



IF NOT NOW, WHEN...?

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Future of the Site of the Old Fairground
Staro sajmište
in Belgrade

10th to 12th of May 2012



An introductory
Conference-Reader



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the Old Fairground
(Staro sajmište)
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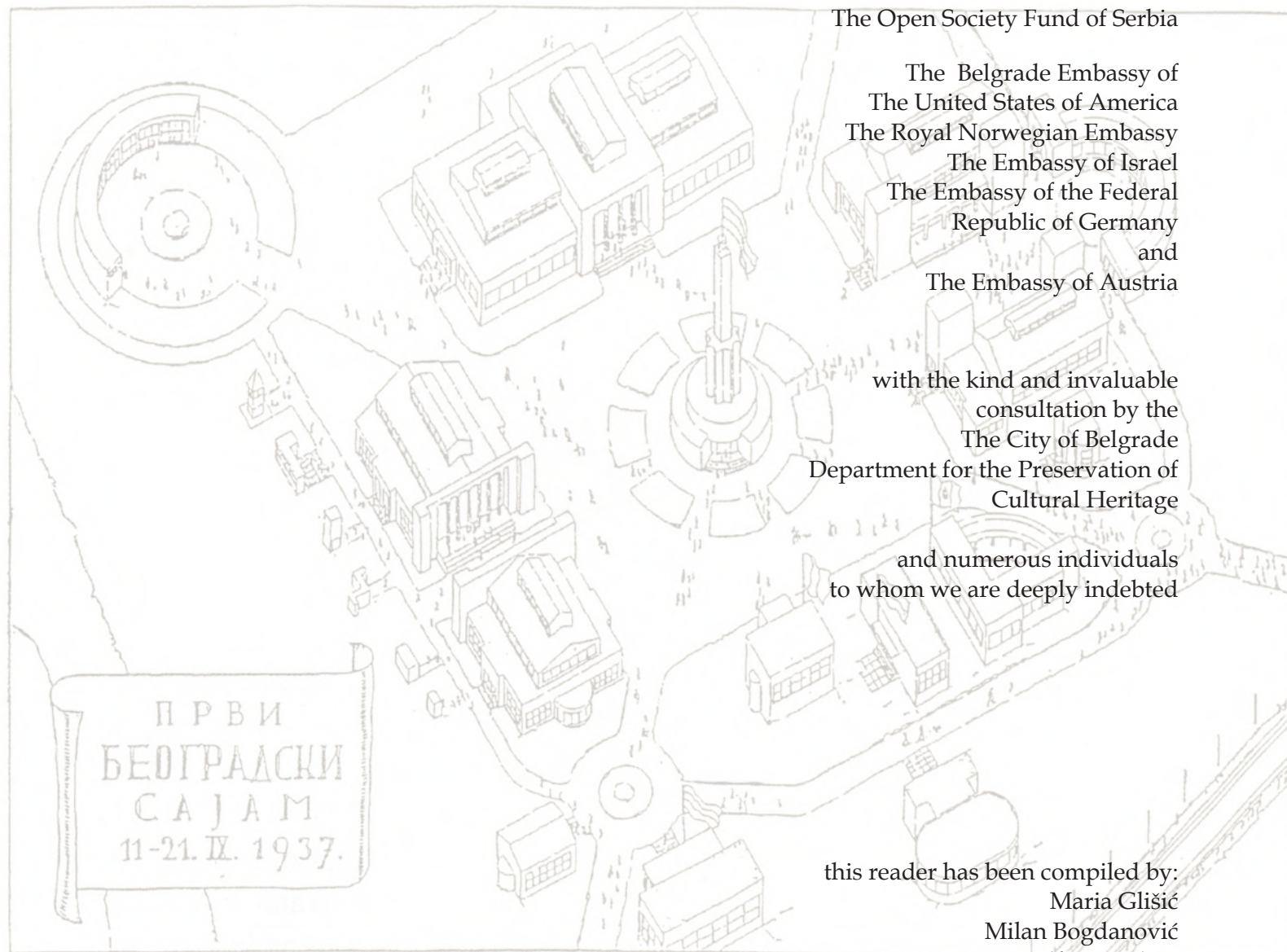
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This preparatory reader aims at providing some basic information regarding various topics which will be raised and discussed in more detailed way during our forthcoming conference. These texts neither intend any presumption for the debates of the conference nor any limitation regarding the topics to be raised.

You will find in this reader:

- I. An English version of Chapters 7 and 9 of Jovan Byford's monograph on Staro Sajmište, which has recently been published in Serbian language. *Those who are familiar with Serbian language and wish to read the entire book can download the electronic version of the original [HERE](#).*
- II. The shortened version of a research by Danijela Jovanović on the history of the Roma under German occupation of Serbia and especially with regard to the Sajmište camp
- III. A comprehensive study conducted by the City of Belgrade Department for Cultural Heritage regarding the Sajmište site.
- IV. A bilingual version of the basic article by Menachem Shelach, "Sajmište - An Extermination Camp in Serbia", originally published in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol 2/1987, No 2, pp 243-260.
- V. A text by French historian Pierre Nora about the renaissance of remembrance in Europe
- VI. A text by German historian and director of the Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum about the current debates on a Common European Culture of Remembrance
- VII. A Bibliography (not claiming to be complete)

Jovan Byford

Introduction

In the period between 1941 and 1944, nearly 20.000 people perished in the concentration camp at Sajmište, Belgrade. Located at the Belgrade Fair pavilions, on the left Sava riverbank, the Sajmište camp was the largest dungeon created by the occupation authorities in Serbia during World War II, but also one of the first Nazi camps in Europe for the mass internment of Jews. From December 1941 to March 1942, around 7.000 Jews, mostly women, children and the elderly (almost half of the pre-war Jewish population of the part of Serbia directly occupied by the German Reich in 1942) were brought to the Judenlager Semlin – the formal name of the Sajmište camp at the time. In only six weeks of the spring of 1942 they were all systematically murdered by the use of a lethal gas van. Shortly thereafter, Serbia was declared “Judenrein” – cleansed of Jews – and Sajmište was transformed into an Anhaltelager, a temporary detention camp for political prisoners, captured partisans and forced laborers. From the summer of 1942 to the camp's disbandment in July 1944, around 32.000 prisoners (mostly Serbs) were brought to the Anhaltelager. Around one-third of them perished at the camp, mostly due to starvation or illness, or murdered by the guards and members of the camp administration. The others, following a brief stay at Sajmište, were transported as workforce to camps throughout the Third Reich, mainly in Germany and Norway.

Despite its significance as a site of unparalleled suffering and perishing, the Sajmište camp occupied a marginal place in the post-war social memory. In socialist Yugoslavia or later, competent institutions also failed to appropriately honor the victims of this camp or preserve their appropriate memory. Such neglectful attitude remained unchanged to this day. Even 65 years after the liberation, the largest individual Holocaust site in Serbia is not adequately organized or marked. Several remaining buildings of the former camp have been decaying for years and the entire Old Fairground complex survives today as a derelict and impoverished settlement with a few hundred families who maintain the dilapidated buildings and unpaved paths, often at their own expense. Their neighborhood has, for decades, included several art ateliers, but also a series of business facilities – car repair shops, stores, warehouses and workshops – as well as a high school, tourist agency, bookshop, restaurant, even a small stage which has been the setting for rock concerts, boxing matches, theater plays and dances for about 10 years, despite increasing protests. Most of Belgrade citizens who cross the Sava River every day are not even aware that amidst the vegetation near today's Brankov Bridge, on the New Belgrade side, there are buildings of the former camp. The fact that the very Sajmište represents a site of remembrance, is today indicated only by two abandoned and partially damaged memorial marks, one from the 1980s and the other from the 1990s, surviving as relics of unsuccessful and highly controversial attempts of memorialization of the previous decades.

This book, which came about as a result of the author's long-lasting research project, is an attempt – in the year marking the 70th anniversary of the camp's creation – to present for the first time the events from the Old Fairground since 1944 to this day and point out some of the causes of decades-long neglect of this historically important place. The post-war fate of the Old Fairground has not previously been the subject of a systematic scientific analysis and is mostly unknown to

the broader public. The majority of print and electronic media reports in recent years create an impression that nothing was happening at Sajmište after World War II, i.e. that this site was simply relinquished to oblivion. For the most part, the post-1944 period can be reduced to several individual events, such as the arrival of youth brigades to Sajmište in 1948, establishment of the art colony in the 1950s, declaration of Sajmište as cultural heritage in the summer of 1987 or the inauguration of the monument in 1995. However, the recent history of the Old Fairground is much more complex and raises many interesting topics which have not yet been dealt with, concerning not only this site's fate, but also the Yugoslav and later Serbian society's attitude towards World War II, victims of Nazi camps and the Holocaust. For instance, it is largely unknown that the first initiative for the creation of a memorial site at Sajmište was launched in 1960. But why so belatedly, when bearing in mind that the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces characterized Sajmište as an important “place of torture of the Yugoslav people” as early as in 1946? Where were the victims of the Sajmište camp buried and were those sites ever marked? Why was the first memorial plaque placed at Sajmište only in 1974 and why was it later removed? Why was the Old Fairground, of all places, designated during the 1980s, after Tito's death, as the setting for the main commemoration of the Day of Victory over Fascism in Belgrade? How and why was Sajmište fit into the dominant 1990s discourse about the suffering in Jasenovac and how did it become a site that should mark primarily the genocide in the NDH? Why were none of the initiatives for Sajmište's development launched in the last 50 years fully carried out? What was the role of Sajmište in the post-war culture of Holocaust remembrance? What does Sajmište symbolize today and what is the attitude of the Serbian society and state, respectively, towards this place of suffering and perishing?

There will be an analysis of the post-war history of the Old Fairground from two equally important perspectives. The first one relates to Sajmište as a physical space. It occupies about 20 hectares of land at the left Sava riverbank, between the Brankov Bridge and the Stari Savski Bridge, i.e. today's Block 17 of New Belgrade. Before the war, as well as during the period when it housed the camp, the Belgrade Fairground was on the periphery of the capital city, between with the river on one side and a swamp which divided Belgrade and Zemun, on the other. After the war, as a result of the development of New Belgrade, Sajmište found itself in the very city center, at part of the Sava riverbank connecting the old city with its new part. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that this site's future was the subject of interest of experts in the fields of urban planning, architecture and spatial planning, as well as city and state officials who viewed its development (and still do) mainly from the perspective of urban and economic development of the capital city. On the other hand, in the 1960s Sajmište was recognized as an important symbolic space and site of historical significance. Its tragic fate then became the subject of remembrance that was official and institutionally-based, but not always widespread or public. The fate of the Old Fairground after 1944 was largely determined by the intersection of those perspectives – i.e. by the dispute, but also efforts to find a compromise between advocates of Sajmište as a memorial site and those who envisaged its different, primarily practical purpose.

Another level of complexity to the recent history of Sajmište is added by the fact that there had been no agreement in recent decades on what the main object of remembrance at the site should be, even among advocates of a memorial center or memorial park. In the last 65 years and particularly since the late 1980s, Sajmište was the subject of interest of various socio-political organiza-

tions, interest groups, individuals and public institutions that interpreted its past in different ways and according to their own respective discretion, points of view and current historical and political requirements, contemplating its future appearance and purpose accordingly. Consequently, one group considered Sajmište a symbol of the “revolutionary history of Belgrade”, resistance to fascism and suffering of the Yugoslav peoples, the other saw it as a Holocaust site, while the third one viewed Sajmište as the ideal location for commemorating the suffering of Serbs, Jews and Roma in the Ustasha NDH. In the recent period, the importance of pre-war Sajmište history was increasingly pronounced, recognizing the Belgrade Fair pavilions as a pearl of Yugoslav 1930s architecture and symbol of the then Belgrade economic elite’s entrepreneurship. Accordingly, Sajmište was an object of dispute during the entire post-war period – not only on whether it should be (exclusively) a memorial site, but on what was important to remember in the first place.

Debates on Sajmište as part of the Belgrade urban matrix and memorial site led in the past decades are important because they comprise an ideological and polemical context of today’s considerations of the site’s future development. Despite their pretensions to be new and original, most initiatives publically presented in recent years contain noticeable traces of all events at Sajmište and involving Sajmište from the end of World War II until today. One of consequences of this commonly overseen continuity in remembrance is the fact that most recent initiatives share numerous faults and omissions with the old ones. Hence, a better understanding of the post-war history of Sajmište, as well as clearer insight into past mistakes and reasons why they were never rectified, not only diminishes the prospect of repeating mistakes, but clearly indicates the necessity of finally stepping outside the framework of existing, deeply rooted beliefs (even delusions, one might say) about what the Old Fairground is or should be and finding a realistic solution for the site’s development, worthy of its victims.

An important topic that has to do with one of the major oversights in the majority of previous attempts of Sajmište’s memorialization is the manner in which this camp’s status as Holocaust site has been systematically neglected. In socialist Yugoslavia, the emphasis on partisans’ heroism and the common suffering of all Yugoslav peoples which dominated the remembrance of Sajmište overshadowed the specific nature of the Jews’ fate under Nazism. During the post-Yugoslav period, the emphasis on the common martyrdom of Serbs, Jews and Roma in the Independent State of Croatia – a subject routinely instrumentalized and misused by the nationalist elite in Serbia – but also the Milošević regime’s use of the motif of the Serbs’ resistance to the foreign conqueror, which was at the time politically functional, also distracted the public’s attention from the Jews’ tragic fate in Serbia. Of course, all this does not mean that during the last 65 years the suffering of Jews at Sajmište was completely forgotten or ignored – although, unfortunately there were such cases, as well. The destruction of Jews was being evoked as an integral part of the camp’s history, but never in a way that would mark Sajmište not only as a site of “Nazi terror” and the occupiers’ repressive policy against the People’s Liberation Struggle participants and civilians (including Jews) but also, quite specifically, as Holocaust site. In other words, the fact that Jews were not only the first victims of Sajmište, but the only category of the camp’s prisoners (and the only community in occupied Serbia) that perished as victim of calculated and total destruction – was never adequately admitted. The attitude towards the suffering of Jews at Sajmište dramatically illustrates the lack of consciousness in Serbia during the entire post-war period on the Holocaust as a specific historical event and unique example of human suffering, which by itself is worthy of attention and respect.



Jovan Byford

From a Site of Yugoslav Suffering to a Symbol of Serbian Martyrdom: Sajmište as the “Serbian Yad Vashem”

During the late 1980s, a time when organizations such as the Veterans’ Association and the Co-ordination Committee for Fostering Revolutionary Traditions promoted ideological motives and priorities as part of memorial activities at Sajmište, an alternative interpretation of World War II history began to emerge in the public discourse of Serbia. The new perspective did not only include new themes and a new focus – primarily the genocide in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) between 1941 and 1945 – it also marked the beginning of a new culture of remembrance, with its own institutional basis and commemorative practice. The new culture of remembrance which was mainly advocated by the nationalist elite in Serbia also influenced the public perception of the Old Fairground and its tragic history.

In November 1988, midway between two spring ceremonies at Sajmište to celebrate the achievements of the People’s Liberation Struggle and Yugoslav unity, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) held a conference entitled “Jasenovac 1945–1988”. It was organized by a special committee established as early as in 1984 following an initiative by Vladimir Dedijer and engaged in collecting “material on the genocide against Serbs and other Yugoslav peoples in the 20th century”.¹ The Committee on Genocide (as it was called within SANU) was created as a result of an increasing belief among SANU historians that “no one in our country writes about genocide from a scientific point of view, let alone prints books containing historical data intended for the international public”. Besides, collecting material on genocide was a response to the fact that, according to Vladimir Dedijer, “serious international historians believe that the genocide in Yugoslavia is covered by a conspiracy of silence”.² SANU endeavored to combat this conspiracy by identifying “Serbian, Slovenian, Jewish and Roma” victims of “genocide or political terror”, investigating sites of mass execution such as the “countless graves victims were thrown in” or “great sites of suffering such as Gradina within the Jasenovac complex” and gathering archival data on genocide which is “scattered throughout archives in the country” and abroad. Committee members appointed in 1984 included SANU members Vladimir Dedijer, Radovan Samardžić, Dobrica Ćosić and Milorad Ekmečić, as well as two non-SANU historians – Andrej Mitrović and Branko Petranović. The Committee was later joined by Smilja Avramov and the self-proclaimed “Serbian Simon Wiesenthal” Milan Bulajić, who attended the 1986 trial of Ustasha criminal Andrija Artuković in Zagreb as an official SANU observer.

In its early stages, the Committee on Genocide adopted, at least publically, a pan-Yugoslav approach to the issue of genocide. Its members stressed the “necessity of all-Yugoslav activities”. On one occasion, Dobrica Ćosić stated that “our work needs to be scientific, i.e. humane and democratic. Every mother’s pain, regardless of nationality, is equal and we must respect it”.³ The “pan-Yugoslav ap-

proach” to the issue of genocide was also noticeable in the efforts to prepare data on genocide “against all peoples of Yugoslavia”, including the 1943 crimes against Muslims in Eastern Bosnia.

The Committee’s first scientific gathering was held in 1986 with the intention to organize similar assemblies on an annual basis. However, already the following year, after the SANU Memorandum scandal, it was no longer possible to secure the necessary funding. Many members of the Committee deemed this a conspiracy, with the alleged involvement of the Security Service, the Vatican and anti-Serb Slovenian and Croatian politicians and their “pawns” in Serbia (the “Stambolić dynasty” in particular). They all allegedly joined forces to obstruct the Committee’s work and continue to conceal crimes, primarily those against Serbs in the NDH.

It soon became clear that despite its original “all-Yugoslav” orientation, the Committee on Genocide represents a significant element of the emerging wave of Serbian nationalism, in the development of which SANU played an important role.⁴ The Committee and prominent members of the SANU Department of Historical Sciences have contributed to the preoccupation with genocide in NDH reaching the level of obsession in Serbia as early as in the second half of 1988.⁵ Such role of the Committee became even more distinct following Dedijer’s death in November 1990 when the helm was taken over by representatives of an extremely nationalist wing – SANU member Radovan Samardžić and his deputy Milan Bulajić. “Previously appointed members who are no longer active in the Committee for various reasons” were gradually excluded from membership. The Committee was instead joined by persons from outside SANU who dealt exclusively with the suffering of Serbs, including Archimandrite (and future Bishop) Atanasije Jevtić, Srbojub Živanović, Dragoje Lukić, Đuro Zatezalo, *et al.* It established ties with the Serbian Orthodox Church, jointly organizing an action in 1991 to exhume graves and sites of mass executions in Croatia and Bosnia. In a word, the Committee on Genocide gradually became a means to combat the policy of “organized oblivion” of Serbian suffering in NDH with an openly propagandistic mission.⁶ Genocide in other parts of Yugoslavia (particularly the one against Muslims in Eastern Bosnia in 1943) was not being mentioned, let alone investigated, by anyone.

The Committee’s emerging, increasingly nationalist orientation and its focus on Serbian victims was reflected by the conference “Jasenovac 1945–1988”. One of its main topics was the manipulation with the number of Jasenovac victims. Milan Bulajić, the Committee’s spokesperson of sorts, insisted that the exact number of this camp’s victims was never determined, which was actually true. However, his statement insinuated that the official estimate of between 500.000 and 700.000 victims based on the findings of the State Commission for War Crimes was probably too low. Besides, the alleged “conspiracy of silence” could not have been aimed at augmenting the number of victims, but rather the opposite – concealing the true scope of Serb suffering in the NDH, which many at the time believed to have had surpassed one million victims.

As a response to “manipulations” with Jasenovac in official Yugoslav historiography, Milan Bulajić proposed a project with the goal to finally break the “taboo” about this camp, oppose the “ban on determining the number of World War II victims” and enable the truth about Serbian victims in

1 Kljakić, Slobodan, “Kratka istorija Odbora SANU za sakupljanje građe o genocidu nad srpskim narodom i drugim narodima Jugoslavije u XX veku”, in Predrag Dragić-Kijak (ed.), *Catena Mundi II*, Kraljevo, Ibarske novosti, 1992, pp. 498–512.

2 See “Pismo Vladimira Dedijera Izvršnom odboru SANU”, *ibid.*, p. 499.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 503

4 Milosavljević, Olivera, “Zloupotreba autoriteta nauke”, in Popov, Nebojša (ed.), *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*, Belgrade, Samizdat B92, 2002, pp. 340–374.

5 Dragović-Soso, Jasna, *Saviours of the Nation*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

6 See “Zapisnik sa sednice Odbora za sakupljanje građe o genocidu protiv srpskog naroda i drugih naroda Jugoslavije u XX veku, 24. XII 1990. godine” in Kljakić, Slobodan, “Kratka istorija Odbora SANU”, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

Croatia to be presented to the world at last. The project was to include the creation of “a database of genocide victims [...] which would be set up through use of modern computer technology” and realized by a separate institution – the “Museum of Genocide Victims”. Bulajić believed that this museum should be established as soon as possible, in order for the truth about the number of victims in NDH to see the light of day by the scheduled 1991 marking of the 50th anniversary of what he called the Yugoslav “Holocaust-genocide” or “Yugoslav Holocaust”.⁷

Bulajić’s initiative to create the Museum of Genocide was immediately accepted by a wide spectrum of the Serbian nationalist elite, especially after Franjo Tuđman’s revisionist book *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti* (*Wastelands of Historical Reality*) was published in May 1989. In early 1990, *Svet* magazine (Ljiljana Bulatović was Editor-in-Chief at the time) supported Bulajić’s campaign to create a “museum of genocide, like the one built by the Jews in Jerusalem a long time ago”.⁸

In February 1990, *Svet* hosted a round-table discussion to expose the strategy of “organized oblivion” of Serbian victims of Ustasha genocide and deny Croatian nationalists’ assertions that there had been only 40.000 Jasenovac victims. This discussion marked the official initiative to create the Museum of Genocide Victims, supported by Milan Bulajić as representative of the SANU Committee on Genocide, as well as by the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society and the Archives of Serbia.

The Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society’s support to this project should come as no surprise. The Society was founded in 1988 by a group of Serbian and Jewish public personalities to promote good relations between the two peoples, as well as between the states of Serbia and Israel. However, its work was primarily in the purpose of nationalist propaganda. Representatives of the Society often compared the fate of the Jews during Nazism with the fate of the Serbs, thus boosting the motif of Serbian martyrdom which represented a focal point of the late 1980s Serbian nationalist discourse. It is important to stress that the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia never officially accepted the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society and that the latter was never an organ of the Federation. Moreover, many members of the Jewish community in Serbia have openly criticized the Society’s activities, describing it as a “functionalization” of Jews and their history, motivated by propagandistic causes.⁹ This, however, did not prevent the Society’s Jewish members from occasionally acting as representatives of the wider community, which is how they were accepted, particularly by the nationalist circles.

The idea of the Museum of Genocide Victims was later also backed by Radovan Samardžić who believed that the SANU Committee on Genocide was slowly turning into a diminishing group of disenchanted “pensioners” and that its work should be resumed by a special institution supported by the state, which would “dispose of expert services and [better] technical equipment”.¹⁰

The February 1990 round-table discussion also raised the question about the museum’s location. Milan Bulajić proposed that the museum – which, at times, he eerily called the “Museum of the Dead” – should be located at “a site of remembrance of the Nazi Sajmište camp in Belgrade”. The idea

was immediately accepted by other participants including Klara Mandić, delegate of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society at this gathering. Mandić described the Sajmište museum as the future “Serbian Yad Vashem which would document the fact that the Serbian people is one of history’s greatest genocide victims”.¹¹

When selecting the location for the future museum of Serbian suffering, Klara Mandić or any other participants of this discussion failed to consider the history of Sajmište and there were no attempts to in any way justify the idea of establishing the Museum of Genocide Victims at this location, of all places, Sajmište was undoubtedly selected for it was a site of suffering (a Nazi camp) which had been proclaimed cultural heritage a few years prior. However, during the discussion about the Museum of Genocide, Sajmište was only considered as a location, an empty symbolic and geographic space deprived of characteristics and its own tragic past. At the same time, the victims of Sajmište – including those murdered in the gas van in the spring 1942 – were effectively excluded from this location’s history, yielding their place to a new memorial site dedicated to Serb victims of the Ustrasha genocide.

The idea to create the Museum of genocide Victims was also supported by Serbian authorities. In November 1990, Bulajić, accompanied by SANU Vice President Antonije Isaković, visited Slobodan Milošević, presenting him the initiative to set up the Museum of Genocide Victims. Afterwards, Bulajić announced that the President “gave his full support”.¹² Shortly thereafter, Milan Bulajić was appointed president of a City Assembly committee in charge of developing Sajmište. As part of a call to raise funds for the completion of the monument by Popović, sent in April 1991 to, *inter alia*, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia and branches of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society in the country and abroad, this committee announced that Sajmište would become the center of the Museum of Genocide Victims which will study and preserve “the truth about the genocide committed against Serbs, Jews and Roma”.

The decision to build the Museum of Genocide Victims at Sajmište was made at a December 1991 City Assembly meeting attended by Milan Bulajić (on behalf of the SANU Committee on Genocide), Boško Novaković, representing former Sajmište inmates and representatives of the Institute of Urbanism, City Secretariat for Culture, Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and the Jewish community. Although several possible locations (including the Museum “25. maj”) were proposed at the time, the fact that Boško Novaković was invited to take part indicates that Sajmište was the “frontrunner” even prior to the meeting. The official proposal to proclaim Sajmište the location of the Museum of Genocide Victims came from the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. This institution characterized Sajmište as the site of the “largest Belgrade camp/site of mass execution in World War II”.¹³ Still, the meeting’s participants agreed that the establishment of the Museum was far-fetched since it had to be preceded by the relocation of Sajmište’s current inhabitants and a long and expensive process of restoration. It was decided that the Museum was to be established immediately, but that it would engage primarily in research work until the development of Sajmište. Only a few days after this meeting, the Draft Law on the Establishment of the Museum of Genocide Victims formally en-

7 “Okrugli sto - Muzej žrtava genocida”, *Svet*, April 1 1990, p. 5.

8 Ibid, p. 3.

9 “Dug istini i narodu”, *Politika*, July 14 1990. For more information on the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society see Sekelj, Laslo, *Vreme beščašća: Ogladi o vladavini nacionalizma*, Belgrade, Akademia nova, 1995, and Gordijew, Paul, *Voices of Yugoslav Jewry*, op. cit.

10 “Pozdravne reči predsedavajućeg akademika Radovana Samardžića”, *Ratni zločini i zločini genocida, 1991-1992*, Belgrade, SANU, 1993, pp. 2-3.

11 Brkić, A. “Srbi ne znaju koliko ih nema” *Svet*, April 1 1990, p. 65.

12 Bulajić, Milan, “Genocid nad pravoslavnim Srbima u Drugom svjetskom ratu”, *Genocid nad Srbima u II svetskom ratu*, Belgrade, Muzej žrtava genocida, 1995, p. 12.

13 Đurđević, D. “Suprotstavljanje neistinama”, *Politika*, December 19 1991.

tered the adoption procedure of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.¹⁴

Sajmište as “Part of the Wider Circle of Death” around Jasenovac

The Old Fairground's appeal as site of the future Museum of Genocide Victims was mainly based on its rather large surface, central position on the left bank of the Sava River, not far from the city center, as well as the fact that it had already been designated for development as a memorial complex. However, events took an unexpected turn in the summer of 1992. During a July parliamentary debate on the law on the museum's establishment, the then Speaker of Assembly Aleksandar Bakočević included at the last moment (apparently by mistake) an amendment by Kragujevac deputy Dragoslav Petrović, which specified this city as its location, as it was the site of a mass execution of civilians in October 1941.¹⁵ To the surprise of the majority of People's Assembly of Serbia deputies and the despair of Milan Bulajić (who was envisaged as the institution's director from the very beginning), the Law was passed, “moving” the Museum of Genocide Victims to Kragujevac by an administrative decision.¹⁶ In the following years, Bulajić intensively campaigned to rectify this “mistake”, believing that a museum of such importance should be located in the Serbian capital which, after all, already keeps “significant archival data required by the museum”.¹⁷ However, the law was never changed. Bulajić did not accept a compromise until 1995: the Museum was formally registered in Kragujevac while its research base was set up in temporary facilities at Nikola Pašić Square, Belgrade.

In his efforts to present Sajmište as the most reasonable solution for the future Museum of Genocide Victims and a site of a memorial center dedicated primarily to victims of Ustasha terror, Milan Bulajić's work and public appearances at the time often emphasized the connection between Sajmište and Jasenovac. This is rather significant because until then, save for the conclusion of Communiqué No. 87 by the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers which lists the Ustasha Ante Pavelić and Dido Kvaternik among persons responsible for the crimes at the Zemun camp, Sajmište was not known as part of NDH history. Hence, there was no obvious logic behind Bulajić's proposal to build the Museum of Genocide Victims at this location. In order to change this situation, Bulajić advocated an interpretation of Sajmište which was selective and often not based on historical facts, with the aim to “export” the camp to the Independent State of Croatia, present it as its legacy and thus connect it with Jasenovac, the cornerstone of the future Museum of Genocide Victims. This strategy emphasized several rather peripheral aspects of the Sajmište camp's history, tendentiously stressing carefully selected individual cases of its victims' sufferin

Only a month after the establishment of the Museum of Genocide Victims, Milan Bulajić, speaking at a SANU meeting, presented two reasons why this museum should be located in Belgrade, specifically at Sajmište. Firstly, Bulajić stated, “bodies from the Independent State of Croatia, from the Ustasha death camp ‘Jasenovac’ were floating to the banks of the Belgrade Sava River” symbolically connecting the Serbian capital, particularly its river banks, with Jasenovac. Secondly, the Sajmište “inmates were de-

ported to ‘Jasenovac’” which is another infrangible link between the two camps.¹⁸ Two additional arguments were later added: firstly, that Sajmište was formally located “on the territory of NDH”, i.e. that it had been “established through an agreement between the Nazi command in Belgrade and the Croatian Ustasha authorities” and, secondly, that the worst period of suffering at the camp was between May and July of 1944 when control was relegated to the NDH Main Directorate for Public Order and Security and the Ustasha police in Zemun.¹⁹ Bulajić saw those four claims as proof that during World War II Sajmište was, in fact, “a part of a wider circle of the Nazi Ustasha Jasenovac death camp system”.²⁰ The Jasenovac camp itself was only the “first circle” of death, the nearby smaller Ustasha camps represented the “second circle”, while the third and widest circle encompassed the “entire territory of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia (NDH)” including the Sajmište camp.²¹

It is important to point out that each of Bulajić's four arguments contains a grain of truth. It is true that Sajmište was formally located on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia whose eastern border was at the left bank of the Sava River in Belgrade. It is true that a group of inmates was transported from NDH to Sajmište. However, after declaring them “incapable of work”, the Germans returned the inmates to the Ustasha who then executed them at Jasenovac. Victims' bodies from NDH did float all the way to Belgrade in 1941 and Ustasha did take over the command of the Sajmište camp in May 1944. However, all that does not render Bulajić's conclusions correct. During its entire existence, Sajmište was exclusively a Nazi camp and segment of history of the part of Serbia directly occupied by Nazi Germany, rather than NDH. The agreement between the German command in Belgrade and the Zagreb authorities was a formality and the camp was guarded only by German soldiers subordinated to the German authorities in Serbia until May 1944. Also, the fate of the inmates who were returned to the Ustasha by no means justifies the claim that Sajmište was part of the Jasenovac camp system.²² The number of inmates who were returned to NDH was not only relatively small in comparison with the total number of Sajmište victims, but its tendentious accentuating serves to distract from the fact that a much higher number of exhausted and “work-incapable” inmates were arrested on the territories of Croatia and Bosnia and then executed or left to die of hunger or illness at Sajmište by German guards or members of the camp administration. Bulajić, on the other hand, presents the case of transporting inmates to Jasenovac in September 1942 as the central event in the history of Sajmište, establishing a symbolic connection between this camp and the Serbs' suffering in the NDH. As for the bodies which floated to Belgrade, their actual number (around four hundred) was much lower than the 15.000 stated by Bulajić in his books. Besides, it is indicative that there had been an initiative prior to 1992 to raise a monument in Belgrade to the victims of NDH genocide whose bodies floated to Belgrade – however, not at Sajmište, but near the Nebojša Tower or at Ada Ciganlija, sites where many of the bodies were originally buried. Obviously, Bulajić later amalgamated this idea with the initiative to establish the Museum of Genocide Victims through his efforts to form the strongest ties possible between Sajmište and the genocide in NDH.

14 “Uvodno izlaganje dr Milana Bulajića” in *Ratni zločini i zločini genocida, 1991-1992*, op. cit., p. 21.

15 “Zakon o osnivanju Muzeja žrtava genocida”, *Službeni glasnik*, No. 49, 1992. On the law passing fiasco, see the exposé by Batrić Jovanović, in *Ratni zločini i zločini genocida, 1991-1992*, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

16 The parliamentary debate included a discussion about the museum's name. Eventually, it was decided that the institution would be named Museum of Genocide Victims.

17 “Uvodno izlaganje dr Milana Bulajića”, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

18 Ibid, pp. 21-22. In his books Bulajić regularly included the map of NDH, with arrows showing the inflow of inmates to Jasenovac from other camps. One of the arrows led to Sajmište.

19 See Koljanin, Milan, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, op. cit., p. 51.

20 Bulajić, Milan, *Jasenovac: ustaški logori smrti, srpski mit?: hrvatski ustaški logori genocida nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Ciganima*, Belgrade, Stručna knjiga, 1999, p. 159.

21 Bulajić, Milan, *Jasenovac: Uloga Vatikana u nacističkoj Hrvatskoj*, Belgrade: Pešić i sinovi, 2007, pp. 283-284.

22 Milan Koljanin, “Veze između nemačkog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu i logora NDH Jasenovac i Stara Gradiška” in Smreka, Jelka (ed.), *Okrugli stol ‘Jasenovac 1986’*, Jasenovac, Spomen područje Jasenovac, 1986, p. 177.

Finally, there is no truth to Bulajić's claim that the period between May and July 1944 when the camp was taken over by the Ustasha was a time of particular brutality. Bulajić states that under the leadership of camp administrator Petar Brzica – who was “sent to this duty from Jasenovac after winning a prisoner-slaying contest” – inmates were “beaten to death” by the Ustasha more often than it was the case under German administration.²³ However, Milan Koljanin (whose research Bulajić often cites when writing about Sajmište) claims that during the last months of the camp's existence, its policy was milder in comparison with the time when it was under German command and held a much higher number of inmates. Besides, even after being taken over by the Ustasha, Sajmište was never a “Ustasha” camp like Jasenovac. Even in the period between May and July 1944, Sajmište inmates were primarily “prisoners of the Germans” and people “the German police ... counted on for sending to the Reich as work force.”²⁴

Despite pointing out ties between Sajmište and Jasenovac, Milan Bulajić still did not completely forget the former's status of a “Nazi creation and site of Jewish suffering” on the territory of occupied Serbia.²⁵ In his books, Bulajić occasionally quotes Christopher Browning's important work on Sajmište and mentions the gas van used to destroy Jewish inmates in the spring of 1942. Hence, he does not completely redraw Sajmište's history or discard the Holocaust of Serbian Jews. However, at the same time, the scientific facts on the *Judenlager* are rather peripheral in Bulajić's entire narrative about World War II genocide.²⁶ Just as in previous decades, Jews were identified as the first (but not particularly important) victims of Sajmište. Furthermore, in his public appearances Bulajić “remembered” the Jewish aspect of Sajmište's history most commonly in the presence of Jews or when the local or international Jewish community was expected to donate to the Museum of Genocide Victims project. This was the case with a call for donations addressed by the Committee for the Development of Sajmište to the Federation of Jewish Communities and the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society in April 1991. Although the appeal states the Museum of Genocide Victims and remembrance of suffering of “Serbs, Jews and Roma” in Croatia as the main purpose of the future memorial complex at Sajmište, it still strategically places Sajmište in the context of the Holocaust in Serbia: the call for funds begins with the presentation of Sajmište as a site where a significant part of the Jewish community in Serbia was destroyed in the gas van. In the following years, Bulajić regularly used the same strategy of selective and functionalized memory in his fundraising activities. The fact that “Sajmište was a Belgrade Nazi camp where the notorious gas vans were used” would suddenly become relevant when the Israeli government or international Jewish organizations were asked to donate to the Museum of Genocide Victims at Sajmište.

The Serbo-Croatian Propaganda War and Interpretations of Sajmište's History

The interpretation of Sajmište and its history was certainly influenced by the early 1990s polemics between Zagreb and Belgrade about the Serbs' and Croats' respective attitude towards Jews. On the Croatian side, the most active participants in what appeared to be a war of words included authors like Tomislav Vuković, Ljubica Štefan, Josip Pečarić, Ante Knežević and the American author Philip

Cohen.²⁷ In their work, they attempted to present the Serbs as the true “genocidal people” whose collaborationists, with the blessing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, committed crimes during World War II much more terrible than the ones by the Ustasha in the NDH and cleansed Serbia of Jews. The aforementioned authors claimed that during the post-war period there was a “conspiracy of silence” concealing the genocidal character of Serbian nationalism and covering its bloody traces. During this debate, the Croatian side amply borrowed (and twisted) the arguments of their Serbian counterparts who were the first to write about the “conspiracy of silence”, genocidal nature of (Croatian) nationalism, role of the (Catholic) church in the World War II genocide, and so forth. On the Serbian side, the main actors included Milan Bulajić, along with authors of the book *Istina o 'srpskom antisemitizmu' (The Truth about 'Serbian Antisemitism')* Andrija Gams and Aleksandar Levi, and Jaša Almul, one of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society's spokespersons.²⁸ Their response to the “accusations” from Zagreb was mostly aimed at fully denying the existence of antisemitism in Serbia, thereby emphasizing its widespread presence in Croatia, both in the past and today.

The ministries of information of Serbia and Croatia, as well as regime-controlled media, quickly backed this debate proving that it was actually led on the level of state propaganda. Also, the works by the aforementioned authors were regularly translated and published, in parts or integrally, in the English language, which points out that they were not only intended for the domestic public, but for the international public opinion, as well: in Croatia as part of the PR project to clean up the history of NDH and in Serbia for the purpose of boosting the country's image in the world.²⁹ Alone the fact that the attitude towards Jews became this significant in both countries' international propaganda is interesting and could be, at least to some extent, attributed to both sides' belief in the power of the Jewish public opinion in America, although this was perhaps not the case with individual authors.³⁰

The early 1990s debates are significant for this book's subject because from the very beginning Sajmište was one of the main arenas of the battle between Serbian and Croatian quasi-historians. It is impossible to determine who “started it”, but as early as in the late 1980s, authors in Serbia began increasingly to use the argument that Sajmište was located on the territory of NDH. In most cases, the intention was not to “frame” Croatia with the camp's victims, but to point out that the Serbian collaborationist authorities had no influence over the incidents at the camp. Some authors claimed that, since Sajmište was under German administration and on another state's territory, the Nedić government in Belgrade cannot be held responsible for the Holocaust. This was not a new argument,

27 Vuković, Tomislav and Bojović, Edo, *Pregled srpskog antisemitizma*, Zagreb, Altair, 1992; Anto Knežević, *Analysis of Serbian Propaganda*, Zagreb, Domovina TT, 1992; Štefan, Ljubica, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva i fašizam*, Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Globus, 1996; Pečarić, Josip, *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu: Skrivanje istine o beogradskim konc-logorima*, Zagreb, Dom & Svijet, 1998; Cohen, Philip, *Serbia's Secret War: Propaganda and the Deceit in History*, College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 1996.

28 Gams, Andrija i Levi, Aleksandar, *The Truth about Serbian Antisemitism*. Belgrade, Ministarstvo informisanja Republike Srbije, 1994; Jaša Almul, “Stvaranje velikih laži o Srbiji i Srbima”, feuilleton, *Politika*, December 26 1993 – January 25 1994. Almul moved to London in the early 1990s and also debated in the British press which at that time began publishing letters which insisted on Serbian and Croatian collaborationists' equal responsibility for the Holocaust. For instance, in 1993 British historian Marko Attila Hoare claimed in the *London Review of Books* that the Nedić regime “enthusiastically participated in the Holocaust” and that an equal number of Jews was murdered by the Serbs and Croats, respectively. (“Greater Croatia” *London Review of Books*, September 9 1993).

29 See MacDonald, David Bruce, *Balkan holocausts? Serbian and Croatian victim-centred propaganda and the war in Yugoslavia*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002.

30 See Byford, Jovan “When I say ‘the Holocaust’, I mean ‘Jasenovac’: Remembrance of the Holocaust in contemporary Serbia”, op. cit., pp. 51-74.

23 Bulajić, Milan, *Jasenovac: ustaš ki logori smrti, srpski mit?*, op. cit., p. 164.

24 Koljanin, Milan, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, op. cit., p. 443.

25 Bulajić, Milan, *Deset godina Muzeja žrtava genocida*, Belgrade, Stručna knjiga, 2003, p. 469. For critical analysis of Bulajić's treatment of the Holocaust, see Byford, Jovan, “When I say ‘the Holocaust’, I mean ‘Jasenovac’: Remembrance of the Holocaust in contemporary Serbia”, *East European Jewish Affairs*, 37 (1), 2007, pp. 51-74.

26 Bulajić, Milan, *Jasenovac: uloga Vatikana u nacističkoj Hrvatskoj*. op. cit., p. 11.

for it was used by the collaborationists themselves during their trials after the war.³¹ However, it was reintroduced to the public discourse in the late 1980s as part of the narrative about the impeccable tradition of the Serbian-Jewish friendship and with the aim to divert public attention from the Nedić government's role in enforcing anti-Jewish measures during the early stages of the occupation – requisition of Jewish property, internment of Jews in Topovske šupe and Banjica camps and so forth.³² However, soon thereafter, the standpoint emerged that Sajmište's location on the territory of NDH was a confirmation that it was an Ustasha camp. As early as in 1990, an article published by the *Politika* daily mentioned Sajmište along with Jasenovac and Jadovno as a site of Ustasha crime against Serbs, Jews and Roma.³³

Croatian authors responded to those claims with a counterattack. Besides denying the claim that Sajmište was an Ustasha camp (especially during the time when it was a Jewish camp), they aimed to prove that the Serbs were actually the most brutal murderers at the camp. Their works created the impression that only the outside perimeter of the camp was secured by the Germans, while the Serbian authorities had control within the camp. In their book *Pregled srpskog antisemitizma (Review of Serbian Antisemitism)*, Tomislav Vuković and Edo Bojović promoted Radivoje Kisić, the notorious capo at the *Anhaltelager*, to a “Yugoslav [sic!] commander of the camp”, while other capos were referred to as Serbian “policemen.”³⁴

The murdering of Jews at the camp was attributed to “Serbian-German allies”. In her book *Srpska pravoslavna crkva i fašizam (Serbian Orthodox Church and Fascism)* Ljubica Štefan also claims that Sajmište was “administered by Germans and Milan Nedić's Serbian police, led by Dragi Jovanović.”³⁵

Croatian authors presented those previously unknown “facts” about Sajmište as significant discoveries concealed by the “conspiracy of silence” during the past decades. Štefan states that the truth about Sajmište was previously concealed with the intention of presenting Serbia as “pure and innocent” in regard to the Holocaust, while putting all the blame on Croatia. In this context, Štefan brings up an argument identical to the one we find in the literature on Jasenovac published in Belgrade at the time: “liberators”, i.e. Partisans are accused of consciously destroying any trace of this scene of crime, by someone's orders and as a result, the Sajmište camp was “erased from history – intentionally, systematically.”³⁶ The fact that after the war “there had never, absolutely never been a commemoration [at Sajmište]” which, of course, was not true, was also contributed to the conspiracy.³⁷

Another issue which made Sajmište particularly attractive for the Croatian propaganda was the fact that by a simple game of numbers it could be presented not only as the Serbian equivalent to Jasenovac, but as a scene of much worse suffering than the largest camp in the NDH. For example, in his book *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu (Serbian Myth about Jasenovac)*, Josip Pečarić refers

to the findings of the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers which determined that there were “more than 40.000 victims” at Sajmište. Besides, he states that the actual number of victims was probably even higher, since the Yugoslav authorities allegedly intentionally reduced the number of Jewish victims at Sajmište, which actually surpasses 11.000. However, Pečarić is not nearly as prone to believe the findings of the Commission or the literature from the period of socialist Yugoslavia in regard to the number of Jasenovac victims. On the contrary, a significant part of his book aims to prove that the number of Jasenovac victims was, in fact, much lower than the alleged 600.000 and that Tudman was more or less right when claiming that the number of victims was only around 40.000. It is not difficult to see where this argument leads. When comparing the maximum estimates of the suffering at Sajmište with the numbers regarding Jasenovac we find in Croatian revisionist literature, it turns out that Sajmište was a larger camp than Jasenovac. Hence, it turns out that the biggest crime on the territory of Yugoslavia was committed in Belgrade, rather than in the NDH. Consequently, the efforts by Croatian authors to prove that Serbia was not “pure and innocent” regarding the Holocaust quickly grew into a campaign to show that Serbia was in fact the main culprit in the Balkan Holocaust, which was previously unknown due to the systematic “concealing of truth about Belgrade concentration camps.” Ljubica Štefan even insinuates that Croatia was a victim of injustice when Jasenovac was included among the 22 camps in the remembrance mosaic in Yad Vashem, Israel, claiming that Sajmište deserves a place on that list instead.

