accounted for three quarters of the total losses of women in the occupied territory who died in camps and prisons, their representation in the losses among women from different parts of occupied Serbia who died in these circumstances was not equal. Thus, Jewish women from the Belgrade region and Banat accounted for four fifths, or nine tenths, of the total number of women from these regions who died in camps and prisons (83.07%, respectively 86.01%), while members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia represented half (51.79%) of the losses of women there who died in these circumstances.

other and unknown nationalities had an increased share in the losses suffered in direct terror, and in other and unknown circumstances, while their share among the victims in the camps was lower than their share in the total losses of women.

The shares of women in the total losses of the same nationality suffered in different circumstances were not the same. Jewish women accounted for half (47.57%) of the victims of the Jewish community in the camps, a fifth (19.05%) of those killed in direct terror and a sixth (16.98%) of the losses of this nationality in other and unknown circumstances. Thus, their representation in the losses in the camps was 2.50 and 2.80 times higher than the representation among victims of direct terror and in other circumstances. Serbian women had the highest representation among compatriots killed in other and unknown circumstances, where they accounted for a quarter of the losses (25.88%), followed by an eighth of the losses among those killed in direct terror (12.09%), and the smallest in the losses of compatriots suffered in camps and prisons (5.84%). Members of other and unknown nationalities represented a sixth (17.44%) of the victims of these national groups in camps and prisons, a fifth of the losses (22.05%) of those killed in direct terror and a third (32.88%) of the losses of those who lost their lives in other and unknown circumstances. Thus, the representation of Jewish women in the losses of compatriots who died in the camps was 8.14 and 2.73 times higher than the representation of Serbian women and members of other and unknown nationalities in the losses of their nationalities suffered in concentration camps and prisons. On the other hand, the representation of Jewish women in the losses of members of the Jewish community in direct terror was 1.57 times higher than the representation of Serbian women in the losses of that nationality suffered in this circumstance, but also 1.16 times less than the representation of members of other and unknown nationalities in the losses suffered of their peoples who died in direct terror.

In the war on the territory of occupied Serbia, civilians of all nationalities and all ages died in various circumstances, mostly in direct terror and in concentration camps. The different nature of the perishing of civilians of different nationalities from the occupied territory caused differences in the age structure of the losses suffered in different circumstances.

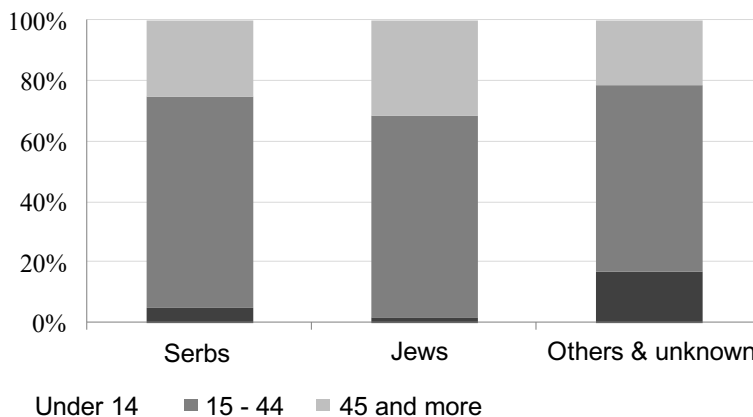
Direct terror was a circumstance of perishing in which most of the civilians of all ages lost their lives. The age structure of members of different nationalities killed in direct terror was not the same, just as the share of different nationalities in the losses of certain age groups killed in direct terror was not equal.

Table 84. Occupied Serbia, civilians, direct terror - age structure according to nationality

Direct terror – age	Total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others & unknown	%
Under 14	1.512	1.125	74,40	1	0,07	386	25,53
%	5,59	4,57	//	1,59	//	16,42	//
15–44	18.667	17.168	91,97	42	0,22	1.457	7,80
%	69,06	69,75	//	66,67	//	61,97	//
45 and more	6.849	6.321	92,29	20	0,29	508	7,42
%	25,34	25,68	//	31,75	//	21,61	//
Total known	27.028	24.614	91,07	63	0,23	2.351	8,70
Unknown	597	545	91,29	--	--	52	8,71
%	2,16	2,16	//	--	//	2,16	//
Total	27.625	25.159	91,07	63	0,23	2.403	8,70

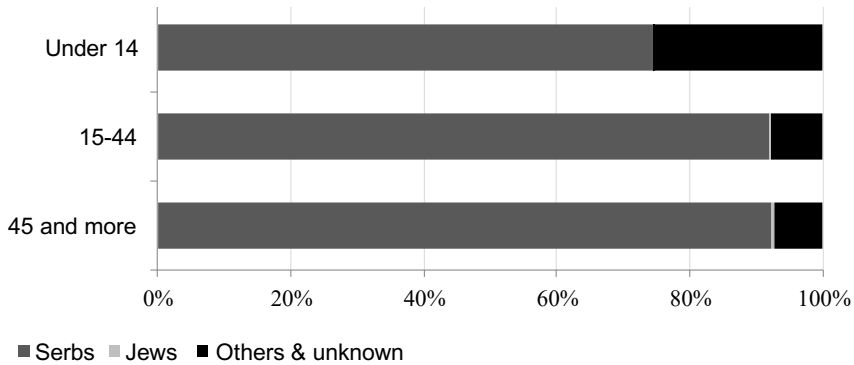
GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

Graph 124. Occupied Serbia, civilians, direct terror - age structure according to the nationality of the victims



The age between 15 and 44 represented the largest part of victims of direct terror among all nationalities, with representation ranging between two thirds of losses among Serbs and Jews and three fifths among members of other and unknown nationalities. In the losses of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities killed in direct terror, children under the age of 14 accounted for significant parts of the losses, with a representation that was 2.87 and 10.33 times higher than that of Jews. Among the small number of Jews killed in direct terror, persons over 45 years of age accounted for a third of the losses suffered, and their representation was 1.24 and 1.47 times higher than that of the victims of Serbs and members of other and unknown nationalities.

Graph 125. Occupied Serbia, civilians, direct terror - nationality by age of victims



The dominant representation in the losses of persons aged 15 to 44 determined the share of nationality in the total losses of victims in direct terror. The few Jews killed in direct terror accounted for a negligible proportion of all age groups killed under these circumstances. However, there were small differences between them, so those older than 45 years old had a 1.26 times higher share in the losses of their age than the average share of Jews among victims of direct terror, while children up to 14 years old had a 3.28 times lower share .

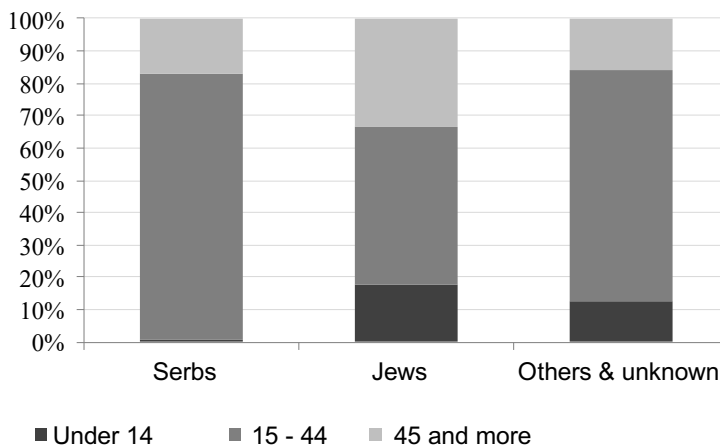
Civilians of occupied Serbia of all ages lost their lives in concentration camps and prisons. The age structure of the losses suffered by members of different nationalities who perished in concentration camps and prisons was not the same, just as the share of different nationalities in the losses of certain ages among the victims in camps and prisons was not equal.