Mutual accusations of “genocidal nature” which in both cases implied manipulations with historical facts, raised tensions on both sides during the 1990s, stirring nationalist passions, negative emotions and a sense of embitterment in the public, which was the purpose of such debates in the context of war propaganda in the first place. Unfortunately, some of the arguments gradually became deeply rooted both in Serbia and Croatia. In discussions about the Holocaust in Serbia, many issues are still being explained and justified by the claim that “Sajmište was in the NDH”. To this day, there are persons in Croatia who believe that there had been a Belgrade camp comparable to Jasenovac in terms of the number of victims and terrors and that, accordingly, the NDH was not a unique evil in the Yugoslav context. However, a matter of particular significance for the remembrance of Sajmište is the fact that, through debates with their Croatian “colleagues”, Bulajić and like-minded persons gradually refined their arguments about Sajmište as part of NDH history, thus growing increasingly convinced that this site can only be the scene of a memorial center dedicated to Serbian suffering in Croatia.³⁸

Finally, it is interesting to point out the significance of a photograph of Sajmište inmates published after the war by the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers in the debate between Bulajić and the Croatian authors. In the summer of 1994, the Museum of Genocide Victims, in cooperation with the Museum of Vojvodina, organized an exhibition entitled “Jasenovac: System of Ustasha Death Camps” in Belgrade and Novi Sad and later outside Serbia, as well.³⁹ The exhibits, consisting mostly of gruesome photographs showing Serbian suffering in the NDH, included one of famished inmates at the Todt Organization temporary detention camp located at the confluence of Sava into the Danube, in the immediate vicinity of Sajmište. This

31 “Branilac Alkalaj optužuje za ubistvo 9,000 jevrejskih žena i dece”, *Politika*, April 21 1946, p. 6.

32 See Byford, Jovan “The collaborationist administration and the treatment of Jews in Nazi-occupied Serbia”, in Ramet, Sabrina and Listhaug, Ola, *Serbia and Serbs in the Second World War*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, pp. 109-126.

33 Stated according to de la Brosse, Renaud “Political propaganda and the plan to create a ‘State for all Serbs’”, Report compiled at the request of the Office of Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, p. 24, http://hague.bard.edu/reports/de_la_brosse_pt2.pdf

34 Vuković, Tomislav and Bojović, Edo, *Pregled srpskog antisemitizma*, op. cit. pp. 95-97.

35 Štefan, Ljubica, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva i fašizam*, op. cit., pp. 263-264.

36 Ibid, p. 269.

37 Ibid.

38 See, for example, Bulajić's polemic with Pečarić in Bulajić, Milan, *Jasenovac, ustaški logor smrti - srpski mit?*, op. cit., 1999, pp. 753-818.

39 Mladenko Kumović, *Izložba Jasenovac: sistem ustaških logora smrti*, Novi Sad, Muzej Vojvodine, 1994. The controversial photograph is on page 53. 270 Ibid.

was a “branch” of Sajmište which interned inmates capable of work before they were sent to work in Germany or Norway. During the 1994 exhibition, but also later, a caption stated that the picture shows “famished Jasenovac inmates”.⁴⁰

This photograph provoked Josip Pečarić into a debate with Bulajić. The former claimed that it was an “intentional” mistake and an attempt of “planting” victims from occupied Serbia to Croatia. However, this is unlikely. If this was the true motive of the exhibit’s organizers, the persons in the photograph would not have been described as Jasenovac inmates but, on the contrary, as prisoners of Sajmište. Namely, if the photograph caption at an exhibition about the suffering in the NDH had read “famished inmates of Sajmište”, one could rightfully claim that this was a intentional attempt to falsify history and mark Sajmište as a site of genocide in the NDH. This way, even though it is an unforgivable oversight by the exhibition’s author, it was more likely a mistake. Still, the entire “famished inmates of Jasenovac” episode becomes more significant when taking into account the fact that this was not the first time a photograph from Sajmište was attributed to a different camp. In the 1970 book *Otpor golorukih kroz logore* (*Resistance of Barehanded through Camps*), an almost identical picture taken from the same collection was published to illustrate the suffering – at Banjica.⁴¹

It is quite possible that in both cases the cause for the incorrect caption of the photograph was the same. Namely, both during the socialist period and the 1990s, the predominant culture of remembrance in Serbia favored certain sites of suffering. At first, Banjica was at the center of attention as a site symbolizing the plight of NOB (People’s Liberation Struggle) supporters in Serbia. This role was later assumed by Jasenovac which became a metonymy for the plight of Serbs in the NDH. In both cases, despite the fact that it was the largest camp in occupied Serbia, Sajmište was a “second-rate camp”. After all, when Banjica received its first memorial plaque in 1961 during the planning of the 20th anniversary of the uprising, there were no funds for Sajmište. During the 1980s, when Sajmište and Jajinci were to be developed, priority was given to the latter, *inter alia* because it was the location of Banjica inmates’ sufferin. When during the 1990s Jasenovac was recognized as a symbol of Serbian martyrdom in World War II, the idea to establish a museum dedicated to the history of Sajmište was entirely secondary to the initiative of establishing a museum commemorating victims of genocide in the NDH. This is the context in which the controversial use of photographs should be interpreted, both in 1970 and 1994. The motifs of suffering at Banjica and later at Jasenovac were at the time so dominant that the editors of the book *Otpor golorukih kroz logore* (*Resistance of Barehanded through Camps*) and organizers of the exhibition on Jasenovac – who were obviously not well familiar with the provenance of individual pictures – automatically assimilated photographs of “famished inmates” into the narrative of a camp that was at the time considered a paradigm of human sufferin. Hence, neither case probably represents an intentional manipulation but a simple consequence of the fact that Sajmište was overshadowed by other camps during the entire post-war period.

Distribution of Memorial Sites in Belgrade: the Old Fairground and “Menorah in Flames”

In the period when the Museum of Genocide Victims was being established, just like during the 1980s, most of the decisions on the future of Sajmište and its purpose were made without the involvement of the Jewish community’s officials. Jewish Community of Belgrade was notified about

different proposals and decisions but mostly informally, through Špiro Solomun who was at the time a City of Belgrade Secretariat for Culture official, or by occasional communication with Milan Bulajić. However, opinions of the Serbian Jews were not seriously considered in regard to the development of Sajmište.

Such a situation is somewhat strange considering the fact that certain members of the Jewish community in Serbia described this period (1989–1991) as a “good period for the Jews”.⁴² This “good period” was marked by what seemed to be an increased interest about different aspects of Jewish history and culture, as well as increased visibility of Jews in public life, mostly through the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society. As part of its public activities, the Society has initiated or at least publicly supported the raising of several monuments to Jewish victims of Nazism, for example at Dorćol, Belgrade, in Kragujevac, Šabac and Zastavica. This means that the suffering of Serbian Jews had received increased publicity at the time, beyond the confines of the Jewish community.

How can one explain the obvious inconformity between the public preoccupation with the plight of the Jews as promoted by the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society and the near-total exclusion of the Jewish community from the decision-making process on the future of Sajmište? How come the sculpture “Menorah in Flames” by Nandor Glid, revealed in a solemn state inauguration at the Danube bank in the fall of 1990 was promoted as a symbol of the Serbs’ and Jews’ common remembrance of the Holocaust, while there was no trace of “common remembrance” at Sajmište? The answer to this question lies mainly in the fact that the alleged “pro-Jewish euphoria” in Serbia was neither particularly strong nor comprehensive.⁴³ It inspired the raising of *new* monuments, such as the one in Dorćol, with important contributions from persons close to the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society, with the object of remembrance created carefully and strategically in the spirit of the interpretation of Serbian-Jewish relations as promoted by this Society at the time. Namely, despite the fact that they were dedicated to Jewish victims, new monuments usually attracted media attention because they were viewed (or, rather, presented to the public) mainly as a sign of lasting Serbian sympathy for the Jews. “Menorah in Flames”, for example, was immediately interpreted not only as a monument to Jews murdered in the Holocaust, but also a recognition of Serbian “openness” and a place which would preserve the memory of Serbian and Jewish common martyrdom’s history.⁴⁴ However, this way of looking at the past did not reach the existing memorial sites such as Sajmište, which already had a developed and institutionally based commemorative practice. The narrative about the inseparable bonds between Serbs and Jews was not that easy to fit in the interpretation of Sajmište at the time by, for instance, former Sajmište inmates.

Furthermore, the raising of Gild’s monument in Dorćol in 1990 coincided with the early stages of the campaign to establish the Museum of Genocide Victims, leading to unforeseen consequences for Sajmište. It was a period of a highly questionable, although informal distribution of memorial sites in the city. The Danube Quay monument which honored Jewish victims of Nazism *de facto* “relieved” Sajmište of its commitment to become a monument of Holocaust victims. Since the Jews were deemed appropriately honored with the “Menorah in Flames” sculpture, Sajmište received the “freedom” of becoming a site to honor other victims – mainly the Serbs – in the Museum of Geno-

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Labović, Đurica and Ražnjatović, Petar, *Otpor golorukih kroz logore*, Beograd, Grafika, 1970, p. 138.

⁴² Gordiejew, Paul, *Voices of Yugoslav Jewry*, op. cit., p. 370.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ See, for example, newspaper articles “Znamenje naše otvorenosti”, *Novosti plus*, October 22 1990, p. 2, “Stradali zajedno”, *Politika ekspres*, October 22 1990, p. 3.

cide Victims. This is illustrated by a call to raise funds for completion of the Sajmište monument sent in April 1991 by a City Assembly committee in charge of preparing the “Sajmište memorial” to the Jewish community and the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society, which emphasized that a monument had been erected a few months prior to honor Jewish victims of fascist terror, “financed primarily by the City of Belgrade”. This “remark” conveyed the message that the Jewish community was expected to reciprocate the generosity of the City of Belgrade and help establish a memorial to Serbian victims in the NDH at Sajmište, of all places. Of course, this distribution of memorial sites went by without the involvement of the Federation of Jewish Communities, an organization that made an effort to adequately mark Sajmište as a place of Serbian Jews’ suffering. However, this was not the case with some distinguished members of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society who were accepted as main interlocutors by the Serbian nationalist elite who groundlessly treated them as the legitimate voice of the Jewish community in Serbia. After all, Milan Bulajić’s proposal to turn Sajmište into the *Serbian Yad Vashem* was enthusiastically accepted as early as in 1990 by both Klara Mandić and Enriko Josif on behalf of the Society.

Detailed Urban Plan of the “Old Fairground Memorial Complex”

In February 1992, only a few months after the decision to build the Museum of Genocide Victims at Sajmište, the City Assembly of Belgrade adopted the Detailed Urban Plan of the Old Fairground memorial complex. Experts of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Belgrade and the Institute for Urbanism and Design began drafting this plan as early as in 1987 when Sajmište was included in the registry of cultural heritage of Belgrade. However, due to years of public debate and harmonizing with existing regulations, the project was not finished until early 1992.⁴⁵

Although the Detailed Urban Plan (in accordance with the July 1987 decision) defines Old Fairground as “memorial complex” and “memorial site” to include exclusively “memorial content”, it contains a noticeable and significant addition. Namely, the approximately 22 ha area between the Brankov Bridge and Stari Savski Bridge was scheduled for “reconstruction” with the purpose to “restore the wholesome appearance of the Old Fairground site, as it was before it was turned into a camp”. The “original structures” – dating from the period before 1941 – were scheduled for restoration and “adjustment to its future purpose” while the other buildings which occupy a 17.000 m² surface were to be demolished. New buildings were planned on the site of the former Yugoslav Pavilions. A reconstruction of the original transportation network and footpaths was scheduled, as well – all this with the aim to restore the original “wholesome appearance” of the Belgrade Fairground.⁴⁶

According to this, the Detailed Urban Plan does not only recognize the historical memorial value of Sajmište as a notorious camp, but obviously its pre-war architectural and urbanistic importance, as well. Moreover, the document explicitly states that the future development of this site should include the possibility of “restoring the complex’s purpose as a sample fair”, i.e. returning its original, mainly commercial purpose. The fair of exhibits is even described as the “most adequate way of organizing” space, since “that was the original purpose of the complex”. Sajmište’s future purpose also men-

tions the organization of “exhibiting technical equipment, particularly electronics and informatics”, as well as the possibility of allocating a part of the space to “trade, tourism, business, i.e. commercial contents”.⁴⁷ The Plan’s authors even believed that Sajmište should be functionally connected with the *Intercontinental* business and hotel complex. Also, the Plan stressed Sajmište’s role as an art colony and the necessity of expanding and restoring the existing “contents of culture and arts”.

The emphasis on the “semi-functional character” and the total reconstruction of Sajmište is important because it illustrates the extent to which architects and urban planners of the late 1980s and early 1990s began to “remember” the pre-war period and recognize the historical importance of the Belgrade Fair, not only in terms of Yugoslav architecture, but the city’s economic life, as well. As recently announced by Vesna Matičević, who was in charge of the Detailed Urban Plan’s drafting from 1987 to 1992, the original aim of the study was “expanded”, since “it was also proven necessary to mark the time when the Fair existed”, but also the “period after the camp was disbanded”, i.e. the art colony. In other words, the essence of the “memorial complex” underwent major changes between 1987 when Sajmište was proclaimed cultural heritage and 1992 when the urban plan was adopted.⁴⁸

Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the urban plan shows that this “expansion” significantly diminished the original emphasis on Sajmište as a memorial site. This is represented by the fact that the majority of contents related to the remembrance of the camp were noticeably neglected, i.e. relocated from the Sajmište complex itself. There had been plans to erect a monument to the victims in the coastal part, at the periphery of the former camp. The same area was allocated for new structures which would house the museum. There were plans for a separate memorial dedicated to Jewish victims, which was to comprise of two green groves, according to the “tradition of the Jewish people”. This memorial which isolates and in a way “ghettoizes” the remembrance of Jewish suffering, is located outside the inner space of Sajmište, at the west margin of the memorial complex, between the tramline and the Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard. The very center of the complex was allocated mostly for different contents. The majority of existing structures were intended for “art events, exhibitions, permanent exhibitions, etc.”, while the new buildings which will emerge from the mass of the Yugoslav pavilions and the Romanian Pavilion would have “the purpose of a sample fair”. As for the pre-war pavilions, only the Spasić Pavilion was allocated (along with the structures that were to be built in the coastal part) for the museum and its exhibition. The Detailed Urban Plan does not specify the content of this museum. However, bearing in mind the agreements which preceded its adopting, there is no doubt that the Spasić Pavilion was intended for the Museum of Genocide Victims.

While in the late 1980s and early 1990s there were ongoing debates in part of the public on whether Sajmište was a symbol of resistance to fascism and suffering in occupied Serbia or the site of the Serbian Yad Vashem, official documents increasingly emphasized the third dimension of this site’s history – its pre-war role of Belgrade Fair. This was a direct continuation of a trend which began during the planning of the Savski Plateau restoration, when the attitude was formed that Sajmište was too valuable, from the standpoint of urban development, but also as building land, to be just a

45 The entire project was led by architect Vesna Matičević, see Matičević, Vesna, “Detaljni urbanistički plan spomeničkog kompleksa Staro Sajmište” in Beogradsko Staro sajmište 3+1, op. cit., pp. 351-355.

46 “Detaljni urbanistički plan spomeničkog kompleksa ‘Staro sajmište’”, Službeni list grada Beograda, No. 2, February 14 1992, pp. 79-88.

47 Ibid, p. 81.

48 Matičević, Vesna, “Detaljni urbanistički plan spomeničkog kompleksa Staro Sajmište”, op. cit., p. 352. Restoring of the appearance from 1937, i.e. building of new structures at the site of the former Yugoslav Pavilions, is mentioned as early as in 1989 in the survey of general conservation conditions of Sajmište’s development carried out by the Institute for Urbanism and Design. “Prethodni programsko-prostorni polazi za DUP Spomeničkog kompleksa Staro sajmište”, August 1989, Arhiv Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, File 284 “Sajmište”.

“memorial complex“ dedicated to the Nazi camp. More importantly, by introducing the idea of the pre-war Fair as an equally important part of this site’s history which deserves to be marked, the Detailed Urban Plan paved the way to the commercialization of Sajmište. Such an attitude towards Sajmište is today dominant in most initiatives for its development.

Of course, like in previous decades, authors of the Detailed Urban Plan were aware of the fact that there were no funds for the ambitious development project of Sajmište. At a time when the war in Croatia had already begun and Serbia was facing international sanctions, no one even thought about the relocation of inhabitants from Sajmište or the building of new structures. That is why (same as in 1987) the “first phase“ of Sajmište’s restoration was to include the development of the coastal part, which was previously allocated for the large monument by sculptor Miodrag Popović. The grassy part along the bank, near the Old Fairground was supposed to assume “the role of adequately marking this historical site“, in anticipation of next phases of restoration, which were never commenced.⁴⁹.



“Menorah in Flames”, Sculpture by Nandor Glid, Belgrade - Dorcol



49 “Detaljni urbanistički plan spomeničkog kompleksa ‘Staro sajmište‘“, op. cit., p. 82.

The Old Fairground Today and in the Future

Since the 1960s, when the first initiative was launched to appropriately mark the Sajmište camp site, its memorialization was mostly dealt with by various associations of former inmates (who exerted influence most often through socio-political organizations such as SUBNOR (*Associations of the People's Liberation War Veterans of Yugoslavia*) or SSRN (*Socialist Alliance of the Working People*), the Jewish community – which was mostly marginalized – and representatives of the Museum of Genocide Victims who strove to establish permanent premises at Sajmište during the 1990s. With the exception of a short period in the mid-1980s when Sajmište received more public attention as part of the campaign for “new revolutionary commitment”, city and republic institutions remembered this site only occasionally, mostly by supporting others’ initiatives or through megalomaniacal plans for the development of the Sava Bank Amphitheater, rarely observing the site’s historical significance. The 1966 decision on the “memorial riverbank”, Sajmište’s proclamation as cultural heritage in 1987 and the adoption of the Detailed Urban Plan in 1992 represent the only official decisions regarding Sajmište during the post-war period. However, judging by the site’s current state, they, too, were only empty rhetoric.

During the last five years, however, the experts, parts of the political elite and nongovernmental sector, as well as print and electronic media, began expressing greater interest in the fate of the Old Fairground. Since 2006, a series of public events was organized – exhibitions, round tables, multimedia projects, etc. – on the topic of the past, present and, more importantly, future of Sajmište. The same period saw several public initiatives for the development of the site, stemming from public or private institutions, resulting with increased media reports on this topic as opposed to the previous period. By analyzing the obvious increase of interest in Sajmište and the circumstances which led to it, we will attempt to gain insight in what Sajmište symbolizes today, the attitude of the Serbian society and state towards this site of suffering and the prospects of Sajmište becoming a site worthy of those who perished there between 1941 and 1944.

Most Recent Initiatives for the Development of the Old Fairground

The exhibition “Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1” held in April 2006 at the National Museum in Belgrade was the first important event that somewhat indicated the increased interest in Sajmište of recent years. It mostly consisted of photographs showing different periods of the Old Fairground’s history, while the main exhibit shown in the Museum’s atrium was a large-scale, 9 square meter model of the pre-war Belgrade Fair, built according to 1937 blueprints.¹ The two-week event, described in a part of its promotional material as “Days of the Old Fairground”, included a series of round-table discussions dedicated to different issues concerning the history of the site. Topics included the “urbanistic-architectural significance” of the pre-war Fair, the suffering at the camp – “a place of suffering beneath windows of Belgrade”, as well as the arrival of artists who transformed it

into a place of “refuge and renewal” during the 1950s. The exhibition was dominated by emphasis on the “three-layered nature of life” at the Old Fairground, i.e. its status of fair (pre-war period), place of suffering (concentration camp) and refuge (post-war art colony): the “3+1” in the event’s title referred to three different purposes of Sajmište during the last 70 years and the fourth, the “future”, which was also dealt with extensively. In fact, the exhibition was conceived as an attempt to push the issue of Sajmište’s future development into the public focus by grasping its layered past, as well as to pressure the authorities to fulfill their commitments to this cultural heritage and protect it from “self-serving urban development” which is a threat to the city’s historically significant locations. Hence, the exhibition’s organizers aimed to “attract attention of the authorities who previously did no more than shrug their shoulders when faced with the complicated nature of legal and ownership relations at Sajmište, thus condemning it to further material decay and its history to oblivion”.² As explained by former inmate Desimir Tošić during the exhibition: “We must keep on fighting, criticizing, attacking, demanding”.³

The “Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1” exhibition was presented as a “civic initiative by four non-governmental organizations”, i.e. Our Serbia - Serbia Nostra association (which advocates the restoration of architectural heritage and protection of natural heritage in Serbia and Kosovo), Sajmište Memorial Association, Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society (whose influence is hardly as strong as in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but apparently it still exists) and the Roma Holocaust Foundation (a nongovernmental organization founded in 2005 by Rajko Đurić). However, the exhibition would have never seen the light of day without the support from state and public institutions, mainly by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia and the National Museum (main patrons) but also other institutions, expert bodies and city government branches which helped the realization of this project in one way or another.⁴

The main inspirator of the National Museum event was Darko Tatić, longstanding professor at the Faculty of Drama Arts in Belgrade and Radio Belgrade editor who is also the son of Rajko Tatić, one of the three architects who designed the Belgrade Fairground in 1937. The exhibition at the National Museum marked the latest phase of a long campaign for the revitalization of Sajmište which Tatić set in motion as early as in the mid-1990s. After the 1995 proposal to build “Europolis” at the Sava Bank Amphitheater, Darko Tatić protested against this idea. As he later explained in an interview, “the announcement about ‘Europolis’ instigated his “concern that someone would envisage the building of something completely different at the complex following a trend of attractive commercialization”.⁵ He then issued a proclamation criticizing the plan of building a “new Manhattan” and the fact that, by placing the remains of Sajmište in an “unnatural surrounding” of tall buildings and commercial edifices, this project would deface Belgrade and help destroy its identity. More than one hundred public figures signed Tatić’s petition, including several distinguished architects, SANU members and university professors. This

1 The National Museum exhibition was curated by art historian Mare Janakova Grujić.

2 Ljubić, Nada, “Prijava za Konkurs za dodelu Priznanja iz oblasti odnosa sa javnošću”, in Beogradsko Staro sajmište 3+1, op. cit., p. 341.

3 In an interview for the Radio Belgrade 2 “Agora” program, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište 3+1, op. cit., p. 314.

4 City of Belgrade Secretariat for Culture sponsored the maquette of Sajmište, the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade helped print the book containing statements from the round-table discussions and the City of Belgrade Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments supported the entire project by participation

5 Interview with Darko Tatić, broadcast by Radio Belgrade 2, April 5 2006. Quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište 3+1, op. cit., p. 308

campaign launched the idea of establishing the Serbia Nostra organization, with Darko Tatić as one of its most prominent members.⁶ After the “Europolis” idea was abandoned, Tatić continually campaigned for the development of Sajmište through Serbia Nostra activities, media appearances and texts published in professional literature.⁷

The National Museum exhibition was well-attended, drawing significant attention of the Serbian media and inspiring several other events dedicated to the Old Fairground organized by the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade in the following years. In September 2007, on the 70th anniversary of the inauguration of the 1st Belgrade Fall Fair, the Institute hosted a smaller exhibition on Sajmište and published a special issue of its newsletter on this issue.⁸ Six months later, in March 2008, as part of the regular Salon of Architecture in Belgrade, the Institute of Urbanism organized another project – this time a multimedia event entitled “Old Belgrade Fairground as the Old New Belgrade Core”. It was one of several events organized by the Institute that year to mark the 60th anniversary of its existence. On that occasion, too, the organizers dealt in different ways with the past, present and future of Sajmište through workshops attended mainly by Belgrade University students.⁹

The same period saw the launch of a series of concrete initiatives for the development of the Old Fairground. During the summer of 2007, President of the New Belgrade Municipality Željko Ožegović attempted, through representatives of the city authorities, to raise the question of Sajmište and initiate a project to revitalize at least some of the former camp’s buildings. In September, the New Belgrade Municipality applied – although, without success – for the National Investment Plan of the Republic of Serbia with the project “Reconstruction and Revitalization of the Old Fairground Memorial Complex”. The project envisaged the adaptation and recovery of the Turkish Pavilion for the requirements of a memorial center which would also plan a gradual reconstruction of the entire former camp complex. The efforts to establish such a memorial and educational center in Belgrade were, at least to some extent, a reaction by a part of the social and political elite to the revisionist tendencies that were very relevant at the time in Serbian society (mainly the attempts to rehabilitate Milan Nedić and Dimitrije Ljotić), as well as to the near-total neglect of the Holocaust in educational programs.¹⁰ However, despite a preliminary agreement in January 2008 to open a museum at Sajmište in the foreseeable future, the project initiated by Ožegović failed to receive necessary support from relevant city and republic authorities. After the May 2008 local elections, the New Belgrade Municipality appointed a new president, which sealed the fate of this idea.

Around the same time, the B92 media company launched its own campaign to establish the Sajmište Memorial Center. It was conceived as expansion of the media project “Independent for the Truth”, which during the last ten years included the production of several noted documentaries and series on war crimes, causes of the Yugoslav wars and dealing with the past. The head of the RTV

B92 Board of Managers Veran Matić explained in a 2009 interview that it became necessary to expand the “Independent for the Truth” project beyond film production and encompass the creation of a museum institution that will “deal with issues of remembrance and future, democracy and tolerance in a modern way; which will represent a multimedia center – an amalgamation of Holocaust museums worldwide, a museum of tolerance, museum of sites of suffering, etc”. As a former camp and thus a “symbolic place”, Sajmište was recognized as the ideal location for such an institution. The initiators had great ambitions from the very outset. The Memorial Center would aim to rectify consequences of years of Sajmište’s political instrumentalization and marginalization, while publically presenting “causes of the recent wars” and promoting the values of tolerance and human and minority rights.¹¹ Therefore, the center was conceived as a “cultural and educational” institution and a place where citizens can be informed about Sajmište but also “learn something about preventing the horrors of war and torture from ever repeating”.¹²

The B92 project was backed by the New Belgrade Municipality, as well as the Federation of Jewish Communities in Serbia, whose representatives themselves at the time increasingly appealed to competent organs to finally transform Sajmište into a memorial center. However, the Jewish community was from the beginning strongly reserved about the plan of opening a Museum of Tolerance at Sajmište. They deemed it necessary to create an institution dedicated to the camp and to the Holocaust as an important aspect of its history before considering the possibility and manner of adding broader (and politically much more sensitive) issues of dealing with the past and events from the 1990s to the Memorial Center. Due to such reservations, the B92 project was mainly redirected towards marking Sajmište as a place of suffering and the Holocaust, although there were still background indications of an aspiration to include the future memorial with the issues of human rights, tolerance and dealing with the past.

The initiative by B92 quickly faced an insurmountable obstacle which had been in the way of realizing similar ideas in the past – unresolved property relations and disputes about the jurisdiction over buildings at the Old Fairground. Therefore, the project was quickly put on ice. Following estimates that the public – including those who decide on the future of Sajmište – lacks consciousness about the events from 1941 to 1944, it was decided to produce a documentary first in order to point out the significance of Sajmište as a place of suffering.¹³ The two-part documentary entitled “Sajmište – History of a Camp” was first aired on TV B92 on January 24th and 25th 2009.¹⁴

A year later, in March 2010, it briefly seemed as though the memorial center initiated by B92 would see the light of day, after all. Namely, a trademark of this institution was formally presented in Belgrade. The logo in the shape of a stylized burning tear in red, white and blue was created by two world-renowned designers, Milton Glaser and Mirko Ilić. However, it quickly turned out that the realization of the Sajmište Memorial Center idea was still far-fetched and that, besides the documentary, a few public debates and media reports, there had been, in fact, no steps forward in this project since 2007.¹⁵ The reasons behind the creation and formal presentation of a logo

6 Ibid, p. 306. Serbia Nostra is active within the Europa Nostra federation, a network of national and regional organizations dealing with the protection of cultural and natural heritage.

7 See, for example, “Staro sajmište za novi vek”, Klub 2, Radio Belgrade, May 29 1998; Tatić, Darko, “Restauracija urbanističkog kompleksa Staro sajmište u Beogradu”, Izgradnja 57, No. 3, 2003, p. 82-87.

8 “Staro beogradsko sajmište: 70 godina od otvaranja Prvog beogradskog međunarodnog sajma uzoraka”, Info - Urbanistički zavod Beograda, specijalno izdanje, September 2007. The exhibition was organized in cooperation with the Town Planners Association Belgrade, marking the “European Heritage Day”.

9 On details of the project, see Multimedijalni projekat: Staro Sajmište kao staro jezgro Novog Beograda, Belgrade, Urbanistički zavod, 2009.

10 See: Byford, Jovan, “When I say ‘the Holocaust’, I mean ‘Jasenovac’: Remembrance of the Holocaust in contemporary Serbia”, op. cit.

11 David, Mia, “Oprosti, ali ne zaboravi”, Kvart, No. 6, February 2009, p. 65.

12 “Novi logo ‘Centra Sajmište’”, b92.info, March 12 2010. http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=03&dd=12&nav_id=417367.

13 David, Mia, “Oprosti, ali ne zaboravi”, op. cit., p. 65.

14 The documentary, which contains striking testimonies of former Sajmište inmates, can be seen at following address: <http://www.b92.net/specijal/sajmiste/video.php>.

15 The 2008 Design Week in Belgrade hosted a panel on memorial architecture with participation of the world-

for a memorial center whose fate was uncertain, to say the least, remain unknown. Still, Mirko Ilić attempted to present his work as an essential part of the entire commemorative and educational project with a highly unconvincing claim that “the power of graphic design to convey a message to younger generations is exceptional” and that the modern logo (which was maliciously compared on various internet forums to a relay, a fire department logo, etc.) represents a part of the Memorial Center’s future educational purpose.¹⁶ In other words, the logo was conceived as the first important step in transforming Sajmište into a new “brand”, a symbol of tolerance, multi-ethnicity and human rights. This fact alone is not necessarily controversial – after all, both Yad Vashem and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum have recognizable logos and their own respective “brands” – but the problem lies in the fact that, when it comes to the Belgrade Museum of Tolerance, the logo marked both its beginning and end. That way, the whole initiative boiled down to good intentions and a professionally designed logo, creating the impression that this was a case of form and design receiving priority over essence and substance.

The last few years also saw different plans for Sajmište which indicated the continuing presence of the spirit of the 1990s in Serbia. A new permanent exhibition was opened in 2006 at the Memorial Museum in Jasenovac, considered by many, both in Serbia and Croatia, a redrawing of history and insult to the victims’ remembrance. Consequently, the idea to open the Museum of Genocide victims at the Old Fairground was reinitiated. This museum was widely perceived as the proper way to mark the suffering of Serbs, Jews and Roma in the NDH and thus respond to the “inappropriate exhibition” at Jasenovac. Supporters of this solution included Milan Bulajić’s old “fellow combatants” such as Srboľjub Živanović, who is today probably the most persistent advocate of the argument about 700.00 victims of Jasenovac. Živanović also lobbied then Prime Minister Vojislav Koštunica’s support for the Sajmište museum.¹⁷ Smilja Tišma of the Association of Former Jasenovac Inmates recognized the Sajmište museum as a place where “people from all around the world” would be informed about the suffering in the NDH, i.e. the facts concealed by the new Jasenovac exhibition. A resolution adopted by the Association in 2006 justifies the demand for the museum’s establishment at Sajmište by claiming that this location “fulfills all conditions” since it was the site of an Ustasha camp, part of the “Jasenovac camp’s system”.¹⁸ More importantly, the Old Fairground memorial museum was a topic during the five-day Israeli-Serbian scientific exchange dedicated to Holocaust research, organized by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia in the summer of 2006. The necessity of the museum’s creation and its future disposition was again discussed in the context of the controversy regarding the new exhibition at Jasenovac.¹⁹

All this points out that the public, as well as a part of the political elite, still perceives Sajmište as a memorial “branch” of Jasenovac and a significant arena of the “war of remembrance” between Belgrade and Zagreb.

Besides those initiatives, another factor which certainly contributed to increased interest in Sajmište of recent years is the controversy caused by “inappropriate contents” at the “Posejdon” club in the Spasić Pavilion. When in March 2006 the organizers of the “Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1” exhibition made public that a concert by pop performer Boy George would be held at the building which formerly housed the camp hospital, a part of the public protested and the New Belgrade Municipality demanded from the City of Belgrade Secretariat for Culture to officially ban such events from taking place at Sajmište. However, this reaction cannot be compared to the avalanche of disapproval directed at the British group “Kosheen” that was scheduled to perform at the same location in November 2007. The British band would have probably enjoyed the same treatment as Boy George (the concert would have still taken place in spite of objections by a part of the public) if the news had not leaked outside Serbia and been published, mainly by American and Israeli newspapers.²⁰ Protests of international institutions followed, the loudest coming from Ephraim Zuroff, Director of the Israeli Simon Wiesenthal Center who urged the Government of the Republic of Serbia and President Tadić to take measures in order to put to a halt such desecration of an important Holocaust site. As is usually the case in Serbia, outside pressure brought about a swift reaction by the authorities: the concert was cancelled, followed by numerous promises from highest authorities that the Sajmište issue would be finally resolved.²¹

Since then, Serbian government officials often asserted that the creation of a “national memorial center” at Sajmište was a matter of “serious considerations” of highest state organs and that the project involves “various, relevant institutions from the country and abroad”.²² However, four years after the state organs announced their efforts to open a memorial center at Sajmište, the status of this project still remains completely unknown. As recently explained by historian Dejan Ristić, Advisor at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, the establishment of a memorial center requires “a sound conception” and therefore the project will be presented to the Government of Serbia and the broader public only after it is “conceived” well enough.²³ However, it is indicative that to this day, the “relevant institutions” from the country and abroad involved in the creation of the memorial center have not been made public nor has it been stated how much progress was made in its “conceiving”. It even remains unknown what exactly this “national” center will be dedicated to. All in all, the fact that this state initiative remains veiled in secrecy, as well as that, according to admissions by competent institutions, there was never a deadline for the project’s realization, prompt the conclusion that this entire time nothing has been actually done other than “debates at Ministry of Labor and Social Policy meetings”, mentioned by Ristić.

We should also mention the news which became relevant in the fall of 2011, directly pertaining to the reconstruction of Sajmište and its purpose as a future “national” memorial center. Namely, during a debate on the Draft Law on Restitution and changes and amendments to the Law on

renowned architect Daniel Liebeskind, as well as Veran Matić and Mirko Ilić. “Diskusija o Starom sajmištu”, b92.info, May 11 2008, (to access click [HERE](#))

16 “Goruće suze – simbol Starog sajmišta”, b92.info, March 12 2010, (to access click [HERE](#))

17 Kljakić, Slobodan, “Falsifikovanje istine”, Politika, March 27 2006, p. 9.

18 Tišma, Smilja, “Sajmište ispunjava sve uslove”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., str. 193. Representing the association of former Jasenovac inmates, Tišma later handed a petition to President Tadić, demanding establishment of a museum at Sajmište dedicated to the genocide in the NDH. See Zečević, Tomislav, “Jasenovačka logorašica Smilja Tišma: Živi sam svedok srpske tragedije”, Dveri srpske XIII, No. 47-50, June 2011, pp. 78-79.

19 Jasenovac: Proceedings and Speeches of the 4th International Conference on Jasenovac, Banja Luka – Donja Gradina, May 30-31, 2007, Banja Luka, Spomen područje Donja Gradina, 2008, p. 121.

20 News on the “Kosheen scandal” was first reported by Associated Press, see “Concert at Serbia death camp stirs anger”, USA Today, November 3 2007, (to access click [HERE](#))

21 “Otkazan koncert na Starom sajmištu”, B92.info, November 3 2007, (to access click [HERE](#))

22 “Alimpić: Staro sajmište treba da postane memorijalni centar”, Democratic Party web site, November 6 2007, (to access click [HERE](#))

23 “Staro sajmište treba da bude srpski Jad Vašem”, Politika, August 13 2011, (to access click [HERE](#))

23 Ibid. Conception of the “national memorial center” is coordinated by the Sector for Protection of Veterans and Disabled Persons of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, which is competent over memorialization of places of suffering in Serbia.

Restitution of Property to Churches and Religious Communities, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Serbia addressed a demand to state organs to implement the Law to property seized since 1941, rather than only since 1945. This way, property confiscated by German and collaborationist authorities during the occupation would be returned to the Jewish community and the Law would be harmonized with the 2009 Terezin Declaration which obligates European countries to return Jewish property seized by the Nazis. The Federation of Jewish Communities proposed the use of property which belonged to Jewish Holocaust victims for the establishment of a fund with the purpose of maintaining the Jewish community in Serbia. However, in the summer of 2011, during talks between the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Serbia and Serbian Government Deputy Prime Minister Božidar Đelić, the Jewish community was told that Serbia had no funds to return the property of Holocaust victims but was willing to offer an alternative solution. Instead of restitution, the Government would establish a special fund to finance the building of a memorial center dedicated to Holocaust victims at the Old Fairground.²⁴

The state's gain by such solution is manifold and obvious. The funds for the Holocaust museum at Sajmište represent a small part of seized Jewish property, estimated at 550 million Euros. Besides, Sajmište is supposed be reconstructed as it is, so if this project can be financed through funds which should be subject of restitution to the Jewish community – even better, for it represents additional savin Finally, the Sajmište Holocaust museum, even as a long-term project, could be presented to international institutions as proof of Serbia's commitment to the memorialization of the Holocaust and help secure its full-fledged membership in the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF), which has been Serbia's goal for years.

However, it is frustrating that everyone involved – including the Deputy Prime Minister, representatives of competent ministries and President of the Republic, who supported this proposal – failed to comprehend the message sent by the proposed solution. Firstly, it clearly defines the restitution of Holocaust victims' property as a matter of second-rate importance as opposed to property confiscated by communist authorities. No member of the government even considered the establishment of a fund to finance the creation of a memorial center for the remembrance of victims of communism rather than restitution of property seized after 1945 due to a "lack of funds". Secondly, it is obvious that the state deems it its right to freely manage the property seized from Jews in 1941 and decide on its own initiative how much it will keep for itself and how much will be used for the museum. Thirdly, this solution implies that the financial burden of Holocaust memorialization, even indirectly, is to be carried by the Jewish community. This is nothing new, of course. All initiatives for the development of Sajmište since the late 1980s involved "financial involvement" by Jews from Serbia, as well as from America and Israel. The latest case is therefore another symptom of a "disease" widely spread in Serbia which, to an extent, represents the basis of the decades-long marginalization of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is not viewed as an inseparable part of Serbian history and national remembrance and a crime whose victims call for the commitment of the entire society, but rather as part of the history of the Jewish community which bears the largest financial and moral responsibility for its memorialization.

Another controversial issue regarding the latest "offer" to the Jewish community is the fact that it is unclear to which extent the Serbian government actually has jurisdiction over Sajmište. Namely, it

is certain that today, as in previous decades, there is a dispute between different levels of authority in Serbia and Belgrade over the actual ownership of the Old Fairground. As the republic government prepares the "national memorial center" or Holocaust museum project (which implies that Sajmište, as a site of national significance, falls under its jurisdiction), the Belgrade authorities led by Mayor Dragan Đilas apparently have their own plans for the site. In August 2011, media reported that the Mayor had "formed his own task force with the aim to study all aspects and values of the site, learn about all previous initiatives and coordinate the institutions' work".²⁵ It is unknown whether this "coordination" would involve cooperation with the republic government but there is no doubt that, while awaiting further decisions on the future of Sajmište, there will be harsh debates behind closed doors between the republic, city and the New Belgrade Municipality on who has the right to decide about Sajmište's future appearance and purpose, but also who should finance its reconstruction.

However, let us briefly revisit the "inappropriate contents" at the Spasić Pavilion and public reactions that urged state organs to at least promise a permanent solution for Sajmište. The "scandalous" performances by Boy George and "Kosheen" were neither the first nor last entertainment events at the Old Fairground. For almost a decade, the large hall and smaller conference halls at the former Spasić Pavilion were rented for various cultural, entertainment, business and sporting events. The "Posejdon" club is the scene of regular performances by world-renowned DJs, New Year's Eve celebrations, art exhibitions, dance competitions, theater plays and other similar events.²⁶ Furthermore, only a month after the cancellation of the "Kosheen" concert, "Posejdon" hosted an international boxing match which hardly caused any public reaction, without even serious considerations for its bannin In the meantime, the state failed to respond when a restaurant was opened at the former Turkish Pavilion, a building which was used as a morgue during the war. Therefore, one should not overemphasize the alleged public concern for Sajmište or the occasional (and short-lived) disgust at the sacrilege of a site which has been derelict for decades. The attention of state and local authorities towards Sajmište is solely for the purpose of satisfying short-term needs: calming the public opinion, scoring a few political points or, most often, fulfilling the minimum expectations of international organizations. The situation is similar when it comes to private initiatives. For example, the media company B92 reported extensively about criticisms of parties and concerts at the Spasić Pavilion in late 2007, when the idea about the Museum of Tolerance was being promoted and needed public support. However, before and after that, B92 covered equally inappropriate events at Sajmište without any criticism or references to the competent organs' responsibility.²⁷

But still, when taking into account the whole series of initiatives for the reconstruction of Sajmište during the last five years, as well as numerous public events and debates on this issue, there is an unavoidable impression that the necessity of Sajmište's development is today discussed more than ever. In addition to that, this discussion involves a much higher number of participants than in the past – including republic, city and municipal authorities, the nongovernmental sector, Federation of Jewish Communities, media, professional institutions such as the Institute of Ur-

25 Director of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Belgrade Milica Grozdanić in "Neobeležena tragedija", RTS web site, August 26 2011, (to access click [HERE](#))

26 See "Nema poštovanja za žrtve", Blic, October 27 2007, (to access click [HERE](#))

27 For example, "Cirkus istorija Sonje Vukićević na BITEF-u", b92.net, September 21 2006, (to access click [HERE](#)) "Izložba Marka Somborca", B92.net, July 4 2008, (to access click [HERE](#))

24 For the content of this discussion, see "Gospodine Đeliću, Jevreji će u vašem nacrtu prepoznati nacističke zakone", Jevrejski pregled, October 2011, pp. 10-13.

banism or Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, etc. However, the interesting part of most recent proposals which also gives rise to concern is a substantial change in today's interpretation of the Old Fairground's historical significance. Namely, as opposed to initiatives of the past decades, there is a noticeable shift in emphasis from Sajmište as a site of suffering to its history before and after World War II. There have also been disputes about what Sajmište symbolizes – Yugoslav unity, values of NOB, resistance against the foreign conqueror, the Holocaust, Serbian suffering in the NDH and so forth – but the focus of remembrance was still on the period of Nazi occupation. This is no longer the case.

Most recently, the pre-war Belgrade Fairground and the 1950s art colony, rather than just the camp, are increasingly being considered objects of remembrance. This significant change, its causes and consequences on the future development of Sajmište call for a more thorough analysis and critical review.

The Old Fairground: “Meeting Place” and “Cultural Center” or Memorial Site?

Participants of the event “Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1” in April 2006 – which presented Sajmište as a “unique site of multilayered memories” – often emphasized its tragic war fate. Nada Kurtović-Folić of Serbia Nostra spoke of the Old Fairground as “holy ground”, condemning its incomprehensible devastation” during previous decades. Darko Tatić considers Sajmište a “place of torture of patriots and nations doomed by Hitler to perish” which requires a worthy “memorial center”.²⁸ Architect Svetislav Vučenović, one of participants at the panel on the architectural and urban planning aspect of Sajmište even urged the adoption of a special “law on the Sajmište Memorial” which would enable the removal of “inappropriate content” – inappropriate mainly because it was a place of death and suffering.²⁹

The Old Fairground's war history was repeatedly stressed as source of a moral imperative to appropriately organize this site, at long last. However, whenever it was debated on how Sajmište should be restored and to what purpose, the camp was put aside. Some of the participants even criticized (although implicitly) those who view Sajmište exclusively as site of the former camp.

The “multilayered nature” of Sajmište, as explained by Svetislav Vučenović, represents its essence: “the other component”, i.e. the pre-war fair and the post-war art colony can by no means be omitted from the history of Sajmište. The “trinity” of content and purpose represents the “meaning of the Old Fairground phenomenon: life - destruction - rebirth” and makes up the backbone of the future, organized Sajmište.

Although this interpretation gives equal significance to all three periods in the history of the Old Fairground, visitors of the National Museum exhibition could not look past the fact that the period between 1937 and 1941 was prioritized. Participants of the forums and round-table discussions emphasized the importance of Sajmište mainly as a “forgotten architectural value”, a “textbook example of our civil engineering heritage”, “highlight of the 1930s Serbian modernism's urban development”, “expression of civic Belgrade's rise” and the “symbol of its glow”.³⁰ Sajmište was described

as “display of a people's creative capability” and “expression of our relatively young economy's vitality, its potentials”.³¹ The exhibition's catalogue only included photographs of the pre-war fair, not a single one of the camp. After all, the central exhibit, shown in the museum's atrium, was a model of Sajmište – however, not from the concentration camp period, when the complex was surrounded by guards, watchtowers and barbed wire, when fountains were built and earth-closets dug out between the pavilions. The Sajmište presented to the visitors was shiny, white and solemn, as conceived by its young authors in 1937.

The apotheosis of Sajmište's pre-war history set the parameters for the discussion about its future. The organizers' proposal – apparently agreed on by most of the participants – was to reconstruct Sajmište according to the preserved pre-war plans, thus restoring its “original and authentic form”.³² The Vice President of the Serbia Nostra Association, Irina Subotić, urged the society to return to the “authentic, superior values of the Old Fairground” and, by reconstructing the demolished pavilions, revert to Belgrade a “valuable segment of its identity” and its “former radiance”.³³ Architect Slobodan Mašić considers the opening of the 1937 Fall Fair the moment when Serbia “had the feeling of joining civilization, joining Europe, in the best possible way”. Although Mašić reminds of the “fate of unfortunate people imprisoned behind wires, tortured and murdered”, he does not recognize the camp as an aspect of Sajmište that should be visibly marked in its future appearance in any way. Moreover, according to Mašić, Sajmište “has only one grand and noble feature: a day we must remember, which is the day of its opening”.³⁴

The idea of restoring Sajmište's pre-war appearance also implies at least “partial” revival of its former purpose. The participants of the gathering at the National Museum advocated returning Sajmište to its “initial economic purpose of commerce” and providing space for “economic activity, trade, foreign subsidiaries”, for an “exclusive exhibition space” and “commercial contents”.³⁵ Despite repeatedly stressing that the content of the “exhibition space” would always be adjusted to the “memorial purpose” of the Old Fairground and that “inappropriate contents” would be excluded, no one even tried to explain what that actually means. In other words: what can be exhibited, sold or bought at the site of a concentration camp? It was also stated that one of the pavilions would certainly be transformed into a museum dedicated to the victims, thus paying due respect.³⁶ But, as a whole, the renewed Sajmište was conceived as something much bigger than a memorial center: it should become a “cultural meeting place of the elite – European and ours”, as it was before World War II.³⁷

31 Mašić, Slobodan, “Na dan njegovog otvaranja”, in Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 121, Tatić, Darko, in RTS program “Vodič kroz modernu arhitekturu Beograda”, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 328.

32 Lukić, Miladin, “Prepoznavanje vrednosti”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 119.

33 Subotić, Irina, address during the opening of the exhibition “Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1”, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 27.

34 Mašić, Slobodan, “Na dan njegovog otvaranja”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 122.

35 Quoted from the exposé of Branko Bojović, Miroslav Tasić, Antonije Antić and Žaklina Gligorijević, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 112, 236, 348, and 81.

36 While articulating “reasons for restoration” of the Old Fairground, Darko Tatić explicitly states: “we do not advocate the restoration of the Fair as a camp, but we believe that one of the pavilions should by all means be transformed into a museum”, in Tatić, Darko, “Restauracija urbanističkog kompleksa Staro sajmište u Beogradu”, op. cit., p. 86.

37 Vukotić-Lazar, Marta, the “Trezor” program on the Old Fairground, RTS, May 9 2006, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 135.

Besides the renewal of the purpose as sample fair and the opening of a memorial museum (crammed into one pavilion, in order not to disturb the positive message of the reconstructed Sajmište), a space was allocated for contents of culture and arts, too, as homage to the post-war art colony. Even though the artists' arrival at Sajmište in the early 1950s was a product of a highly disputable policy of World War II remembrance which involved total neglect of concentration camps as historically significant places, art is today considered by some circles the "cornerstone" of all future activities at the renewed Old Fairground.³⁸ According to one interpretation, this is primarily because art fulfills the memorial purpose of Sajmište. A temple of arts would glorify "life in freedom, for which many citizens of our community fought and sacrificed" and represent an "homage to generations who sacrificed so that future ones could gain creative freedom".³⁹ The alternative interpretation is that culture represents "the only key for reconciliation of historic facts of fairground and place of suffering". A cultural center would ennoble Sajmište and symbolically unite all three phases of its history: "the dignity of the memorial complex" would be preserved and at the same time Sajmište would become a "lively meeting place" like the Belgrade Fair used to be. This surely cannot be accomplished by a memorial complex dedicated to victims of the camp.⁴⁰

The "Old Belgrade Fairground 3+1" exhibition is not the only event in recent years with a noticeable tendency towards the marginalization of Sajmište's memorial aspect, for the sake of its purpose as a "sample fair" or a space for "commercial contents". For instance, at the time when Željko Ožegović advocated the establishment of a memorial center at Sajmište, the New Belgrade Municipality's Strategic Development Plan (Ožegović was head of the municipality at the time) did not specify the Old Fairground as a site of historic significance, but as one of (commercially) "exclusive locations" on the territory of the municipality which in the future needs to be "used for the requirements of potential investors".⁴¹ The B92 initiative for the Museum of Tolerance, which at first glance seemed fully dedicated to mark the camp, still failed to designate the entire Sajmište complex with a purpose as remembrance site. The renewed Old Fairground site was instead conceived as a "meeting place mainly for many young people" where, besides learning about the suffering at the camp and "tolerance, human rights and nonviolence" they, together with their families, will be able to "acquire their regular portion of culture, knowledge, innovation". This also has to do with the alleged "multilayered" history of Sajmište: it would provide "a space for history of architecture and civil engineering" (homage to the pre-war fair) as well as a "media museum" (marking the first television program broadcasting at the Philips Pavilion in 1938), an exhibition space, art galleries, etc.⁴² Hence, this is also a concept of Sajmište as "meeting place", albeit without explicitly commercial content. Even though the B92 project did not envisage a full reconstruction of Sajmište according to 1937 blueprints, it maintained the possibility of additional building "The space is rather large", Veran Matić explained in a 2009 interview, "and it is possible to build a monumental structure which could become one of the city's symbols".⁴³

Similar ideas about the future appearance and purpose of Sajmište were introduced as part of the

multimedia project "Old Belgrade Fairground as the Old New Belgrade Core", organized in spring 2008 by the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade. The first exhibition (or "workshop") within this project presented solutions for the development of the Old Fairground, designed for this occasion by Belgrade University final year architecture students. The subject was assigned by their mentors, architects Mustafa Musić and Ela Nešić, and it was not "Memorial Center – Old Fairground" or something similar which would clearly mark this site as place of remembrance of suffering at the camp, but "Info Park/ Center – Transfer of Ideas". This is how Nešić and Musić justified their choice:

"This location contains several historic layers which certainly should be somehow implemented in its future concept (pre-war period – Fairground, war period – concentration camp, post-war period – art colonies). Still, while outlining the theme of the study we favored the idea of progress related to the pre-war period of Sajmište, as well as of the first urban space in New Belgrade, considering that the concept of idea transfer was very much present during the Belgrade Fair period, which is the most appropriate for this moment..."⁴⁴

Moreover, the description of this subject specifies that "there is not a single reason why this space should not acquire features of an exceptional info-center in the near or distant future". The structures at Sajmište, both from the pre-war period and ones that are to be built, could be "transformed into museums, various kinds of workshops, such as the museum of architecture, film museum, music museum and, finally, a museum to preserve and analyze significant art phenomena in our environment".⁴⁵

Sajmište's characterization as symbol of "significant art phenomena" is surely another insinuation of the role attributed to the 1950s art colony in the development of arts – this was the subject of as many as two (out of four) workshops of this multimedia project.⁴⁶ However, it is indicative that not one workshop, exhibition or installation was dedicated to the camp and its victims. The round table on the subject of Sajmište's future – with participation of mainly architects and urban planners – recognized the necessity of including the "memorial complex" in the plans of the site's development, but it was also pointed out that the "process of revitalization" must not render this site "uninteresting and unvisited".⁴⁷ A "mixture of contents" was proposed following assumptions that Sajmište as exclusively a site of remembrance would be "uninteresting" to the broader public.

Although there are many differences between the initiatives and proposals of recent years – in that sense, there is no consensus on the future appearance and purpose of Sajmište – it is clear that agreement is being slowly reached in regard to several key issues. Firstly, the three phases of Sajmište's history are routinely recognized as equally important. The "sacrifice" of thousands of people who perished at the camp and the "creative work" – pre-war (architecture) or post-war

44 Musić, Mustafa and Nešić, Ela "Info park/centar - transfer ideja", Urbanistički zavod Beograda, Multimedijalni projekat: Staro Sajmište kao staro jezgro Novog Beograda, Belgrade, Urbanistički zavod, 2009, p. 25.

45 Ibid, pp. 26-27.

46 Both workshops were dedicated to an iconic event from the art colony period: the premiere of Beckett's "Waiting for Godot" at Mića Popović's atelier at Sajmište. Fifth year scenography students of the Faculty of Applied Arts presented the installation "Sećanje" ("Memory") inspired by Mario Maskareli's set design for the play, while second year theater and radio direction students performed "Waiting for Godot" at the Museum of Applied Art.

47 Bogdanović, Ružica, "Budućnost Starog beogradskog sajmišta", Multimedijalni projekat: Staro Sajmište kao staro jezgro Novog Beograda, op. cit., p. 54.

38 Tatić, Darko, Interview to Radio Belgrade 2, April 5 2006, quoted from Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 305.

39 Vučenović, Svetislav, "Vizija obnove", in Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., pp. 272-274.

40 Serbia Nostra, "Razlozi za integralnu obnovu Starog sajmišta", Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 277.

41 Gradska opština Novi Beograd, Strateški plan opštine Novi Beograd, Belgrade, December 2006, p. 14 and 47.

42 Ibid, p. 67.

43 David, Mia, "Oprostite, ali ne zaboravi", op. cit., p. 68, also see "Fond B92 član mreže muzeja savesti", b92.net, December 5 2007. (to access click [HERE](#))

(art) – are viewed as equally worthy of distinguishin⁴⁸ As explained in 2008 by the then Director of the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade Antonije Antić, “the future character of the location” should generate an “interlacement” of the three phases of Sajmište’s life: namely, the museum dedicated to the camp, the “exclusive exhibition space” and cultural contents should be “twined into a single compact composition”.⁴⁹ At the same time, the constant emphasis on Sajmište as, above all, “meeting place”, “place for the youth” or “cultural center” gradually overshadows its importance as memorial site. While the camp is stressed today as the reason for the development of Sajmište, the majority of the public including representatives of expert bodies who will undoubtedly take part in the decision-making process, do not consider the memorial center the only, or the key aspect of its future.

Alone the insisting on the three-layered nature of the Old Fairground and the marginalization of its war fate represent nothing new. It is a continuation and in a way culmination of a trend which had begun as early as in the mid-1980s when urban planners and architects started to recognize the significance of the pre-war Sajmište but also to view the entire Sava riverbank, including Block 17, as the foundation for the capital city’s future economic and cultural development. The 1992 Detailed Urban Plan for the Development of the Old Fairground institutionalized the accent on the pre-war fair’s and post-war art colony’s respective importance. In recent years, the Plan is often mentioned in those initiatives as an inviolable “decision by competent institutions” and official basis for any further considerations of Sajmište’s reconstruction.⁵⁰ More importantly, despite the fact that the site was proclaimed cultural heritage in 1987 as a place of suffering and Nazi camp, no one today questions the Detailed Urban Plan’s relevance or even its legitimacy. Five years later, by an administrative decision and without a broader public discussion, it was renamed as primarily a monument of architectural and artistic heritage.⁵¹

However, there are several reasons – of ideological, but also practical nature – why the idea of Sajmište as a “multipurpose” space is increasingly brought up as the optimal solution. The past, especially pertaining to World War II, has no great political or social value. Preserving the remembrance of the 1941-1944 period and facing its heritage is no longer viewed as a matter of importance for shaping collective national identity or establishing a value system which, ultimately, determines the society’s direction of development. Instead, a significant part of the ruling political elite considers the relationship with the past principally a matter of individual attitude and interpretation, believing that the issue of World War II was compromised through manipulation with that period, both during socialist Yugoslavia and later, as revisionist historiography blossomed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Therefore, excessive dealing with the past (especially “controversial” topics such as the relation between Chetniks and Partisans, the person and *oeuvre*

of Milan Nedić, meaning of the term “antifascism”, etc) is considered a source of unnecessary social divisions which disturb the consensus on basic national issues, divert attention and energy from solving current political and economical problems, thus slowing down progress of the society.

The main strategy to avoid these issues during the last ten or so years was the insisting on “facing the future” as the greatest value. Traces of such an approach to the past are clearly visible in the perception of Sajmište, as well. In May 2008, at the formal inauguration of the Park “Republika Srpska”, located at the left Sava riverbank, between the “Gazela” Bridge and the Old Railway Bridge (a few hundred meters upstream from the Old Fairground), President of Serbia Boris Tadić singled out Sajmište as a “place from which Serbia sends a message to the world that it wants reconciliation, that it pays respect to all past victims, but also wishes to move forward”. So, even from the site of a former concentration camp – which, significantly, was never appropriately marked and whose victims were never honored – it is advisable to send a message that Serbia is not a prisoner of the past, but is rather facing the future. The attitude of Tadić’s statement, made in the midst of an election campaign, makes up the essence of the majority of recent initiatives for the development of Sajmište. The past is important and will be marked at the museum in one of the Old Fairground buildings, as well as by annual commemorations which will take place there on the Day of Genocide Victims or International Holocaust Remembrance Day. But, at the same time, Sajmište will be a place from where Serbia and Belgrade will look “forward”. That is, after all, why Sajmište is considered the natural space for the youth, i.e. a center of culture, knowledge, arts, innovation, information society and whatnot, and the pre-war Sajmište is presented as an imaginary “golden age” when Belgrade stepped forward to Europe and began its systematic development as a modern metropolis. Accordingly, just as during previous decades the Sajmište camp was seen by many as a monument of Belgrade’s revolutionary past, new generations today selectively reinterpret this site’s past in accordance with their own respective ideological priorities, finding in the pre-war Sajmište a symbol of Belgrade as a “meeting place” faced towards the future, Europe and economic and technological progress.

Besides, ever since the 1970s and plans to build an opera at Sajmište, the main obstacle to any kind of development of the site is the expense of relocating families who were accommodated there as early as in the 1950s. A partial commercialization of Sajmište is a common topic today, widely recognized as the solution of this problem and potential source of the reconstruction’s fundin In 2006, architect Branko Bojović attempted to explain that, although the building of a memorial museum at Sajmište represents a “priority”, “we must build the concept of a cultural asset as an economic asset, as well”.⁵² Because, “if the Old Fairground is reduced to just memory and culture”, Bojović explains, “I wonder who will financially support it”.⁵³ In other words, Serbia has no money for a memorial complex dedicated to Sajmište victims. Consequently, opening doors to commercial contents, to an “exclusive exhibition space” for foreign companies, etc (all under the excuse of bringing Sajmište back to its “original values”) is imposed as an alternative “economic basis of the entire complex’s reconstruction”.⁵⁴ City of Belgrade Assembly Secretary for Culture Darjan Mihajlović had something similar in mind in 2006 when he proposed seeking

48 Tasić, Miroslav, “Staro Sajmište u svetlu pravne zaštite kulturnog nasleđa”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 236.

49 Antić, Antonije, “Beograd je svet”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 348.

50 See, for example, Vukotić-Lazar, Marta, “Jezik univerzalne komunikacije”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 69.

51 In the valid General Plan of Belgrade 2021, adopted in September 2003, Sajmište is mentioned as a “cultural asset” whose “transformation” includes “the building of new structures of a modern content and form” and “planning new commercial and public contents which, however, remain in the purpose of this site’s cultural and memorial character”. However, at the same time Sajmište is also mentioned as part of the city whose development could move in the direction of “catering, tourism and entertainment”, Skupština grada Beograda, Generalni plan Beograda 2021, p. 62, 107, 149.

52 Bojović, Branko, “Urbanizam estetike ili urbanizam nužde”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 112.

53 Quoted from “Spomenik, ne leglo tajkuna”, Politika, April 12 2006, p. 27.

54 Bojović, Branko, “Između privrede i memorije”, Beogradsko Staro sajmište, 3+1, op. cit., p. 91.

“help” from the countries that built national pavilions at the Belgrade Fairground in the 1930s, for the revitalization of the fair complex.⁵⁵

This increasingly closer connection between the preservation of remembrance of a site of suffering during Nazi occupation and the process of economic transition in Serbia is also illustrated by the example of Topovske Šupe near Autokomanda in Belgrade. It is the location of a detention camp which in the fall of 1941 interned male Jewish population from the territories of Belgrade and Banat, from where the inmates were taken to be executed. In January 2006, the International Holocaust Remembrance Day (January 27th) was marked in Serbia for the first time with a ceremony of revealing a modest memorial plaque on a dilapidated wall in Tabanovačka Street, in the immediate vicinity of the building which used to house the camp administration.⁵⁶ However, during the ceremony, the public was not notified that this was apparently only a temporary memorial site. Namely, one year prior, three hectares of land between Tabanovačka Street, Oslobođenje Square and the highway – the largest part of the Topovske Šupe area, including buildings which formerly housed the camp and the wall containing the memorial plaque – were sold to the Delta Company. It was already certain that all existing structures at the location were scheduled for demolition to provide space for the building of a monumental “Delta City” complex that would include a shopping mall, cinema and bowling alley. According to a source from the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy which is in charge of marking sites of suffering on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, this sale could not have been prevented since Topovske Šupe was never officially proclaimed a location of historic significance. Yet, the fate of the plaque was consequently solved by the new landowner’s personal commitment to organize the memorial site and set up the memorial plaque at the site, within the shopping mall complex after completion of the construction work.⁵⁷ Accordingly, the “compromise solution” in this case not only meant conceding the site of the former camp to a private company for a shopping mall, but also shifting jurisdiction over the concept and maintenance of a memorial site. Hope remains that this example of “cooperation” between the state and the private sector will not serve as inspiration for the decisions pertaining to the Old Fairground.

There are few voices in Serbia today questioning the ever-increasing insisting on the “trinity” of Old Fairground’s character and the emphasis on the pre-war Fair which gradually legitimizes its commercialization. To that end, it is worth reminding that Sajmište is not the only concentration camp with a pre-war history. Dachau, for instance, was located in buildings of a former ammunition factory, Risiera di San Sabba in Trieste was a rice processing factory before the war, while a part of the Jasenovac camp (the so-called Ciglane or Jasenovac III) was located in industrial plants and facilities belonging to the wealthy local Bačić family before the war. Still, today it would be unthinkable for someone to advocate the equal representation of different “phases” or “components” of the past at the Dachau, Trieste or Jasenovac memorials, or to say that those locations should be brought back to their “original values” and restore their appearance and purpose from the period

before World War II. On the contrary, it would be considered an impermissible redrawing of history, insult to victims and an attempt to erase the tragic past. Regardless of the events at sites of concentration camps prior to the arrival of Nazis or Ustasha, or after 1945, from the moment the first victims were brought there, there is only one historical period worthy of attention and remembrance.

The fact that there are obviously different standards for Sajmište is surely a consequence of everything that took place at this location in the last 65 years. Mostly due to its central, “exclusive” location, Sajmište was never viewed as a unique locality which deserves to be preserved as site of a concentration camp, in accordance with norms regulating the manner of conserving and marking of such places. This would call for Sajmište – due to its unique tragic past – to be distinguished as a memorial complex, both visually and functionally, from its urban surroundings and thus symbolically remind of the void the camp, as a Holocaust site, had left in the life of the Serbian capital. Ever since 1945, when the building of New Belgrade began, all plans regarding Sajmište’s development – regardless whether they envisaged building structures of “cultural significance”, planting greenery, erecting an opera or “Europolis” – were directed towards this location’s gradual inclusion into the broader urban matrix of the metropolis, the landscape of New Belgrade or the future Sava Bank Amphitheater. The perception of Sajmište mainly as an urban space and increasingly as “exclusive location” which is too significant in terms of material value and urban development to be only a memorial park or memorial complex, represents the essence of all current initiatives for its “regeneration” or “revitalization”. However, the problem lies in a lack of comprehension that any effort to “renew”, “ennoble” or “embellish” this space, and to give it any kind of meaning or purpose other than memorial, implies a gradual and irrepressible erasing of Sajmište’s tragic past. By doing so, a new form of marginalization and oblivion is created in lieu of adequate remembrance of the camp’s victims and the site’s unique history.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that none of the aforementioned initiatives contain a clear and explicit attitude on what, in fact, the memorial museum envisaged at one of the pre-war pavilions, should be dedicated to. This institution – the only one which would mark the World War II period at the “revitalized” Sajmište – is mostly subject of vague discussions, without details on its content. There have been discussion about “museum of Holocaust victims”, “museum of Holocaust”, “museum of the camp”, “memorial center”, “national memorial center”, etc. The apparent lack of interest in the content of the museum or the memorial center represents yet another indication of World War II suffering as a second-rate issue compared to the preoccupation with the Old Fairground as a physical space. However, it is a subject of essential significance. From the 1960s to this day Sajmište has been an important symbolic space attributed by different communities with different meanings according to their own respective discretions, priorities and practical interests. Due to a link of often conflicting interpretations of the site’s history which are ongoing, Sajmište today abounds with symbolism but at the same time deprived of clear meaning. In other words, there may be agreement in Serbia on the fact that the memory of the Sajmište camp should be preserved, but not about what we actually should be remembering. Is it Sajmište as the site of civilian suffering in the occupied Serbia? Or as part of the “Jasenovac camp system”? Or as a symbol of the common suffering of Serbs and Jews? Or as a Holocaust site? Or as a camp located on the “territory of NDH” which consequently proves that “Serbs did not take part in the Holocaust”? Or as a symbol of antifascist ideals and freethinking spirit, even of tolerance in general?

55 “Sajmište, koncert, reagovanja: najava koncerta ocenjena kao skandal”, Tanjug, March 6 2006.

56 Since 2008, the main ceremony marking the International Holocaust Remembrance Day has been taking place at the Old Fairground.

57 Another researcher who inquired about this issue at the Ministry was given a similar explanation from the same source. Interestingly, in both cases the source stated that the construction work at Autokomanda will be carried out by an Israeli company. This fact alone (presumably because the architect is Jewish) was sufficient guarantee to the authorities at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy that the Holocaust victims would receive an appropriate monument.

This is a problem which will have to be tackled by relevant institutions and the society in general, sooner or later. The manner of doing so will determine whether the victims of Sajmište will finally receive a memorial site they deserve. If an effort is made in order to rectify past mistakes and reevaluate deeply rooted beliefs about Sajmište and its history and if there is willingness to work on a new, healthier culture of remembrance focused on the victims and based on historical facts, then there are reasons for optimism. Such an approach would certainly open the door to a new consideration of the Holocaust, one that would not view Jewish victims as the “first victims of Sajmište” or as the Serbs’ fellow sufferers, but perceive their systematic destruction as an unprecedented crime and unique aspect of the history of Sajmište (but also the history of Serbia in general) which as such deserves unreserved attention and respect. However, it is more likely that the decision-makers will eventually follow the path of least resistance, along the route of continuity with the past, by attempting to find the lowest common denominator among the existing, often controversial, ideologically colored interpretations or by simply turning Sajmište into a “symbolic place” of a general character, whose meaning will be left open for individual interpretation. In that case, the Holocaust will most certainly remain on the margins of collective memory and instead of an appropriate memorial site, the scene of the largest concentration camp in Serbia will become, or rather remain, merely a permanent reminder of past omissions and controversial policies which marked the past 65 years.



Danijela Jovanović

Roma in the Jewish Camp Zemun 1941-1942

Danijela Jovanovic (1975), historian, lives in Belgrade working as a freelance translator and writer.

World War II ended more than half a century ago, yet there are still ongoing debates on whether Roma were victims of the Holocaust. In our country, there is hardly any work dealing with this subject. For the most part, crimes committed against Roma are barely mentioned by authors. This is the main motivation behind this text, because victims must not be forgotten, especially when it comes to a nation that has been living with us, or better put, next to us, for centuries and suffered only because it was proclaimed an “inferior race”.

The exact number of murdered Roma is unknown because, living on the margins of European societies, they were never included in official statistics. It is assumed that the number of Roma victims surpasses half a million. There is no official data in Serbia, as well. According to some estimates, the number of victims is around 12.000.

The reason for the unknown exact number of victims is not only the lack of official statistics, but also a lack of genuine interest. This is best exemplified by the words of Ernest Rinald, a Roma from Salamanca and Buchenwald inmate:

“240.000 dead, that is a lot, after all. After the war had ended, they told me there were one million dead. 240.000 is a lot! And the Gypsies do not know that. But today things are changin Many people want to get to know about their own history. Children are going to school. Nomadism will be over in fifty years. The history of our people will be then written by others. [The history] of our sufferin 240. 000 dead, that is a lot, but it is nothing compared to what happened with us after arriving from India. Someday, my children will go to India. It is nothing, because we were always getting murdered. Without punishment. The Germans were punished because they lost. Had they won, the whole world would have applauded them. Nobody likes the Gypsies. Nobody cares about the Gypsies. Things are better today, but we are always frowned upon. They would look at us differently if they knew about our victims, 240. 000 of them, or one million, that doesn't change things. They keep forgetting that we are people, like them. As simple as that. After all that has happened, we have the right to live like others. In freedom. Like Gypsies.”

Today, there are claims that Roma were not persecuted for racial, but social reasons. A common excuse is that they were sent to camps as criminals and antisocial. In other words, they themselves are to be blamed for what has befallen them. Unfortunately, such opinion is widespread all over the world, including our country. For the most part, our country is silent about this issue, which makes those events even more tragic. For example, the book *Otpor u žicama* (*Resistance in Wires*; edited by Lazar Ivanović and Mladen Vukomanović) which contains inmates' testimonies in the chapter about the Sajmište camp, does not even mention Roma. In addition to that, many texts stress Serbs as the sole victims of the German hostage retaliation policy. Significantly, the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia, published in 1983, does not contain an entry “Roma” and they were not even mentioned in the text about minorities, even though in 1977 the Commission on Human Rights issued the Geneva Resolution on recognizing Roma as an Indian historic, cultural and language minority

Danijela Jovanović

Romi u Jevrejskom Logoru Zemun 1941-1942.

Danijela Jovanovic (1975), istoričarka, živi u Beogradu i radi kao slobodna prevodilica i spisateljica.

Više od polovine veka je prošlo kako je završen Drugi svetski rat a još uvek se vode rasprave o tome da li su Romi bili žrtve Holokausta. U našoj zemlji radova koji se bave ovom temom gotovo da nema, autori, uglavnom, samo usputno pominju zločine koji su izvršeni nad Romima. Upravo to je razlog nastanka ovog rada jer žrtve ne smeju biti zaboravljene, naročito ako se radi o pripadnicima naroda koji već vekovima žive sa nama i koji su stradali samo zbog toga što su proglašeni „nižom rasom”.

Tačan broj poginulih Roma nije poznat, jer živeći na marginama evropskih društava, nisu ni ulazili u zvanične statistike. **Pretpostavlja se da je broj njihovih žrtava veći od pola miliona.** U Srbiji, takođe, ne postoje zvanični podaci. Prema nekim procenama broj nastradalih je oko 12. 000.

Razlog što nije poznat tačan broj poginulih nije samo zbog toga što ne postoje zvanične statistike, već i zato što ne postoji stvarno interesovanje da se sazna. To najbolje potvrđuju reči Ernesta Rinalada, Roma iz Salamanke, logoraša Buhenvalda:

“240. 000 mrtvih, to je ipak mnogo. Na kraju rata su mi rekli milion mrtvih. 240. 000 je mnogo! A Cigani to ne znaju. Ali stvari se danas menjaju. Mnogi žele upoznati svoju istoriju. Deca idu u školu. S nomadizmom će biti gotovo za pedeset godina. Onda će drugi pisati istoriju našeg naroda. Naših patnji. 240. 000 mrtvih, to je mnogo, ali to nije ništa šta se s nama događalo posle dolaska iz Indije. Jednog će dana moja deca otići u Indiju. Nije to ništa, jer su nas uvek ubijali. I bez kažnjavanja. Nemci su bili kažnjeni, jer su izgubili. Da su dobili ceo bi im svet aplaudirao. Niko ne voli Cigane. Niko se ne zanima za Cigane. Danas je bolje, ali na nas se uvek popreko gleda. Kada bi znali za naše mrtve, naših 240. 000 mrtvih, ili jedan milion, to ne menja stvar, drugačije bi na nas gledali. Zaboravlja se da smo ljudi, kao oni. Jednostavno. Nakon svega što se dogodilo, imamo pravo da živimo kao drugi. Na slobodi. Kao Cigani.”

Danas su prisutne tvrdnje da Romi nisu proganjani iz rasnih već iz društvenih razloga. Izgovor koji je često prisutan jeste da su oni bili poslati u logore kao kriminalci i asocijalni, drugim rečima da su sami krivi za to što im se desilo. Nažalost, ovo shvatanje je veoma rašireno, kako u svetu, tako i kod nas. U našoj zemlji se o ovom pitanju uglavnom čuti, što čini da ti događaji dobiju još tragičniju dimenziju. Kao dobar primer se može navesti to što se u knjizi *Otpor u žicama*, koja sadrži svedočenja logoraša, u poglavlju o logoru Sajmište koji su priredili Lazar Ivanović i Mladen Vukomanović, Romi uopšte ne pominju. Takođe, u mnogim radovima, kao žrtve nemačkih odmazdi nad taocima, uglavnom se navode samo Srbi. Važno je reći i to da u Enciklopediji Jugoslavije, u izdanju iz 1983., uopšte ne postoji odrednica „Romi”, i to da se oni ne pominju čak ni u tekstu o manjinama, iako je 1977. Komisija za ljudska prava u Ženevi izdala Rezoluciju po kojoj su Romi indijska, istorijska, kulturna i jezička manjina, i da shodno tome, uživaju zaštitu i

which, accordingly, enjoys the protection and rights established by United Nations documents. The same encyclopedia, published in 1961, contains the entry “Gypsies” with a short text about their history. However, their suffering during World War II on the territory of Yugoslavia is summed up by these sentences:

“German occupiers and their domestic servants carried out a wholesale destruction of Gypsies in concentration camps. On the territory of Croatia, only those who found themselves on liberated territory were saved.”

....

The first part of this text brings a short overview of Roma history, from their migration to the Balkans to the beginning of World War II. The second part deals with the fascist ideology of race and its reception in Serbia, while the third part describes the plight of Roma in occupied Belgrade and at the Sajmište camp. Unfortunately, the lack of original material and literature prevents better analysis of these subjects.

The source material is unsystematic and scattered throughout various archives. The Military-Historical Institute's Archive (The Nedić Archive) holds data pertaining to this subject but it is fragmented and insufficient. The German Archive at the same institution offers a large amount of information, but the majority of the documents were never translated from the German language. However, the Series of Documents and Data on the National Liberation War of the People of Yugoslavia does contain German occupation authorities' documents, i.e. the published part of this archive's material.

The Historical Archives of Belgrade hold the significant collection of M.G. – memories of Sajmište inmates, collection of posters and photographs, as well as the Municipal Archives of the City. The posters, as well as print media and all means of propaganda of the time prove that the then government had placed Jews at the top of their list of enemies. This is due to the fact that between two world wars Jews had occupied important positions in Serbian society and were pillars of the economy. On the other hand, Roma are rarely mentioned, for they were excluded from the state and social life and it was thus probably considered that murdering them would not cause for great public discontent. The collection of M.G. contains statements by only three Roma – Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić. All three date from the 1980s. The question is why there are not more statements and why the existing ones were collected this late – at a time when many of the actual eyewitnesses were no longer alive. The same archive holds the Banjica camp records. They contain no lists of murdered Roma, since they were commonly taken to be shot without their names being called out, responding to the order: “All Gypsies outside”. The camp administration did not bother to document their names and ages.

The Jewish Historical Museum's Archive keeps valuable information, including inmates' memories and witness statements to the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers. However, no statements by Roma were included.

Unlike foreign literature, Serbian texts scarcely contain information about this issue. Unfortunately, international literature is unavailable since very little has been done on translating and publishing work dealing with this or similar topics.

prava koja su utvrđena dokumentima Ujedinjenih Nacija. U istoj enciklopediji u izdanju iz 1961., pod odrednicom „Cigani” stoji kratak tekst o njihovoj istoriji, a što se tiče njihovog stradanja u Drugom svetskom ratu na teritoriji Jugoslavije, navedeno je samo sledeće:

„Nemački okupatori i njihove domaće sluge masovno su uništavali Cigane u koncentracionim logorima. Na teritoriji Hrvatske, spaseni su samo oni koji su se zatekli na oslobođenoj teritoriji”.

....

Prvi deo ovog rada daje kratak prikaz istorije Roma, od njihovog doseljavanja na Balkan do početka Drugog svetskog rata. Drugi deo se bavi fašističkom ideologijom rase i time kako je ona bila prihvaćena u Srbiji, dok treći prikazuje stradanje Roma u okupiranom Beogradu i u logoru na Sajmištu. Nažalost, nedostatak izvorne građe i literature je onemogućio da svaka od ovih tema bude bolje obrađena.

Izovna građa je nesistematizovana i rasuta po različitim arhivima. U Arhivu Vojnoistorijskog Instituta, Nedićevom fondu, mogu se naći podaci koji se odnose na ovu temu, ali oni su fragmentarni i nedovoljni. Nemački fond, iste ustanove, pruža veliki broj podataka, ali sadržaj većine dokumenata nije preveden sa nemačkog jezika. Zato se u Zborniku dokumenata i podataka o Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije, mogu naći dokumenti nemačkih okupacionih vlasti, odnosno objavljeni deo građe ovog fonda.

U Istorijskom Arhivu Beograda, značajna je zbirka MG-sećanja zatočenika logora Sajmište, zbirka plakata i fotografija, i fond opštine grada. Iz plakata, uostalom, kao i iz onovremene štampe i svih sredstava propagande, može se videti da su tadašnje vlasti Jevreje stavljali na prvo mesto kao svoje neprijatelje. Razlog toga je što su Jevreji, u međuratnom periodu, zauzimali značajne položaje u srpskom društvu, i bili nosioci privrednog života. Romi se, pak, retko pominju, jer oni su bili isključeni iz državnog i društvenog života, pa se stoga, verovatno smatralo da njihovo ubijanje neće izazvati veće nezadovoljstvo u narodu. U zbirci M.G., nalaze se izjave samo tri pripadnika romskog naroda – Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića. Sve tri su date osamdesetih godina prošlog veka. Postavlja se pitanje zašto ih nema više, i zašto su uzete tako kasno kada je veliki broj očevidaca događaja već umro. U istom arhivu se čuvaju i logorske knjige Banjičkog logora. U njima nema spiskova ubijenih Roma, jer oni su najčešće vođeni na streljanje bez prozivke imena, već samo uz naredbu: „Svi Cigani napolje”. Logorska administracija se čak nije trudila da zavede njihova imena i godine.

Dragoceni podaci se mogu naći i u Arhivu Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, takođe sećanja logoraša i izjave svedoka date Državnoj komisiji za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, ali i tu ne postoje izjave Roma.

Domaća literatura je vrlo siromašna podacima o ovoj temi, za razliku od strane. Nažalost, strana literatura je nedostupna, pošto se kod nas jako malo radi na prevodenju i izdavanju radova ove i slične tematike.

Today, there is an increased international tendency, primarily due to the joint efforts by Jewish and Roma associations, to provide equal treatment for Holocaust victims, i.e. to recognize each Holocaust victim, regardless of whether he/she is Jewish or Roma. In our country, this is still not the case.

As stated at the beginning, Serbian authors hardly even refer to crimes against Roma. This is probably because this people still lives on the margins of our society; it is still insufficiently emancipated and not “important” enough for someone to tackle the issue. Still, some progress has been visible during the last few years – however, again mostly due to the efforts by Roma associations in Serbia.

Roma on the Territory of Yugoslavia

“A wizard had warned the Indian king that the enemies would attack his kingdom and destroy his family. However, the attackers would be powerless if they assaulted the Roma. That is why the king summoned the Roma chief, secretly entrusting him with his only daughter Gan. She was supposed to be raised in safety by the chief, as his first child. Gan grew up sharing a tent with the chief’s son Chen. One day, the old chief died and the Roma tribe pressured the new chief Chen to get married right away. He refused every girl he was offered and threatened to kill himself because he only loved his sister. His mother then told him that Gan was not his sister but that he had to keep it a secret or else the conquerors would kill Gan, as she was the king’s daughter. The tribe was divided in two camps. The first one supported the new chief in everything while the second judged his marriage with his sister, not recognizing him as the tribe’s leader. The second camp banished Chen and his followers from the Indian land. Chen and his followers have been wandering the earth ever since, because the great wizard cast a curse on them: they were never to spend the night at the same place twice, never to drink water twice from the same well and never to cross the same river twice in the same year¹.”

As many others, this Roma myth attempts to explain events from their history. Unfortunately, the Roma people only left oral traces and no written ones, which is why its history represents a great unknown to other peoples, as well as to themselves.

Ethnologists, linguists and historians agree that Roma are of Indian origins, but they are not certain which part of India was their homeland². It is assumed that their migration from the motherland was a result of frequent wars and invasions by various conquerors, primarily the Mongols in the 9th and 10th century. They migrated in the following direction: northern group – towards Iran and Afghanistan, to the Caspian Sea to the north and the Persian Gulf to the south. One group moved to Armenia; according to linguistic traces, it spent some time there before dividing into several groups and moving in different directions. One of the smaller groups went over the Caucasus to Russia and another continued towards Greece and the countries of the Balkan Peninsula. The southern group moved to the Tigris-Euphrates river system. Several tribes from this group went towards the Black Sea and the others to Syria. The majority of the tribes arrived to the Asian part of Turkey. The group furthest to the south continued along the Mediterranean Sea, crossing Palestine and Egypt, along the northern coast of Africa, all the way to Gibraltar and Spain. The group that stayed in Turkey crossed the Bosphorus and arrived to the Balkans³.

1 Rajko Đurić, *Seobe Roma. Krugovi pakla i venac sreće*, Belgrade, 1985, 6.

2 Ibid, 16.

3 Ibid, 39.

Danas je u svetu prisutna tendencija, zahvaljujući pre svega zajedničkim naporima jevrejskih i romskih udruženja, da sve žrtve Holokausta imaju jednak tretman, odnosno, da svaka žrtva Holokausta bude priznata kao takva, bez obzira da li je pripadnik jevrejskog ili romskog naroda. Kod nas, to još uvek nije slučaj.

Kao što je na početku navedeno, naši autori samo usputno pominju zločine nad Romima. Verovatno je razlog to što ovaj narod još uvek živi na margini našeg društva, što još uvek nije dovoljno emancipovan, možda dovoljno „važan“, da bi se neko bavio tom temom. Ipak, u poslednjih nekoliko godina vide se neki pozitivni pomaci u tom pogledu, ali prvenstveno zahvaljujući zalaganju romskih udruženja u Srbiji.

Romi na Jugoslovenskom prostoru

„Neki mag je upozorio indijskog kralja da će neprijatelji napasti njegovu kraljevinu i uništiti mu porodicu. Međutim, napadać će biti nemoćan, napadne li Rome. Kralj zato pozva romskog poglavara i u tajnosti mu poveri jedinicu kćer, Ganu. Nju je trebalo da poglavar odgaji u bezbednosti kao svoje pravo dete. Gan je odrasla u istom šatoru sa poglavarovim sinom Čenom. Jednog dana, umre stari poglavar, a romsko pleme salete novog poglavara Čena da se odmah oženi. Čen je redom odbijao da uzme ijednu od devojaka koje su mu nudili i zapretio je da će se ubiti pošto voli smo svoju sestru. Čenu je majka tada saopštila da Gan nije njegova sestra, ali da mora čuvati tajnu, jer bi inače osvajač ubio Gan kao kraljevu ćerku. Pleme se podelilo u dva tabora. U prvom su se okupili oni koji su u svemu podržavali novog poglavara, a u drugom oni koji su ga zbog braka sa sestrom osuđivali, ne priznajući takvog plemenskog vođu. Drugi tabor je proterao Čena i njegove sledbenike iz indijske zemlje. Od tada Čen i njegovi sledbenici lutaju zemljinom šarom, jer ih je veliki mag prokleo da nikad ne prespavaju u istom mestu, da ne piju vodu dva puta iz istog bunara i da nikad ne pregaze istu reku dva puta u istoj godini”¹.

Ovaj romski mit, kao i mnogi drugi, pokušava da objasni događaje iz njihove istorije. Nažalost, Romi su narod koji nije ostavljao pisane tragove o sebi, već samo usmene, tako da je njihova istorija velika nepoznanica kako drugim narodima, tako i njima samima.

Etnolozi, lingvisti i istoričari su saglasni da je njihovo poreklo indijsko, ali nisu sigurni koji deo Indije je bio njihova postojbina.² Pretpostavlja se da su razlozi njihove seobe iz zemlje matice bili česti ratovi i upadi raznih osvajača, prvenstveno Mongola, u Indiju u IX i X veku. Pravac njihove seobe je bio sledeći: Severna grupa – ka Iranu i Avganistanu, do Kaspijskog mora na severu i Persijskog zaliva na jugu. Jedna grupa je prešla u Armeniju gde se, sudeći po leksici, duže zadržala, a onda, podelivši se u više grupa, krenuli su u različitim pravcima. Jedna skupina je preko Kavkaza otišla u Rusiju, a druga je nastavila put prema Grčkoj i zemljama Balkanskog poluostrva. Južna grupa se kretala tokovima Tigra i Eufrata. Jedan broj plemena iz ove grupe se uputio ka Crnom moru, a drugi prema Siriji. Najveći broj plemena je stigao u azijsku Tursku. Najjužnija grupa je nastavila put uz Sredozemno more, preko Palestine i Egipta, duž severne afričke obale, sve do Gibraltara i Španije. Grupa koja je ostala u Turskoj je prešla Bosfor i stigla na Balkan.³

1 Rajko Đurić, *Seobe Roma. Krugovi pakla i venac sreće*, Beograd, 1985, 6.

2 Isto, 16.

3 Isto, 39.

Roma first appeared in this region as early as in the 11th century, but their massive immigration coincided with the arrival of Turkish conquerors in the 14th century⁴. During the medieval feudal period, Roma were equal inhabitants of the Yugoslav region, although in documents they were always branded by the term “Gipsy” which marked their nationality. Also, during this period they lived in settlements mixed with other peoples⁵. It is therefore assumed that there was no form of social and ethnic hostility towards Roma at the time.

The period between the 15th and the 19th century brought great social changes. It was the time of Turkish feudalism when many Roma in the Yugoslav countries converted to Islam, mostly because of benefits⁶. This period also marks the beginning of their separation from the local population, even in the physical form, for they began living in separate *mahalas*⁷. Besides, it was a time when nations were being created and national consciousness was awakening, which had a very profound influence on the local population's attitude towards Roma. Their separateness was also influenced by Turkish legislation which forbade the intermingling of Muslim and Christian Roma⁸.