Table 85. Occupied Serbia, civilians, camps and prisons - age structure according to nationality

Camps & prisons – age	Total	Serbs	%	Jews	%	Others & unknown	%
Under 14	1.213	102	8,41	967	79,72	144	11,87
%	6,75	0,90	//	17,42	//	12,80	//
15–44	12.792	9.267	72,44	2.725	21,30	800	6,25
%	71,18	82,02	//	49,12	//	71,11	//
45 and more	3.965	1.929	48,65	1.855	46,78	181	4,56
%	22,06	17,07	//	33,44	//	16,09	//
Total known	17.970	11.298	62,87	5.547	30,87	1.125	6,26
Unknown	726	119	16,39	591	81,40	16	2,20
%	3,88	1,04	//	9,63	//	1,40	//
Total	18.696	11.417	61,07	6.138	32,83	1.141	6,10

GVMA (Genocide Victims Museum Archives), Database “Žrtve rata 1941–1945” (“Victims of War 1941–1945”)

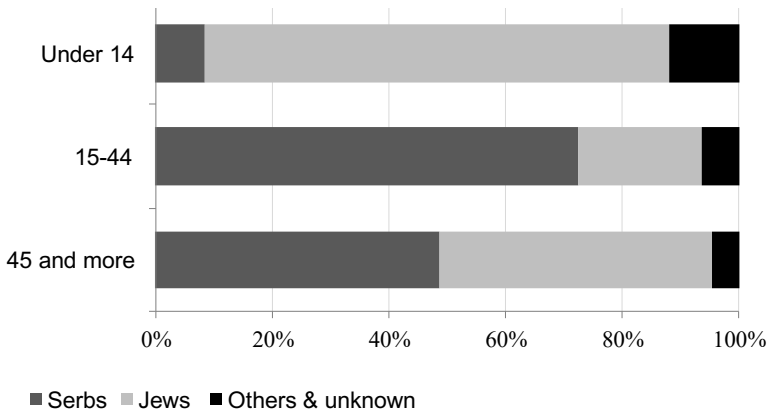
Graph 126. Occupied Serbia, civilians, camps and prisons - age structure according to the nationality of the victims



The specifics of the perishing of the Jewish community in occupied Serbia was the main reason why civilians of different nationalities who died in concentration camps and prisons had a completely different age

structure of the losses suffered. The Holocaust-destroyed Jewish community that perished in the camps reflected their pre-war structure, in which one-sixth of the losses were children, half of those aged 15 to 44, and one-third of people aged 45 and over. On the other hand, four-fifths of the Serb victims in the camps were between the ages of 15 and 44, while these ages for members of other and unknown nationalities represented almost three-quarters of the victims in the camps. The rest of the Serbs who died in the camps belonged to older age groups, and the representation of children in the losses was negligible, while among members of other and unknown nationalities, older ages represented a sixth of the losses, and children an eighth. The representation of children in the losses of Jews killed in the camps was 19.35 times higher than their representation in the losses of Serbs, while the representation of those over 44 years old was twice as high (1.96 times), as these representations were also 1.36, respectively 2.08 times higher than among members of other and unknown nationalities who died in camps and prisons.

Graph 127. Occupied Serbia, civilians, camps and prisons - nationality according to the age of the victims



Making up a third of the total losses in camps and prisons, Jews had varying shares of age-group losses. They represented four-fifths of the children who lost their life in the concentration camps and half

of the losses of persons over 44 years old, while in the ages of 15 to 44 accounted for one-fifth of the losses suffered. Their share in the losses of children was 2.43 times higher than the share of Jews in the total losses in the camps, while their share among the victims over the age of 44 was 1.42 times higher. Serbs who died in camps and prisons accounted for three quarters of the casualties between the ages of 15 and 44, half of the victims being from the older age groups, and a twelfth of the victims were children.¹⁷⁰ The share of persons of others and unknown nationalities in the losses between the ages of 15 and 44 determined their share in the total losses in camps and prisons.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ The share of Serbs in the losses of persons aged 15 to 44 who died in the camps was 1.19 times higher than their share in the total losses in concentration camps and prisons, while their share in the losses of children and persons over 45 years of age was 7.26 that is, 1.25 times smaller.