In medieval times, Roma in the Yugoslav region most commonly practiced crafts and merchantry. During the Turkish period, as well, the most widespread profession among Roma was craftsmanship, particularly blacksmithing, followed by merchantry and music.

In the 19th century, the majority of Roma lived in the Belgrade district, while the second-largest population inhabited the Kragujevac district. It is assumed that 12.000 Roma had lived in the mid-19th century Serbia⁹.

In a letter to the Belgrade Metropolitan in 1819, Prince Miloš Obrenović said the Metropolitan should not take “divnice¹⁰ from the Gypsies, because this has never been done before; we should not embarrass ourselves by equaling the Gypsies with us.” This clearly shows the attitude towards Roma, even back then¹¹.

The 1869 Constitution, Article 46 and the Elections Law, Article 18, banned Travellers from taking part in electing people's deputies, because they were paying *harač*¹² rather than regular taxes¹³. The so-called “Gypsy harač”¹⁴ was abolished in 1884, thus putting Roma and the Serbian population on equal footing. Still, this was no true equality since Roma were a completely separate national group. This has very much to do with the fact that during the Turkish rule they lived in separate *mahalas*, which did have a positive side since they preserved their ethnic cohesion, but on the other hand they became isolated from other social communities.

Na našim prostorima, Romi su se pojavili već u XI veku, mada masovno dolaze tek sa turskim osvajačima u XIV veku.⁴ U srednjovekovno feudalno doba, na jugoslovenskom prostoru, Romi su bili ravnopravni žitelji, mada se u dokumentima uz njihovo ime uvek navodila narodnosna oznaka „Ciganin”. Takođe, u tom periodu, oni su živeli izmešani sa ostalim stanovništvom u naseljima.⁵ Znači da se u to vreme ne može govoriti o nekom socijalnom i etničkom neprijateljstvu prema njima.

U periodu od XV-XIX veka dolazi do velikih društvenih i socijalnih promena. To je doba vladavine turskog feudalizma, kada mnogi Romi u jugoslovenskim zemljama primaju islam, prvenstveno zbog povlastica.⁶ Tada počinje i njihovo odvajanje od lokalnog stanovništva, čak i fizičko, jer počinju da žive u posebnim mahalama. Sem toga, to je period stvaranja nacija i buđenja nacionalne svesti, što je veoma mnogo uticalo i na odnos lokalnog stanovništva prema Romima. Takođe, na njihovu podvojenost su uticale i turske zakonske odredbe kojima je bilo zabranjeno mešanje Roma muslimana i hrišćana.⁷

U srednjem veku, na jugoslovenskom prostoru Romi su se uglavnom bavili zanatstvom i trgovinom. U turskom periodu, takođe, najrasprostranjenije zanimanje među Romima je bilo zanatstvo, i to prvenstveno kovački zanat, zatim, sitna trgovina i bavljenje muzikom.

U XIX veku najviše Roma je bilo u beogradskom okrugu, a potom u kragujevačkom. Pretpostavlja se da je u Srbiji polovinom XIX veka njihov broj iznosio 12 000.⁸

Iz pisma kneza Miloša Obrenovića, upućenog beogradskom mitropolitu 1819., u kojem stoji da mitropolit ne uzima „divnice od Cigana, koje pre nikada bivalo nije, da se nama stid ne pričinjava srađujući Cigana s nama”, jasno se vidi kakav je bio odnos prema Romima već tada.⁹

Ustav iz 1869., član 46, i Skupštinski izborni zakon, član 18, zabranili su Romima-čergarima učešće u biranju narodnih poslanika, jer nisu plaćali porez već harač.¹⁰ 1884. je ukinut ovaj tzv. “Ciganski harač”¹¹ i time su Romi izjednačeni sa srpskim stanovništvom. Ali o stvarnoj jednakosti se ne može govoriti, jer su Romi predstavljali potpuno izdvojenu narodnu skupinu. Tome je u velikoj meri doprinelo to što su oni u vreme turske vlasti živeli u posebnim mahalama. To je imalo i izvesnu pogodnost, jer su sačuvali svoju etničku jedinstvenost, ali s druge strane, postali su izolovani od drugih socijalnih sredina.

4 Tatomir Vukanović, *Romi (Cigani) u Jugoslaviji*, Vranje, 1983, 15.

5 Ibid, 38.

6 Ibid, 42.

7 *Mahala* is a word for residential quarters of a rural or urban settlement, dating to the times of the Ottoman Empire – translator's note

8 Ibid, 54.

9 Ibid, 71.

10 Taxes paid by every household – translator's note

11 Ibid, 96.

12 A poll-tax in the Ottoman Empire – translator's note

13 Ibid, 85.

14 Ibid, 86.

4 Tatomir Vukanović, *Romi (Cigani) u Jugoslaviji*, Vranje, 1983, 15.

5 Isto, 38.

6 Isto, 42.

7 Isto, 54.

8 Isto, 71.

9 Isto, 96.

10 Isto, 85.

11 Isto, 86.

According to the 1921 census, 34.919 Roma lived in Serbia, although it is assumed that the number was much higher because many did not declare themselves to be of Roma ethnicity¹⁵. Most of them lived in Northern Serbia – 16.670, followed by 14.489 in Southern Serbia with Kosovo and Macedonia, 3.104 in Banat and Bačka and 652 in Baranja¹⁶. The majority of the Roma population lived in towns, practicing merchantry, craftsmanship and, of course, music¹⁷. What was their status like in the period of Kingdom?

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1921 Constitution regulated the issue of minorities in the following manner: all citizens of the Kingdom were declared equal; they all had the same rights; freedom of religion and conscience was guaranteed and Article 16 provided minorities of different race and language with the right for elementary education in their respective mother tongue¹⁸. This means that all rights were guaranteed for the minorities, at least formally. However, this was not practically implemented, as confirmed by the 1931 *Oktroisani* Constitution which did not even refer to minorities¹⁹. It was probably due to the fact that elementary education in minority languages was not established before the 1929 Law on People's Schools. According to this Law, education in minority languages was an exception, save for places where citizens who used other languages comprised the majority²⁰. The only school for Roma children where classes were held in the Romani language was founded in Apatin in 1913²¹. However, it only existed until the beginning of World War I. There were several unsuccessful attempts to reestablish it between two wars.

At this point, it is important to emphasize that Roma were not enlisted among national minorities, which means that they were not able to enjoy their rights, even formally. The Kingdom only recognized the status of national minority to the Hungarian, German, Italian, Romanian, Slovakian and Czech national groups²².

During the 1920s and 1930s, there were noticeable attempts to organize the Roma population in neighboring countries, too. A congress took place in Bucharest in 1933 with the purpose to establish an international Roma organization²³. It was on that occasion that the idea originated to return to the old homeland of India and create a Roma state on the banks of the Ganges River or in Northern Africa. However, the organization's further activities were banned in 1936 by Romanian authorities²⁴.

A 1904 text by Tihomir Đorđević best illustrates the position of Roma, as well as the state's attitude towards them in the early 20th century, but throughout the century, as well.

“The Gypsies should not be blamed for their own flaws, since nothing was ever done for them. In any country, they were only humiliated, persecuted and punished. There had never been attempts to civilize them, and this includes Serbia. If anything was being done, it was violent or against their nature.

15 Ibid, 121.

16 Ibid.

17 Dragoljub Acković, *Ašunen Romalen, Slušajte ljudi*, Belgrade, 1996, 16.

18 Đorđe Borozan, *Jugoslavija i Albanija u XX veku*

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Dragoljub Acković, *Ašunen Romalen, Slušajte ljudi*, Belgrade, 1996, 105.

22 *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, knjiga 6, Zagreb, 1965.

23 Rajko Đurić, *Seobe Roma. Krugovi pakla i venac sreće*, Belgrade, 1985, 202.

24 Ibid.

Po popisu stanovništva, 1921. u Srbiji je živelo 34 919 Roma, mada se veruje da je njihov broj bio mnogo veći, jer mnogi se nisu izjasnili kao Romi.¹² Najviše ih je bilo u severnoj Srbiji – 16 670, zatim u južnoj Srbiji sa Kosovom i Makedonijom – 14 489, Banatu – 3 104 i Bačkoj i Baranji – 652.¹³ Većina ih je živela u gradovima i bavila se trgovinom, zanatstvom i naravno, sviranjem.¹⁴ Postavlja se pitanje kakav je tada, u periodu Kraljevine, bio njihov položaj.

Ustavom Kraljevine SHS iz 1921., pitanje manjina je bilo regulisano na sledeći način: svi državljani Kraljevine su proglašeni jednakim; svi su uživali ista prava; bila je zagarantovana sloboda vere i savesti, a članom 16, manjinama druge rase i jezika je dato pravo na osnovno školovanje na njihovom maternjem jeziku.¹⁵ Znači, formalno, manjinama su bila zagarantovana sva prava. Međutim, to se nije sprovodilo u praksi, što potvrđuje i Oktroisani ustav iz 1931., u kojem manjine uopšte nisu pomenute.¹⁶ Verovatno je razlog bilo to što je osnovno školovanje na jezicima manina uređeno tek 1929., Zakonom o narodnim školama. Ovim zakonom, nastava na jezicima manjina je bila izuzetak, sem u mestima gde su u većini živeli državljani drugog jezika.¹⁷ Jedina škola koja je bila predviđena za romsku decu, i u kojoj je nastava bila vođena na romskom jeziku, osnovana je u Apatinu 1913.¹⁸ Ona je radila samo do početka Prvog svetskog rata. Nekoliko puta, u međuratnom periodu, bilo je pokušaja da se njen rad obnovi, ali bez uspeha.

Ovde je važno reći da Romi nisu ubrajani u nacionalne manjine, znači da čak ni formalno nisu mogli da ostvare svoja prava. Kraljevina je priznavala samo mađarskoj, nemačkoj, italijanskoj, rumunskoj, slovačkoj i češkoj narodnoj grupi, status nacionalne manjine.¹⁹

Dvadesetih i tridesetih godina se mogu primetiti pokušaji organizovanja Roma i u okolnim zemljama. 1933. je održan kongres u Bukureštu radi osnivanja međunarodne organizacije Roma.²⁰ Tada se javila i ideja o vraćanju u stari zavičaj, Indiju, i stvaranju romske države na obalama Ganga ili u severnoj Africi. Međutim, 1936. rumunske vlasti su zabranile svaku dalju delatnost ove organizacije.²¹

Tekst Tihomira Đorđevića iz 1904.g na najbolji način oslikava položaj Roma kao i odnos države prema njima početkom ali i kroz ceo XX vek.

„Što ima u Cigana grešaka, ne treba za sve kriviti njih same, jer za njih nikada ništa činjeno nije. U svim zemljama oni su samo ponižavani, proganjani i kažnjavani. Pokušaji civilizacijen nisu nigde, pa ni u Srba činjeni. Ako je što i činjeno, to je bilo nasilno ili protivno njihovoj prirodi.

12 Isto, 121.

13 Isto.

14 Dragoljub Acković, *Ašunen Romalen, Slušajte ljudi*, Beograd, 1996, 16.

15 Đorđe Borozan, *Jugoslavija i Albanija u XX veku*

16 Isto.

17 Isto.

18 Dragoljub Acković, n.d., 105.

19 *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, knjiga 6, Zagreb, 1965.

20 Rajko Đurić, n.d., 202.

21 Isto.

Today, they are equal to the Serbs before the law, but they are not accustomed to those rights, they do not recognize them, because they don't know the essence or benefits of those rights and no one takes this into account. They are wanted for the army taxes, forced labor and so on, but their children are not wanted in schools and they tacitly exclude themselves from enjoying many rights. They are represented by no one and nowhere because nobody wants to take care about the Gypsies. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Gypsies are different in everything, that they do not consider religion to be something permanent and necessary, that they possess characteristics harmful to the environment, that they do not understand what others do, that the Serbs' homeland is not an ideal of theirs and that they do not enjoy the same things as Serbs. All that is foreign to them, making them different and alienated²⁵.

There were attempts to organize Roma, especially between two wars, in our country as well as in neighboring ones. However, the outbreak of World War II put to a halt to further activities for a very long period.

...

Following the April War, military administration was introduced in Serbia. It was led by a German general with his staff. Administrative affairs were conducted by the Administrative Headquarters headed by a military-administrative official. Military affairs were in the jurisdiction of the Command Headquarters. The Serbian Military Commander's Headquarters included the General Plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Interior who advised the Military Commander on matters from his jurisdiction. This way, an entire network was created, comprised of offices subordinated to their respective higher authorities in Berlin²⁶.

By establishing an occupation system, the Germans introduced their own laws²⁷, including the ones concerning racial issues. One of the first such decrees with the force of law was adopted on May 31 1941 by the Military Commander of Serbia, depriving Jews and Roma of their civil rights²⁸.

One wonders how those measures were accepted and whether they were preceded by political groups and movements in Serbia which supported this ideology.

Fascist movements and organizations had been emerging in the Kingdom as early as in the 1920s. In that period, they were autochthonous, i.e. they developed completely independent of outside influence²⁹. Those were the following organizations: "Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists" (Orjuna), "Serbian National Youth" (Srnao), "Croatian National Youth" (Hanao), etc. Some of them became influenced by German and Italian fascism during the 1930s³⁰. Nationalism was at the center of all of these organizations' and movements' ideologies, as it had been for a long time the dominant principle for the majority of ideologies³¹. The causes should be sought in the social and economic situation – the country was underdeveloped, agricultural, with an industry that was only beginning to develop and a society predominantly comprised of patriarchal peasantry. In such a so-

Danas je njih zakon izravnao sa Srbima, ali oni nisu naviknuti na ta prava, oni ih ne poznadu, jer im ne znadu ni sištinu, ni korist, a o tome niko ne vodi računa. Njih traže za vojsku, porezu, kuluk, itd., ali im se deca slabo ili nikako ne traže za školu, a oni sami prećutno se isključuju iz uživanja mnogih prava. Njih niko i nigde ne zastupa jer ko bi još i o Ciganima vodio računa. Onda nije čudo što su Cigani u svemu drugojači, što veru ne smatraju kao nešto stalno i potrebno, što imaju osobina koje štete okolini, što ne poimaju što drugi pojima, što im otadžbina Srbinova nije ideal, što ne uživaju u onome u čemu Srbi uživaju. Sve je to njima tuđe, sve strano, pa su i oni drugojači i tuđini²².

Pokušaja organizovanja Roma naročito u međuratnom periodu u našoj zemlji kao i u okolnim je bilo ali izbijanje Drugog svetskog rata je prekinulo svaku njihovu dalju aktivnost, i to na veoma dug period.

...

Posle aprilskog rata u Srbiji je uvedena vojna uprava. Na njenom čelu se nalazio nemački general sa svojim štabom. Upravne poslove je obavljao Upravni štab na čelu sa licem vojno-službeničkog zvanja. Vojni poslovi su bili u nadležnosti Komandnog štaba. Pri štabu Vojnog zapovednika Srbije bio je Generalni opunomoćenik Ministarstva inostranih poslova koji je savetovao Vojnog zapovednika o stvarima iz svoje nadležnosti. Tako je stvorena čitava mreža nadležstava koja su bila potčinjena svojim višim ustanovama u Berlinu.²³

Stvaranjem okupacijskog sistema Nemci su uveli svoje zakone²⁴, a samim tim i rasističke. Jedna od prvih uredaba sa snagom zakona, ovog tipa, je bila doneta 31.05.1941. godine od strane Vojnog zapovednika Srbije, kojom su Jevreji i Romi izgubili građanska prava.²⁵

Postavlja se pitanje kako su ove mere bile prihvaćene i da li su već postajale političke grupe i pokreti u Srbiji koji su podržavali ovu ideologiju.

Još dvadesetih godina u Kraljevini su počeli da se javljaju pokreti i organizacije koje su imale fašistička obeležja. U tom periodu oni su bili autohtoni, što znači da su se razvijali potpuno nezavisno od uticaja spolja.²⁶ To su bile sledeće organizacije: „Organizacija jugoslovenskih nacionalista" (Orjuna), „Srpska nacionalna omladina" (Srnao), „Hrvatska nacionalna omladina" (Hanao) i druge. Tridesetih godina neke od njih padaju pod uticaj nemačkog i italijanskog fašizma.²⁷ Centralno mesto u ideologiji svih ovih organizacija i pokreta je imao nacionalizam, koji je, uostalom, već dugo bio dominantan princip većine ideologija u tom periodu.²⁸ Uzrok toga treba tražiti u društveno-ekonomskim prilikama, jer zemlja je bila nerazvijena, agrarna, sa industrijom tek u začetku i društvom čiju je većinu činilo patrijarhalno seljaštvo. U takvom društvu, nacionalizam

25 Tihomir Đorđević, *Fizičke i duševne osobine Cigana Kraljevine Srbije*, Srpski književni glasnik, septembar, 1904.

26 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941-1944*, Beograd, 1992, 18.

27 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *Zbirka naredaba i uputstava broj 1*, Izdanje Opštine grada Beograda, 1941, 42.

28 Jewish Historical Museum, List of decrees by the Military Commander of Serbia.

29 Branislav Gligorić, *Osobenost fašizma u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina*, *Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 35.

30 Ibid.

31 Mikloš Lacko, *Fašizam u istočnoj i srednjoj Evropi*, *Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 129.

22 Tihomir Đorđević, *Fizičke i duševne osobine Cigana Kraljevine Srbije*, Srpski književni glasnik, septembar, 1904.

23 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941-1944*, Beograd, 1992, 18.

24 Istorijski Arhiv Beograda (IAB), *Zbirka naredaba i uputstava broj 1*, Izdanje Opštine grada Beograda, 1941, 42.

25 Jevrejski istorijski muzej (JIM), List uredaba Vojnog zapovednika Srbije.

26 Branislav Gligorić, *Osobenost fašizma u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina*, *Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 35.

27 Isto.

28 Mikloš Lacko, *Fašizam u istočnoj i srednjoj Evropi*, *Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 129.

ciety, nationalism became a form of outlet for solving accumulated problems³². Still, fascism cannot be considered a system of governance in Yugoslavia during the 1920s and 1930s³³. There were some elements of the fascist model in terms of governance, such as the militarization of power, abolition of parliamentarism, banning of political parties and so on, but the regime was not a fascist one, mainly due to the fact that it was not widely supported³⁴. Besides, it did not rely on fascist movements, which is the basic precondition for the creation of a fascist state. Only after the occupation did fascism become the basis of the governance system.

In occupied Serbia, the “Zbor” organization was the most fanatic supporter of the “New Order” policy, but also helped implement it. It was founded in 1935 by a merger of several organizations and groups – “Yugoslav Action”³⁵, “Boj”³⁶ and groups affiliated with the “Zbor”, “Otađzbina” and “Buđenje”³⁷ publications. In 1937 they were joined by the movement of *Volksdeutsche*³⁸, i.e. the seceded right wing of “Kulturbund”. Members of “Zbor” were part of the occupation apparatus as armed volunteer units directly subordinated to SS forces.

The organization was led by Dimitrije Ljotić who also helped attract a part of the Orthodox clergy to “Zbor”. By relying on a part of the clergy and engrafting certain Orthodox-mystical features into the national program, the fascism of “Zbor” took on very specific characteristics, distinguishing it from German and Italian types of fascism. This form of religious racism and fanaticism found fertile ground among the people³⁹.

This is part of a Vidovdan 1939 speech by Žiča Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović (today canonized as St. Nikolai) organized by the movement of god-prayers called “Christian People’s Movement”, a great stronghold of Ljotić’s:

“We are members of a great Slavic family which spent centuries watchfully keeping guard at the gates of Europe and preventing tribes of a weaker race and inferior religion from disturbing the christened Europe in its painful development and advancement. We are a christened people; we are Aryans by blood, Slavs by last name, Serbs by first name and Christians by heart and soul”⁴⁰.

However, despite the differences, there were some common features uniting Serbian fascism with the worldwide movement. Those included: absolutizing the idea of nation and state, advocacy of a corporative (class) system, anti-communism and anti-Semitism, opposing democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism and, of course, racism⁴¹.

This is part of a text published by the “Srpski Narod” weekly⁴²:

“It is fundamentally wrong to consider the family co-op, which has preserved the people for centuries of

je postao neka vrsta ventila za regulisanje nagomilanih problema.²⁹ Ipak, o fašizmu kao sistemu vlasti u dvadesetim i tridesetim godinama u Jugoslaviji, ne može se govoriti.³⁰ Može se reći da su postojali neki elementi fašističkog modela u pogledu upravljanja, kao što je militarizacija vlasti, ukidanje parlamentarizma, zabrana rada strankama i sl. Ali režim u tom periodu nije bio fašistički, prvenstveno zbog toga jer nije dobio širu podršku.³¹ Sem toga, on se nije oslanjao na fašističke pokrete, što je osnovni preduslov nastanka fašističke države. Tek sa okupacijom fašizam postaje osnova sistema vladavine.

U okupiranoj Srbiji, organizacija „Zbor” postaje najfanatičniji pristalica, ali i sprovednik politike „Novog poretka”. Ova organizacija je osnovana 1935. godine spajanjem nekoliko organizacija i grupa-Jugoslovenske akcije³², Boja³³ i grupa oko listova „Zbor”, „Otađzbina” i „Buđenje”.³⁴ Godine 1937. pridružuje im se pokret folksdojčera, odnosno otcepljeno desno krilo „Kulturbund”-a.³⁵ Članovi „Zbora” su bili uključeni u okupacijski aparat kao oružane dobrovoljačke jedinice potčinjene direktno SS snagama.

Vodeću ulogu u organizaciji je imao Dimitrije Ljotić. On je „Zboru” privukao i deo pravoslavnog sveštenstva. Ovim oslanjanjem na deo sveštenstva i nakalempljivanjem na nacionalni program nekih pravoslavno-mističnih osobenosti, fašizam „Zbora” je dobio sasvim specifične karakteristike koje su ga razlikovale od nemačkog i italijanskog fašizma. U narodu, ova vrsta religijskog rasizma i fanatizma je naišla na pogodno tle.³⁶

Ovde ću navesti deo govora, održanog na Vidovdan 1939., Nikolaja Velimirovića, žičkog vladike, koji je organizovao pokret bogomoljaca, nazvan „Hrišćanski narodni pokret”, i koji je bio veliko Ljotićevo uporište:

„Mi smo članovi velike porodice slovenske, koja je kroz mnoge vekove budno čuvala stražu na kapijama Evrope, da plemena slabije rase i niže vere ne bi uznemiravala kršćenu Evropu u njenom mučnom razvijanju i napredovanju. Mi smo narod kršten, mi smo po krvi Arijevci, po prezimenu Sloveni, po imenu Srbi, a po srcu i duhu hrišćani.”³⁷

Ipak, pored razlika, postojale su neke zajedničke odlike koje su objedinjavale fašistički pokret u Srbiji sa tim pokretom u svetu. To su sledeće odlike: apsolutizovanje ideje nacije i države, zalaganje za korporativno (staleško) uređenje, antikomunizam i antisemitizam, suprostavljanje demokratiji i građanskom parlamentarizmu i naravno, rasizam.³⁸

Deo teksta iz nedeljnika „Srpski narod”³⁹:

„Iz osnova je pogrešno smatrati porodičnu zadrugu koja je kroz vekove robovanja turcima održala

32 Ibid.

33 Branko Petranović, *Fašizam u Jugoslaviji-istoriografski sporovi, Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 26.

34 Ibid.

35 This movement was limited to parts of Croatia’s territory.

36 Todor Kuljić, *Fašizam*, Beograd, 1987, 229.

37 Minority ethnic Germans – translator’s note

38 Ibid.

39 Branislav Gligorijević, *Osobnost fašizma u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina, Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 26.

40 Todor Kuljić, *Fašizam*, Beograd, 1987, 242.

41 Branislav Gligorijević, *Osobnost fašizma u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina, Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 26.

42 Srpski narod, Christmas 1942

29 Isto.

30 Branko Petranović, *Fašizam u Jugoslaviji-istoriografski sporovi, Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 26.

31 Isto.

32 Ovaj pokret je bio ograničen na delove teritorije Hrvatske.

33 „Boj” je bila organizacija raširena u nekim delovima Slovenije.

34 Todor Kuljić, *Fašizam*, Beograd, 1987, 229.

35 Isto.

36 Branislav Gligorijević, *Osobnost fašizma u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina, Marksistička misao*, broj 3, Beograd, 1986, 26.

37 Todor Kuljić, n.d., 242.

38 Branislav Gligorijević, n.d., 26.

39 Srpski narod, Božić 1942.

*slavery under the Turks, as some primitive, backward form of pre-state life. It is an original, unlearned form, stemming from racial character, through which the Serbs achieved their ideas of social organization, order in the society, system of their national life.*⁴³

In the majority of their articles and speeches, the supporters of Ljotić and Nedić did not explicitly speak against Roma, but their attitude towards them is clearly illustrated by their emphasis of the “Serbian race” and dream of an ethnically clean Serbian state.

Roma at the Sajmište Camp 1941-1942

One of the first measures adopted against the Jews and Roma after the occupation of Serbia was the May 31 1941 order by the Military Commander of Serbia which regulated their position, depriving them of their civil rights⁴³. This order equaled Roma with Jews, which meant that they had to wear a yellow ribbon with the word “Gipsy” on their left arm. They were also banned from performing public services, as well as a range of professions; all Roma older than 14 or 15, both male and female, were obligated to perform forced labor, they were banned from theaters and all other recreational facilities; their freedom of movement was restricted and they had to stay at their homes between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., along with many other bans. The order also clearly specified which persons were to be considered Roma: all who were offspring of at least three Roma ancestors. This category included persons of mixed ancestry, with one or two Roma ancestors, as well as men married to a Roma woman. In addition to this, Roma had to be registered in so-called “Gipsy Lists”. The implementation of this order was assigned to the Serbian authorities. The quisling commissary administration ordered the local authorities to exclude Roma with a permanent residence from the arrests and apprehend only Travellers. However, this order was not observed⁴⁴.

After the Third Reich’s attack on the Soviet Union on June 22 1941, a wide-scale destruction of Roma and Jews began in Serbia, along with strong media propaganda aiming to justify those crimes.

This is an article published by “Novo Vreme”⁴⁵ on September 27 1941 entitled “Serbs, Join the Ranks of Volunteers”:

“You will save the country from anarchy, devastation and hunger. Mercenaries of the Red Bolshevik Moscow, led by Jews, with gangs of escaped convicts, Gypsies and other plunderers are demolishing and burning, murdering innocent people, robbing private family people’s property and aiming to inflict misery on the country of Serbia – our Fatherland – and to push the entire Serbian people into the abyss. Serbia was peaceful until June 22, people were returning to their work and rebuilding the severely damaged country. Sabotages, murders and crimes occurred only after the beginning of the war against Bolshevik Moscow on June 22. It is clear, then, who is responsible for this.”

A September 18 1941 report by the Head of the Feldkommandantur 599 to the Commander of Serbia about the military-political situation in Belgrade in the period from September 9 to September 18 1941 reads:

narod, nekakvim primitivnim, zaostalim oblikom plemenskog predržavnog života. Ona je originalni, nenaučeni iz rasnog karaktera proizašli oblik, u kome su Srbi ostvarivali svoje poglede na društveno uređenje, na red u društvu, na poredak u svom nacionalnom životu.”

U većini članaka i govora, pristalice Ljotića i Nedića, ne govore izričito protiv Roma, ali njihovo isticanje „srpske rase” i njihov san o etnički čistoj srpskoj državi, daju jasnu sliku o tome kakav je bio njihov odnos prema Romima.

Romi u Logoru na Sajmištu 1941 - 1942.

Posle okupacije Srbije, jedna od prvih mera koja je doneta protiv Jevreja i Roma je bila naredba Vojnog zapovednika Srbije od 31.05.1941. godine kojom je određen njihov položaj, odnosno kojom su lišeni građanskih prava.⁴⁰ Tom naredbom Romi su izjednačeni sa Jevrejima, što je značilo da su bili obavezni da na levoj ruci nose žutu traku sa natpisom „Ciganin”, zabranjeno im je da budu u javnoj službi kao i da obavljaju niz različitih zanimanja, bili su obavezni da svi u starosti od 14-15. godina, oba pola, idu na prinudni rad, zabranjeno im je posećivanje pozorišta i svih mesta za razonodu, ograničena im je sloboda kretanja – u periodu od 20-06 časova morali su da ostanu u svojim stanovima, i još niz drugih zabrana. Naredbom je tačno određeno i koja se lica imaju smatrati Romima. To su bila sva ona lica koja su vodila poreklo od najmanje tri romska pretka. Sa Romima su izjednačeni i melezi koji su vodili poreklo od jednog ili dva romska pretka, kao i oni koji su bili oženjeni sa Romkinjom. Romi su bili obavezni i da budu ubeleženi u takozvane „Ciganske liste”. Izvršenje ove naredbe je bilo povereno srpskim vlastima. Kvinsliška komesarska uprava je od lokalnih vlasti tražila da ne hapse stalno nastanjene Rome već samo čergara, ali to se nije poštovalo.⁴¹

Posle 22.06.1941., i napada Trećeg Rajha na Sovjetski Savez, počelo je masovno uništavanje Roma i Jevreja u Srbiji uz jaku propagandu u medijima da bi se ti zločini opravdali.

Članak iz Novog vremena⁴² od 27.09.1941., čiji je naslov „Srbi, stupajte u redove dobrovoljaca”:

„Vi ćete spasti zemlju od anarhije, pistošnja i gladi. Plaćenici i poklonici Crvene boljševičke Moskve, predvođene Jevrejima, sa bandama odbeglih robijaša, Cigana i drugih pljačkaša, ruše i pale, ubijaju nevine ljude, pljačkaju i odnose privatnu domaćinsku narodnu imovinu i hoće da u crno zaviju zemlju Srbiju – našu Otadžbinu, i da u punu propast bace ceo srpski narod. Do 22. juna Srbija je bila mirna, narod se vraćao radu i obnovi teško nastradale zemlje. Tek posle 22. juna, posle početka rata sa boljševičkom Moskvom, počele su sabotaže, ubistva i zločini. Jasno je onda za čiji se račun sve to radi.”

Izveštaj komandanta feldkomandature 599 od 18.09.1941., predat komandantu Srbije, o vojnopoličkoj situaciji u Beogradu za period od 9-18. 09. 1941. godine. glasi:

43 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *Zbirka naredaba i uputstava broj 1*, izdanje opštine grada Beograda, 1941, 100-104.

44 Venceslav Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941-1944*, Belgrade, 1970, 82.

45 Archive of the Military-Historical Institute, The Nedić Archive, k.5,r.51/9

40 IAB, *Zbirka naredaba i uputstava broj 1*, izdanje opštine grada Beograda, 1941, 100-104.

41 Venceslav Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941-1944*, Beograd, 1970, 82.

42 Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog Instituta (AVII), Nedićev fond, k.5,r.51/9

"The work-shy, Gypsies and vagabonds were also arrested and partially exiled"⁴⁶.

This means that the majority of Roma were arrested as early as in September. On September 21 1941, Turner sent an official report to General Böhme, suggesting the arrest of Jews and Roma:⁴⁷

"Also, the arrest of all Jews, as well as Gypsies, which is already in progress, should be carried out in a much harsher form..."

In accordance with that, further arrests of Roma followed in October in a series of raids in Belgrade and its surroundings – Marinkova bara on October 27, Čubura and Jatagan-Mala; Bulbuder, Pašino Brdo, Mirijevo and Višnjica on October 29; Žarkovo on October 30 and Boleč on October 31⁴⁸. The majority of the arrested Roma were taken to the Autokomanda camp and the last group was interned in the Banjica camp⁴⁹.

The October 26 1941 order by the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia Turner placed male Jews and Roma at the troops' disposal as hostages:⁵⁰

"We should start with the principled position that Jews and Gypsies in general represent an unreliable element and thus a jeopardy for the public order and safety. The Jewish intellect started this war in the first place – it must be destroyed. Given their spiritual and physical constitution, Gypsies cannot be considered useful members of the community of peoples. It has been proven that the Jewish element took a significant part in leading gangs and that the Gypsies are responsible for terrible brutalities and providing of intelligence services. Therefore, all male Jews and Gypsies are to be placed at the troops' disposal as hostages. Besides, there are plans to soon intern Jewish and Gypsy women and children in a temporary camp thus relocating this element of unrest and removing it from the Serbian public space. This requires necessary preparations."

However, a report by the German police from October 9 1941 shows that the execution of Roma and Jewish hostages had become common practice even prior to Turner's order⁵¹.

"The cleansing action performed by the German Army in the Šabac area has thus far resulted with 22.000 captured men. They were interned in a temporary camp where they are now being investigated by a Security Police department with the assistance of the Belgrade police. 2100 Jews and Gypsies will be shot as reprisal for 21 German soldiers killed near Topola a few days ago. The executions will be performed by the German Army. The Security Police is only tasked with providing the necessary number of prisoners."

Report No. 2 on the activity of the 704th Infantry Division from October 27 1941 testifies about the executions of Jewish and Roma hostages in Belgrade as reprisal for killed and wounded German soldiers⁵².

"The 9th Company of the 433rd Infantry Regiment is executing Jews and Gypsies in Belgrade, as reprisal for killed and wounded German soldiers."

"Besposličari, Cigani i skitnice, takođe su pohapšeni i jednim delom proterani".⁴³

Znači da je već u septembru veći deo Roma bio uhapšen. 21.09.1941. savetnik dr. Turner je podneo referat generalu Bemeu u kome predlaže hapšenje Jevreja i Roma:⁴⁴

"Takođe bi trebalo izvršiti u pooštrenom obliku hapšenje svih Jevreja, koje je već u toku, a jednovremeno i hapšenje Cigana."

U skladu s tim, usledila su dalja hapšenja Roma, u oktobru, nizom racija u Beogradu i njegovoj okolini – Marinkovoj bari 27.oktobra, Čuburi i Jatagan-Mali; 29.oktobra na Bulbuderu, Pašinom Brdu, Mirijevu i Višnjici; 30.oktobra na Žarkovu i 31.oktobra u Boleču.⁴⁵ Zarobljeni Romi su uglavnom smešteni u logor na Autokomandi, a poslednja grupa uhapšenih je smeštena u Banjički logor.⁴⁶

Veoma je značajno naređenje doktora Turnera, opunomoćenog komandujućeg generala u Srbiji, od 26.10.1941. kojom su Jevreji i Romi, muškarci, stavljeni trupama na raspolaganje kao taoci:⁴⁷

"Treba početi od načelne postavke da su Jevreji i Cigani uopšte nepouzdan elemenat i da samim tim predstavljaju opasnost za javni poredak i sigurnost. Jevrejski intelekt je taj koji je začeo ovaj rat, on se mora uništiti. Cigani ne mogu biti korisni članovi zajednice naroda s obzirom na njihovu duhovnu i fizičku građu. Utvrđeno je da je jevrejski elemenat uzео znatnog učešća u vođstvu bandi a da su baš Cigani odgovorni za naročita zverstva i za obavljanje obavestajne službe. Stoga se načelno u svakom slučaju imaju staviti na raspolaganje trupi kao taoci svi muškarcu Jevreji i Cigani. Uostalom, postoji namera da se žene i deca Jevreja i Cigana uskoro prikupe u sabirni logor i da se ovaj element nemira iseli i time ukloni iz srpskog prostora. Po ovome treba preduzeti potrebne pripreme."

Međutim, iz izveštaja nemačke policijske službe od 09.10.1941., može se videti da je streljanje Roma i Jevreja, kao taoca, već postalo praksa, pre naređenja dr. Turnera.⁴⁸

"Pri akciji čišćenja koji je preduzela nemačka vojska na prostoru Šapca, dosad je dovela zarobljenih 22 000 muškaraca. Oni su smešteni u jedan privremeni logor, gde ih sad proverava jedno odeljenje policije bezbednosti uz pomoć beogradske policije. U cilju odmazde za 21 nemačkog vojnika, koji su pre nekoliko dana ubijeni kod Topole, biće streljano 2100 Jevreja i Cigana. Streljanje će izvršiti nemačka vojska. Zadatak je policije bezbednosti samo da stavlja na raspolaganje potreban broj."

Izveštaj broj 2. o delatnosti 704. pešadijske divizije od 27.oktobra 1941. svedoči o streljanju Jevreja i Roma u Beogradu, uzetih kao taoca, u cilju odmazde za poginule i ranjene nemačke vojnike.⁴⁹

"Deveta četa 433 pešadijskog puka strelja u Beogradu Jevreje i Cigane kao odmazdu za poginule i ranjene nemačke vojnike"

46 Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o Narodnooslobodilačkoj ratu naroda Jugoslavije, XII, knjiga 1, 413.

47 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmistu 1941-1944*, Belgrade, 1992, 36.

48 Ibid.

49 Zbornik NOR I/1, 564-566.

50 Ibid, I/1, 498-499.

51 Ibid, 448.

52 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmistu 1941-1944*, Belgrade, 1992, 39.

43 Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o Narodnooslobodilačkoj ratu naroda Jugoslavije, XII, knjiga 1, 413.

44 Isto, 448.

45 Milan Koljanin, n. d., 36.

46 Isto.

47 Zbornik NOR I/1, 564-566.

48 Isto, I/1, 498-499.

49 Isto, 448.

The mass executions of Jews and Roma – hostages taken from the Belgrade Autokomanda camp – are also confirmed in a report by Lt. Walter of the 9th Company of the 433rd Infantry Regiment. They were carried out on October 27 and 30 1941 at a location north of Pančevo, close to the Pančevo-Jabuka road⁵³.

“In agreement with an authorized SS organ, I brought selected Jews and Gypsies from the Belgrade prisoner camp. Lorries from the Feldkommandantur 59 given at my disposal proved inadequate for two reasons:

- 1. The drivers are civilians, therefore secrecy is not guaranteed.*
- 2. They have neither a roof nor tarpaulin so the city's inhabitants could see who was being transported and where to. The Jewish wives gathered in front of the camp, yelling and screaming as we departed.*

The location of the executions is very adequate. It lies north of Pančevo, along the Pančevo-Jabuka road in the vicinity of a steep hill which makes climbing very difficult. There is swampy land near the hill and a river is in the back. When the water level is high, it almost reaches the hill. Therefore, the prisoners' escape can be prevented with the use of only few men. Also, the location has convenient sandy ground, making it easier to dig graves and shortening working hours.

After arriving at about 1.5 or 2 kilometers from the selected location, the prisoners stepped down from the lorry. Then, in order to secure safety and secrecy, I stopped traffic on the road.

The shooting of Jews is easier than the shooting of Gypsies. I must confess that the Jews look death in the eye in a very composed manner. They are drže MIRNO, whereas the Gypsies moan and scream although they are already at the site of execution. Some of them even jumped into the graves and played dead before the salvo.

At first, the executions did not leave a particular impression on my soldiers, but already on the second day it was noticeable that some of them lose their nerves when performing them for longer periods of time. According to my personal impression, no emotional disturbances occur during the shootin. However, they set in after a few days, during reflective evenings in solitude.”

Apparently, there were almost no living Jewish and Roma men to be used as hostages by early November 1941. It is assumed that at least 2.500 Roma men were murdered in Serbia during the fall of 1941⁵⁴.

After the execution of male Jews and Roma, German authorities planned to intern their families to the “Serbian island of Mitrovica” where a temporary camp was to be built. *“This camp will be built by the Todt Organization. At first it will have a capacity for 50.000 persons, which could be increased to 500.000. The camp will be modeled after German concentration camps. It will be administered by SS and SD Einsatzgruppen”*⁵⁵.

However, due to the high water level of the Sava River and the land's transformation into a

O masovnom streljanju Jevreja i Roma, kao taoca, uzetih iz beogradskog logora na Autokomandi, svedoči i izveštaj poručnika Voltera iz 9. čete 433. pešadijskog puka, koje je izvršeno 27. i 30.10.1941. na mestu koje leži severno od Pančeva, neposredno uz put Pančevo-Jabuka.⁵⁰

„U sporazumu sa nadležnim organom SS dovezao sam probrane Jevreje, odnosno Cigane, iz beogradskog zarobljeničkog logora. Kamioni iz feldkomandature 599, koji su mi za ovo bili stavljeni na raspolaganje, pokazali su se nepogodnim iz dva razloga:

- 1. Voze ih civili, usled toga nije zajemčena tajna.*
- 2. Svi su bili bez krova ili cerade, tako da je gradsko stanovništvo videlo koga smo na vozilima imali i kuda smo se zatim vozili. Pred logorm su se bele skupile žene Jevreja, koje su urlikale i vikale pri našem odlasku.*

Mesto na kome je izvršeno streljanje, vrlo je podesno. Ono leži severno od Pančeva, neposredno uz drum Pančevo-Jabuka, na kome se nalazi jedna uzvišica, čiji je nagib toliki da se na nju može čovek samo s mukom uspeti. Prema toj uzvišici nalazi se močvarno zemljište, a pozadi je reka. Pri visokom vodostaju voda dopire skoro do uzvišice. Prema tome, može se s malo ljudi sprečiti bekstvo zarobljenika. Isto tako, tamo je i podesno peskovito zemljište, što olakšava kopanje jama, a time se skraćuje radno vreme oko kopanja.

Po dolasku na oko 1,5–2 kilometra ispred izabranog mesta, zarobljenici su sišli s kamiona. Zatim sam, da bi bila obezbeđena sigurnost i tajna, obustavio svaki saobraćaj drumom.

Streljanje Jevreja je jednostavnije nego li streljanje Cigana. Mora se priznati da Jevreji vrlo pribrano gledaju smrti u oči. Oni se drže mirno, dok Cigani jauču, vrište, iako se nalaze već na mestu streljanja. Neki su čak pre plotuna poskakali u jame i pokušali da se pritaje kao mrtvi.

Ovo streljanje u početku nije ostavljalo na moje vojnike neki naročit utisak, ali se već drugog dana primetilo da poneki od njih, pri vršenju streljanja na duže vreme, gube živce. Za vreme trajanja streljanja, po mom ličnom zapažanju, ne osećaju se nikakve duševne smetnje. One se, međutim, pojavljuju onda kada se posle nekoliko dana uveče i u miru o tome razmišlja.”

Čini se da početkom novembra 1941. skoro da nije bilo više živih muškaraca Jevreja i Roma koji bi poslužili kao taoci. Pretpostavlja se da je u jesen 1941. u Srbiji stradalo najmanje 2.500 romskih muškaraca.⁵¹

Plan nemačkih vlasti je bio da posle streljanja Jevreja i Roma, muškaraca, njihove porodice interniraju na „srpsko ostrvo Mitrovica”, gde bi se podigao sabirni logor. *„Ovaj logor podići će organizacija Tot. Za prvo vreme imao bi kapacitet za 50.000 lica, da bi se mogao povisiti na 500.000. Logor će biti izgrađen prema uzoru na nemačke koncentracione logore. Uprava logora će biti u rukama ajnzac-grupe političke bezbednosti i službe bezbednosti.”*⁵²

Međutim, zbog visokog vodostaja Save i pretvaranja zemljišta u močvaru, odustalo se od toga i

53 Zbornik NOR, I/1, 498–499.

54 Milan Koljanin, Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941–1944, Belgrade, 1992, 46.

55 Zbornik NOR, I/1, 624–625.

50 Isto, 583–584.

51 Milan Koljanin, n.d., 39.

52 Zbornik NOR, I/1, 498–499.

swamp, this plan was abandoned and on October 28 1941 the Commanding General in Serbia Böhme ordered the use of the Belgrade Fairground pavilions for that purpose⁵⁶.

“All Jews and Gypsies will be taken to a concentration camp near Zemun (Around 16.000 persons for the time being). It can be proven that they had performed intelligence services for the rebels⁵⁷.“ This is a part of a December 5 1941 report by the German Military Commander in Serbia which confirms that a decision had been made to create the Sajmište camp. The internment in the camp began on December 8 1941.

The December 20 1941 ten-day report by the Plenipotentiary Commander's Operations Division specifies that “5.281 persons were brought to the newly formed camp for Jews and Gypsies in Zemun until December 15 1941⁵⁸.“

In order to turn Sajmište into a camp, the Germans had to seek approval from the Independent State of Croatia, since the Sajmište site, as well as the entire Eastern Srem, was included in the territory of this newly formed state as of October 10 1941. The Germans were granted permission, as the only condition was to supply the camp from Serbian rather than Croatian territory⁵⁹. The camp was financed from the looted Jewish property which was administered by the Headquarters of the Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia. Sajmište was named *Judenlager Semlin* (Jewish camp Zemun).

The camp was under Gestapo command. *Untersturmführer*-SS Herbert Andorfer and *Scharführer*-SS Edgar Enge were in charge⁶⁰. The Germans relegated camp administration to the Jews, keeping the supervision. The Jewish administration was in charge of preparing food from supplies delivered to the camp by the Belgrade Municipality, keeping order and maintaining hygiene, handling correspondence with the Nedić government regarding acquisition of food, etc. The Social Department of the Belgrade Municipality was in charge of acquiring supplies and delivering them to the camp, while the quantities were proscribed by the Germans⁶¹.

Around 600 Roma were brought to the camp, mostly from Belgrade, but also Travellers and Roma from Vojvodina⁶². They were registered and interned in Pavilion No. 2.

“We were put in a hangar, an airplane hangar, large and empty, like some sort of a shed; we could see the sky, everything was ruined. There were beds with three or four tiers, I cannot remember exactly, I only remember that we were on the third one. They were made of wood, boards in a circle and nothing else. Next to the Jews, yes, a large pavilion, but it was all open, without a furnace or an oven. It was already full, they had left earlier, there were families. Only Roma [were] in this pavilion, a separate one just for Roma. And the weather at the time; I think there were around 700 or 800 of the, including women and children. Women and children; and there were some capos who handed out food. [There were inmates] from the Belgrade area, only Žarkovo, Mirijevo, Resnik and Višnjica, as far as I can remember. No one guaranteed for

Komandujući general u Srbiji, Beme, naredio je 28.10.1941. da se za logor upotrebe paviljoni na beogradskom Sajmištu.⁵³

„Svi Jevreji i Cigani biće prevedeni u jedan koncentracioni logor kod Zemuna /Zasada je u pitanju oko 16.000 lica/. Može se dokazati da su oni vršili obaveštajnu službu kod ustanika.“⁵⁴ Ovo je deo izveštaja nemačkog Vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji od 5.12.1941. iz kojeg se vidi da je doneta odluka o osnivanju logora na Sajmištu. Interniranje u ovaj logor je počelo 8.12.1941.

U desetodnevnom izveštaju Operativnog odeljenja opunomoćenog komandanta u Srbiji od 20.12.1941. stoji da je *„u novoformirani logor za Jevreje i Cigane u Zemunu do 15.12.1941. dovedena 5.281 osoba.“⁵⁵*

Da bi Sajmište pretvorili u logor, Nemci su morali da se obrate vlastima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske za saglasnost, pošto je prostor Sajmišta kao i ceo istočni Srem od 10.10.1941. ulazio u teritoriju ove novoformirane države. Nemci su dobili dozvolu, s tim što su se obavezali da će se snabdevanje logora vršiti sa srpske teritorije, a ne hrvatske.⁵⁶ Logor je finansiran novcem od opljačkane jevrejske imovine, kojom je raspolagao štab Generalnog opunomoćenika za privredu u Srbiji. Sajmište je dobilo naziv Jevrejski logor Zemun.

Komanda logora je bila u rukama Gestapoa. Komandant je bio SS potporučnik Herbert Andorfer i SS podoficir Edgar Enge.⁵⁷ Logorsku administraciju su Nemci predali Jevrejima, a za sebe su zadržali nadzor. Jevrejska logorska uprava je morala da se stara o spremanju hrane od namirnica koje je logoru dopremalo beogradsko Gradsko poglavarstvo, da vodi računa o redu i održavanju čistoće, vodi prepisku sa Nedićevim vlastima oko nabavke hrane i sl. Socijalni odsek Gradskog poglavarstva u Beogradu je imao zadatak da nabavlja namirnice i da ih šalje u logor, ali količinu su određivali Nemci.⁵⁸

U logor je dovedeno oko 600 Roma, najviše iz Beograda, ali i čergara i Roma iz Vojvodine.⁵⁹ Oni su popisani i smešteni u II paviljon.

„Sместili su nas u jedan hangar, to je bilo od aviona, velike prazne, u vidu neke šupe, vidi se gore nebo, polupano sve. Imalo četiri ili pet spratova kreveta, ne mogu da se setim, samo se sećam da smo mi bili na trećem spratu. Drveni, daske u krug i ništa više. Pored Jevreja, da, veliki paviljon, ali to je sve bilo otvoreno, nije imalo ni furune, ni peći. Bio je pun već, oni su otišli ranije, imalo je familije. Samo Roma u tom paviljonu, samo za Rome jedan poseban. Pa onda, i tadašnje vreme, ja mislim da je bilo negde oko 700–800 sa decom i ženama. Žene i deca, i bili su neki redari za davanje hrane. To su bili okolina Beograda, bilo je samo Žarkovo, Mirijevo, Resnik i Višnjica, koliko se sećam. Pa i oni isto nezagarantovano. Selo nije garantovalo.“⁶⁰

56 Zbornik NOR, XII/1, 797.

57 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941–1944*, Belgrade, 1992, 51.

58 Ibid, 25.

59 Ibid, 24.

60 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Pavle Dekić*.

61 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić*.

62 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić*.

53 Milan Koljanin, n.d., 46.

54 Zbornik NOR, I/1, 624–625.

55 Zbornik NOR, XII/1, 797.

56 Milan Koljanin, n.d., 51.

57 *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1957, 24.

58 Isto, 25.

59 Isto, 24.

60 IAB, *MG-sećanje Pavla Dekića*

them. The villages did not send guarantees⁶³.”

Since there was no separate administration for Roma, one of the imprisoned women from the Jewish administration was selected to take care of the “Gypsy camp”⁶⁴.

Most of the Belgrade Roma had a permanent residence but the municipalities would not guarantee for them so many were taken to Sajmište, as Travellers⁶⁵. The camp’s inmates included women with children, while children over the age of 14 were taken to the Banjica camp⁶⁶.

Living conditions at the Roma part of the camp were much harsher than in the Jewish part. This is a statement by Charlotte Roth to the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers on June 19 1947:

“The food was very bad. While I was at Sajmište – in December and early January – the food was sent by the Belgrade Municipality. I later heard that it became much worse. In the morning – a cup of warm water which the Germans called coffee and which we had to wait for in line for hours. For lunch – a ¼ liter of mostly cabbage, usually rotten and cooked in suet. We were supposed to get supper, as well, but due to a lack of caldrons, a part of the inmates got lunch and the others got supper. There were only three or four instances when I received both lunch and supper on the same day. In the beginning, we were given bread but after a few days the Germans gave us corn bread, less than 150 grams, always moldy and undercooked”⁶⁷.

Since the kitchen was located about one kilometer from the “Gipsy pavilion”, the food was brought to them only once a day, at 2 p.m.⁶⁸ Hunger was omnipresent. Unlike Jewish children, Roma children did not even receive powdered milk⁶⁹. The meal usually consisted of a thin potato soup or cabbage and about 100 grams of corn bread or bread.

The food was handed out by Jewish and Roma capos armed with sticks in order to contain the famished people⁷⁰. The inmates were allowed to move around the camp during daytime, until 8 p.m. The beds, so-called “boxes”, were covered with straw which rotted and became a nest of infection because of parasites. Despite the prisoners’ exhaustion, they were often forced to perform labor consisting of piling up soil and gravel at the camp. There were no windows at the pavilions and the walls and rooftops were damaged by the bombings, constantly letting in rain and snow⁷¹. There were furnaces, but almost no fuel. Besides, it was not possible to heat the pavilions in such a damaged condition.

A statement by Charlotte Ćosić before the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers on May 14 1947⁷²:

“Pavilion No. 5 held Jewish women brought from the provincial areas; there were particularly many from Šabac. There could have been up to 2000 souls at this pavilion. Other than that, one pavilion – I do

Kako nisu imali svoju posebnu upravu, jedna zarobljenica iz jevrejske uprave logora je određena da se stara o „Ciganskom logoru.”⁶¹

Većina Roma iz Beograda je imala stalno mesto boravišta, ali opštine nisu htele da garantuju za njih, tako da je veliki broj Roma iz tog razloga doveden na Sajmište, kao čergari.⁶² U logoru su bile žene sa decom, dok su deca preko četrnaest godina starosti bila odvođena u logor na Banjici.⁶³

Uslovi života u romskom delu logora su bili mnogo teži nego u jevrejskom. Izjava Šarlote Rot, data Državnoj komisiji za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača 19.06.1947.g:

„Hrana je bila veoma loša. Za vreme dok sam se nalazila na Sajmištu, tj. decembra meseca i početkom januara – hranu je slala beogradska opština. Kasnije sam čula da je još bilo mnogo gore. Izjutra – šolja tople vode koju su Nemci nazivali kafom i za koju smo satima morali čekati na red. Za ručak oko četvrt litre, najčešće kupusa, obično trulog i kuvanog na loju. Trebali smo primati i večeru, ali zbog nedostatka dovoljnog broja kazana, bilo je uređeno tako da jedan deo prima ručak, a drugi večeru, samo tri-četiri puta mi se desilo da sam primila i ručak i večeru istog dana. S početka smo primali i hleb, ali već posle nekoliko dana, Nemci su nam izdavali proju, najviše do 150gr, po pravilu budavu i nepečenu.”⁶⁴

Pošto je kuhinja bila udaljena od „ciganskog paviljona” oko jedan kilometar, hrana im je donošena, i to samo jednom u toku dana u dva sata posle podne.⁶⁵ Glad je bila stalno prisutna. Romska deca čak nisu dobijala ni mleko u prahu, koje je inače davano jevrejskoj deci.⁶⁶ Obrok se najčešće sastojao od retke čorbe od krompira ili kupusa i od oko 100gr proje ili hleba.

Hranu su delili zajednički Jevreji i Romi-redari, sa štapovima da bi smirivali izgladnele ljude.⁶⁷ Danju im je bilo dozvoljeno kretanje po logoru do osam sati uveče. Po krevetima, tzv. „boksovima”, je bila nabacana slama koja je trulila i puneći se parazitima, bila leglo zaraze. I pored velike iscrpljenosti logoraša, često su terani na rad koji se sastojao iz nabacivanja zemlje i šljunka u logoru. Na paviljonima nije bilo prozora, a od bombardovanja su zidovi i krovovi bili toliko oštećeni da je stalno ulazila kiša i sne⁶⁸ Postojale su peći, ali ogreva skoro da nije bilo, sem toga usled velikog oštećenja paviljona nije ni bilo moguće ugrijati ih.

Izjava Šarlote Ćosić data Državnoj komisiji za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača 14.05.1947.:⁶⁹

„U paviljonu broj pet nalazile su se žene jevrejke koje su bile dovedene iz unutrašnjosti, naročito ih je mnogo bilo iz Šapca. U tom paviljoni je moglo biti 2.000 duša. Pored toga u jednom paviljonu-broja se ne sećam tačno bile su smeštene i Ciganke koje su živjele pod još gorim uslovima nego mi.”

63 Historical Archives of Belgrade, memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić.

64 Jewish Historical Museum, k.24-2-2/8

65 Historical Archives of Belgrade, memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić.

66 Historical Archives of Belgrade, memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić.

67 Historical Archives of Belgrade, memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić.

68 Jewish Historical Museum, k.24-2-2/8.

69 Jewish Historical Museum, k.24-2-2/9.

70 Historical Archives of Belgrade, memories of Pavle and Milorad Dekić and Stevan Kostić.

71 Jewish Historical Museum. k.24-2-2/8

72 Archive of the Military-Historical Institute, The Nedić Archive, k.36, f.1.

61 IAB, MG-sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića,

62 IAB, sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića.

63 IAB, sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića.

64 JIM, k.24-2-2/8

65 IAB, sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića.

66 IAB, sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića.

67 IAB, sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića.

68 JIM, k.24-2-2/8.

69 JIM, k.24-2-2/9.

not remember its number – was populated by Gipsy women who lived in even worse conditions.“

Besides the terrible living conditions, life was made even harder for the prisoners by means of daily torture, such as standing in line for several hours in the cold to “air the pavilions“, as well as brutalization by the German guards, daily beatings and other forms of torture⁷³.

“The mornings were particularly rough as the Germans ordered us to stand outside for two hours for the pavilion to air, which was just another form of torture they invented, because the pavilion was airing all day and all night since there were no windows and the walls and rooftop were damaged from the bombings, letting in not only clean air but also snow and rain. The concrete in the pavilion was full of puddles or ice, depending on the weather conditions”⁷⁴.“

Due to such conditions, the mortality of Roma was high. A report by the acting Representative of the Jewish community to the Belgrade Municipality’s Statistics Department proves that 56 Roma had died at the Jewish camp in the period between December 1941 and April 1942⁷⁵. According to this, the mortality of Roma was around 10%. However, it is assumed that it was much higher, since numerous testimonies confirm that more than five persons had died every day.

“During the day and at night, children were dying, 5 or 6 women, sometimes one or two and sometimes ten. In the morning, they were crying, a family member; then they reported it, a nurse came and pronounced death and the body was taken away”⁷⁶.“

The bodies were mostly buried near the Sava River, as testified by Stevan Kostić to the Historical Archives of Belgrade on June 25 1986⁷⁷:

“There was a lime pit towards the Sava River, outside the fence; there was a gate so that people would not wander around; there were no guards there. This was the gate through which we carried the dead and threw them into the lime pit. One of the prisoners was in charge of covering the bodies with lime. The lime pit was huge.”

The bodies were also transported to Belgrade where they were buried at different locations.

“One afternoon during the winter of 1941–1942 – I do not remember the precise day or month – I saw Jews (I recognized them by the ribbons they wore on their arms) carrying corpses wrapped in white sheets on stretchers over the frozen Sava River from the Sajmište camp to the Belgrade side of the river. Then I saw a big lorry at the Belgrade bank, already containing corpses, also wrapped in white sheets.”

This is a statement by Radisav Pavlović before the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers from April 28 1947⁷⁸.

In January 1942, Roma inmates were released from the camp based on appeals which were accepted only if written by prisoners’ relatives and valid until March 1 1942⁷⁹. Those without appeals,

Pored očajnih uslova života još više je logorašima otežavano svakodnevnom torturama, kao što je stajanje u stroju nekoliko sati po hladnom vremenu da bi se „vetrili paviljoni“, zatim izživljavanje nemačkih čuvara nad njima, svakodnevna batinjanja i druga mučenja.⁷⁰

„Naročito je teško bilo jutro kada smo po naređenju Nemaca morali puna dva sata da čekamo napolju da se paviljon vetri, što je bio samo jedan oblik mučenja koji su izmislili Nemci, jer se paviljon vetrio ceo dan i celu noć jer, niti je bilo prozora, a i zidovi i krov su bili toliko oštećeni od bombardovanja da je stalno ulazio čist vazduh, nego i sneg i kiša, tako da je beton u paviljonu bio pun bara ili leda, već prema vremenu.”⁷¹

Usled ovakvih uslova bila je velika smrtnost među Romima. Sačuvan je izveštaj v.d. Predstavnik jevrejske zajednice upućen Gradskom poglavarstvu grada Beograda, Statističkom odelu, u kojem se vidi da je u periodu od decembra 1941. do aprila 1942. u Jevrejskom logoru Zemun umrlo pedesetšest Roma.⁷² Iz ovoga proizilazi da je smrtnost Roma bila oko 10%. Međutim, pretpostavlja se da je ona bila znatno viša, jer prema brojnim svedočenjima dnevno je umiralo preko pet osoba.

„Preko dana, po noći, umiru deca, žene po 5–6, neki put jedno, dvoje, neki put deset. Ujutru se čuju da kukaju, neko od familije, onda javu, sestra dođe, utvrdi smrt i onda se nosi.”⁷³

Uglavnom su ih sahranjivali pored Save, o čemu svedoči izjava Kostić Stevana data Istorijском Arhivu Beograda 25.06.1986.⁷⁴:

„Prema Savi je bila krečana, van ograde, tu je bila jedna kapija da ne bi išli okolo, tu nije bilo straže, i na tu kapiju smo iznosili one koji su umrli i bacali ih u tu krečanu. Jedan od zarobljenika je bio zadužen da te umrle posipa sa krečom. Krečana je bila ogromna.”

Takođe, leševi su bili prenošeni i u Beograd, gde su sahranjivani na različitim mestima.

“Jedno popodne u zimu 1941–1942. dana i meseca se ne sećam tačno, video sam Jevreje (poznao sam ih po traci koju su nosili preko ruke) kako na nosilima prenose leševe koji su bili uvijeni u beo čaršav, preko zaleđene Save, sa logora na Sajmištu, na drugu–beogradsku stranu Save. Video sam dalje da je na beogradskoj obali stajao veliki kamion u koji su već bili utovareni leševi isto tako uvijeni u belo platno.”

Ovo je izjava Pavlović Radisava data Državnoj komisiji za ispitivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača 28.04.1947.⁷⁵

U januaru 1942. počelo je puštanje Roma iz logora na osnovu molbi koje su se prihvatale samo ako su ih napisali rođaci zatočenih. Ove molbe su važile do prvog marta 1942.⁷⁶ Oni Romi za koje

73 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Stevan Kostić*.

74 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Stevan Kostić*.

75 Jewish Historical Museum, k.24–2–2/12.

76 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Pavle Dekić*.

77 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *memories of Pavle Dekić*.

78 Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941–1944*, Belgrade, 146.

79 Lazar Ivanović, Mladen Vukomanović, *Dani smrti na Sajmištu. Logor na Sajmištu 1941–1944*, Novi Sad, 1969, 74.

70 IAB, *sećanje Pavla i Milorada Dekića i Stevana Kostića*.

71 JIM, k.24–2–2/8

72 Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog Instituta (AVII), Nedićev fond, k.36, f.1.

73 IAB, *sećanje Stevana Kostića*

74 IAB, *sećanje Stevana Kostića*.

75 JIM, k.24–2–2/12.

76 IAB, *sećanje Pavla Dekića*.

as well as Travellers, were murdered along with the Jews during the April 1943 “cleansing” of the camp⁸⁰.

In May, the camp was given a new name and new purpose. It became *Anhaltelager Semlin* – a detention camp for imprisoned communists who were then sent to forced labor in Norway⁸¹.

Unfortunately, the Germans burned the camp archive so it is not possible to determine the exact number of persons who were murdered or had died⁸².

...

In our country, the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers was founded by AVNOJ on November 30 1943. Regional committees to investigate crimes were established in Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia, as well as in the province of Vojvodina. The committees carried out research to determine the number of victims. However, while there is specific data regarding Jews, it does not exist for Roma. The Regional Committee of the People's Republic of Serbia was the only one to elaborate a report on the crimes committed against Roma on the territory of Serbia. The other regional committees failed to name Roma victims in a single document. This even includes the Regional Committee of Croatia, despite the fact that most of Roma were killed on the territory of Croatia, at the Jasenovac camp.

Why are Roma and Jewish victims being treated differently, especially given the fact that German authorities put them on equal footing during the occupation, as those were the only groups persecuted and murdered for racial reasons? Perhaps this indicates a different attitude of the state towards Roma and Jews, respectively.

A different attitude to Jewish and Roma victims, respectively, is not only a characteristic of our country, but all others, as well. This is best shown by comparing compensations to both peoples. Namely, the West German Government took on a commitment in 1952 to pay \$845 million to the state of Israel within the next twelve years as compensation to the Jewish people⁸³. In 1978, a fund was established in West Germany, paying 85 billion DEM to Jewish victims of the Holocaust⁸⁴. There is also a 200 million DEM fund, set up by the German Government in 1998, only for Jewish victims. As seen in this text's introduction, compensations for Roma are insulting compared to those for Jewish victims. This comparison is not aimed at measuring the amount of suffering of both peoples, but to remind of the fact that all people are equal (at least formally) and that each war crime victim must be recognized as such and enjoy the same treatment.

nisu napisane molbe, kao i čergari, bili su ubijeni zajedno sa Jevrejima prilikom „čišćenja” logora u aprilu 1943.⁷⁷

U maju logor je dobio novo ime i novu namenu. Postao je prihvatni logor Zemun u koji su dovođeni uglavnom zarobljeni komunisti i odatle slani na rad u Norvešku.⁷⁸

Nažalost, Nemci su spalili logorsku arhivu tako da nije moguće utvrditi tačan broj ubijenih i umrlih.⁷⁹

...

U našoj zemlji, Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača je osnovana 30.11.1943., odlukom AVNOJ-a.⁸⁰ Takođe, osnovane su i zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina u Sloveniji, Crnoj Gori, Bosni i Hercegovini, Makedoniji, Srbiji, Hrvatskoj, i pokrajinska komisija Vojvodine.⁸¹ Ove komisije su sprovele istraživanje za utvrđivanje broja poginulih, međutim, posebni podaci za Rome ne postoje, dok za Jevreje postoje. Samo je Zemaljska komisija NR Srbije izradila referat o zločinima nad Romima koji su počinjeni na teritoriji Srbije. Ostale zemaljske komisije ni u jednom dokumentu nisu pomenule stradale Rome, čak ni Zemaljska komisija Hrvatske, iako je najveći broj stradao upravo na teritoriji Hrvatske, u Jasenovcu.⁸²

Postavlja se pitanje zašto se drugačije tretiraju romske i jevrejske žrtve, jer nemačke vlasti su za vreme okupacije izjednačile Jevreje i Rome, i jedino su njih proganjali i ubijali iz rasnih razloga. Možda to pokazuje drugačiji odnos države prema Romima i prema Jevrejima.

Pravljenje razlike između jevrejskih i romskih žrtava nije karakteristično samo za našu zemlju, već i za sve ostale. To se najbolje vidi kada se uporede obeštećenja data pripadnicima jednog i drugog naroda. Naime, 1952. vlada zapadne Nemačke se obavezala da će državi Izrael isplatiti 845 miliona dolara u roku od dvanaest godina na ime obeštećenja jevrejskom narodu.⁸³ 1978. je osnovan fond u zapadnoj Nemačkoj, iz kojeg je isplaćeno 85 milijardi maraka jevrejskim žrtvama Holokausta.⁸⁴ Treba pomenuti i fond od 200 miliona maraka, koji je, takođe, osnovala vlada Nemačke 1998. samo za jevrejske žrtve. Obeštećenja data Romima, kao što se moglo videti u predgovoru ovog rada, u odnosu na obeštećenja data Jevrejima, više su nego ponižavajuća. Ovo upoređivanje nema za cilj da izvaga koji od ova dva naroda je više stradao, već da podseti da su svi ljudi jednaki (barem formalno), i da svaka žrtva ratnog zločina mora biti priznata kao takva i da shodno tome mora imati isti tretman.

80 *Zločini protiv čovečnosti i međunarodnog prava*, Belgrade, 1992, 262.

81 Ibid, 279.

82 Documents of the State Commission for Investigating Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Helpers are kept in the Archives of Yugoslavia

83 Reparations and Restitutions, Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997.

84 Ibid.

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84 Isto.

Conclusion

The late 18th century *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, embodied in most European states' constitutions, defines human rights as "unalienable", which means that a human being is their source and their goal and that they are independent of any government and authority. World War II has proven that this was impossible to realize, because when human beings do not have their own government or state, no one can protect them nor is any institution willing to do so. This is only confirmed by the plight of Roma and Jews: two peoples without their own respective states were condemned to death by the "Final Solution."

The hostility toward the Roma people in Serbia – which can be called racism without concerns that this word could sound too harsh – was always there and still exists. It was not the Germans who introduced racism in Serbia during the occupation; it had smoldered and culminated at that point. Ljotić and the quisling authorities were not the only supporters of this ideology – it was also massively backed by the people. How else can one explain the utter indifference and lack of interest about Roma victims? Besides, how can one explain the fact that when Roma were taken to camps, their houses and property were robbed by their Serbian neighbors?

As seen in this text, Roma were taken to camps mainly because their municipalities were unwilling to guarantee for them after the German authorities ordered the arrest of Travellers rather than Roma with permanent residence. This means that the local Serbian authorities were much more zealous in enforcing German orders than it was expected from them. German measures against Jews and Roma in Serbia may not have caused public rapture, as was the case in Poland, but one cannot deny a level of responsibility of the common people who quietly accepted it.

In his lectures on the spiritual situation in Germany, held during the 1945-1946 winter semester in Heidelberg, Karl Jaspers tackled this very issue – the common people's guilt. According to Jaspers, there are four categories of guilt: 1. criminal responsibility; crimes are acts unequivocally violating the law and can be objectively proven. In this case, the jurisdiction rests with the court; 2. political guilt; it is a result of actions by a country's officials and citizens. Every person bears partial responsibility for his/her government; 3. moral guilt; an individual bears moral responsibility for all his/her actions, including the execution of political and military decisions, because crimes remain crimes even if they were ordered; 4. metaphysical guilt; in this case it is necessary to stress that there is solidarity among people as members of the human race, rendering everyone co-responsible for every injustice in the world and especially for crimes committed in his/her presence or with his/her knowledge.

According to this categorization, the quisling authorities in Serbia can be considered guilty when it comes to all four categories of responsibility and guilt. This, of course, cannot be said for the common people, since they did not directly perform crimes nor were they responsible for actions by their officials, as the government was not elected but rather imposed by German authorities. However, we can discuss the metaphysical guilt of every individual from the standpoint of humanity.

Today, metaphysical guilt can also be discussed in terms of responsibility of those who oppose writing and talking about the suffering of Roma in World War II. Another important issue is the lack of studies on their suffering in Yugoslavia and the fact that no statements were taken from Roma who witnessed the crimes.

Zaključak

Deklaracija prava čoveka i građanina s kraja osamnaestog veka, koja je ušla u većinu ustava evropskih država, definisala je ljudska prava kao „neotuđiva“, što znači da je čovek njihov izvor i njihov cilj, i da su ona nezavisna od svih vlada i vlasti. Drugi svetski rat je pokazao da je to nemoguće ostvariti, jer kada ljudska bića nemaju svoju vladu, državu, ne može ih niko zaštititi niti je ijedna institucija voljna to da učini. Ono što se desilo Romima i Jevrejima je potvrda toga jer kao dva naroda koja nisu imali svoju državu, bili su osuđeni na smrt u „konačnom rešenju.“

Neprijateljstvo prema romskom narodu u Srbiji, koje se može nazvati rasizmom, oduvek je postojalo i još uvek postoji. Nisu Nemci za vreme okupacije uveli rasizam u Srbiju, on je tinjao i tada je doživeo kulminaciju. Nisu samo Ljotić i kvinsliške vlasti bile pristalice ove ideologije, masa naroda je podržala jer kako inače objasniti potpunu ravnodušnost i nezainteresovanost za romske žrtve. Sem toga, kako objasniti činjenicu kada su Romi odvedeni u logore, da su njihove kuće i imovinu opljačkali Srbi, njihovi susedi.

Kao što se moglo videti u prethodnom delu teksta, Romi su odvođeni u logore uglavnom zato što opštine nisu htele da garantuju za njih, jer nemačke vlasti su propisale da samo Romi-čergari budu uhapšeni, a ne stalno naseljeni Romi. Znači da se može reći da su lokalne, domaće vlasti bile mnogo revnosnije u sprovođenju nemačkih naredbi, nego što se to od njih tražilo. Možda u Srbiji, nemačke mere protiv Jevreja i Roma nisu izazvale oduševljenje naroda, kao u Poljskoj, ali ne može se negirati izvesna odgovornost običnih ljudi koji su ćutke sve to prihvatili.

Karl Jaspers u svojim predavanjima o duhovnoj situaciji u Nemačkoj, održanih tokom zimskog semestra 1945-1946. u Hajdelbergu, upravo se bavio ovim pitanjem, pitanjem krivice običnih ljudi. Po njemu, postoje četiri pojma krivice: 1. Krivična odgovornost; zločini su objektivno dokaziva dela koja nesumnjivo krše zakon. U ovom slučaju instanca je sud; 2. Politička krivica; do nje dovode postupci zvaničnika i građana jedne države. Svaki čovek snosi deo odgovornosti za svoju vlast; 3. Moralna krivica; za sve postupke koje pojedinac počinji, on sam snosi moralnu odgovornost, uključujući tu i sprovođenje političkih i vojnih odluka, jer zločini ostaju zločini i onda kada su naređeni; 4. Metafizička krivica: u ovom slučaju treba naglasiti da postoji opšta solidarnost među ljudima kao pripadnicima ljudskog roda, koja svakog čini saodgovornim za svaku nepravdu u svetu, a posebno za zločine počinjene u njegovom prisustvu ili s njegovim znanjem.

Po ovoj podeli, može se reći da su u Srbiji kvinsliške vlasti krive u pogledu sva četiri pojma odgovornosti i krivice. Za običan narod se to, naravno, ne može reći, jer nisu obični ljudi direktno vršili zločine, niti su bili odgovorni za postupke svojih zvaničnika jer ih nisu oni izabrali, već ih je nemačka vlast nametnula. Ali zato se može govoriti o metafizičkoj krivici svakog pojedinca sa stanovišta ljudskosti.

O metafizičkoj krivici se može govoriti i danas, u smislu odgovornosti ljudi koji ne žele da se o stradanjima Roma u Drugom svetskom ratu, govori i piše. Veoma je važno pitanje zašto do danas ni jedan istraživač nije uradio studiju o romskom stradanju u Jugoslaviji, i zašto nisu uzimane izjave od Roma, svedoka zločina.

Being a minority, Roma never sought territorial autonomy – separation was never their goal. They only want to preserve their identity and be different, which is a fundamental human right. In order to achieve this, it is necessary that the state commits to combat racial violence. That is the only way to enable every society with a healthy development; especially our society which, following the national wars in the 1990s, has to struggle with national exclusion and intolerance towards anyone and anything “different”. Also, that is the only way to prevent the repeating of events from World War II.

This text gives only a partial answer to many questions related to this subject. I hope that there will be some effort to provide those answers in our country, too, and that the work will not remain only in the hands of Roma associations.

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Romi kao manjina nikada nisu tražili teritorijalnu autonomiju, separacija nikada nije bila njihov cilj. Oni samo žele da sačuvaju svoj identitet i da budu drugačiji, što je osnovno ljudsko pravo. Da bi se to ostvarilo, nužno je da se država obaveže da će suzbiti rasno nasilje. To je jedini način da svako društvo ima zdrav razvoj, naročito naše, koje posle nacionalnih ratova u devedesetim godinama, mora da se bori sa nacionalnom isključivošću i netolerancijom prema svima i svemu što je „drugačije”. Takođe, to je i jedini način da se događaji iz Drugog svetskog rata nikad više ne ponove.

Ovaj rad daje samo delimičan odgovor na mnoga pitanja koja postoje u vezi ove teme. Nadam se da će i u našoj zemlji biti pokrenut rad na tome da se na njih odgovori i da taj rad neće na sebe preuzeti samo romska udruženja.

IZVORI

Neobjavljena građa:

Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog instituta, Fond Milana Nedića
Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, Fond Opštine grada; MG-sećanja logoraša; Zbirka plakata; Zbirka fotografija
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Objavljena građa:

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**Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute
of the City of Belgrade**

**Information on the Cultural Monument –
Old Fairground – A “Gestapo Concentration Camp”**

Belgrade, August 2010

Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of the City of Belgrade

Information on the Cultural Monument – “Old Fairground – A Gestapo Concentration Camp”

Belgrade, August 2010

Work Team:

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Amt für Denkmalschutz der Stadt Belgrad

Bericht über das Kulturdenkmal „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“

Belgrad, August 2010

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ЗАВОД ЗА ЗАШТИТУ СПОМЕНИКА КУЛТУРЕ ГРАДА БЕОГРАДА

Информација о споменику културе СТАРО САЈМИШТЕ – ЛОГОР ГЕСТАПОА

Београд, август 2010. године

Радни Тим

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Old Town of Belgrad
Belgrader Altstadt

Position of the Old Fairground
Lage des alten Messegeländes
Положај Старог сајмишта



Orthophoto of the Old Fairground
Orthofotografische Aufnahme des alten Messegeländes
Орто – фота снимак Старог сајмишта

INTRODUCTION

The Belgrade Old Fairground complex is located between Branko Bridge and the Old Railway Bridge, across from the Sava Amphitheater. At first it was a highly prized architectural-urban complex, the first modern urban complex on the left side of the Sava River, during the Second World War a place of mass torture (first a Judenlager Semlin and then Anhaltslager Semlin), damaged and destroyed to a great degree during the allied bombing in April 1944, headquarters of the Novi Beograd Construction Directorate until 1950, a fine artists colony till 1951, and today it has been forgotten and left to spontaneous urban development.

“Old Fairground – Gestapo Concentration Camp” has been declared a cultural heritage by decision of the Belgrade City Assembly in July 1987. While the decision was being prepared to declare it a cultural heritage the complex was valorized by defining its importance: as a concentration camp – a place of execution, as a place intended for the improvement of trade and industry in Serbia, as the first urbanized space on the left bank of the Sava River, as a architectural-urban accomplishment, and also as a place which has importance in the artistic life of Belgrade. The concentration camp period was deemed most important and as the main goal of the reconstruction of this space it was decided to mark the memories of these events.

In 1992 the City Assembly of Belgrade adopted a ‘Detailed Urban Plan’ of the Memorial Complex of the Old Fairground.

Today the place has the appearance of a city slum due to the deterioration of all and individual structures, inadequate equipment and due to the ways in which the complex is used. The complex’s central position on the Sava River, in close proximity to what is expected to be the new city center, indicates that there is a threat of uncontrolled urban growth on its premises.

EINLEITUNG

Das alte Belgrader Messegelände ist zwischen der Brankov-Brücke und der Alten Eisenbahnbrücke, gegenüber dem Save-Amphitheater gelegen. Zunächst als hochrangiges architektonisch-urbanistisches Projekt und erster urbaner Komplex am linken Save-Ufer konzipiert, wurde es im Zweiten Weltkrieg zur Massenfolterstätte (als Judenlager Semlin [srb. Zemun], dann als Anhaltelager Semlin), um in den Luftangriffen der Alliierten im April 1944 größtenteils vernichtet zu werden, bis es 1950 zum Sitz der Baudirektion für Neu-Belgrad und 1951 zu einer Kolonie bildender Künstler wurde und letzten Endes heute, unkontrollierterer städtischer Entwicklung überlassen, in Vergessenheit geriet.

Durch Beschluss des Belgrader Stadtparlaments wurde das “Gestapolager Staro Sajmište” (dt. altes Messegelände) 1987 zum Kulturgut erklärt. Im Laufe der Vorbereitungen zur Ernennung dieses Gebietes zum Kulturgut wurde eine Bewertung des Komplexes vorgenommen, in deren Rahmen seine Bedeutung als Lager-/Hinrichtungsstätte, als erste urbanisierte Fläche am linken Save-Ufer, als architektonisch-urbanistische Errungenschaft sowie sein Beitrag zur Förderung von Handel und Wirtschaft in Serbien und seine Bedeutung für die Kunstszene in Belgrad festgehalten wurde. Die Zeitspanne, als das Messegelände als Lager fungierte, wurde als die signifikanteste eingestuft, sodass die Wahrung der Erinnerung an besagte Ereignisse zum Hauptziel der Rekonstruktion dieses Raumes erklärt wurde.

Das Belgrader Stadtparlament verabschiedete 1992 den „Urbanistischen Detailplan für die Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište“.

Der heute verwahrloste Zustand der Gesamtfläche sowie der einzelnen Objekte und die inadäquate Beschaffenheit und Nutzung des Komplexes verleihen ihm den Charakter eines Slums. Die Zentrale Lage am Save-Ufer, unmittelbar neben dem zu erwartenden neuen Stadtzentrum, weisen auf die Gefahr weiteren unkontrollierten urbanen Wachstums in diesem Raum hin.

УВОД

Комплекс Старог београдског сајмишта се налази на простору између Бранковог и Старог железничког моста, преко пута савског амфитеатра. Првобитно архитектонско-урбанистички комплекс високих домета, први савремени урбани комплекс на левој обали Саве, током Другог светског рата најмасовније мучилиште (најпре Judenlager Semlin, а потом Anhaltslager Semlin), оштећен и у великој мери срушен током савезничког бомбардовања априла 1944, седиште Дирекције за изградњу Новог Београда до 1950, станиште ликовних уметника од 1951, данас је заборављен и препуштен спонтаном урбаном развоју.

„Старо сајмиште – Логор Гестапо-а“ проглашен је за културно добро Одлуком Скупштине града Београда јула 1987. године. Прилом припреме проглашења за културно добро, комплекс је валоризован тако што је утврђен његов значај: као логора – страстишта, за унапређење трговине и привреде Србије, као првог урбанизованог простора на левој обали Саве, као архитектонско-урбанистичког остварења, и значај у уметничком животу Београда. Период логора на сајмишту је оцењен као најзначајнији, а за главни циљ реконструкције овога простора опредељено је обележавање успомене на ове догађаје.

Скупштина града Београда је 1992. године усвојила Детаљни урбанистички план споменичког комплекса Старо сајмиште.

Данашња запуштеност целине и свих појединачних објеката, неодговарајућа опрема и начин коришћења комплекса чине да он има карактер градског слама. Централна позиција на обали Саве, непосредно до очекиваног новог центра града, указује на опасност од неконтролисаног урбаног раста на овом простору.

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND APPLICATION IN 1937
PHYSIKALISCHE STRUKTUR UND VERWENDUNG IM JAHR 1937
ФИЗИЧКА СТРУКТУРА И НАМЕНА ИЗ 1937. ГОДИНЕ



Objects preserved until today / Bis heute erhaltene Objekte / Објекти који су сачувани до данас

Destroyed objects / Zerstörte Objekte / Порušени Објекти

1. Central Tower - Exhibition pavilion / Zentraler Turm - Ausstellungspavillon / Централна Кула - Изложбени павиљон
2. Administrative Building / Verwaltungsgebäude / Управна Зграда
3. Spasić pavilion / Spasić Ausstellungspavillon / СпасИЋЕВ Изложбени павиљон
4. Italian Exhibition Hall / Italienischer Ausstellungspavillon / Италијански Изложбени павиљон
5. Czechoslovakian Exhibition Hall / Tschechoslowakischer Ausstellungspavillon / Чешко-Словачки Изложбени павиљон
6. Hungarian Exhibition Hall / Ungarischer Ausstellungspavillon / Мађарски Изложбени павиљон
7. Private Exhibition Hall Stefanović / Privater Stefanović Ausstellungspavillon / Павиљон Стефановић - приватни изложбени павиљон
- 8.-12. Yugoslav Exhibition Halls / Jugoslawische Ausstellungspavillons / Југословенки Изложбени павиљони
13. Romanian Exhibition Hall / Rumänischer Ausstellungspavillon / Румунски Изложбени павиљон
14. Exhibition Hall for Fishing Equipment / Ausstellungspavillon Fischereibedarf / Рибарски Изложбени павиљон
15. Exhibition Hall Philips Company / Ausstellungspavillon der Firma Philips / Филипов Изложбени павиљон
16. Open Hall / Offene Halle / Отворени Трем
17. Electric Station / Elektrische Zentrale / Трафо Станиц
18. Entrance Gate / Eingangstor / Улазне Капије
19. Private Exhibition Halls / Private Ausstellungspavillons / Приватни Изложбени павиљони

1. Historical Development

1.1. The First Belgrade Fair September 1937 – 1941

The idea to build the first Belgrade Fair developed just before the First World War and was initiated by Belgrade merchants. By the middle of the fourth decade of the last century this important industrial complex came to realization with the financial backing of the Belgrade Municipality, banks, industrial organizations, merchants and industrialists and the Nikola Spasic Endowment.

The first Belgrade Fair had been constructed from September 1936 to April 1937, on the left bank of the Sava River and next to the Aleksandar I bridge. Project development was entrusted to three architects of the Technical Head Office of the Belgrade Municipality: Milovoj Trickovic, Djordje Lukic and Rajko Tatic, who developed the fair's urban plan and made projects for five fair pavilions with a central tower (40 meters in height) located in the middle of the complex; thus creating the first urbanized space on the space of today's Novi Beograd. Monitoring of the construction was done by architect Aleksandar Sekulic, the Director of the Technical Department of the Society for Fair Events and Exhibits, creator of the central tower and the Endowment of Nikola Spasic pavilion.

The exhibit pavilions were of various sizes – taking into consideration what purpose they were to serve and the nature of what was to be exhibited. Pavilion number three, located south of the tower, was the largest pavilion on the Fair. It covered 5000 square meters in space and was intended exclusively for exhibiting industrial objects. The first and second pavilions, spanning 2100 square meters, facing one another and located east of the tower, in the urban solution developed for the Fair, formed a symmetric front toward the river. The fourth and fifth pavilions, spanning 1600 square meters, set west of the central tower, were intended to match the first and second. The architecture of the five big pavilions had all the hallmarks of modern architecture. In accordance with each other when it came to style and symmetrically located around the central square with the tower in the middle, they all fitted harmoniously in the special solution and as such gave Belgrade's first Fairground a symmetrical and unique appearance. The spacious square in the middle and the airy communication gave the complex a clear overview and made it functional. The central

1. HISTORISCHE ENTWICKLUNG

1.1. Erstes Belgrader Messegelände September 1937 – 1941

Die Idee, erstmals in Belgrad ein Messegelände einzurichten, entstand unmittelbar vor Anfang des Ersten Weltkrieges auf Initiative von Belgrader Kaufleuten. Mit finanzieller Unterstützung der Belgrader Gemeinde, von Banken, Handelsgesellschaften, Kaufleuten, Industriellen und der Nikola-Spasić-Stiftung wurde Mitte der 30-er Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts der Bau dieser wirtschaftlich bedeutenden Einrichtung umgesetzt.

Das erste Belgrader Messegelände wurde in der Zeit zwischen September 1936 und April 1937 am linken Save-Ufer neben der Kralj-Aleksandar-I-Brücke errichtet. Mit der Ausarbeitung des Projekts wurden drei Architekten der Technischen Direktion der Belgrader Gemeinde beauftragt: Milivoj Tričković, Đorđe Lukić und Rajko Tatić, welche den urbanistischen Plan für das Messegelände sowie Projekte für fünf Messepavillons mit einem 40 Meter hohen Zentralturm in der Mitte des Komplexes erstellten und somit den ersten urbanisierten Raum auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Neu-Belgrad schufen. Bauaufsicht hatte der Architekt Aleksandar Sekulić, Leiter der Technischen Abteilung der Gesellschaft für Messe- und Ausstellungsorganisation, welcher zudem auch das Projekt für den Zentralturm und den Pavillon der Nikola-Spasić-Stiftung erstellte.

Die Ausstellungspavillons waren von unterschiedlicher Größe, abhängig von Zweck und Art der Exponate. Der Pavillon Nr. 3, südlich vom Turm gelegen, war der geräumigste auf dem Messegelände. Seine Fläche betrug 5.000 m² und er war ausschließlich für die Präsentation von Industrieobjekten konzipiert. Die Pavillons Nr. 1 und Nr. 2 mit ihren jeweils 2.100 m², einander östlich des Turmes gegenübergestellt, sollten laut urbanistischem Konzept des Messegeländes eine symmetrische frontale Ansicht zum Fluss bilden. Die Pavillons Nr. 4 und Nr. 5 mit 1.600 m² stehen westlich des Zentralturmes als Pendant zu den Pavillons Nr. 1 und Nr. 2. Architektonisch weisen die fünf großen Pavillons alle Eigenschaften der Moderne auf. Stilistisch auf einander abgestimmt und symmetrisch um die zentrale Fläche mit in der Mitte angelegtem Turm verteilt, fügten sie sich harmonisch in die Raumgestaltung ein und verliehen somit dem ersten Belgrader Messegelände ein in sich stimmiges und einheitliches Aussehen. Der geräumige, zentral gelegene Platz und die sternförmige Ausrichtung machen den Komplex überschaubar und funktional. Das

1. ИСТОРИЈСКИ РАЗВОЈ

1.1. Први београдски сајам септембар 1937. – 1941. година

Идеја о изградњи Првог београдског сајма јавила се пред сам почетак Првог светског рата на иницијативу београдских трговаца. Уз материјалну подршку Београдске општине, банака, привредних организација, трговаца и индустријалаца, Задужбине Николе Спасић, средином четврте деценије прошлог века дошло је до реализације овог значајног привредног комплекса.