¹⁷¹ Members of other and unknown nationalities had twice the share of child losses than the share of total losses in camps and prisons (1.94 times), while their share of people over 45 was 1.34 times lower.

CONCLUSION





Photograph of the previous page: Nandor Glid, Menorah in Flame
(Genocide Victims Museum)

The Holocaust was a unique process of an attempt to destroy the entire Jewish people in Europe, and it was the most extreme form of genocide known to date. Inspired, planned, well organized and systematically implemented by the Third Reich, and supported in its implementation by its allies and collaborators, the Holocaust hit the entire Jewish population in the territory of occupied Serbia, causing irreparable losses.

The results achieved in the revision process of the listing “Victims of the War 1941–1945” show that 6,254 Jews lost their lives in the Holocaust from the territory of Serbia under German military command. The scope of brutality of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia can be seen in the fact that 97.69% of all Jews who died lost their lives during the first two years of the war. One third of the Jews were killed in the second half of 1941 (33.62%), while two thirds perished during the following year (64.07%). Thus, the death rate, considering the twice as long period of perishing in 1942, was the same, which indicates the unabated intention of the Nazi-Germany to completely annihilate them as people. In fact, out of all Jews with a known date of death, those killed in 1941, 90.41% lost their lives during October and November, while the majority of those killed in 1942 (89.08%) lost their lives in the period from the last days of March to the first days of May. Thus, the process of destruction of the Jewish community

of occupied Serbia was practically completed one year after the beginning of the occupation.

The entire Jewish community from all parts of the occupied territory suffered losses. Among them, Belgrade Jews, as the most numerous community, represented almost three-fifths of the victims (55.71%), with more than a quarter of the losses coming from Banat (28.49%). There was, also, a small number of Jews from the interior of occupied Serbia (the other eight regions) who suffered significantly greater losses than their representation in the total number of Jews from the occupied territory. What the Jews from all parts of the occupied territory have in common is that they lost their lives in the first two years of the war. The majority of them were killed in 1942, with small differences between regions. Three-fifths of the victims of the Jews of the Belgrade region and the Banat (61.85% and 59.60%) each lost their lives in that period, while in the same year four-fifths (79.96%) of the members of the Jewish community from the other eight regions of occupied Serbia were killed.

The high urbanization of the community resulted in the fact that 86.20% of the Jews who died came from Belgrade and the six largest cities of the occupied territory, while another dozen (10.34%) came from settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants. Their representation in the losses by place depended on their representation in the population of the cities, on the one hand and the extent of the perishing of fellow citizens of other nationalities, on the other hand. The Jews who perished in the Holocaust accounted for two fifths of the civilian losses of Belgrade (38.54%) and even four fifths (83.02%), and two thirds (70.66 %) of the civilian victims of Zrenjanin (Veliki Bečkerek) and Vršac, but also 1.30% of the losses in Kragujevac.

According to the racist ideology of the Third Reich, in a pre-planned, well-organized and systematically executed crime, Jews were destroyed regardless of their gender, age or profession. Members of both sexes of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia represented half of the losses suffered (52.98% men, 47.02% women). In the

targeted destruction of the people, the majority of men were killed in 1941 (62.27%), while women lost their lives in the following year (96.33%). Since they were systematically exterminated as a whole, representatives of all age groups were evenly represented among the victims of Jews from the occupied territory, reflecting the age structure of the community in the pre-war period. Among the perished Jews children up to 14 years of age represented 17.17% of the losses. The professional structure of the losses suffered by the systematically destroyed Jewish community of occupied Serbia reflects the variety of occupations they were engaged in in the pre-war society, so that among those killed were 22.92% of businessmen (from factory owners, merchants, bankers, landlords, to retailers, craftsman, etc.), 15.66% of civil servants, clerks, experts and members of liberal professions (lawyers, artists, journalists, actors, writers, publishers, musicians and others), and 14.43% pupils and university students, 5.80% workers, with two fifths (39.51%) dependents (children, women, the elderly and people with special needs) as the single most numerous groups .