Први београдски сајам подигнут је у периоду од септембра 1936. до априла 1937. године на левој обали Саве поред моста краља Александра I. Израда пројекта поверена је тројци архитеката Техничке дирекције Београдске општине: Миливоју Тричковићу, Ђорђу Лукићу и Рајку Татићу, који су израдили урбанистички план Сајмишта и дали пројекте за пет сајамских павиљона са централном кулом висине 40 m у средишту комплекса створивши тако први урбанизован простор на терену данашњег Новог Београда. Надзор над грађњом вршио је архитекта Александар Секулић, директор Техничког одсека Друштва за приређивање сајмова и изложби, аутор централне куле и павиљона Задужбине Николе Спасић.

Изложбени павиљони били су различитих величина, с обзиром на одговарајуће намене и природу експоната. Павиљон број три, смештен јужно од куле, био је највећи сајамски павиљон. Покривао је површину од 5000 m², а служио је искључиво за излагање индустријских објеката. Први и други павиљон, површине 2100 m², постављени један наспрам другог источно од куле, у урбанистичком решењу сајмишта образovali су симетричан фронт према реци. Четврти и пети павиљон, површине 1600m², подигнути западно од централне куле, били су пандани првом и другом. Архитектура пет великих павиљона имала је све одлике модерне архитектуре. Stilски усаглашени и симетрично распоређени око централног трга са кулом у средишту хармонично су се уклопили у просторно решење и тиме Првом београдском сајму дали складан и јединствен изглед. Простран трг у средишту и зракасте комуникације учинили су комплекс прегледним и функционалним. Централни објекат у виду куле имао је двоструку улогу: служио је као изложбени павиљон

building – the tower – had a dual purpose: it served as an exhibition pavilion surrounded by airily constructed annexes and it simultaneously was the accentuated central motif visible from the furthest points in the city. At the same time when the pavilions were built the management building of the Fair, the restaurant and ticket sale stand were erected, roads were built, trees planted in rows, parks arranged. According to the set regulation plans the remainder of the Fair's areas was intended for foreign and domestic pavilions. A certain number of individual pavilions were erected as well as exhibition spaces (some of which were under open skies and others half covered), the Endowment of Nikola Spasic pavilion, as well as pavilions for Italy, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, PADOBRANSKA SKODINA and a pavilion for the Dutch company "Philips".

The first Belgrade fall fair opened on September 11th, 1937, and the ceremony was held in the Endowment of Nikola Spasic pavilion. All the time through 1941 spring and fall exhibits were held for all branches of industry, as well as exhibits of special character (cars, aeronautics, crafts), book fairs, sports manifestations, art exhibits, concerts, congresses, and the first TV program on the Balkans was broadcast.

From 1938 till 1940 a great number of medium and small buildings for domestic companies were constructed and the number of foreign investors grew. Turkey erected its pavilion in 1938, and Germany followed one year later. The construction of the Sixth Yugoslavian pavilion, based on architect Aleksandar Sekulic project, started in 1940. Unfortunately, war stopped all further expansion of this important industrial complex which later became a concentration camp.

1.2. Jewish Concentration Camp Zemun – Judenlager Semlin December 1941 – May 1942

From December 8th 1941 to beginning of May 1942 the concentration camp on Belgrade's Fairground held the name of Jewish Concentration Camp Zemun (Judenlager Semlin). The German military governance had established this camp in cooperation with the newly formed Independent State of Croatia. In it all the remaining Jews from occupied Serbia were interned – around 7000 of them. Alongside with the Jews around 600 Roma people were interned in a separate pavilion – they were released by April of 1942. Both groups of detainees consisted mostly of

zentrale Objekt in Form eines Turmes diente zwei Zwecken: es handelte sich um einen Ausstellungspavillon, umgeben von sternförmig vernetzten Zusatzbauten, zugleich stellte es jedoch auch ein betontes, zentrales Motiv dar, sichtbar selbst aus den entferntesten Stadtteilen. Zeitgleich zum Bau der Pavillons wurden das Verwaltungsgebäude der Messe, ein Restaurant und Ticketkassen sowie Straßen, Alleen und Parks eingerichtet. Die restlichen verfügbaren Flächen am Messegelände waren laut Gestaltungsplan für internationale und inländische Pavillons vorgesehen. Es wurden einige separate Pavillons gebaut, offene und teil-offene Ausstellungsräume, ein Pavillon für die Nikola-Spasić-Stiftung sowie jeweils ein italienischer, tschechoslowakischer, rumänischer und ungarischer Pavillon, der Škoda-Fallschirmspringerturm und ein Pavillon für das holländische Unternehmen „Philips“.

Die erste Belgrader Herbstmesse wurde am 11. September 1937 mit Feierlichkeiten im Pavillon der Nikola-Spasić-Stiftung eröffnet. Bis zum Jahr 1941 wurde am Messegelände Frühjahrs- und Herbstausstellungen aller Industriezweige umgesetzt sowie Sonderausstellungen (Kraftfahrzeuge, Luftfahrttechnik, Handwerk), Buchmessen, Sportveranstaltungen, Kunstausstellungen, Konzerte und Kongresse organisiert und auch das erste Fernsehprogramm auf dem Balkan gesendet.

Zwischen 1938 und 1940 wurden zahlreiche kleine und mittelgroße Objekte einheimischer Firmen errichtet, es stieg die Zahl ausländischer Aussteller. Im Jahr 1938 errichtete die Türkei einen eigenen Pavillon, ein Jahr darauf tat dies auch Deutschland. Der Bau des Sechsten jugoslawischen Pavillons nach Entwurf des Architekten Aleksandar Sekulić begann 1940. Leider wurde der weitere Ausbau dieses wirtschaftlich bedeutenden Komplexes, der zum Konzentrationslager wurde, durch den Krieg verhindert.

1.2. Judenlager Semlin Dezember 1941 – Mai 1942

Das Lager auf dem Belgrader Messegelände wurde zwischen dem 8. Dezember 1941 und Anfang Mai 1942 unter dem Namen Judenlager Semlin geführt. Das Lager wurde von der deutschen Militärverwaltung gemeinsam mit dem damals gerade gegründeten USK (Unabhängiger Staat Kroatiens) eingerichtet. In diesem Lager wurden alle verbliebenen Juden des besetzten Serbien, etwa 7.000 Menschen, interniert. Gemeinsam mit der jüdischen Bevölkerung wurden in getrennten Pavillons auch an die 600 Roma untergebracht, die jedoch bis Anfang April 1942 freigelassen

окружен зракасто призданим анексима и у исто време био наглашени централни мотив видљив са најудаљенијих тачака града. Истовремено са изградњом павиљона подигнути су управна зграда сајма, ресторан, билетарнице, изграђени су путеви, засађени дворови, уређени паркови. Преостале сајамске површине према утврђеном регулационом плану биле су намењене за иностране и домаће павиљоне. Подигнут је један број индивидуалних павиљона, полуотворени и отворени изложбени простори, павиљон Задужбине Николе Спасић, као и павиљони Италије, Чехословачке, Румуније, Мађарске, Падобранска Шкодина кула и павиљон холандске фирме „Филипс“.

Први београдски јесењи сајам отворен је 11. септембра 1937. године, а свечаност је одржана у павиљону Задужбине Николе Спасић. На сајму су све до 1941. године организоване пролећње и јесење изложбе из свих грана привреде, изложбе специјалног карактера (аутомобила, аеронаутике, занатства), сајмови књига, спортске манифестације, уметничке изложбе, концерти, конгреси, емитован је први телевизијски програм на Балкану.

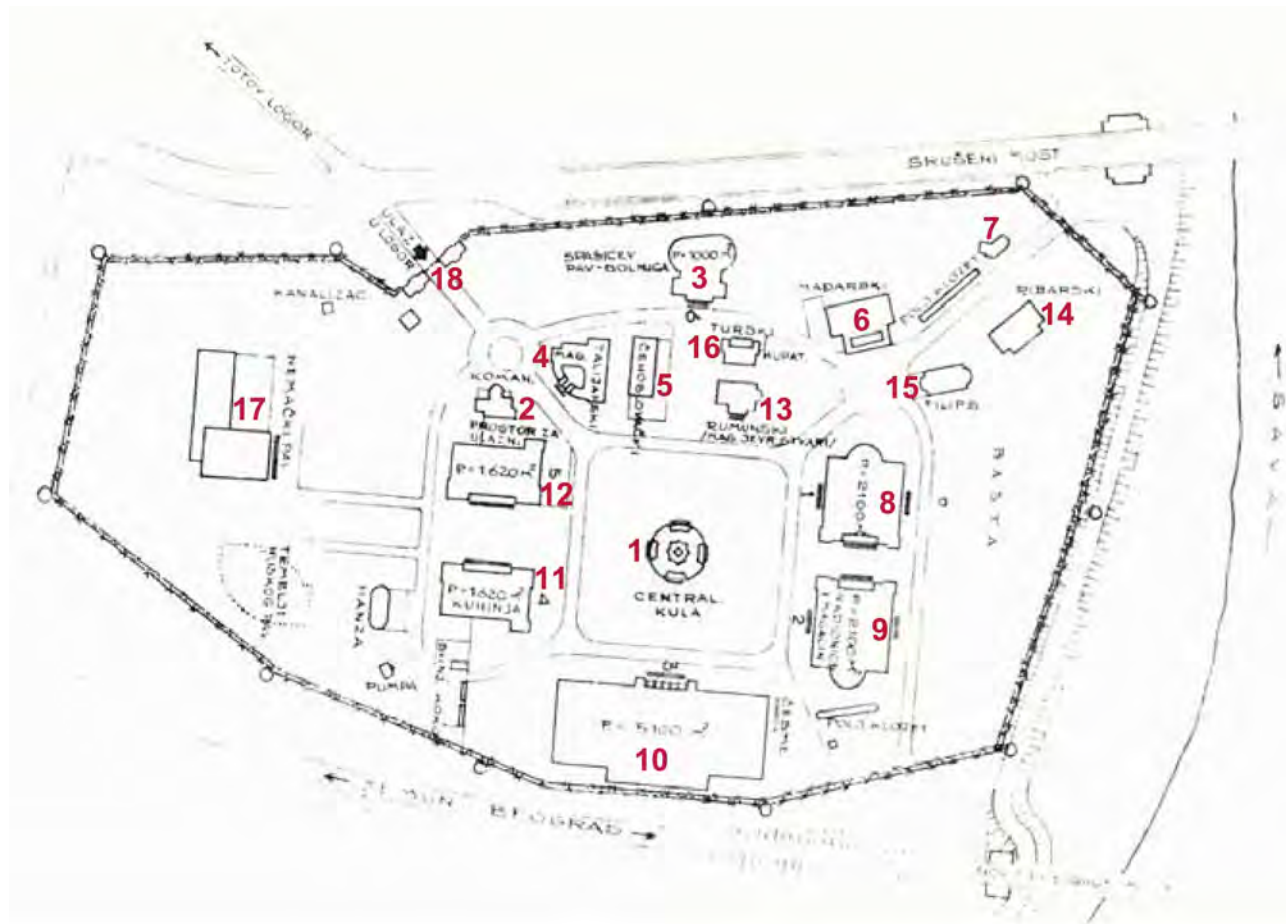
У периоду од 1938. до 1940. године изграђен је велики број средњих и мањих објеката домаћих фирми, увећао се број страних излагача. Турска је подигла свој павиљон 1938, а годину дана касније то је учинила и Немачка. Изградња Шестог југословенског павиљона према пројекту архитекте Александра Секулића започета је 1940. Нажалост, ратне прилике су прекинуле даљу експанзију овог значајног привредног комплекса који је претворен у концентрациони логор.

1.2. Јеврејски логор Земун - Judenlager Semlin децембар 1941. - мај 1942. године

Логор на Београдском сајмишту од 8. децембра 1941. године, до почетка маја 1942. године носио је име Јеврејски логор Земун (Judenlager Semlin). Немачка војна управа је у сарадњи са тек формираном НДХ формирала овај логор. У њему су интернирани сви преостали Јевреји из окупиране Србије, њих око 7.000. Заједно са Јеврејима у одвојеном павиљону интернирано је и око 600 Рома, који су до почетка априла 1942. године пуштени. Обе групе заточеника углавном су биле састављене од жена, деце и старијих особа. Постојећи

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND APPLICATION IN 1941
PHYSIKALISCHE STRUKTUR UND VERWENDUNG IM JAHR 1941
ФИЗИЧКА СТРУКТУРА И НАМЕНА ИЗ 1941. ГОДИНЕ

- Central Tower - Jewish Camp Administration / Zentra-ler Turm - Jüdische Lagerverwaltung / ЦЕНТРАЛНА КУЛА - ЈЕВРЕЈСКА УПРАВА ЛОГОРА
- Administrative Building - German Camp Administration / Verwaltungsgebäude - Deutsche Lagerverwaltung / УПРАВНА ЗГРАДА - НЕМАЧКА КОМАНДА ЛОГОРА
- Spasić pavilion - Hospital / Spasić Ausstellungspavillon - Krankenstation / Спасићев Изложбени павиљон - Болница
- Italian Exhibition Hall - Food storage and joinery/ Italienischer Ausstellungspavillon - Lebensmittel-Lager und Schreinerei/ Италиански Изложбени павиљон МАГАЦИН ХРАНЕ И СТОЛАРСКА РАДИОНИЦА
- Czechoslovakian Exhibition Hall - Forced labourers' Camp /Tschecho-slowakischer Ausstellungspavillon - Arbeitslager / Чешко-Словачки Изложбени павиљон - У ФУНКЦИЈИ ЛОГОРА
- Hungarian Exhibition Hall - Place for execution of inmates /Ungarischer Ausstellungspavillon - Ort für die Hinrichtung von Häftlingen / Мађарски Изложбени павиљон - ЕГЗЕКУЦИЈА ЛОГОРАША
- Private Exhibition Hall Stefanović - Forced labourers' Camp / Privater Stefanović Ausstellungspavillon - Arbeitslager / Павиљон Стефановић - У ФУНКЦИЈИ ЛОГОРА
- 9,10, и 12. Yugoslav Exhibition Halls - Inmates' living space / Jugoslawische Ausstellungspavillons - Häftlingsunterkünfte/ Југословенки Изложбени павиљони - СМЕШТАЈ ЛОГОРАША
- Camp kitchen / Lagerküche / ЛОГОРСКА КУХИЊА
- Romanian Exhibition Hall - Storage Jewish objects of value/ Rumänischer Ausstellungspavillon - Sammelstelle für jüdisches Wertgegenstände / Румунски Изложбени павиљон - МАГАЦИН ЈЕВРЕЈСКИХ СТВРИ
- Exhibition Hall for Fishing Equipment - Place for execution of inmates / Fischerei-Pavillon Fischereibedarf - Ort für die Hinrichtung von Häftlingen / Рибарски павиљон - ЕГЗЕКУЦИЈА ЛОГОРАША
- Philips Pavilion - Forced labourers' Camp / - Arbeitslager / Филипсов павиљон - ФУНКЦИЈИ ЛОГОРА
- Tusrkish pavilion - Bath and morgue / Türkischer Pavillon - Ba<d und Leichenhalle / ТУРСКИ ПАВИЉОН - КУПАТИЛО И МРТВАЧНИЦА
- German pavilion - Forced labourers' Camp / Deutscher Pavillon - Arbeitslager / НЕМАЧКИ ПАВИЉОН -У ФУНКЦИЈИ ЛОГОРА
- Entrance Gate / Eingangstor / Улазне Капије



women, children and elders. The existing pavilions were adapted to the needs of the concentration camp, and the whole complex was surrounded by barbed wire and secured by guard posts. In the biggest pavilion, number 3, which measures 5000 square meters, the dividing walls were knocked down, and 5000 people were placed there in unbearable conditions. The remainder of pavilions was used for other purposes of the concentration camp: the Turkish one for the baths, the Romanian one as storage for Jewish belongings, the Hungarian one for torture and hangings of prisoners, the Fisherman's pavilion for firing squad executions. The camp's hospital was placed in Spasić's pavilion.

During the long and cold winter of 1941 – 1942 many detainees died of hunger, cold, illness and inhumane treatment of the camp's German directorate. Those who survived that winter would face a horrible death in the special truck-gas chamber. Jewish women, children and elders were killed every day on route from the camp to mass graves, prepared in advance, in the village of Jajinci. Between March and May 1942 all Jewish prisoners of the Fairground Concentration Camp – around 6 280 women and children – were killed by carbon-monoxide poisonin. Once the gas-truck had finished its deadly mission and was returned to Berlin and Serbia was declared "Judenfrei" – "cleared of Jews".

The Belgrade Fairground concentration camp was a place of total extermination of the Jewish people, where over seven thousand Jews died in only five months.

1.3. Transitory Camp Zemun – Anhaltelager Semlin May 1942 – July 1944

In the spring of 1942, when the execution of Jews had reached its end, the first groups of captured partisans and chetniks, as well as civilians captured in areas where fighting took place, were brought in to the Belgrade Fairground concentration camp. The camp's name was also changed to "Transitory Camp Zemun", which did not mean there was a change in the camp's cruel treatment of detainees. There was an especially large influx of detainees after the great German-Croatian offensive in Bosnia, on the territories of Kozara Mountain in the summer of 1942. The prisoners were placed in the fifth pavilion, which was surrounded by barbed

wurden. Beide Gruppen von Gefangenen bestanden mehrheitlich aus Frauen, Kindern und älteren Personen. Die vorhandenen Pavillons wurden ihrem neuen Zweck als Lager angepasst und der ganze Komplex mit Stacheldraht und Wachposten gesichert. Die Trennwände im mit 5000 m² Fläche größten Pavillon Nr. 3 wurde abgerissen, sodass dort bis zu 5.000 Menschen unter unerträglichen Bedingungen untergebracht wurden. Die restlichen Pavillons wurden zu unterschiedlichen Funktionen im Lager angepasst: Der Türkische Pavillon wurde zum Bad, der Rumänische zum Magazin für jüdisches Eigentum, im Ungarischen Pavillon wurden die Gefangenen gefoltert und gehängt, der Fischerpavillon diente als Hinrichtungsstätte. Der Spasić-Pavillon wurde zum lagereigenen Lazarett.

Während des langen und harten Winters 1941/1942 fielen zahlreiche Lagergefangene Hunger, Kälte, Erkrankungen und dem unmenschlichen Verhalten der deutschen Lagerverwaltung zum Opfer. Diejenigen, welche besagten Winter überlebt hatten, erwartete ein grausamer Tod in einem eigens als Gaskammer eingerichteten Lastwagen. Täglich wurden jüdische Frauen, Kinder und Greise während der Fahrt zu den bereits ausgehobenen Massengräbern im Dorf Jajinci umgebracht. Zwischen März und Mai 1942 wurden alle jüdischen Gefangenen des Konzentrationslagers Staro Sajmište – etwa 6.280 Frauen und Kinder – durch Kohlenmonoxidvergiftung ums Leben gebracht. Als der Gaslastwagen seinem tödlichen Zweck gedient hatte, wurde er zurück nach Berlin befördert und Serbien für „judenfrei“ erklärt.

Das Lager am Belgrader Messegelände stellt einen Ort der absoluten Auslöschung des jüdischen Volkes dar, wo innerhalb von nur fünf Monaten über 7000 Juden ihr Leben verloren.

1.3. Anhaltelager Semlin Mai 1942 – Juli 1944

Im Frühjahr 1942, als das Martyrium des jüdischen Volkes abgeschlossen war, wurde die ersten Gruppe von Kämpfern (Partisanen wie auch Tschetniks) und Zivilisten, welche in Kriegsgebieten gefasst worden waren, ins Lager am Belgrader Messegelände gebracht. Zwar wurde der Name des Lagers zu „Anhaltelager Semlin“ geändert, jedoch bedeutete dies keine Änderung in der erbarmungslosen Behandlung der Insassen. Zu einem besonders starken Zufluss an Gefangenen kam es nach der großen deutsch-kroatischen Offensive in Bosnien, am Berg Kozara, im Sommer 1942. Die Gefangenen wurden im Pavillon Nr. 5 einquartiert,

павиљони прилагођени су логорској намени а цео комплекс ограђен је бодљикавом жицом и обезбеђен стражарским местима. У највећем павиљону бр. 3, површине од 5000м² су порушени преградни зидови, и у њему је боравило и до 5000 људи у неподношљивим условима. Остали павиљони су послужили различитим логорским наменама: турски за купатило, румунски као магацин јеврејске имовине, мађарски за мучење и вешање логораша, рибарски за стељање. У Спасићевом павиљону смештена је логорска болница.

Током дуге и хладне зиме 1941-1942. године многи заточеници су страдали од глади, хладноће, болести и нечовечног понашања немачке логорске управе. Они који су преживели ту зиму, чекала је страшна смрт у специјалном камиону-гасној комори. Свакодневно, јеврејска деца, жене и старци убијани су на путу од логора до већ припремљених масовних рака у селу Јајинци. Између марта и маја 1942. године, сви јеврејски затвореници на Сајмишту – око 6.280 жена и деце - убијени су тровањем угљен-моноксидом. Када је гасни камион обавио своју смртоносну мисију и враћен у Берлин, Србија је проглашена за „Judenrein“-очишћену од Јевреја“.

Логор на Београдском сајмишту је место потпуне ликвидације јеврејског народа, где је за само пет месеци страдало преко седам хиљада Јевреја.

1.3. Прихватни логор Земун - Anhaltelager Semlin мај 1942.године - јул 1944. године

У пролеће 1942. године када је страдање Јевреја било приведено крају, у логор на Београдском сајмишту су доведене прве групе заробљених партизанских и четничких бораца као и цивила ухваћених на подручју ратних дејстава. Промењено је и име логора у „Прихватни логор Земун“, што није значило и промену суровог третмана према заточеницима. Нарочито велики прилив заточеника настао је после велике немачко-хрватске офанзиве у Босни, на простору планине Козаре у лето 1942. године. Логораши су били смештени у петом павиљону, који је био ограђен жицом и тако изолован од малобројних

wire and therefore also isolated from the few remaining Jews.

From the camp the detainees were transferred to Germany, Austria and Norway or to mines in Serbia as forced labor, if they survived the camp's hard conditions. Executions of prisoners never stopped – in the camp itself as well as in the areas surrounding Belgrade. Illness, hunger, exhaustion and continuous torture also take an astounding number of victims. Corpses were transported and buried in the late evening hours on the Zemun cemetery. The newest research, though not definite, indicate that 32000 people passed through the transitory camp on the fairground, out of which 11000 died mostly of illness, exhaustion or as a consequence of beatings.

The camp was severely damaged during the allied bombing in April 1944, and three months later that same year it was deactivated.

The Belgrade Old Fairground concentration camp was the largest German concentration camp not only in occupied Serbia but also in the European South-East, and as such it is an unforgettable symbol of this tragic period in our history.

1.4. Old Fairground – The Place Where the Building of Novi Beograd Begins October 1947 – 1950

The camp's function and purpose significantly change with the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia – the space occupied by the camp and later the concentration camp become part of the future new city.

In October of 1947 youth work brigades, engaged in building the first structures in Novi Beograd (New Belgrade), take residence in the old fairground; they do preparatory work on building of the Belgrade – Zemun road, the residential neighborhood of Tosin Bunar and the Student's City. Hence, in the period from 1947 to 1950 this space indirectly became a center of construction of the new city on the left bank of the Sava River, which had connected two historic core points of the Yugoslav capital. The terrain was modified to fit the new purpose, the damaged fairground pavilions, which could not be salvaged or reconstructed, were knocked down, five Yugoslav pavilions were removed, and so

welcher durch Stacheldraht von den wenigen verbliebenen Juden abgesondert wurde.

Vom Lager aus wurden die Gefangenen, sollten sie die schweren Umstände überleben, zu Zwangsarbeit nach Deutschland, Österreich und Norwegen sowie zu serbischen Bergwerken befördert. Hinrichtungen der Insassen dauerten unvermindert an, im Lager selbst wie auch in den Massenhinrichtungsstätten in der Umgebung Belgrads. Eine beängstigend hohe Zahl von Menschenleben fiel Krankheit, Hunger, Erschöpfung und anhaltender Folter zum Opfer. Transportiert und vergraben wurden die Leichname zu später Abendstunde an Friedhöfen in Zemun. Neueren, jedoch nicht endgültigen, Erkenntnissen zufolge wurde das Anhaltelager am Messegelände zu einer Zwischenstation für etwa 32.000 Menschen, von denen um die 11.000 an Krankheit, Erschöpfung oder den Folgen von Misshandlung starben.

Die Einrichtung des Lagers wurde in den Luftangriffen der Alliierten 1944 stark beschädigt, sodass das es im selben Jahr, drei Monate später, aufgelöst wurde.

Das Lager am alten Belgrader Messegelände war nicht nur das größte deutsche Lager im besetzten Serbien, sondern in ganz Südosteuropa und stellt als solches ein nicht zu vergessendes Symbol dieses tragischen Abschnitts in unserer Geschichte dar.

1.4. Staro Sajmište – Spatenstich für die Errichtung Neu-Belgrads Oktober 1947 – 1950

Mit der Entstehung der Föderativen Volksrepublik Jugoslawien (FVRJ) wird das Gebiet, auf welchem sich das Messegelände und später das Lager befanden, zum integralen Teil einer zu errichtenden, neuen Stadt, womit sich Zweck und Funktion des Raumes wesentlich ändern.

Im Oktober 1947 ziehen Jugendbrigaden ins alte Messegelände ein und beginnen mit dem Bau der ersten Objekte in Neu-Belgrad: Es handelt sich um Vorbereitungsarbeiten für die Straße Belgrad-Zemun, das Haus des Regierungspräsidiums, ein Hotel im staatlichen Eigentum, eine Wohnsiedlung in der Gegend Tošin Bunar und das Studentenwohnheim. So wurde in der Zeit zwischen 1947 und 1950 dieser Raum zum unmittelbaren Mittelpunkt der Errichtung einer neuen Siedlung am linken Save-Ufer, welche die beiden historischen Kerne der jugoslawischen Hauptstadt miteinander verband. Das Gelände wurde seinem neuen Zweck angepasst, die beschädigten Pavillons, die sich nicht

преосталих Јевреја.

Из логора су заточеници, уколико преживе тешке логорске услове, упућивани на присилни рад у Немачку, Аустрију, Норвешку, као и на рад у руднике у Србији. Ликвидација затвореника је непрекидно трајала, како у кругу логора, тако и масовним стрељањима у околини Београда. Заstraшујући број људских живота односи и болест, глад, исцрпљеност и стална тортура. Одвожење и закопавање лешева вршено је у касним вечерњим часовима на земунским гробљима. Новија истраживања, мада не и коначна, указују да је кроз пролазни логор на Сајмишту прошло око 32.000 људи, од којих је око 11.000 страдало углавном од болести, исцрпљености или последица батинања.

Логор је тешко страдао у савезничком бомбардовању априла 1944. године, да би након три месеца те исте године био расформиран.

Логор на Старом београдском сајмишту био је највећи немачки логор не само у окупираној Србији, већ и на европском Југоистоку и као такав незаборавни је симбол овог трагичног периода наше историје.

1.4. Старо сајмиште – место са кога креће изградња Новог Београда, октобар 1947. – 1950. година

Успостављањем ФНРЈ простор на коме се налазио сајам а потом концентрациони логор постаје саставни део будућег новог града, а његова намена и функција битно се мењају.

Октобра 1947. године на Старо сајмиште усељавају се омладинске радне бригаде ангазоване на изградњи првих објеката на терену Новог Београда: припремним радовима, на грађењу пута Београд-Земун, изградњи зграда Председништва владе, државног хотела, стамбеног насеља на Тошином бунару и Студентског града. Тако је у периоду од 1947-1950. године овај простор непосредно постао центар изградње новог града на левој обали Саве који је спојио два историјска језгра југословенске престонице Терен је прилагођен новој намени, порушени су оштећени сајамски павиљони који нису могли бити санирани или обновљени, уклоњено је пет

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND APPLICATION IN 1948
PHYSIKALISCHE STRUKTUR UND VERWENDUNG IM JAHR 1948
ФИЗИЧКА СТРУКТУРА И НАМЕНА ИЗ 1948. ГОДИНЕ

Temporary housing of youth brigades engaged in construction of Novi Beograd / Vorübergehende Unterkunft für Jugendbrigaden beim Bau von Novi-Beograd / НАМЕНА ПРОСТОРА: ПРИВРЕМЕНИ СМЕШТАЈ ОМЛАДИНСКИХ БРИГАДА НА ИЗГРАДЊИ НОВОГ БЕОГРАДА

1. Head office of Youth Brigade / Generaldirektion der Jugendbrigaden / ГЕНЕРАЛНА ДИРЕКЦИЈА ОМЛАДИНСКИХ БРИГАДА
2. Commission for the Reconstruction of Belgrade / Kommission zum Wiederaufbau von Belgrad / ОДБОР ЗА РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЈУ БГД.
3. Workers housing and Unions' House / Arbeiterunterkunft und Gewerkschaftshaus / РАДНИЧКИ СТАНОВИ И СИНДИКАЛНИ ДОМ
4. Project office of General Management / Projektbüro der Generaldirektion / ПРОЈЕКТАНТСКИ БИРО ГЕНЕРАЛНЕ ДИРЕКЦИЈЕ
5. Utility Service / Versorgungseinrichtung / КОМУНАЛНА СЛУЖБА
6. Exhibition Hall Stefanović / Stefanović Pavillon / ПАВИЉОН СТЕФАНОВИЋ
7. Transfomer / Trafo-Station / ТРАФО СТАНИЦА
8. Coal storage / Kohlespeicher / МАГАЦИН ЗА УГАЉ
9. Large workshop / Große Werkstatt / ВЕЛИКА РАДИОНИЦА
10. Fire brigade / Feuerwehr / ВАТРОГАСНА МИЛИЦИЈА
11. School of workers / Schulke der Arbeiter / РАДНИЧКА ШКОЛА
12. Temporary canteen / vorübergehende Kantine / ПРИВРЕМЕНА ТРЕПЕЗАРИЈА
13. Temporary citchen / vorübergehende Küche / ПРИВРЕМЕНА КУХИЊА
14. Garage / ГАРАЖЕ
15. Workers housing / Arbeiterwohnungen / РАДНИЧКИ СТАНОВИ
16. Bath for the workers / Bad für die Arbeiter / РАДНИЧКО КУПАЛИШТЕ
17. Area for bath and landry / Reserviert für Baden und Waschen / РЕЗЕРВИСАНО ЗА КУПАТИЛО И ПЕРИОНИЦУ
18. Bath for the workers / Bad für die Arbeiter / РАДНИЧКО КУПАЛИШТЕ
19. Workers housing and Unions' House / Arbeiterunterkunft und Gewerkschaftshaus / РАДНИЧКИ СТАНОВИ И СИНДИКАЛНИ ДОМ
20. Exhibition Hall Stefanović / Stefanović Pavillon / ПАВИЉОН СТЕФАНОВИЋ
21. Area for Ambulance / Reserviert für die Ambulanz / РЕЗЕРВИСАНО ЗА АМБУЛАНТУ
22. Area for bath and landry / Reserviert für Baden und Waschen / РЕЗЕРВИСАНО ЗА КУПАТИЛО И ПЕРИОНИЦУ



- Objects preserved until today
 Newly built (finalized) Objects
 Planned development - not realized

were the Romanian one and the Philips one. In those remaining pavilions, which were adapted to fit the needs of organizing and managing the work brigades, the management i.e. the General Headquarters and the General Directorate of Youth Work Actions was placed. Afterwards, on the foundations of the first two demolished fairground pavilions, four cabins were erected and a one story building intended for lodging of the youth work brigades, while the rest of the space was used to build additional buildings for the needs of the General Directorate for Construction (the Fire-Police Brigade, a garage was built at the place where the fourth pavilion was, workshops, storage spaces), as well as a sports field. The major part of today's constructions in the old fairground is made up of structures built in that period as well as those from the original fair's structures. Due to the political and economic crises which resulted from Yugoslavia's discontinuation of close relations with the Soviet Union and countries of the Warsaw Pact (beginning of 1950) there was also a cessation of planning and development of Novi Beograd. At the end of 1950 when the Studentski Grad pavilion was erected the youth brigades work on Novi Beograd's development ended, and the Old Fairground yet again got a change of purpose.

1.5 Association of Fine Artists of Serbia From 1950 till today

When the General Headquarters and Directorate for Youth Work Actions, as well as the youth brigades, were moved out of the old fairgrounds space certain rooms in the pavilions and other buildings were transformed into apartments for the economically disadvantaged, while on Mose Pijada's initiative and by decision of the Executive People's Committee – Town Planning Institute, the remainder of the fair's most important pavilions was given over to the artists of the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia. The inner parts of the tower, the Italian pavilion and other buildings were modified so as to be artist's studios. Around fifty artists had moved in into the buildings: painters, sculptors, graphics artists. Even though at first this was considered to be a temporary solution, these buildings are to this day being used by many artists. Hence, an artist colony of sorts, where important works of modern Serbian art are being created, had propped up in this space. The following artists have or have had studios in this space:

sanieren oder wiederaufbauen ließen, wurden niedergerissen, es wurden die fünf jugoslawischen Pavillons entfernt, danach auch der Rumänische und der Philips-Pavillon. In den erhalten gebliebenen Pavillons, welche für den Bedarf der Organisation und Leitung von Arbeitsbrigaden angepasst wurden, wurde die Verwaltung einquartiert, bzw. Hauptstab und Hauptdirektion der Jugendarbeitsaktionen. Damals wurden auf den Fundamenten der ersten beiden zerstörten Messepavillons vier Erdgeschossbaracken und ein Haus mit Obergeschoss zur Unterbringung der Jugendbrigaden erbaut, während auf dem Gesamtgelände eine ganze Reihe von Bauten zur Ertüchtigung der Hauptbaudirektion (Feuerwehrquartier, eine Garage an Stelle des niedergerissenen Pavillons Nr. 4, Werkstätten, Lagerhallen) wie auch ein Sportplatz entstanden. Die aus dieser Zeit stammenden Objekte bilden heute gemeinsam mit den frühen Messepavillons den größten Teil des Bauinventars am alten Messegelände. Aufgrund der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Krise, welche entsteht, als sich Jugoslawien Anfang 1950 von der Sowjetunion und den Ländern des Warschauer Paktes abwendet, kommt es zu einem plötzlichen Einschnitt in die Planung und Einrichtung Neu-Belgrads. Ende 1950 war mit Errichtung des Studentenwohnheims auch die Arbeit der Jugendbrigaden am Aufbau Neu-Belgrads abgeschlossen, während das alte Messegelände wieder einen neuen Zweck zugeteilt bekam.

1.5. Verband der bildenden Künstler Serbiens 1950 bis heute

Als Hauptstab und Direktion der Jugendarbeitsaktionen das alte Messegelände verließen, wurden einige Räumlichkeiten der Pavillons und andere Bauten in Wohnungen für sozial gefährdete Bevölkerung umgewandelt, während die bedeutendsten verbliebenen Messepavillons auf Initiative von Moša Pijade und durch Beschluss der Exekutive im Volksausschuss der Stadt Belgrad Mitgliedern des Verbandes der bildenden Künstler Serbiens zur Nutzung übergeben wurden. Die inneren Räumlichkeiten des Turmes, des Italienischen Pavillons und anderer wurden zu Ateliers umgebaut. Etwa fünfzig Künstler – Maler, Bildhauer, Graphiker – bezogen die Häuser. Obwohl dies zunächst als vorübergehende Lösung gedacht war, nutzen auch heute zahlreiche Künstler diese Räume. So entstand auf diesem Gelände eine Künstlerkolonie ohnegleichen, wo herausragende Werke der zeitgenössischen serbischen Kunst geschaffen wurden. Hier hatten oder haben zum Teil immer noch ihre Ateliers Milan Besarabić, Zoran

jugoslovenских павиљона, затим Румунски и Филипсов. У сачуваним некадашњим павиљонима, адаптираним за потребе организовања и руковођења радним бригадама, смештена је управа, односно Главни штаб и Генерална дирекција омладинских радних акција. Тада су на темељима прва два порушена сајамска павиљона подигнуте четири приземне бараке и једноспратни објекат за смештај омладинских радних бригада, а на целокупном простору и низ других објеката намењених потребама функционисања Генералне дирекције за изградњу (зграда ватрогасне милиције, гаража на месту порушеног четвртог павиљона, радионице, магацини), као и игралиште. Објекти подигнути у овом периоду заједно са првим сајамским павиљонима данас чине већи део градитељског фонда Старог сајмишта. Услед политичке и економске кризе настале као последица разлаза Југославије са Совјетским Савезом и земљама Варшавског пакта, почетком 1950. године долази до прекида планирања и изградње Новог Београда. Крајем 1950. године подизањем павиљона Студентског града завршен је и рад омладинских радних бригада на изградњи Новог Београда, а Старо сајмиште поново добија нову намену.

1.5. Удружење ликовних уметника Србије 1950. година до данас

Одласко Главнотаба и ирекје омладинских радних акција, као и омладинских бригада а простора Сајмишта, поједине просторије павиљона и других зграда преворени у у станове за сцијано угрожене делове становништва, док су најзначајнији преостали сајмски павиљони иницијативом Моше Пијаде и одлуком ИОНО-а града Београда предати уметницима УЛУСа на коришћењ. Унутрашњи постори куле, италијанског павиљона и других адаптирани су за уметничке атеље. У зграде се уселило око педесет уетник: сликара, вајара, графичара. Иако су у први мах замишљени као привремено решење и данас ове просторе користе многи уметници. Тако је на овом простору икла својеврсна ликовна колонија где се стварају значајна дела савремене српске уметности. Своје атеље ове су имали или још увек имају: Милан Бесарабић, Зоран Петровић, Мића Поповић, Вера Божичковић, Младен Србиновић, Олга Јеврић, Милош Гвозденовић, Коса Бошкан, Марио Маскарели, Лазар

Milan Besarabic, Zoran Petrovic, Mica Popovic, Vera Bozickovic, Mladen Srbinovic, Olga Jevric, Milos Gvozdenovic, Kosa Boskan, Mario Maskareli, Lazar Vozarevic, Nebojsa Mitric and many others. These studios were the place where many post-war ideas were conceived and many works of art were created – which introduced the young painters who came after 1950 to all social roles. Most artists worked as art teachers in the education system, while some, such as Olga Jevric, Mladen Srbinovic and Mica Popovic, became members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Aside from the painter's scene other things were taking place as well in the life of the Old Fairground, which was a breeding ground of avant-garde intellectual ideas. For instance, during the late fifties in Mica Popovic's studio the first showing of the drama "Waiting for Godot" took place.

Several generations of artists who had created their works on the Old Fairground space actively participated in all types of painting creativeness of post-war Yugoslavia. In time they also became part of the European and world painter's scene and esthetic, and many of them gave an exceptional contribution to Serbian and Yugoslavian art and had therefore written in their name forever into the history of Serbia.

1.6 "Old Fairground – A Gestapo Concentration Camp" – A Place of Remembrance

On the ten year anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising (note on translation: uprising against the Ottomans, 1804 – 1813), on Bežanijska Kosa at the place where in December of 1944 victims' corpses were exhumed, the first monument dedicated to the victims of the Old Fairground Concentration Camp was unveiled. However, the Old Fairground itself, as a place where executions took place, remained unmarked in this respect for full three decades. The first monument dedicated to victims of the concentration camp there was unveiled in 1974 on the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade. The plaque was placed on the wall of one of the buildings, near what used to be the concentration camp's entrance. It is not known who was the person that placed the plaque there, but later it was removed only to be replaced with a new one with an identical text. A decade later, in 1984, at the place where the Romanian pavilion was (which later were demolished), on the grassy plain between the central tower and the Turkish pavilion, a new plaque was placed to commemorate the Concentration camp of the Old Fairground, where more than

Petrović, Mića Popović, Vera Božićković, Mladen Srbinović, Olga Jevrić, Miloš Gvozdenović, Kosa Boškan, Mario Maskareli, Lazar Vozarević, Nebojša Mitrić und viele andere. In diesen Ateliers entfachten zahlreiche Nachkriegsideen und entstanden Kunstwerke, welche die kreativen Generationen nach 1950 in alle Sphären der Gesellschaft führte. Die meisten dieser Künstler waren zugleich auch Kunstlehrer, einige von ihnen jedoch, wie etwa Olga Jevrić, Mladen Srbinović und Mića Popović, wurden in die Serbische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste aufgenommen. Neben dem Künstlerleben fanden am alten Messegelände, einem Quell avantgardistischer, intellektueller Gedanken, auch andere Veranstaltungen statt. So wurde in den späten 50-er Jahren im Atelier von Mića Popović erstmals das Stück "Warten auf Godot" aufgeführt.

Die Generation von Künstlern, welche am alten Messegelände arbeiteten, nahm aktiv an allen Formen künstlerischen Schaffens im Nachkriegs-Jugoslawien teil. Mit der Zeit wurden sie zu einem Teil der Kunstszene und Ästhetik Europas und der ganzen Welt, viele von ihnen leisteten auch einen außerordentlichen Beitrag zur serbischen und jugoslawischen Kunst und gingen dadurch für alle Zeiten in die Kulturschichte Serbiens ein.

1.6. „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“ als Ort des Gedenkens

Zum zehnten Jahrestag des Aufstandes in Serbien wurde in Bežanijska Kosa, an der Stelle, wo 1944 die Leichnahme der Opfer exhumiert wurden, das erste Denkmal zu Ehren der Opfer aus dem Lager Staro Sajmište enthüllt. Jedoch war das alte Messegelände als Hinrichtungsstätte volle drei Jahrzehnte lang nicht gekennzeichnet. Die erste Gedenktafel an die Opfer aus dem Lager wurde 1974, zum dreißigsten Jahrestag der Befreiung Belgrads, enthüllt. Die Tafel war an der Fassade eines der Objekte befestigt, unweit des einstigen Eingangs zum Lager. Von wem die Tafel angebracht wurde, ist nicht bekannt; entfernt wurde sie bei der Anbringung einer neuen Tafel mit gleicher Inschrift. Zehn Jahre danach, 1984, wurde an Stelle des niedergerissenen Rumänischen Pavillons, auf einer Grünfläche zwischen dem Zentralturm und dem Türkischen Pavillon, eine neue Tafel zum Gedenken an das Lager „Staro Sajmište“, in welchem über 40.000 Menschen das Leben verloren, angebracht. In Auftrag gegeben wurde die Gedenktafel vom Lokalausschuss des Verbandes von Kämpfern im jugoslawischen Volksbefreiungskrieg und der Lokalgemeinde

Возаревић, Небојша Митрић и многи други. У овим атељеима су покренуте многе послератне идеје и настала уметничка дела која су ликовни нараштај после 1950. године увела у све друштвене улоге. Већина уметника се бавила наставом ликовног васпитања, а поједини попут Олге Јеврић, Младена Србиновића и Миће Поповића су изабрани за чланове САНУ. Поред ликовног живота, у Старом сајмишту, као у својеврсном расаднику авангардних интелектуалних мисли, збивали су се и други догађаји. Тако је касних педесетих година у атељеу Миће Поповића одиграна и прва представа драме „Чекајући Годоа“.

Генерације уметника које с стварале а простору Старог сајмишт активно су учествовале у свим видовима ликовног стваралаштва послератне Југославије. Временом су постали део европске и светске ликовне сцене и естетике, а многи од њих су дали изузетан допринос српској и југословенској уметности и тиме се трајно уписали у културну историју Србије.

1.6. „Старо сајмиште – Логор Геста оа“ – место сећања

На десетогодишњицу избијања устанка у Србији, на Бежанијској коси на месту где су у децембру 1944. године ексхумирани лешеве жртава, откривен је први споменик посвећен жртвама логора на Сајмишту. Међутим, Старо сајмишт као место страдања је пуне три деценије остало необележено. Прво спомен обележје посвећено жртвама логора откривено је на тридесетогодишњицу ослобођења Београда 1974. године. Плоча је постављена на зид једне од зграда, надамак некадашњег улаза у логор. Није познато које плочу поставио, а уклоњена је приликом постављања нове са идентичним текстом. Деценију касније, 1984. године на месту порушеног румунског павиљона, на травнатој површини између централне куле и Турског павиљона, постављена је нова спомен плоча у знак сећања на Логор Сајмиште у којем је убијено преко 40000 људи. Спомен плочу, коју су подigli Председништво Месног одбора СУБНОР-а и Месна заједница Старо сајмиште, открио је тадашњи градоначелник Београда Богдан Богдановић у оквиру прославе Дана устанка у Србији.