One of the characteristics of the destruction of the Jews of occupied Serbia was that 96.37% of them lost their lives in that area. This was probably a consequence of the outbreak of a mass uprising of the people against the German occupation in the summer of 1941, which accelerated the decision to destroy the Jewish community from the occupied territory. Jews were killed along with other hostages (mostly Serbs) in retaliation for German soldiers killed in the fight against the freedom fighters, or mass shootings of civilians were used as a means of intimidating the people and discouraging them from joining the uprising.

In the territory of Serbia under the German military command, various types of concentration camps and with different purposes were formed. Among the concentration camps, the camps for Jews represented a special category, as part of the planned program of their destruction. The existence of specialized or special camps for

Jews does not mean that they perished exclusively in them. They also lost their lives in other concentration camps of general type, such as Banjica in Belgrade (Anhaltelager Dedinje) and the Crveni Krst in Niš (Anhaltelager Nisch. The Holocaust on the territory of occupied Serbia was closely related to the concentration camps in which 98.14% of all Jews who suffered lost their lives.

Among the concentration camps, the most significant were two specialized or special camps for Jews, Topovske šupe (Artillery depot) and Sajmište (Judenlager Semlin). In these two concentration camps, 86.47% out of all members of the Jewish community from the occupied territory lost their lives. Along with them, Jews from other areas of the divided Yugoslavia were killed in these two concentration camps, Jewish refugees from Europe who found themselves on the territory of Occupied Serbia, as well as members of Roma communities from the occupied territory. Four fifths of all the men (79.51%) of the Jewish community of occupied Serbia were killed in them, while 94.32% of all the Jewish women lost their lives at Sajmište alone. The number of victims and the structure of the losses suffered by Jews in the concentration camps of Topovske šupe and Sajmište show that they were the central places of implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Serbia, which did not spare any segment of the Jewish community.

“Topovske šupe” concentration camp (also known as Jewish camp and/or Jewish transit camp in Belgrade) was formed in August 1941, during the first phase of the Holocaust in Occupied Serbia (until the end of November 1941). That significantly affected the structure of its inmates, and thus the structure of the victims. In Topovske šupe, the victims were men from all parts of the occupied territory, but with a marked dominance of Jews from Belgrade and Banat (95.80%). The victims of the camp were aged from 15 to 60 years old. Various professions of victims were represented, among which businessmen and workers accounted for half of those killed (54.53%), almost a third of them were experts, civil servants, clerks and members of liberal pro-

fessions (29.28%), along with high school pupils and university students who accounted for one-eighth of the losses suffered (12.51%). All camp inmates from Topovske šupe were shot in vicinity of Belgrade.

The Semlin Judenlager was formed in early December 1941 for the more effective implementation of the “final solution to the Jewish question” in occupied Serbia. It existed as such until the beginning of May 1942, when it was transformed into a general type camp (Semlin Anhaltelager). Most of the Jews in the camp were killed by gas, using a specially adapted truck (gas van), and only a small part by shooting, mostly during the period when the truck was broken, i.e., due to the poor living conditions in the camp. The fact that concentration camp at Sajmište were established after the end of the first phase of the Holocaust in this territory significantly determined the structure of its detainees and victims. The victims in the Zemun Jewish camp came from all parts of occupied Serbia. Members of the Jewish community of both sexes were represented in the losses, but four fifths of them were women (78.12%). Jews of all ages were killed at “Sajmište”, with more than a quarter of the losses suffered were children up to 14 (28.44%), while a ninth of the losses were persons aged 65 and over (10.90%). Among the small number of men killed at Sajmište, children under the age of 14 represented two thirds of the losses (66.85%), while persons aged 65 and over made up a fifth of the killed men in the camp (21.17%). Members of all professional groups were represented in the losses suffered in the camp, two-thirds of which were dependents (63.72%), with one-sixth of pupils and students (16.20%) and one-ninth of businessmen and workers (11.49%).