40.000 people were executed. The Presidency of the Municipal Department of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the People's Fight for the Liberation of Serbia (SUBNOR) and the Municipality of the Old Fairground made the decision to put up the plaque, while it was unveiled by then mayor of Belgrade, Bogdan Bogdanovic, as part of the celebration of the Uprising Day in Serbia.

In 1987 the Belgrade City Assembly decided to make "The Old Fairground – A Gestapo Concentration Camp" a cultural good. At that same Assembly session a decision was also reached that a monument should be built on river banks next to where the camp used to be. The monument to the victims of genocide was unveiled on April 22nd, 1995 in front of the Old Fairground complex on Novi Beograd, on the occasion of the fifty year anniversary of liberation from fascism. It was done in accordance with the design of sculptor Miodrag Popovic, as an abstract composition symbolizing the 48000 victims of the camp. It consists of two compositional elements, made of bronze, which rise up directly from the ground to a height of 10 meters. The monument lies on the axis of the central tower of the Old Fairground, on the clearing between Branko's Bridge and the Old Bridge. Two bronze plaques with lettering in both Serbian and English languages are located on the stairs leading to the monument. The monument to the victims of genocide, with its position and symbolic meaning, accomplishes a special compactness and a compactness of ideas with the whole complex of the Old Fairground.

Staro Sajmište, während sie der damalige Belgrader Bürgermeister Bogdan Bogdanović im Rahmen der Feier zum Jahrestag des Aufstandes in Serbien enthüllte.

Das Belgrader Stadtparlament beschloss 1987, das Gebiet „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“ zum Kulturgut zu ernennen. Bei derselben Sitzung wurde auch der Entschluss gefasst, am Flus-sufer neben dem einstigen Lager ein Denkmal zu errichten. Das Denkmal für Opfer des Völkermordes, vor dem Komplex des Staro Sajmište in Neu-Belgrad gelegen, wurde am 22. April 1995 enthüllt, bei der Feier zum fünfzigsten Jahrestag des Sieges über den Faschismus. Das Denkmal wurde nach einem Entwurf des Bildhauers Miodrag Popović geschaffen und stellt in abstrakter Komposition die 48.000 Opfer des Lagers dar. Die in Bronze gegossene Zusammenfügung besteht aus zwei Teilen, welche unmittelbar aus der Erde 10 Meter in die Höhe ragen. Das Denkmal liegt an der Achse des Turmes am alten Messegelände, an einer eingerichteten Fläche zwischen der Brankov-Brücke und der Alten Brücke. Zwei Bronzetafeln mit Inschrift in serbischer und englischer Sprache befinden sich an den Treppen am Fußweg, welcher zum Denkmal führt. Das Denkmal für Opfer des Völkermordes bildet durch seine Lage und symbolische Bedeutung eine räumliche und konzeptuelle Einheit mit dem Komplex des Lagers Staro Sajmište.

Скупштина града Београда је 1987. године донела одлуку да се „Старо сајмиште – Логор Гестапоа“ утврди за културно добро. На истој седници је донета и одлука да се на обали поред некадашњег логора подигне споменик. Споменик жртвама геноцида откривен је 22. априла 1995. године испред комплекса Старог сајмишта у Новом Београду, поводом прославе педесете годишњице ослобођења од фашизма. Изведен је према замисли вајара Миодрага Поповића, као апстрактна композиција која симболизује 48.000 жртава логора. Састоји се из два композициона дела, изведена у бронзи, која се уздижу директно из земље до висине од 10 метара. Споменик је смештен у осовини куле Старог сајмишта на уређеном простору између Бранковог и Старог моста. Две бронзане плоче са текстом исписаним на српском и енглеском језику налазе сена степеништу прилазне стазе која води до споменика. Споменик жртвама геноцида, својим положајем и симболичким значењем, остварује просторну и идејну компактност са целином комплекса Старог сајмишта.

2. Value of the Monument and the Valorization of the Old Fairground

The Cultural Good of the “Old Fairground-Gestapo Concentration Camp” had the following value:

CULTURAL VALUES

Historic Value

At this place Serbia had lost around 7000 of its citizens of Jewish nationality (during Judenlager Semlin), and then around 33000 citizens of Serbian and other nationalities and different political orientations (during Anhaltslager Semlin). The concentration camp at the Old Fairground was not the biggest German camp not only on the territory of today's Serbia but also in South-Eastern Europe.

“In only four months (December 1941 – March 1942) more than 7000 Jews were killed in the camp, and Serbia was the first country in Europe in which the “Jewish question was solved”. After the Jews were executed, the concentration camp at the Fairground became a killing field of captured partisan and chetnik fighters, as well as civilians captured in areas fighting took place. By April 1944 around ninety thousand people had passed through, and around forty thousand were killed in the “Transitional Camp Zemun”. (Milan Koljanin, The German Camp At the Old Fairground, Belgrade 1992).

The historical significance of this structure also lies in the fact that this was the place where the first industrial fair in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1937 – 1941) took place, the place that witnessed the manufacture, industrial and trade ambitions which were of national importance.

Lastly, at the place which till recently was a killing field, after liberation the General Directorate for the Development of Novi Beograd was established (new society, new world). With that the Old Fairground became the place from which the new city on the left bank of the Sava River would be built, and therefore it also again became an active participant in creating the history of the Yugoslavian capital.

Identity

The killing fields of the Old Fairground are an important element of the Serbian Jewish community's identity. For that reason

2. Gedenkwert und Auswertung von Staro Sajmište

Der Wert des Kulturguts „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“ lässt sich auf folgende Aspekte gliedern:

KULTURWERT

Historischer Wert

An diesem Ort verlor Serbien um die 7.000 Leben seiner jüdischen Bürger (zur Zeit des Judenlagers Semlin), daraufhin weitere 33.000 Bürger serbischer und anderer ethnischer Angehörigkeit und mit unterschiedlichen politischen Auffassungen (zur Zeit des Anhaltslagers Semlin). Das deutsche Lager am alten Messegelände war nicht nur das größte deutsche Lager auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Serbiens sondern in Südosteuropa überhaupt.

„Innerhalb von nur vier Monaten (Dezember 1941 – März 1942) verloren über 7.000 Juden im Lager das Leben, während Serbien zum ersten „judenfreien“ Land wurde. Nach Massenhinrichtungen der jüdischen Bevölkerung wurde das Lager Staro Sajmište zur Hinrichtungsstätte von Kämpfern aus Reihen der Partisanen und Tschetniks sowie von Zivilisten, welche in Kriegsgewässern gefangen genommen wurden. Bis April 1944 kehrten um die 90.000 Menschen in Anhaltslager Semlin ein, etwa 40.000 wurden hingerichtet.“ (Ma Milan Koljanin, Das deutsche Lager am alten Messegelände, Belgrad 1992)

Auf den historischen Wert dieses Kulturguts weist auch die Tatsache hin, dass sich an diesem Ort die erste Handelsmesse im Königreich Jugoslawien befand (1937-1941), sodass das alte Messegelände von wirtschaftlichen, industriellen und handwerkskünstlerischen Errungenschaften von nationaler Bedeutung Zeugnis ablegt.

Letzten Endes entstand nach der Befreiung an Stelle der einstigen Hinrichtungsstätte der offizielle Sitz der Generalbaudirektion für Neu-Belgrad (eine neue Gesellschaft, eine neue Welt). So wurde Staro Sajmište zum Grundstein, von welchem aus die Errichtung einer neuen Stadt am linken Save-Ufer begann, und dadurch erneut zum aktiven Element in der Geschichte der jugoslawischen Hauptstadt.

Identität

Die Hinrichtungsstätte am alten Messegelände ist ein bedeutendes Identitätselement der jüdischen Gemeinde in Serbien. Aus

2. СПОМЕНИЧКЕ ВРЕДНОСТИ И ВАЛОРИЗАЦИЈА СТАРОГ САЈМИШТА

Културно добро „Старо сајмиште-Логор Гестапоа“ поседује следеће вредности:

КУЛТУРНЕ ВРЕДНОСТИ

Историјска вредност

На овоме месту је Србија изгубила око 7000 живота својих грађана јеврејске националности (за време Јисленлађег бешћин), а затим око 33.000 грађана српске и других националности различитих политичких оријентација (за време Апћаћлађег бешћин). Логор на Старом сајмишту био је највећи немачки логор не само на територији данашње Србије, већ и у Југоисточној Европи.

„За само четири месеца (децембар 1941-март 1942) у логору је страдало преко седам хиљада Јевреја, а Србија је била прва земља у Европи у којој је „јеврејско питање решено“. Након погубљења Јевреја, логор на Сајмишту је постао стратиште заробљених партизанских и четничких бораца као и цивила ухваћених на подручју ратних дејстава. До априла 1944. године кроз „Прихватни логор Земун“ је прошло око деведесет хиљада људи, а убијено је око четрдесет хиљада“ (Мр Милан Кољанин, Немачки логор на Старом сајмишту, Београд, 1992).

Историјски значај овог културног добра се огледа и у чињеници да је на овоме месту био први привредни сајам у Краљевини Југославији (1937-1941), место које је сведочило о привредним, индустријским и занатским донетима од националног значаја.

Конечно, на месту недавног стратишта, после ослобођења је формирано седиште Генералне дирекције за изградњу Новог Београда (новог друштва, новог света). Тиме је Старо сајмиште постало место са кога је отпочела изградње новог града на левој обали Саве и на тај начин поново постало активни учесник у стварању историје југословенске престонице.

Идентитет

Стратиште на Старом сајмишту је значајан елемент идентитета Јеврејске заједнице у Србији. Из тих разлога

SITUATION IN 2010
DER ZUSTAND IM JAHR 2010
СИТУАЦИЈА ИЗ 2010. ГОДИНЕ



Mixed usage - Artists' studios, low grade areas for housing and business

Mischnutzung - Künstlerateliers, minderwertige Wohn- und Geschäftsflächen

МЕШОВИТА НАМЕНА - УМЕТНИЧКИ АТЕЉЕИ, СУБСТАНДАРДНО СТАНОВАЊЕ, КОМЕРЦИЈАЛА

The Memorial
 Das Denkmal
 Спомен Обележја

1. Artists living and working space / Künstlerateliers und -wohnungen/ УМЕТНИЧКИ АТЕЉЕИ И СТАНОВАЊЕ
2. Office building private comp. / Verwaltung Privatfirma / УПРАВНА ЗГРАДА - ПОСЛОВАЊЕ
3. Private commercial use / Private geschäftliche Nutzung - ПОСЛОВАЊЕ
4. Artists living and working space / Künstlerateliers und -wohnungen / УМЕТНИЧКИ АТЕЉЕИ И СТАНОВАЊЕ
5. Artists living and working space / Künstlerateliers und -wohnungen / УМЕТНИЧКИ АТЕЉЕИ И СТАНОВАЊЕ
6. Habitation / Wohnungen / СТАНОВАЊЕ
7. Habitation / Wohnungen / СТАНОВАЊЕ
8. Restaurant / Ресторан
9. Transformer / Trafo-Station / ТРАФО СТАНИЦА
10. Habitation / Wohnungen / ОБЈЕКТИ СТАМБЕНЕ НАМЕНЕ
11. Kosharska School - Education / Koscharska Schule - Erziehung / КОЖАРСКА ШКОЛА - ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ
12. div. commercials usage / versch. geschäftliche Verwendung / ОБЈЕКТИ ПОСЛОВНЕ НАМЕНЕ

▲ Memorial for the Victims of Genocide and Resistance against fascist Terror in the Sajmište Camp

Denkmal für die Opfer von Völkermord und Widerstand gegen den faschistischen Terror im Lager Sajmište

СПОМЕНИК ЖРТВАМА ГЕНОЦИДА И ОТПОРА ФАШИСТИЧКОМ ТЕРОРУ У ЛОГОРУ САЈМИШТЕ

■ Commemorative Plaque for the Victims of the Staro Sajmište Camp

Gedenktafel für die Opfer des Lagers von Staro Sajmište

СПОМЕН - ПЛОЧА ЖРТВАМА ЛОГОРА "СТАРО САЈМИШТЕ"

there is great emotional connectedness of this community to the said space.

Architectural-Urban Value

The architectural-urban solution of the Fairground, planned as a complex of a symmetrical axis with a central tower, represents an expression of victory of modernism in Belgrade in the thirties (last century). The architecture of the pavilions within the complex gave a major contribution to the development and representation of Belgrade's modern architecture. Unfortunately, after the destruction at the end of the Second World War (bombing of Belgrade in 1944), only a small part of what used to be the Fairground complex has been preserved, and therefore, due to low levels of authenticity we may talk about the missing rather than the preserved architectural-urban values.

The Old Fairground was the first urbanized space on the left bank of the Sava River. Belgrade had made its first steps onto the other side of the Sava River with the construction of the Fairground pavilions in the space between Branko's Bridge and the Old Railway Bridge, and it had therefore opened up the way for future architects of Novi Beograd.

The Importance in Belgrade's Arts Scene

Once the youth brigades left in 1951 artists from the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia moved into the former Fairground pavilions, and they created an art colony for painters where many avant-garde ideas were hatched and many important works of modern Serbian and Yugoslavian art were created. A few artists became members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and many of them also became a part of the European and the world's painting arts scene. Through their artistic work, which originated in the artists' studios of the Old Fairground, they marked a whole period of Serbian art and are therefore forever written into the cultural history of Serbia.

Uniqueness

The uniqueness and representational capacity of the Old Fairground can be found in the fact that it was the first and only industrial fair in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and in the fact that during the Second World War the largest German concentration camp on the territories of today's Serbia.

diesem Grund besteht eine starke emotionale Bindung besagter Gemeinde zu dieser Stätte.

Architektonisch-urbanistischer Wert

Der architektonisch-urbanistische Entwurf des Messegeländes als Komplex mit symmetrischer Basis und zentral gelegenem Turm stellt einen Triumph der Moderne im Belgrad der 30-er Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts dar. Einen großen Beitrag zur Entwicklung und zum Vorzeigewert der modernen Architektur in Belgrad leisteten auch die Entwürfe für die Pavillons binnen des Komplexes. Leider ist infolge der Zerstörung am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs (Luftangriff auf Belgrad 1944) nur ein kleiner Teil der einstigen Bauten am Messegelände erhalten, sodass aufgrund von der geringen Authentizität vielmehr vom einstigen als vom bewahrten architektonisch-urbanistischen Wert zu sprechen ist.

Das alte Messegelände stellte auch den ersten urban gestalteten Raum am linken Save-Ufer dar. Mit der Errichtung der Messepavillons auf dem Raum zwischen der heutigen Brankov-Most-Brücke und der Alten Eisenbahnbrücke wurde Belgrad erstmals auf das andere Save-Ufer erweitert, womit der Weg für den künftigen Bau Neu-Belgrads geebnet war.

Signifikanz für die Kunstszene Belgrads

Nach Abzug der Jugendbrigaden von 1951 bezogen Mitglieder des Verbandes von bildenden Künstlern Serbiens die einstigen Messepavillons und schufen damit eine einmalige Künstlerkolonie, wo zahlreiche avantgardistische Ideen und bedeutende Werke der modernen serbischen und jugoslawischen Kunst entstanden. Einige der Künstler wurden zu Mitgliedern der Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste gewählt, viele von ihnen waren in der Kunstszene Europas und der ganzen Welt aktiv. Die in den Ateliers am alten Messegelände geschaffenen Werke waren für eine ganze Epoche der serbischen Kunst kennzeichnend und gingen dadurch in die Kulturgeschichte Serbiens ein.

Einzigartigkeit

Einzigartigkeit und Vorzeigewert von Staro Sajmište äußern sich darin, dass dies die erste und einzige Handelsmesse im Königreich Jugoslawiens war, während es im Zweiten Weltkrieg zum größten deutschen Lager auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Serbiens wurde.

постоји велика емоционална везаност ове заједнице за предметни простор.

Архитектонско-урбанистичка вредност

Архитектонско-урбанистичко решење сајма, конципирано као комплекс симетричне основе са централном кулом, представља израз победе модерне у Београду тридесетих година прошлог века. Велики допринос развоју и репрезентативности београдске модерне архитектуре дала је и архитектура павиљона унутар комплекса. Нажалост, после разарања крајем Другог светског рата (бомбардовање Београда 1944), данас је сачуван мали део некадашњег сајамског комплекса, тако да се, због ниског нивоа аутентичности може више говорити о несталим него о очуваним архитектонско-урбанистичким вредностима.

Старо сајмиште је било и први урбанизовани простор на левој обали Саве. Изградњом сајамских павиљона на простору између данашњег Бранковог и Старог железничког моста, Београд је први пут искорачио на другу обалу Саве и тиме отворио пут будућим градитељима Новог Београда.

Значај у уметничком животу Београда

Одласком омладинских бригада, 1951. године су некадашње сајмске павиљоне населили уметници УЛУС-а, стварајући својеврсну ликовну колонију у којој су никле многе авангардне идеје и остварена значајна дела савремене српске и југословенске уметности. Поједини уметници су постали чланови САНУ, а многи од њих део европске и светске ликовне сцене. Својим стваралаштвом пониклим у атељеима Старог сајмишта обележили су читаво раздобље српске уметности и тиме су трајно уписани у културну историју Србије.

Реткост

Јединственост и репрезентативност Старог сајмишта огледа се у томе што је оно било први и једини привредни сајам у Краљевини Југославији, а током Другог светског рата највећи немачки логор на данашњој територији Србије.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC VALUE

Functional Value

Even though the Old Fairground is characterized by extreme changes of purpose which had happened in a short historical period (total discontinuity of purpose), the remaining structures do have functional potential which may, to a great degree, fulfill the program requirements of cultural goods presentation. New usage purposes would have to be chosen so as to secure remembrance of the Judenlager Semlin and Anhaltlager Semlin victims by forming an adequate memorial complex. Aside from that, the representation of other cultural values of this cultural good must also be done in an adequate way.

Educational value

The Old Fairground has great potential for adequate integration in educational programs. Lastly, the key function of the Memorial Complex would be educational and for scientific research purposes. Studying of historical events which took place at this site, especially applying the methodology used by similar institutions around the world would ensure the Old Fairground becoming a leader of such establishments in the South-Eastern Europe. In regards to defining the program of this institution it would be desirable to use the experiences of the Work Group for International Cooperation in Education, Remembrance and Research of the Holocaust and the Memorial Center "Yad Vashem" in Jerusalem.

Social value

Orientation toward the individualization of victims (perpetrators, witnesses) will, through the program, direct a series of activities of the Memorial Complex which will have great social value (for instance, for the first time in our country a systematic gathering of and studying of memories would take place). Scientific research of historical occurrences from the Second World War period on the territories of occupied Serbia and the Independent State of Croatia, and the careful, and based on scientific principles, education of different target groups (from children and youth to professors and groups of varying educational backgrounds) would have enormous social value in the goal of preventing neo-fascism, racism, anti-Semitism and violence in general.

GESELLSCHAFTLICH-WIRTSCHAFTLICHER WERT HEUTE

Funktioneller Wert

Obwohl für das alte Messegelände deutliche Änderungen seines Zwecks binnen eines kurzen historischen Zeitabschnitts kennzeichnend sind (absolute Diskontinuität des Zwecks), weisen die bewahrten Bauten eine funktionelles Potential auf, welches in großem Maße den Programmansprüchen zur Präsentation als Kulturgut entspricht. Ein neuer Zweck müsste so gewählt werden, dass Gedenken an die Opfer des Judenlager Semlin und des Anhaltlagers Semlin durch Errichtung eines entsprechenden Gedenkkomplexes gewährleistet wird. Zudem ist auch eine adäquate Präsentation der anderen kulturellen Werte dieser Stätte notwendig.

Bildungswert

Staro Sajmište weist großes Potential für entsprechende Integration in das Bildungsprogramm auf. Letztlich Endes läge die wesentliche Funktion einer Gedenkstätte in Bildung und wissenschaftlicher Forschung. Die Untersuchung historischer Ereignisse, welche sich an diesem Ort abspielten, vor allem unter Anwendung der Methoden aus ähnlichen Anstalten weltweit, würden Staro Sajmište zur führenden Einrichtung dieser Art in Südosteuropa machen. Für die Ausarbeitung des Programms dieser Einrichtung wäre es wünschenswert, zu den Erfahrungen der Arbeitsgruppe für internationale Zusammenarbeit zum Holocaust: Bildung, Forschung und Gedenken sowie der Gedenkstätte Yad Vashem in Jerusalem zu greifen.

Gesellschaftlicher Wert

Eine individualisierende Herangehensweise an die Opfer (wie auch die Täter und Zeugen) wird eine ganze Reihe von Aktivitäten von besonderem Wert für die Gesellschaft im Zusammenhang mit dem Gedenkkomplex einleiten (z.B. wird erstmals im Land an diesem Ort eine systematische Sammlung und Ausforschung von Gedenkgut möglich). Eine wissenschaftliche Erforschung von historischen Ereignissen und der Zeit des Zweiten Weltkriegs im besetzten Serbien und im USK sowie sorgfältige und auf wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen konzipierte Schulung unterschiedlicher Zielgruppen (von Kindern und Jugendlichen bis zu Lehrern oder Gruppen mit unterschiedlichen Bildungsprofilen) wären von großem gesellschaftlichen Interesse, auch um der Entwicklung von Neofaschismus, Rassismus, Antisemitismus und Gewalt überhaupt vorzubeugen.

САВРЕМЕНЕ ДРУШТВЕНО-ЕКОНОМСКЕ ВРЕДНОСТИ

Функционална вредност

Иако је за Старо сајмиште карактеристична изразита промена намена која се догодила у кратком историјском периоду (потпуни дисконтинуитет намене), сачуване грађевине имају функционални потенцијал којим се у приличној мери могу задовољити програмски захтеви презентације културног добра. Нове намене би морале да буду изабране тако да се обезбеди сећање на жртве јуденлагера Семлин и Анхалтелажера Семлин формирањем одговарајућег меморијалног комплекса. Осим тога, на одговарајући начин се мора омогућити и презентовање осталих културних вредности овога културног добра.

Образовна вредност

Старо сајмиште има велики потенцијал за адекватно интегрисање у образовне програме. Коначно, кључна функција Меморијалног комплекса била би едукативна и научно-истраживачка. Проучавање историјских догађаја који су се одвијали на овоме месту, посебно примена методологије која се примењује у сличним институцијама у свету, обезбедили би да Старо сајмиште постане лидер оваквих установа у Југоисточној Европи. За програмско дефинисање ове институције било би пожељно користити искуства Радне групе за међународну сарадњу у области образовања, сећања и истраживања Холокауста и Меморијалног центра „Јад Вашем“ у Јерусалиму.

Друштвена вредност

Оријентација ка индивидуализацији жртава (починилаца, посматрача) програмски ће усмерити низ активности Меморијалног комплекса које ће имати велики друштвени значај (нпр. по први пут у нашој земљи на овоме месту се може спровести систематско прикупљање и проучавање сећања). Научно проучавање историјских појава и периода Другог светског рата на подручју окупиране Србије и НДХ, пажљиво и на научним принципима осмишљено образовање различитих циљних група (од деце и младих до просветних радника или група различитих образовних профила) били би од огромног друштвеног интереса и у циљу превенције неонацизма, расизма, антисемитизма и насиља уопште.

Political value

Our relation to the victims of fascism and the way we remember them are in our society topics of discussions in expert and wider public circles, and only sporadically at that. There are also attempts of historic revisionism and relativism of the crimes committed during the Second World War. By setting up the Memorial Complex as an educational, scientific and cultural institution the state and society would clearly show that they favor applying the principle of preserving memory and testimonies of the victims and of passing on the legacy of the Holocaust and the genocide which happened to the new generations enabling them to be a part of modern, democratic societies. In this sense, the Old Fairground has enormous potential for the state to communicate its unwavering belief that it is through an adequate relation to historic events that a future based on the ideals of peace, understanding and tolerance is built.

VALORIZATION

The Old Fairground complex is a space of extremely layered and accentuated memory. Only very rare parts of Belgrade have had such a turbulent and difficult fate to bear in such a short period of time. In a relatively short historical period of fourteen years of the Fairground's past it is possible to separate three clear, strong and recognizable historical periods on this space that define its historical, urban-architectural, memorial and cultural value. It was conceptualized and built as a representative fairground space which was to show the ambitions of the young European kingdom and be an incentive to its economic growth. During the Second World War the German occupation forces turn the complex into a concentration camp where tens of thousands of people were tortured and killed. After the War, the new authorities place the Old Fairground directly to serve the purpose of helping build the new city, only to later have it infused with creative energy which attempted to lessen the recent tragedy.

With the construction of the First Belgrade Fairground, which was constructed through the effort of Serbian industrialists, merchants and the Belgrade Municipality in 1937, on the space be-

Politischer Wert

Das Verhältnis gegenüber Opfern des Faschismus und das Gedenken an sie ist in unserer Gesellschaft als Diskussionsgegenstand unter Experten und in der breiten Öffentlichkeit an den Rand gedrängt. Es kommt auch zum Versuch des Revisionismus und zur Relativisierung der im Zweiten Weltkrieg begangenen Verbrechen. Mit der Einrichtung eines Gedenkkomplexes als einer Bildungs-, Wissenschafts- und Kulturanstalt würden Gesellschaft und Staat ihre klar bejahende Stellung zum Prinzip des Gedenken und des Zeitzeugnisses der Opfer sowie zur Überlieferung eines den neuen Generationen und modernen, demokratischen Gesellschaften angebrachten Gedankengutes betreffend Holocaust und Völkermord ausdrücken. In dieser Hinsicht birgt das alte Messegelände großes Potential für die Äußerung einer klaren Haltung des Staates, dass durch entsprechende Behandlung historischer Ereignisse eine auf Idealen des Friedens, der Verständigung und der Toleranz aufgebaute Zukunft geschaffen wird.

AUSWERTUNG

Der Komplex am alten Messegelände ist als Ort vielschichtigsten und tiefsten Gedenkens zu betrachten. Kaum eine andere Gegend Belgrads hat in vergleichbar kurzer Zeit solch ein schweres Schicksal durchgemacht. In einer aus historischen Sicht relativ kurzen Zeitspanne von vierzehn Jahren sind drei klare, aussagekräftige und differenzierte geschichtliche Phasen zu nennen, welche den historischen, urbanistisch-architektonischen, gedenkpsychologischen und kulturwissenschaftlichen Wert dieses Ortes ausmachen. Konzipiert und errichtet wurde Staro Sajmište als repräsentative Messefläche, welche die Bestrebungen des jungen europäischen Königreiches widerspiegeln und seine wirtschaftliche Entwicklung fördern sollte. Im Zweiten Weltkrieg wandelten die deutschen Besatzungskräfte den Komplex in ein Konzentrationslager, in welchem zehntausenden von Menschen gefoltert und getötet wurden. Nach dem Krieg machte die neue Staatsspitze das alte Messegelände unmittelbar zum Instrument der Errichtung einer neuen Stadt, um danach den Raum mit kreativer Energie anzusiedeln, welche versuchen sollte, die unlängst geschehene Tragödie zu mildern.

Indem 1937, durch Bemühungen serbischer Industrieller und Händler wie auch der Belgrader Gemeinde, zwischen der heutigen Brankov-Most--Brücke und der Alten Eisenbahnbrücke die

Политичка вредност

Однос према жртвама фашизма и начин сећања на њих у нашем друштву су спорадично предмет дискусија у стручној и шириј јавности. Јављају се и покушаји историјског ревизионизма и релативизације злочина почињених током Другог светског рата. Оснивањем Меморијалног комплекса као образовне, научне и културне институције друштво и држава би се јасно показало своју опредељеност за примену принципа очувања сећања и сведочанстава жртава и преношење наслеђа холокауста и геноцида новим генерацијама примерених модерним, демократским друштвима. У том смислу Старо сајмиште има огроман потенцијал за изражавање јасног опредељења државе да се адекватним односом према историјским догађајима изграђује будућност заснована на идеалима мира, разумевања и толеранције.

ВАЛОРИЗАЦИЈА

Комплекс Старог сајмишта је простор најслојевитије и најизраженије меморије. Ретко који део Београда је за кратко време имао толику бурну и тако тешку судбину. За релативно кратак историјски период од четрнаест година на овом простору могу да се издвоје три јасна, снажна и препознатљива историјска периода, која утврђују његове историјске, урбанистико-архитектонске, меморијалне и културолошке вредности. Осмишљен је и реализован као репрезентативан сајамски простор који је требало да покаже амбиције младе европске краљевине и буде подстрек њеном економском развоју. У Другом светском рату немачке окупационе снаге претварају комплекс у концентрациони логор у коме је убијено и мучено десетине хиљада људи. Након рата, нове власти простор Старог сајмишта непосредно стављају у функцију изградње новог града, да би га потом населили креативном енергијом која је покушала да ублажи недавну трагедију.

Изградњом Првог београдског сајма, који је подигнут напорима српских индустријалаца, трговаца и Београдске општине 1937. године, на простору између данашњег Бранковог

tween today's Branko's Bridge and the Old Railway Bridge, for the first time Belgrade had stepped onto the other bank of the Sava River and thus cleared the way for the future architects of Novi Beograd. The urban solution for the fair, a concept of a symmetrical axis with a central tower, represents an expression of victory of modernism in Belgrade in the thirties (of the past century), and a worthy example of our architectural heritage. At the time when it was constructed it was a space whose concept was of rare quality and as such it has an important place in the urban heritage of the city. The first Belgrade Fairground was an example of the new urban system, organized in a rational manner. With its dominant constructivist tower, it seemed like an example of a city concept of the urban avant-garde of the nineties (in the past century) where there wasn't a moment that the expression rich vocabulary of the traditional city was not apparent in the square, street and block. A great contribution to the development but also the representation of modern architecture in Belgrade was given by the architecture of the fair pavilions within the complex. Its construction not only advanced the modern image of how Belgrade looked till then but also marked the beginning of the Europeanization on all urban levels. Aside from the undisputable architectural and urban value, the First Belgrade Fair represents a major accomplishment for Belgrade and Serbia in regards to industry, technology and culture. Even though its primary functions was fulfilled only for four years it still represents a testimony to the degree of development of the industrial and economic potentials of the capital and at the same time represents a symbol of technological advancement and industrial endeavors of pre-war Yugoslav society. It was built to be an important industrial and merchant complex, intended for the advancement of trade in goods and the industrial betterment of Serbia, and was converted at the outbreak of the Second World War to a space of infamy.

With the outbreak of the Second World War the First Belgrade Fair became a place of horrible sufferin In December of 1941 the Gestapo established a concentration camp Judenlager Semlin (Jewish Concentration Camp Zemun) for the purposes of executing the Jewish and Roma populace of Belgrade and Serbia. Many prisoners died of hunger, cold, illness and inhumane treatment of the camp's authorities, while others went to die a horrible death in the gas-trucks. Every day, Jewish children, women and elders were killed on route from the camp to mass burials pits which were already prepared in Jajinci. In only four months more than

erste Belgrader Messe erbaut wurde, weitete sich die Stadt erstmals zum anderen Save-Ufer aus, was den Weg für den künftigen Bau Neu-Belgrads ebnete. Der urbanistische Entwurf für die Messe, konzipiert als Komplex mit symmetrischem Grundriss und zentral angelegtem Turm, stellt einen Ausdruck des Sieges der Moderne im Belgrad der 30-er Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhundert und ein wertvolles Beispiel unseres architektonischen Erbes dar. Zum Zeitpunkt, als es errichtet wurde, war Staro Sajmište einer der am gekonntesten konzipierten Räume, sodass es eine wichtige Stelle im urbanistischen Erbe der Stadt einnimmt. Die erste Belgrader Messe war ein Beispiel des neuen, rational organisierten urbanistischen Systems. Mit dem dominanten, konstruktivistisch ausgerichteten Turm wirkte der Raum wie das Konzept einer Musterstadt der urbanistischen Avantgarde aus den 20-er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, wobei jedoch der reiche Ausdruck einer traditionellen Stadt mit den Elementen Platz, Straße und Block keineswegs umgangen wurde. Einen großen Beitrag zur Entwicklung aber auch zum Wiedererkennungswert der modernen Architektur Belgrads leistete der Entwurf der Messepavillons innerhalb des Komplexes. Der Neubau förderte nicht nur das moderne Bild des einstigen Belgrads, sondern verhieß auch eine Europäisierung auf allen urbanen Ebenen. Neben ihrem unabsprechbaren architektonischen und urbanistischen Wert, stellt die Messe auch im wirtschaftlichen, technischen und kulturellen Sinne eine bedeutende Errungenschaft Belgrads und Serbiens dar. Obwohl sie ihren ursprünglichen Zweck lediglich vier Jahre lang erfüllte, zeugt dies vom Entwicklungsgrad des wirtschaftlichen Potentials der Hauptstadt und ist zugleich als Symbol technischen Fortschritts und wirtschaftlichen Unterfangens der jugoslawischen Vorkriegsgesellschaft zu verstehen. Als bedeutender Wirtschafts- und Handelskomplex und zum Zwecke der Förderung von Warenaustausch und wirtschaftlichen Erfolgs Serbien erbaut, wurde das alte Messegelände nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges zum Ort mit berühmtem Zweck.

Mit dem Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges wird das erste Belgrader Messegelände zu einer erschreckenden Hinrichtungsstätte. Im Dezember 1941 richtet die Gestapo das Judenlager Semlin zur Ausrottung der jüdischen Bevölkerung und der Roma in Belgrad und Serbien ein. Viele der Gefangenen sterben an Hunger, Kälte, Krankheit und am unmenschlichen Umgang der Lagerverwaltung, während dem Rest ein grausamer Tod in einem eigens als Gaskammer eingerichteten Lastwagen widerfährt. Täglich wurden jüdische Kinder, Frauen und Greise auf ihrem Weg vom Lager zu den bereitstehenden Massengräbern im Dorf Jajinci

и Старог железничког моста, Београд је по први пут искорачио на другу обалу Саве и тиме отворио пут будућим градитељима Новог Београда. Урбанистичко решење сајма, концепирано као комплекс симетричне основе са централном кулом, представља израз победе модерне у Београду тридесетих година прошлог века и вредан пример наше градитељске баштине. У време када је подигнут био је један од најквалитетније осмишљених простора и тиме заузима важно место у урбаном наслеђу града. Први београдски сајам био је пример новог урбаног система, организованог на рационалан начин. Са доминантном конструктивистичком кулом, деловало је као пример концепта града урбанистичке авангарде двадесетих година прошлог века, у којем ни за трен није заборављен богати изражајни речник традиционалног града оличен у тргу, улици, блоку. Велики допринос развоју али и репрезентативности београдске модерне архитектуре дала је и архитектура сајамских павиљона унутар комплекса. Његова изградња, не само да је унапредила модерну слику некадашњег Београда, већ је означила и почетак европеизације на свим урбаним нивоима. Поред неоспорних урбанистичких и архитектонских вредности, Први београдски сајам представља значајно остварење Београда и Србије у привредном, техничком и културном смислу. Иако је његова примарна функција трајала само четири године, оно сведочи о степену развоја привредних и економских потенцијала престонице и уједно представља симбол технолошког напретка и индустријских подухвата предатног југословенског друштва. Грађен као значајан привредни и трговачки комплекс, намењен унапређењу робне размене и привредног напретка Србије, преобраћен је по избијању Другог светског рата у простор злогласне намене.

Избијањем Другог светског рата, Први београдски сајам постао је место стравичног страдања. Децембра 1941. године, Гестапо је формирао концентрациони логор Ји<Сеп1а\$ег ЗешНп (Јеврејски логор Земун) ради ликвидације јеврејског и ромског становништва у Београду и Србији. Многи заточеници су страдали од глади, хладноће, болести и нечовечног понашања логорске управе, а остали су доживели страшну смрт у специјалном камиону-гасној комори. Свакодневно, јеврејска деца, жене и старци убијани су на путу од логора до већ припремљених масовних рака у селу Јајинци. За само

7000 Jews died in the concentration camp, and Serbia became the second country in Europe, after Estonia, in which the “Jewish question was solved”. The Judenlager Semlin is not only the place of Serbia's Jews biggest suffering in occupied Serbia, but it is also one of the first concentration camps in Europe where the local German administration, with the help of the Berlin government, carried out mass executions of Jews. Jews were the only group of prisoners in the camp who were victims of planned, systematic and total annihilation. Aside from the important place the Jewish Concentration Camp on the Fairground has in overall history of the annihilation of European Jews, it is also crucial to the history of the Holocaust in Serbia.

After the murdering of Jews ended, the concentration camp at the Fairground became a killing field of captured partisan and chetnik fighters, as well as civilians captured in areas where fighting took place. Executions of prisoners took place continuously, while a frighteningly high number of lives were taken by illness, hunger, exhaustion and continuous torture. By April 1944 around ninety thousand people had passed through the “Transitory Concentration Camp Zemun”, as it was renamed, while around forty thousand were killed. The concentration camp at the Old Belgrade Fairground was not only the biggest German concentration camp in Serbia but also in the European South-East and, as such, it bears strong testimony for this tragic period of our recent history.

With the liberation of Belgrade and establishment of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia the location where the first Fairground was, and subsequently the concentration camp, was significantly changed in regards to its purpose and function. When the decision was made to develop Novi Beograd the terrain of the Old Fairground directly became a place of construction of the new city on the left bank of the Sava River and thus it again became an active participant in the making of the history of the Yugoslav capital. After the youth brigades left the one time Fairground and concentration camp pavilions were inhabited by artists from the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia, who created an artist colony of sorts where many avant-garde ideas cropped up and many important works of art of modern Serbian and Yugoslavian art were made. A few artists became members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and many of them also became a part of the European and world's painting arts scene. Through their artistic work, which originated in the artists' studios of the Old Fairground, they marked a whole period of Serbian art and are therefore forever written into the cultural history of Serbia.

getötet. In lediglich vier Monaten kamen im Lager über 7.000 Juden ums Leben und Serbien wurde, nach Estland, zum zweiten Land Europas, welches für „judenfrei“ erklärt wurde. Das Judenlager wurde nicht nur zur größten Hinrichtungsstätte dieses Volkes im besetzten Serbien, sondern auch zu einem der ersten Lager in Serbien, wo die deutsche Lokalverwaltung mit Unterstützung der Regierung in Berlin Massenmord an Juden verübte. Unter den Gefangenen in Staro Sajmište waren Juden die einzige Gruppe, welche einer geplanten, systematischen und restlosen Ausrottung zum Opfer fiel. Neben der signifikanten Stelle, die das Judenlager am Messegelände in der allgemeinen Geschichte des Verbrechens an europäischen Juden einnimmt, ist es genauso essentiell für die Geschichte des Holocaust in Serbien.

Nach dem Massenmord an Juden wurde das Lager Staro Sajmište zum Galgen für gefangene Kämpfer aus Reihen der Partisanen und Tschetniks sowie für die in Kriegsgebieten gefangenen genommenen Zivilisten. Die Tötung der Gefangenen dauerte unentwegt an, während eine erschreckende Anzahl von Menschen ihr Leben wegen Krankheit, Hunger, Erschöpfung und Folter verlor. Bis April 1944 kehrten etwa 90.000 Menschen ins Anhaltslager Semlin, wie der neue Name lautete, ein; um die 40.000 wurden ums Leben gebracht. Das Lager am alten Messegelände in Belgrad war das größte deutsche Lager nicht nur im besetzten Serbien sondern in ganz Südosteuropa, und ist somit prägender Beleg dieses tragischen Abschnitts in unserer jüngeren Geschichte.

Mit der Befreiung Belgrads und schufen eine einzigartige Kolonie, in welcher zahlreiche avantgardistische und Verkündung der FVRJ auf dem Raum, wo sich einst Messe und Konzentrationslager befanden, kam es zu einer wesentlichen Änderung in Zweck und Funktion. Mit dem Beschluss über die Gründung Neu-Belgrads wurde die Fläche des alten Messegeländes zum unmittelbaren Ort des Entstehens einer neuen Stadt am linken Save-Ufer und somit auch zum aktiven Faktor in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der jugoslawischen Hauptstadt. Mit dem Abzug der Jugendbrigaden bezogen Mitglieder des Verbandes der bildenden Künstler Serbiens die einstigen Messe- bzw. Lagerpavillons Ideen aufblühten und bedeutende Werke der zeitgenössischen serbischen und jugoslawischen Kunst entstanden. Einige der Künstler wurde in die Serbische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste aufgenommen, viele waren in der Kunstszene Europas und der ganzen Welt präsent. Mit ihren in den Ateliers in Staro Sajmište entstandenen Werken prägte sie einen ganzen Abschnitt der serbischen Kunst und gingen unwiderruflich in die Kunstgeschichte des Landes ein.

четири месеца у логору је страдало преко седам хиљада Јевреја, а Србија је била друга земља у Европи, после Естоније, у којој је „јеврејско питање решено“. Јуденлагер Semlin није само место највећег страдања Јевреја у окупираној Србији, већ је у питању један од првих логора у Европи у коме је локална немачка администрација, уз помоћ владе у Берлину спровела масовно убијање Јевреја. Јевреји су били једина група заточеника Сајмишта који су били жртве планираног, систематског и тоталног уништења. Поред значајног места које Јеврејски логор Сајмиште заузима у широј историји уништавања европских Јевреја, исто је толико кључан и за историју Холокауста у Србији.

Након погубљења Јевреја, логор на Сајмишту је постао страстиште заробљених партизанских и четничких бораца као и цивила ухваћених на подручју ратних дејстава. Ликвидација затвореника је непрекидно трајала, а застрашујући број људских живота однела је и болест, глад, исцрпљеност и стална тортура. До априла 1944. године кроз „Прихватни логор Земун“, како му је гласио нови назив, прошло је око деведесет хиљада људи, а убијено је око четрдесет хиљада. Логор на Старом београдском сајмишту био је највећи немачки логор не само у окупираној Србији, већ и на европском Југоистоку и, као такав, снажно је сведочанство овог трагичног периода наше недавне историје.

Ослобођењем Београда и успостављањем ФНРЈ простору на коме се налазио први сајам а потом концентрациони логор битно је промењана намена и функција. Одлуком о изградњи новог Београда, терен Старог сајмишта непосредно је постао место изградње новог града на левој обали Саве и на тај начин поново постао активни учесник у стварању историје југословенске престонице. Одласком омладинских бригада некадашње сајмске-логорске павиљоне населили су уметници УЛУС-а стварајући својеврсну ликовну колонију у којој су никле многе авангардне идеје и остварена значајна дела савремене српске и југословенске уметности. Поједини уметници су постали чланови САНУ, а многи од њих део европске и светске ликовне сцене. Својим стваралаштвом пониклим у атељеима Старог сајмишта обележили су читаво раздобље српске уметности и тиме су трајно уписани у културну историју Србије.

The Old Fairground is the only part of Belgrade which during its fourteen year history has three layers of urban memory. From being a symbol of urban, architectural and industrial advancement it was turned into a killing field, into a symbol of suffering and agony, and then into a symbol of avant-garde ideas of the Serbian cultural scene. The one time breeding ground of modern spaces became a “legacy never to be forgotten”. During the German occupation it got the role of being one of the most inhumane places of torture of recent history, and a place of repression. The crimes committed and the innocent lives that were stopped in a vile and violent manner have marked this place for all time and have made it an unavoidable place in the history of this city, which must be remembered and marked. The Old Fairground is a monument and a memorial whose task is to list the names of all Jews, Roma, Serbs, and victims of other nationalities, but also the names of those who tried to save these people, risking their lives doing it. Keeping in mind the lasting inscriptions of history and symbolism of this space the Old Fairground represents the most important memorial complex not just in Belgrade but on the total territory of Serbia.

3. IDEAS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE OLD FAIRGROUND – URBANISM PLANS AND INITIATIVES

General Urban Plan from 1950, Regulation Plan of Novi Beograd, 1962

In the post-war years the expert circles held the opinion that the Fairground complex isn't worth restoring. The General Urban Plan from 1950 foresaw the demolition of the Old Fairground. That location was treated as an integral part of the river bank park, and various cultural content was planned for this space. The solution for the river bank area was seen as having it be a quiet space intended for rest, while further in the background, in the spacious parks, public structures were planned. The same idea was pursued by the Novi Beograd Regulation Plan from 1962, and seconded by the Previous Urban Conditions for a competition on the ideal solution for the Belgrade Opera building and a collection of public structures in Block 17 in Novi Beograd from 1970.