The extremely complex war waged in the territory of occupied Serbia, with several warring parties with different military, political, economic, national, religious and ideological interests and aspirations, manifested itself as liberating, anti-fascist, national, civil, revolutionary, ideological and religious. At the same time, that kind of war caused mass perishing of the civilian part of the population. In the mass perishing of civilians from the territory of occupied Serbia,

the Holocaust represented its most extreme form. In the first year of the war, it is difficult to distinguish when the Holocaust was an independent process, and when it was part of the general perishing of civilians from the occupied territory. Among the general perishing of the civilians of occupied Serbia, the Jews affected by the Holocaust stood out in many ways due to the losses they suffered.

The Jews of occupied Serbia, predestined for annihilation by the Nazis and perished in a planned, well-organized and systematically implemented crime, represented 11.20% of the total civilian losses. Their representation in civilian casualties was 32 times higher than their representation in the population of the occupied territory (0.35%). As the majority population of the occupied territory and bearers of the resistance, Serbs were the most numerous in the civilian losses suffered (80.19%), but, considering the representation in the population, the losses in the Holocaust of the Jewish victims were realistically 33.94 times higher than the losses of the Serbs. The perishing of the Jewish community, which began in the first year of the war, was, unlike all other nations, practically ended with their total destruction in 1942. In that year, Jews represented two fifths (39.37%) of the civilian casualties suffered in the occupied territory. The Jews destroyed in the Holocaust represented one third of the civilian casualties of the Belgrade region (33.19%), two fifths of the civilian losses of the Banat (42.96%) and forty-second part of the losses in the other eight regions. Their representation in the losses of civilians in different parts of occupied Serbia was everywhere many times higher than their representation in the population of those regions, in Belgrade 15.09 times, and in Banat and the other eight regions 63.18 and 48 times, respectively.

Civilians from the occupied territory suffered losses during the war, regardless of their gender, age or profession, they died in different circumstances, but the losses suffered in the Holocaust were, in many ways, specific. The representation of women among the victims of Jews was 3.61 times higher than in the losses of Serbs and 1.97 times higher than among members of other and unknown nationalities. Jewish wom-

en made up almost a third of the women victims (29.67%) of the occupied territory, while in 1942 they represented four fifths of the women who died at that time (79.64%). Destroyed as a nation as a whole, Jews had a large share in the losses of persons younger than 15 and older than 65, which were 3.27 and 2.32 times higher than the representation of these ages in the losses of Serbs. Jews represented a quarter of all casualties under the age of 15 (24.11%) and a fifth of civilian losses aged 65 and older (21.58%). The perishing of the Jewish community had major consequences on the economic and social development in the post-war period, since they represented a fifth of the losses suffered by businessmen (20.10%), clerks and experts (20.14%), and pupils and students (20.54%). With a large share of losses among the women victims, Jewish women accounted for three fifths of all businesswomen who died (61.42%), half of female liberal professions (52.63%), two fifths of female civil servants, clerks and experts (38.48%) and more than a third of schoolgirls and students (36.24%).

The fact that their perishing were closely connected with the previous internment within the concentration camps caused that Jews were accounted for a third (32.83%) of the total losses of civilians in Occupied Serbia who lost their lives under such. Members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and Banat accounted for three-fifths (56.51% and 57.86%) of the total number of civilians who died in camps and prisons from these regions, while the Jews from the other eight regions represented a tenth of their losses (9, 58%). Of all the women of occupied Serbia who died in camps and prisons, Jewish women accounted for three quarters of the losses suffered (77.13%). Members of the Jewish community from the Belgrade region and Banat accounted for three-fifths (56.51% and 57.86%) of the total number of civilians who died in camps and prisons from these regions, while the Jews from the other eight regions represented a tenth of their losses (9, 58%). Members of the Jewish community represented four fifths of all children under the age of 14 who perished in camps and prisons (79.72%).

As a unique phenomenon in Europe, the Holocaust also caused irreparable losses to the Jewish community in occupied Serbia. The suffered loss of Jews had far-reaching negative consequences for the entire society of this territory in its future development in the post-war period, especially in the fields of economy, culture, and in the processes of its modernization.

Based on the results of this study and previous knowledge about the Holocaust in the territory of occupied Serbia, I am of the opinion that the question of the number of Jews, Yugoslav citizens from this territory, who died in the Holocaust should be reopened. The starting point should be the indisputable fact that the Jews were destroyed as a nation as a whole, regardless of their gender and age, and that men and women of all ages suffered approximately equally, that is, the number of female victims was slightly smaller.

All previous research, which has been confirmed by the results of this study presented above, indicate that the perishing of Jewish women from the occupied territory was related to the camp at Sajmište (Judenlager Semlin). A significant number of women victims of Jewish nationality were recorded in the Jewish Hospital in Belgrade (between 150 and 200 women, hospital patients, as well as patients brought from other hospitals, followed by doctors, hospital staff and women members of their families (Koljanin, 1992, 59) and in the Banjica camp (between 97 and 103 women, when foreign citizens and Yugoslav Jews who were brought to the camp from territories outside of occupied Serbia are subtracted from the total number of Jews killed in Banjica, Jewish women from the occupied territory represented a quarter of compatriots from the same area victims in the camp).

According to the most accurate and complete research so far on the perishing in the Jewish camp in Zemun, the number of victims was 6,320 (Koljanin, 1992,131). In order to get to the number of Jewish women from occupied Serbia killed in the camp, the number of

400 foreign citizens should be subtracted from that number (266 according to recent research (Koljanin, 2006, 90), then at least 332 men older than 16 years, and at least 619 boys (which is half of the children under 16 years of age) (Koljanjin, 1992, 62), which leads to a number of 4,969 and 5,103 respectively. Together with the women killed from the Jewish Hospital, the women from Banjica, and individually or in smaller groups who perished in unsuccessful attempts to find refuge in the occupied territories or in other territories, the number of Jewish women from the territory of occupied Serbia killed was around 5,500. Since women represented half of the losses suffered (47.02% of victims according to this research, or 51.71% according to available data on survivors), the total number of Jews who died in the Holocaust from the territory of occupied Serbia would range between 11,400 and 11,700 people. Thus, 79.11% of the pre-war Jewish community from the territory of Serbia under German military command were destroyed in the Holocaust. This number of victims does not include Jewish foreign citizens who for various reasons found themselves and then perished in the occupied territory, as well as Jewish Yugoslav citizens from territories outside of occupied Serbia, who also perished in this territory. Between 3,385 and 3,475 of all the Jews perished in occupied Serbia were interned in "Topovske Šupe" camp before being shot, while 6,470 to 6,645 of them were perished in "Sajmište" camp (together with people from the Jewish Hospital). That marked those two concentration camps the central sites of the Holocaust in the occupied territory. When considering the total losses of the Jewish community from the territory of occupied Serbia (Yugoslav citizens), it is necessary to add to the Jews who died in the Holocaust the losses of the community suffered during the bombing of Belgrade and other cities in the April War of 1941, and the Jews who died in active resistance to fascism as members military formations (members of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia who died in the April War or in captivity, as well as members of the partisan movement, i.e. NOVJ (Peoples' Liberating Army of Yugoslavia), and those who died in allied military formations).

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He is the author of two books and over 40 scholar articles.

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Dragan Cvetković

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SAJMIŠTE CONCENTRATION CAMPS***
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OCCUPIED SERBIA**

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