Das alte Messegelände ist der einzige Teil Belgrads, welcher in seiner 14 Jahre alten Geschichte drei Schichten urbaner Spuren zu vermerken hat. Von einem Symbol urbanistischen, architektonischen und wirtschaftlichen Fortschritts wurde es zur Hinrichtungsstätte, zu einem Symbol des Leidens und des Todes, danach jedoch auch zum Symbol avantgardistischer Ideen in der serbischen Kulturszene. Der einstige Quell von Ideen zum Thema moderner Raum wurde zum „Erbgut des Nicht-Vergessens“. Zur Zeit der deutschen Besatzung kam ihm die Rolle der unheimlichsten Folterkammer der jüngeren Geschichte zu, sodass es zu einem Ort der Unterdrückung wurde. Die verübten Verbrechen, die hinterhältig und gewaltvoll beendeten, unschuldigen Menschenleben brandmarken diesen Raum bis in alle Ewigkeit und machen ihn zum unumgänglichen Punkt in der Geschichte dieser Stadt, welchem es zukommt, zum gepflegten Ort der Erinnerung zu werden. Staro Sajmište ist Gedenkstätte und –Gut, dessen Hauptaufgabe es sein soll, die Namen aller jüdischen und serbischen Opfer, aller Roma und aller anderen Nationen festzuhalten, jedoch auch die Namen derjenigen, die versuchten, sie zu retten auch wenn dies hieß, das eigene Leben zu riskieren. Die bleibende historische Signifikanz und Symbolik dieses Ortes ins Auge fassend, stellt Staro Sajmište die bedeutendste Gedenkstätte nicht nur in Belgrad sondern in ganz Serbien dar.

3. IDEEN ÜBER DIE ZUKUNFT VON STARO SAJMIŠTE – URBANISTISCHE PLÄNE UND INITIATIVEN

UGP 1950, Regulierungsplan für Neu-Belgrad 1962

In den Nachkriegsjahren herrschte in Expertenkreise die Auffassung, der Komplex Staro Sajmište sei keines Wiederaufbaus wert. Im Urbanistischen Generalplan von 1950 war das Niederreißen der Messe vorgesehen. Dieser Raum wurde als Bestandteil des Flussuferparks betrachtet, für welchen unterschiedliche Kultureinrichtungen geplant waren. Für das Flussufer waren ruhige Erholungsinhalte vorgesehen, während weit hinter ihnen öffentliche Bauten in geräumigen Parks zu errichten waren. Derselben Idee folgte auch der Regulierungsplan für Neu-Belgrad von 1962, wie auch die vorherigen urbanistischen Bedingungen im Ausschreiben für einen Entwurf des Belgrader Opernhauses und einer Fügung von öffentlichen Bauten in Block 17 in Neu-Belgrad aus dem Jahr 1970.

Staro sajmište jedini je deo Beograda koji tokom svoje istorije od četrnaest godina ima tri sloja urbane memorije. Od simbola urbanističkog, arhitektonskog i privrednog napretka preobraćen je u stratište, u simbol stradanja i patnje, a potom u simbol avantgardnih ideja srpske kulturne scene. Neekadashnji rasadnik ideja o modernom prostoru postao je „zaostavština za nezaborav“. Tokom nemacke okupacije dodeljena mu je uloga najnečovečnijeg mučilišta novije istorije, te je postalo mesto represije. Pочињени zločini, mучки и nasilно prekinuti životi nedужnih људи, obeležili su ovaj prostor za sva vremena и učinili ga nezabraznim mestom u istoriji ovog grada, koje se mora pamтити и obeležeti. Staro sajmište je spomenik и меморијал, чији je задатак да забележи имена свих јеврејских, ромских, српских, као и жртава свих других нација, али и имена оних који су покушавали да их спасу, ризикујући своје животе. Имајући у виду трајно убележену историју и симболику овог простора, Staro sajmište представља најзначајнији меморијални комплекс не само у Београду него и на подручју читаве Србије.

3. ИДЕЈЕ О БУДУЋНОСТИ СТАРОГ САЈМИШТА -УРБАНИСТИЧКИ ПЛАНОВИ И ИНИЦИЈАТИВЕ

ГУП 1950, Регулациони план Новог Београда, 1962.

У послератним годинама у стручним круговима владало је мишљење да комплекс сајмишта није вредан обнављања. Генерални урбанистички план из 1950. године предвиђао је рушење Старог сајмишта. Овај терен третиран је као саставни део приобалног парка, у којем су планирани различити садржаји културе. Решење речног приобаља виђено је у мирним просторима намењеним одмору док је дубоко у њиховом залеђу замишљена изградња јавних објеката у пространим парковима. Исту идеју пратио је и Регулациони план Новог Београда из 1962. године, а потврђују је и Претходни урбанистички услови за конкурс за идејно решење зграде београдске опере и ансамбла јавних објеката у блоку 17 на Новом Београду из 1970. године.

International Open Competition for the Opera Building, 1971

The City Assembly of Belgrade decided on November 25th, 1968, to locate the Belgrade Opera in Block 17, as part of the city territory with the greatest possibility for future development. Block 17 is a part of only one specific geographical whole which is made up of the banks and areas in close proximity, of the Sava River in the central part of the city, and by further development this zone can be made into the most valuable part of Belgrade.

The report on the situation in the field from 1970 informs us that there is various content on the planned Block 17 location (pavilions, sheds, storage and the like), out of all of which almost not one can be considered permanent in regards to the already mentioned General and Regulation Plan. The space is deemed to be characteristic for the peripheral and neglected parts of big cities which should have the unhygienic buildings removed. The development/removal process which should have been completed in ten years with the construction of the Opera and other buildings, foresaw several phases of construction due to inadequate capacity of the Sava River bridges and the solution for the Opera building and the whole collection of structures.

Aside from the Museum of Modern Art the Opera was to be one of the most important structures, as part of the future city's central zone. This would have been an important step in connecting the two areas of the city, and also it would have meant Belgrade's definite expansion onto the river banks. The plan foresaw the Opera building itself, and its infrastructure, taking up 4 hectares, while the remainder of the collection of structures would have taken up 8 hectares. 12 hectares were planned for unoccupied, green spaces.

The open competition for the Opera construction lasted till May 5th, 1971, ended with the first prize going to proposal number "102-102", by Hans Dal and Torben Lindhardsen, and associate Helzinger-Dansk. The Opera project never came to realization.

The "Sava Structure" Project, 1985

One of the many ideas for the development of the Old Fair-ground space, which deserves special attention, is architect's Mihajlo Mitrovic's project "Sava Structure" which was done as part of the scientific program of the Serbian Arts and Sciences Academia "Center of Culture of the III Millennium" from 1985.

Internationale Ausschreibung für den Bau des Opernhauses 1971

Mit Beschluss des Belgrader Stadtparlaments vom 25.11.1968 wurde entschieden, dass sich das Belgrader Opernhaus im Block 17 als dem Stadtgebiet mit größtem Potential für eine künftige Entwicklung befinden sollte. Block 17 ist lediglich ein Segment einer besonderen geographischen Einheit, welche der Save-Strom mit dem jeweiligen Uferzonen in der Stadtmitte bildet, und welcher mit entsprechender Einrichtung zum wertvollsten Teil Belgrads werden könnte.

Belege über den Zustand von 1970 überliefern, dass im Raum des geplanten Blocks bereits unterschiedliche Objekte (Pavillons, Baracken, Lagerhallen etc.) vorhanden sind, von denen aus Sicht des General- und des Regulierungsplans für Neu-Belgrad keines zu bewahren ist. Die Fläche wurde als typisch für verwahrloste Randsiedlungen in Großstädten bezeichnet, wo unhygienische Behausungen zu entfernen seien. Der Prozess der Einrichtung/Sanierung, welche mir dem Bau des Opernhauses und weiterer öffentlicher Bauten in den nächsten zehn Jahren abgeschlossen werden sollte, sah als Folge der unzulänglichen Kapazitäten der Save-Brücken, des Entwurfes des Opernhauses und der Zusammenfügung als Ganzem einen in Abschnitten erfolgenden Bau vor.

Das Opernhaus sollte neben dem Museum für moderne Kunst als Teil der Kernzone dieser künftigen Stadt eines der wichtigsten Gebäude darstellen. Dies wäre ein bedeutender Zug bei der Verknüpfung der beiden Stadtteile und würde zugleich die endgültige Ausweitung Belgrads zu den Ufern verheißen. Vorgesehen ist, dass das Opernhaus selbst mit seiner Infrastruktur etwa 4 ha einnimmt, weitere Bauten aus der Struktur etwa 8 ha, während 12 ha für freie Grünflächen bestimmt waren.

Beim Ausschreiben für den Bau des Opernhauses, welches bis zum 03.05.1971 offen war, kam der erste Preis dem Entwurf unter Zahl „102-102“ der Architekten Hans Dal und Torben Lindhardsen samt Mitarbeitern von Helzinger (Dänemark) zu.

Projekt „Save-Haus“ 1985

Unter den Ideen zur Einrichtung des einstigen Messegeländes ist das Projekt des Architekten Mihajlo Mitrović „Save-Haus“ hervorzuheben, welches im Rahmen des wissenschaftlichen Programms der Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste „Kulturzentrum 3. Millennium“ von 1985 entstand.

Међународни конкурс за изградњу Опере, 1971.

Одлуком Скупштине града Београда од 25.11.1968. године одлучено је да локација Београдске опере буде у блоку 17 као делу градске територије са највећим потенцијалним могућностима за будући развој. Блок 17 је само део једне специфичне географске целине коју чини ток реке Саве у централном делу града заједно са приобалним зонама, чијим уређењем може да се претвори у највреднији део Београда.

Забележено стање из 1970. године нас обавештава да на терену планираног блока постоје различити садржаји (павиљони, бараке, магацини и сл), од којих се скоро ни један не може сматрати трајним у односу на већ споменути Генерални и Регулациони план. Простор је окарактерисан као типичан за периферне запуштене делове великих градова које треба очистити од нехиђијенских зграда. Процес уређења/чишћења који би изградњом Опере и других јавних објеката у наредних десет година требало да буде завршен, предвиђао је етапну изградњу, као последицу недовољног капацитета мостова на реци Сави и самог решења зграде Опере и ансамбла у целини.

Опера би поред Музеја савремене уметности требало да чини један од најзначајнијих објеката, као део централне зоне будућег града. То би био важан потез при повезивању два дела града, као и дефинитиван излазак Београда на обале. Предвиђено је да сама зграда Опере са својом инфраструктуром заузима око 4ха, а остали објекти ансамбла око 8ха, док је 12ха одређено за слободне, зелене површине.

На конкурс за изградњу Опере који је трајао до 3.5.1971. године, прва награда је додељена раду под шифром „102-102“, чији су аутори архитекти Hans Dal и Torben Lindhardsen, са сарадницима из Helzinger-а-Данска. Пројекат опере није изведен.

Пројекат „Савска грађевина“, 1985.

Међу идејама за уређење простора Старог сајмишта треба издвојити пројекат архитекте Михајла Митровића „Савска грађевина“ који је рађен у оквиру научног програма Српске академије наука и уметности „Средиште културе III миленијум“ из 1985. године.

“The third millennium, the new cultural center of Belgrade, if it is built in accordance with the program envisioned by a small group of enthusiasts, urbanism experts and architects, will most certainly open up what today seems to be unfathomable possibilities of communicating with the whole world. For one community, which it may be said is xenophobic to a greater degree such as ours, this could represent the “missing link” for a more spontaneous acceptance of innovation and reducing the technological and cultural divide which is becoming all the more worrisome”.

“When analyzing all possible locations for such a cultural center the Sava Amphitheater and the space on the opposing bank of the Sava River on the Novi Beograd side present themselves as obvious and irreplaceable solutions. These valuable parts of the city, in the city center, which are today filled by chaos of railway machinery, neglected unhygienic settlements, no man’s land, degraded by uncaring and negligence, create on the map of Belgrade a misconception of a city whose heart has been ripped out by inconsiderate and unsystematic planning...” (Miloš R. Perović, Center of Culture in the III Millennium: Urban Concept, 89 – 119, in “Center of Culture in the III Millennium, SANU, 1985).

Mihajlo Mitrovic in his work, following historical examples as an incentive to new construction approaches, takes Pueblo Bonito as a model (the first known plan of a collective settlement, built as a unified structure for members of the tribal community), and creates a horseshoe shaped Sava Pueblo, which stretches from where the roads to the bridge begin where the amphitheater terraces are located one next to each other toward the river and the historic silhouette of Belgrade.

In its concept the Sava Pueblo is reminiscent of structural establishment on the river, a sort of modern match to Kalemegdan, which should protect its citizens from isolation and threats from new super-civilization insecurities. This is why the Sava Pueblo had through its architecture closed itself off from Novi Beograd and completely opened itself up to its interior, the urban court yard – soldiers on the river which connect it to old Belgrade.

In the Pueblo settlement there were numerous structures intended as living quarters, for business, services, and culture and sport. Only two structures would have remained from the Old Fairground: the central tower – the architectural monument of pre-war constructivism, and the Italian pavilion. Both would have

„Das dritte Millennium wird als neues Kulturzentrum Belgrads, falls es denn nach dem Entwurf einer kleinen Gruppe von Enthusiasten, Urbanisten und Architekten, gebaut werden sollte, heute noch undenkbar Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten mit der ganzen Welt öffnen. Für eine, man könnte sagen, in großem Maße xenophob ausgerichtete Gesellschaft, wie es die unsere ist, könnte dies das „fehlende Glied“ zu einer spontaneren Aufnahme von Innovation sein wie auch zur Überbrückung der immer mehr Besorgnis erregenden Kluft in Kultur und Technologie.

“Wenn man die möglichen Orte für solch ein Kulturzentrum analysiert, drängen sich das Amphitheater der Save und der Raum am gegenüber liegenden Flussufer, in Neu-Belgrad, wie von selbst als nahezu unersetzbare Lösung auf. Dieser wertvolle Ort im wahren Kern der Stadt, heute vom Chaos der Eisenbahneinrichtungen, der verlassenen, unhygienischen Siedlungen und des Niemandslandes gekennzeichnet und durch Verwahrlosung und Fahrlässigkeit degradiert, bilden im Stadtplan Belgrads den Anschein einer Stadt, welcher durch unüberlegte und unsystematische Planung das Herz rausgerissen wurde...” (Miloš R. Perović, Kulturzentrum III. Millennium: Konzept der Urbanplanung, 89-119, in: „Kulturzentrum III. Millennium“, SAWK, 1985).

Historischen Erfahrungen als Ansporn für neue Herangehensweisen im Bauwesen folgend, nennt Mihajlo Mitrović in seiner Arbeit Pueblo Bonito als Modell, als ersten bekannten Plan einer Kollektivbehausung, erbaut in Form eines einheitlichen Objektes für Angehörige von Klangemeinden, und schafft ein hufeisenförmiges Pueblo an der Save, welches sich neben den Zugängen zu den beiden Brücken erstrecken würde, mit zum Fluss und zur historischen Silhouette Belgrads geneigten Terrassen.

In seinem Konzept lehnt sich das Sava-Pueblo an die Struktur der Nutzung des Flusses an, eine Art modernes Gegenstück zum Kalemegdan, der seine Bürger vor Isolation und vor den Unsicherheiten einer neuen Super-Zivilisation schützen sollte. Darin liegt der Grund, warum das Sava Pueblo sich durch seine Architektur ganz von Neu-Belgrad absondert und sich nach innen öffnet zum urbanen Innenhof – Soldaten auf dem Fluss der es mit dem, alten Belgrad verbindet.

Der Komplex Pueblo umfasst zahlreiche Bauten, von Wohnobjekten, verschiedenen Geschäfts- und Servicräumen bis hin zu Kultur- und Freizeitanlagen. Die äußeren Segmente des Pueblo würden für öffentliche Inhalte eingesetzt werden, während der innere Teil für Wohnhäuser vorgesehen wäre. Von Staro Sajmište

„Трећи миленијум, нови културни центар Београда уколико буде изграђен према програму који је мала група ентузијаста, урбаниста и архитеката замислила, свакако ће отворити данас неслушене могућности комуницирања са целим светом. За једну, могло би се рећи у приличној мери ксенофобну средину каква је наша то би могла да буде „жарика која недостаје“ ка спонтанијем прихватању иновација и смањењу технолошког и културног јаза који све више забрињава.

Када се анализирају могуће локације једног оваквог културног средишта, Савски амфитеатар, и простори на наспрамној обали реке Саве у Новом Београду намећу се сами по себи као скоро незаменљиво решење. Ти вредни простори града у самом средишту града, данас испуњени хаосом железничких постројења, запуштених нехигијенских насеља, ничијих терена, деградирани немаром и небригом, стварају на карти Београда привид града коме је непажљивим и несистематичним планирањем и изградњом исцупано само Срце...” (Милош Р. Перовић, Средиште културе III миленијум: урбанолошки концепт, 89-119, у: „Средиште културе III миленијум“, САНУ, 1985).

Михајло Митровић у свом раду, пратећи историјска искуства као подстицај новим градитељским приступима, као модел узима Публо Бонито, први познати план колективног насеља, изграђеног у облику јединственог објекта за становнике родовских заједница и ствара потковичасти савски публо, који се протеже уз навозе два моста са амфитеатралним терасама које се нижу према реци и историјској силуети Београда.

Савски публо у свом концепту носи у себи реминисценције грађевинске утврде на реци, неку врсту модерног пандана Калемегдану, који треба да брани своје становнике од отуђености и претњи од нових суперцивилизацијских неизвесности. Због тога се савски публо затворио својом архитектуром према Новом Београду а потпуно отворио својој унутрашњости, урбаном дворишту-редути на реци која га повезује са старим Београдом.

У грађевини публо смештени су многобројни садржаји од становања, разних пословних простора, сервиса, до простора намењених култури и рекреацији. Спољне стране публа припале би јавним садржајима а унутрашњост становању. Од Старог сајмишта задржала би се само два објекта: централна

been adapted to fit the needs of Belgrade artists, as homage to their historical presence on this space, which is considered to be one of the greatest breeding grounds of post-war modern Serbian art. These structures accompanied by a big sculpture at the end of the construction site, on the very banks of the Sava River, would have represented the base of the memorial marking of historical events from a time when this was a concentration camp. The unoccupied, green spaces were envisioned to be big park spaces with children's and sports fields, all of which was bordered by a one story structure in the shape of a horseshoe and filled with small shops, cafés, restaurants, skilled tradesmen's workshops, galleries, art studios. The Sava channel would have entered into the park field, and end in a lake.

International Open Competition for the Advancement of Urban Structures of Novi Beograd, 1986

In 1986 the International Open Competition for the Advancement of Urban Structures of Novi Beograd was commenced. There are three types of distinct ideas which relate to the location of the Old Fairground and the three bridges:

- Those that tried to integrate new public buildings with mostly live content (stores, restaurants, clubs, stages on the water as well as apartments) into the space, and hence make this a pedestrian region.
- Those that proposed the solution to developing this space in more green surfaces on Novi Beograd in those areas which are being developed first and foremost by the river front, and by changing the Old Fairground into a space for clubs; and which saw the biggest problem as being how to reconnect Novi Beograd to old Belgrade – this connection was seen as being accomplished by building a new central place, building new central urban tissue, which is located on both the left and right banks of the Sava River and the special Sava amphitheaters and the Old Fairground, as well as in constructing a new pedestrian bridge.
- Those that, onto the space of the Old Fairground settlement, applied the conceptual platform which is remembrance of Dubrovnik. Among the many ideas there were those which

währen lediglich zwei Bauten zu übernehmen: der Zentralturm, ein architektonisches Denkmals des Konstruktivismus aus der Vorkriegszeit, und der Italienische Pavillon. Beide wären für den Bedarf von Belgrader Künstlern angepasst, als Hommage an deren historische Präsenz an diesem Ort, welcher als größte Stätte der modernen serbischen Kunst der Nachkriegszeit gilt. Diese Objekte würden gemeinsam mit der großen Skulptur am Ende der Bauten, unmittelbar am Save-Ufer, die Grundlage für Gedenkfeiern zu den historischen Ereignissen aus der Zeit, als dies ein Besatzungslager war, darstellen. Die unbebaute Fläche war als große Parkanlage konzipiert, mit Kinderspielplatz und Sportplätzen, umrandet von hufeisenförmig angelegtem Erdgeschoss, in welchem sich kleinere Geschäfte, Lokale, Restaurants, Werkstätten, Galerien und Ateliers befinden würden. Der Save-Kanal, welcher in einem See münden sollte, wäre bis in die Parkanlage vorgedrungen.

Internationales Ausschreiben für die Einrichtung der urbanistischen Struktur Neu-Belgrads 1986

Im Jahr 1986 wurde das Internationale Ausschreiben für die Einrichtung der urbanistischen Struktur Neu-Belgrads veranstaltet. Unter den Ideen zur Einrichtung des Gebietes um das alte Messegelände sowie der Zone um die drei Brücken sind folgende Gruppen zu nennen:

- Entwürfe, laut denen neue öffentliche Bauten vorwiegend lebendigen Inhalts (Geschäfte, Restaurants, Klubs, eine Bühne am Wasser sowie Wohnobjekte) in den Raum integriert werden sollten, um das Gebiet zu einer Fußgängerzone zu machen;
- Entwürfe, laut denen in Neu-Belgrad ringweise Grünfläche angebaut werden sollten, vorwiegend am Fluss, und Staro Sajmište zu Klubs umzugestalten wäre. Diesen Konzepten nach lag das Hauptproblem in der Verbindung des alten Teils der Stadt mit Neu-Belgrad: diese Verbindung wird durch die Einrichtung eines neuen Zentrums geknüpft, d.h. durch Einrichtung einer zentralen Urbanregion, welche sich am linken wie auch am rechten Save-Ufer erstrecken sowie das Save-Amphitheater und Staro Sajmište umfassen würde und im Rahmen welcher der Bau einer Fußgängerbrücke vorgesehen wäre;
- Entwürfe, laut denen im Gebiet des alten Messegeländes ein Schema der Anlehnung an Dubrovnik angewandt werden sollte. Unter den Konzepten sind auch solche zu nennen, laut

kuła, architektonski spomenik predratnog konstruktivizma i Italijanski paviљon. Oba bi se adaptirala za potrebe beogradskih uметника као омаж њиховом историјском присуству на овом простору, које се сматра највећим гнездом послератне модерне српске уметности. Ови објекти са великом скулптуром на крају грађевине, уз саму обалу Саве, представљали би подлогу меморијалног обележавања историјских збивања из времена када је овде био окупаторски логор. Слободан простор виђен је као велика парковска површина са дечијим и спортским игралиштима, коју оивичива потковичасто приземље препуно малих радњи, кафеа, ресторана, занатских радњи, галерија, атељеа. У парковски простор продирало би савски канал, који би се завршио језером.

Међу. конкурс за унапређење урбане структуре Новог Београда, 1986.

Године 1986. одржан је Међународни конкурс за унапређење урбане структуре Новог Београда. Међу идејама које су се односиле на део Старог сајмишта као и зоне три моста издвајају се оне које су:

- сматрале да у простор треба интегрисати нове јавне зграде са претежно живим садржајем (радње, ресторани, клубови, позорница на води као и станови) како би се ово подручје учинило пешачким;
- решење уређења виделе у озелењавању Новог Београда у појасевима који се развијају првенствено поред реке и претварању Старог сајмишта у клубски простор; које су главни проблем виделе у повезивању старог и Новог Београда – та веза се остварује кроз изградњу новог средишта, изградњу централног урбаног ткива, које заузима леву и десну обалу Саве и просторе савског амфитеатра и Старог сајмишта као и изградњу пешачког моста;
- у простору насеља Старог сајмишта примениле шему која је сећање на Дубровник. Међу идејама се издвајају и оне које су оживљавање зоне три моста виделе у изградњи

attempt at reinvigorating the three bridges zone through construction of hotels and giving the memorial center the function of arts-crafts-exhibit-memorial center;

- Those that wanted to make the space between the Sava Center and the Sava River bank a place for the permanent center of the Non-Aligned Movement, with accompanying content or to have it as a space for a memorial park or for a cluster of art studios of the Belgrade "Montmartre".
- There were also ideas which suggested that the space of the Old Fairground be used for a sports center and that the Old Fairground be changed into a Prater! (note on translation: amusement park).

Detail Urban Plan – DUP of the "Old Belgrade Fairground" complex, 1992

In 1992 the Belgrade City Assembly adopted the DUP of the memorial complex "Old Belgrade Fairground". The plan's goal was to "create conditions for the reconstruction of the memorial complex and building a monument, as well as top priority activities".

The basic idea of the Old Fairground reconstruction is based on the permanent safe-keeping and restoration of the existing, authentic structures, building new ones at the space of those that have been demolished and the restoration of the first urban solution. This way would ensure the reconstruction of what was once an urban whole, while the authentic fair pavilions, standing today, would have the special context in which they were created. In regards to new purposes it was suggested to have the Spasic pavilion and some other of the pavilions that remained standing used for a memorial to the concentration camp, while the whole area of the fairground should have been partially and in an adequate way marked by reconstruction or interpolation of elements which would in a certain way be a reminder of the concentration camp. Exhibition spaces and art studios can be kept in an adequate way in the remaining standing pavilions. New structures, which should have been erected in places where pavilions were previously, could be used for content similar to purposes of a fair but also have them be of a polyvalent purpose, above all of strong cultural content. The overall goal must be kept in focus – that the said content in its manifestation and function does not offend the memory of human suffering, as well as making it possible to raise the esthetic value of the whole space, and not vice versa.

welchen der Wiederaufbau der Drei-Brücken-Zone durch Errichtung von Hotelkomplexen und mit vorgesehener Funktion des Ortes als Kunst-, Handwerks-, Ausstellungs- und Gedenkstätte erfolgen sollte;

- Entwürfe, laut denen das Gebiet zwischen des Sava Centar und des Save-Ufers für die Einrichtung eines fortwährenden Zentrums der Blockfreien Staaten mit Zusatzbauten oder für die Einrichtung eines Gedenkparks und einer Reihen von Ateliers, des „Belgrader Montmartres“, genutzt werden sollte.
- Entwürfe laut denen auf dem alten Messegelände ein Sportzentrum errichtete und Staro Sajmište zum „Belgrader Prater“ werden sollte!

UDT des Gedenkkomplexes „Altes Belgrader Messegelände“ 1992

Im Jahr 1992 verabschiedete das Belgrader Stadtparlament einen Urbanistischen Detailplan des Gedenkkomplexes „Altes Belgrader Messegelände“. Ziel des Planes war es, „Bedingungen für einen Wiederaufbau des Komplexes und Einrichtung einer Gedenkstätte zu schaffen sowie primäre Maßnahmen zu definieren“.

Die Grundidee zur Rekonstruktion des alten Messegeländes basiert auf langfristigem Erhalt und Restauration vorhandener, authentischer Bauten, wie auch auf Errichtung neuer Objekte an Stelle und mit Dimensionen der niedergerissenen Messepavillons und Wiederaufbau der ursprünglichen urbanistischen Einrichtung. Auf diese Weise wäre die einstige urbanistische Einheit wieder hergestellt und den authentischen, bis heute erhaltenen Messepavillons der räumliche Kontext, in welchem sie entstanden sind, gewährleistet. In Bezug auf den neuen Zweck wurde vorgeschlagen, dass der Spasić-Pavillon sowie einige weitere erhaltene Pavillons zum Gedenken an das Lager dienen, während das ganze Gelände stellenweise und in angebrachter Art mit Elementen versehen werden sollte, welche an die Zeit als Lager anknüpfen würden. Die anderen erhalten gebliebenen Pavillons könnten adäquat als Ateliers oder Galerien dienen. Die neuen Bauten, welche an Stelle der einstigen Pavillons errichtet werden sollten, könnten für messeähnliche Veranstaltungen vorgesehen werden, sollten jedoch einen polyvalenten Zweck mit Betonung auf kulturellen Inhalten aufweisen. Wichtig ist, besonders zu bedenken, dass diese Inhalte in ihrer Umsetzung und Funktion das Gedenken an menschliches Leiden nicht rügen sondern dazu beitragen, den ästhetischen Wert des gesamten Raumes zu erhöhen, und nicht umgekehrt.

хотелских комплекса и давању функције уметничко-занатско-изложбено-меморијалног центра ;

- простор између Сава центра и савске обале предвиђале за изградњу сталног центра несврстаних земаља, с пратећим садржајима или формирању спомен-парка и скупине атељеа-београдског „Монмартра“.
- постојале су и идеје да се на простору насеља Старо сајмиште изгради спортски центар и да се Старо сајмиште претвори у Пратер!

ДУП споменичког комплекса „Старо београдско сајмиште“, 1992.

Године 1992. Скупштина града Београда је усвојила Детаљни Урбанистички план споменичког комплекса „Старо београдско сајмиште“. Циљ израде плана био је да се „створе услови за реконструкцију споменичког комплекса и изградњу спомен-обележја, као приоритетне акције.

Основна идеја реконструкције простора Старог сајмишта се темељи на трајном чувању и рестаурацији постојећих, аутентичних објеката, изградњи нових зграда на местима и у габаритима порушених сајамских павиљона и обнови првобитног урбанистичког решења. На тај начин се реконструира некадашња урбанистичка целина, а аутентичним сајамским павиљонима, до данас очуваним, се обезбеђује просторни контекст у коме су настали. У погледу нових намена, предложено је да Спасићев павиљон и још неки од очуваних павиљона послуже за обележавање сећања на логор, а цела површина сајмишта местимично и на прикладан начин треба да се обележи реконструкцијом или интерполацијом елемената који би на одређени начин асоцирали на период логора. У осталим сачуваним павиљонима могу се на прикладан начин сачувати атељеи и изложбени простори. Нови објекти, који би требало да се подигну на местима несталих павиљона, могу да буду намењени садржајима сличним сајамским, али да буду поливалентне намене, пре свега наглашеног културног садржаја. Мора се имати у виду циљ да ти садржаји својом манифестацијом и функцијом не вређају сећање на људске патње, као и да омогућавају да се подижу естетске вредности укупног простора, а не обрнуто.

The DUP from 1992 has to this day remained unrealized, except for the memorial monument which was raised to the victims of genocide and the fact that the river bank was cleared and developed.

“EUROPOLIS” – Belgrade on the Sava River” Project, 1995

One of the heirs of the royalty rights of one of the First Belgrade Fairground developers – architect Rajko Tatic – Darko Tatic, in 1995 brought forth and argued in favor of his proposition for the reconstruction of the architectural-urban complex Old Fairground, its revitalization as the old center of the new city on the left bank of the Sava River, and lastly its functional connection to the new purposes and content of the EUROPOLIS-BELGRADE ON THE SAVA RIVER project. The project applicant thought that it was necessary to include the idea of restoring the complex in the international open competition Europolis-Belgrade on the Sava River, intended to start in 1996. Therefore he began the discussion on this topic and called on all individuals and relevant institutions to give their point of view. His idea was supported by the Serbian Society of Art Historians.

In regards to the reasons for the restoration of the complex Darko Tatic stated that the Old Fairground is a monument to the Serbian, Yugoslavian, worker's spirit, entrepreneurship, industry, trade and creative potentials. He also represented it as a symbol of suffering, pain and destruction. He thought that the act of restoring the Fair would mean not only showing respect for the past and identity, but would also serve as a monument to our self-consciousness. Tatic was against restoration of the Fair in regards to the concentration camp, but thought that one pavilion should be changed into a museum. Regarding the state of existing pavilions, degree of how well preserved the previous plans were and the film footage, he also thought that those in charge of the restoration should be at liberty to shape the interior in accordance with the new purpose, and in accordance to the needs and concepts of Europolis. Stepping out onto the banks, according to Tatic, opens up the possibility of creating several intricate avenues which could bear the names of those Serbs who fought in Serbian wars or those who witnessed their sufferin Since the Old Fairground is a big and holy place where the Jewish population suffered, there is a moral responsibility to mark this fact – which is something that would be greatly welcomed by the state of Israel, in accordance with their tradition of never forgetting and marking such places. Tatic goes on to say that if we look at the matter from the perspective of Europolis, the reconstruction could be done in

Der Urbanistische Detailplan von 1992 wurde, abgesehen von der Errichtung eines Denkmals für Völkermordopfer und der Einrichtung des Flussufers, bislang nicht umgesetzt.

Projekt „EUROPOLIS – Belgrad an der Save“ 1995

Darko Tatić, Erbe der Urheberrechte eines der Architekten der ersten Belgrader Messe, Rajko Tatić, erbrachte und argumentierte 1995 im Rahmen des Projekts EUROPOLIS – BELGRAD AN DER SAVE einen Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion des architektonisch-urbanistischen Komplexes Staro Sajmište, wodurch es als alter Kern der Neuen Stadt am linken Save-Ufer wieder aufleben und funktional auf den vorgeschlagenen neuen Zweck und Inhalt abgestimmt werden sollte. Der Einbringer dieses Vorschlags hielt es für notwendig, die Idee zur Restauration des Komplexes zum Teil des für Anfang 1996 vorgesehenen internationalen Ausschreibens Europolis – Belgrad an der Save zu machen. Damit eröffnete er eine Debatte und forderte alle Einzelperson und relevanten Institutionen dazu auf, ihre Haltung zu diesem Thema zu äußern. Diese Idee erhielt Unterstützung vom Kunsthistorischen Verband Serbiens.

In seiner Begründung für eine Rekonstruktion des alten Messegeländes beschreibt Darko Tatić Staro Sajmište als Denkmal der serbischen und jugoslawischen Arbeitsmoral, des Unternehmergeistes, der Industrie, des Handels und kreativen Potentials. Ebenfalls stellt er den Ort als Symbol von Leiden, Tod und Zerstörung dar. Seiner Auffassung nach wäre ein Wiederaufbau des alten Messegeländes nicht nur ein Ausdruck des Respekts gegenüber der Vergangenheit und der Identität sondern zugleich auch ein Denkmal unseres Selbstverständnisses. Tatić setzt sich nicht für den Neuaufbau des Messegeländes in seiner Form als Lager ein, ist jedoch der Meinung, einer der Pavillons sollte als Museum eingerichtet werden. Ebenfalls ist er der Auffassung, dem Wiederaufbauteam sollte, gemäß aktuellem Zustand der Pavillons und dem, wie gut oder schlecht Pläne und Filmaufnahmen erhalten sind, freie Hand gelassen werden, um die Innenausstattung dem neuen Zweck entsprechend und gemäß Bedarf und Konzept von Europolis zu gestalten. Die Ausweitung des Komplexes zu den Flussufern ermögliche es laut Tatić, ein Geflecht von Aleen einzurichten, welche die Namen der Teilnehmer an serbischen Kämpfen oder der Zeugen deren Schicksals tragen könnten. Da Staro Sajmište auch zum tragischen Galgen des jüdischen Volkes wurde, sei man moralisch dazu verpflichtet, diese Tatsache zu würdigen, was auch der Staat Israel in Einklang mit seiner Tradition des Gedenkens und der Einrichtung solcher

ДУП Старог сајмишта из 1992. остао је досад неостварен, осим подизања спомен-обележја жртвама геноцида и уређења обале.

Пројекат „ЕУРОПОЛИС-Београд на Сави“, 1995.

Године 1995, наследник ауторских права једног од градитеља Првог београдског сајма архитекте Рајка Татића, Дарко Татић, изнео је и образложио предлог реконструкције архитектонско-урбанистичког комплекса Старо сајмиште, његову ревитализацију као старог језгра Новог града на левој обали Саве и коначно његово функционално уклапање са предлогом нових намена и садржаја у оквиру пројекта ЕУРОПОЛИС-БЕОГРАД НА САВИ. Подносилац овог предлога сматрао је да је неопходно идеју реставрације комплекса уврстити у међународни конкурс Еурополис-Београд на Сави предвиђеног за почетак 1996. Тиме је отворио дискусију и позвао све појединце и релевантне институције да о овој теми изнесу свој став. Ова идеја је наишла на подршку Друштва историчара уметности Србије.

У разлозима реконструкције комплекса Дарко Татић истиче Старо сајмиште као споменик српском, југословенском, радном духу, предузетништву, индустрији, трговини и стваралачким потенцијалима. Такође га представља као симбол страдања, патње и разарања. Сматра да би акт обнове Сајма значајно не само поштовање прошлости и идентитета већ би истовремено био споменик нашој самосвести. Татић се не залаже за обнову Сајма као логора али сматра да би један од павиљона требало претворити у музеј. Он такође сматра да би спрам постојећег стања павиљона, очуваности/неочуваности планова и филмског материјала обновитељ имао слободу да уобличи ентеријер у складу са новом наменом према потребама и концепцији Еурополиса. Излазак на обале по њему пружа могућност остварења сплета алеја које би могле носити имена оних учесника у борбама српског народа или сведока његових страдања. Како је Старо сајмиште велико и свето стратиште и јеврејског народа, морална је обавеза да та чињеница буде обележена, што би од стране државе Израел, а у складу са њиховом традицијом незаборављања и обележавања таквих места, вишеструко било поздрављено. Татић даље каже да посматрано из призме Еурополиса, обнова би се могла извести на различите начине. Она би могла ставити акценат на неке актуелне вредности тако што би павиљони могли послужити као пословни простор, место културних догађања, музеј, трговачки центар...

several ways. Some current values could be expressed through the reconstruction by having the pavilions employed as business space, spaces of cultural manifestations, museums, trade centers...

The Society of Art Historians of Serbia, which works on presenting and protecting the cultural heritage and heritage regarding paintings, used one of Tatić's conclusions regarding the harmonious connectedness of the Old Fairground and the Museum of Modern Art as being a memorial whole of our modern artistic scene regarding paintings, as one of the means of giving support to his proposal of reconstructing the complex and for its further protection. They state that the art studios in pavilions and the museum could be, aside from being means of accessing art workshops and presenting contemporary culture, also incorporated into the future Europolis program as one of the famous places of the capital city's cultural life, where modern art is created – which would also be offered in Belgrade's tourism program.

Tatić's proposal and the Society of Art Historians of Serbia's support, was followed by a period of silence. With the arrival of the new century the Old Fairground – Gestapo Concentration Camp gains prominence again. In an attempt to keep it from being forgotten, from neglect and misuse, and in the main goal of raising the citizens' awareness (about the onetime Belgrade Fair, about the victims and the suffering during the Second World War, the youth brigades which were stationed there while building Novi Beograd and the painters' colony) and the idea of revitalizing the Old Fairground in the past several years more and more exhibits, panels, discussions, round tables are being held, and most participants have hopes that this will not be another case of "a lot of talk, with no action".

General Plan of Belgrade 2021, 2003 and 2005

The basic starting point of the General Plan of Belgrade 2021 is an affirmation of urban continuity, during which the construction heritage is seen as a resource that has not been reused but is also a stimulant for development. "The Plan therefore protects and promotes cultural monuments, special cultural-historical wholes, archeological digs and important locations, natural cross-sections of the ground which has historically confirmed and esthetically

Stätten mehrfach zu schätzen wüsste. Des weiteren erläutert Tatić, dass der Wiederaufbau aus einer Europolis immanenten Sicht auf unterschiedliche Weisen erfolgen könnte. Einige der aktuellen Werte betonend könnten die Pavillons als Geschäftsräume, Kulturzentren, Museen, Handelszentren eingerichtet werden...

Unter Bezugnahme auf eines der Argumente von Darko Tatić, welches sich auf die harmonische Verbindung von Staro Sajmište und dem Museum für zeitgenössische Kunst als einzigartige Einheit mit Gedenkwert für unsere moderne Kunstszene bezieht, unterstützt der Kunsthistorische Verband Serbiens, dessen Tätigkeiten Präsentation und Wahrung von Kunst- und Kulturerbe umfassen, in Anbetracht des Dargelegten den Vorschlag über einen Wiederaufbau des Komplexes und setzt sich für seinen weiteren Erhalt ein. Auffassung des Verbandes ist es, dass die Ateliers in den Pavillons und das Museum, neben ihrer Funktion als Zugang zu Kunstwerkstätten und zur Präsentation moderner Kunst, als ein Kultplatz im Kulturleben der Hauptstadt, an welchem zeitgenössische Kunst entsteht, in das künftige Programm von Europolis integriert werden könnten, was auch im Tourismusprogramm Belgrads entsprechend anzubieten wäre.

Nach diesem Vorschlag und der Reaktion des Kunsthistorischen Verbandes Serbiens folgte Stille. Mit dem Einbruch des neuen Jahrhunderts wird das Gestapolager Staro Sajmište als Thema wieder aktuell. Mit dem Ziel, den Komplex nicht in Vergessenheit geraten zu lassen, ihn vor fahrlässiger und inadäquater Nutzung zu wahren und mit der Hauptaufgabe, das Bewusstsein der Stadtbewohner zu wecken (über den einstigen Komplex der Belgrader Messe, über die Opfer und ihr Leiden im Zweiten Weltkrieg, über die Siedlung der Jugendbrigaden im Laufe der Errichtung von Neu-Belgrad, über die Künstlerkolonie) und der Idee, das alte Messegelände wieder aufleben zu lassen, werden in letzter Zeit immer häufiger Ausstellungen, Tribünen und Diskussionsrunden veranstaltet, während denen die meisten Teilnehmer hoffen, es werde nicht nur bei tatlosen Worten bleiben.

Generalplan Belgrads 2021, 2003, 2005

Ausgangspunkt des Generalplans Belgrads 2021 ist die Bejahung einer urbanen Kontinuität, im Laufe welcher das architektonische Erbe als nicht ersetzbare Ressource und Ansporn für weitere Entwicklung behandelt wird. „Somit werden im Rahmen des Plans Kulturdenkmäler, räumliche kulturgeschichtliche Einheiten, archäologische Fundstellen und sehenswerte Orte, natürliche Schnittstellen des Terrains mit integrierten, historisch

Износећи једну од констатација Дарка Татића која се односи на хармоничну повезаност Старог сајмишта и Музеја савремене уметности као својеврсном споменичком целином наше савремене ликовне сцене, Друштво историчара уметности Србије, које се бави презентацијом и заштитом ликовног и културног наслеђа, уз све већ претходно наведено пружа подршку предлогу обнове комплекса и залаже се за његово даље очување. Они износе да би атељеи у павиљонима и Музеј могли бити, поред приступа уметничким радионицама и презентацији савремене уметности, уграђени у програм будућег „Еурополиса“, као једно од културних места културног живота главног града, где се ствара савремена уметност, што би имало адекватну понуду и у туристичком програму Београда.

Након овог предлога и одговора Друштва историчара уметности Србије уследио је период тишине. Доласком новог века Старо сајмиште-логор Гестапоа поново постаје актуелно. У тежњи да се отргне од заборавља, немара и лошег коришћења са главним задатком буђење свести грађана (о некадашњем комплексу Београдског сајма, о жртвама и страдању током Другог светског рата, насељу омладинских бригада током изградње Новог Београда и сликарској колонији) и идеји ревитализације Старог сајмишта задњих година се све чешће одржавају изложбе, трибине, дискусије, округли столови за које се већина учесника нада да неће остати само речи без дела.

Генерални план Београда 2021, 2003, 2005.

Основно полазиште Генералног плана Београда 2021. године је афирмација урбаног континуитета, током којег се градитељско наслеђе поставља као необновљени ресурс и стимуланс развоја. „Планом се зато штите и промовишу споменици културе, просторне културно-историјске целине, археолошка налазишта и знаменита места, природни пресеци терена са историјски потврђеним и естетски вреднованим уграђеним

valued built in benchmarks, envisioned ideas and silhouettes, in the goal of preserving the spirit and character of urban spaces, permanently highlight and present all the valued elements of city structure and define the paths of establishing continuity with those aspects of the city that are still growing and being developed". The Old Belgrade Fair falls under the rules for "areas of complete reconstruction" which consists of "combined application of integrative conservation, urban reconstruction and special development, in accordance with the breadth and level of the heritage's construction value".

New Initiatives from 2006 to 2008

In the National Museum as part of the "Old Fairground Days", in 2006, there was a panel discussion which aimed at having the wider public informed about the facts regarding the Old Fairground, pointing out the unfathomable devastation of this space and the danger of the complex's destruction, as well as making suggestions for how it may be reconstructed. A great number of different experts, during a long discussion, stated their opinions on existing relevant issues.

In regards to the revitalization of the Old Fairground the "Old Fairground – As a Cultural, Historic, Urban-Urbanological Resource With Great Industrial Potential" project must be mentioned; its first activities took place during the manifestation Central Celebration of European Heritage Day, which was held in Belgrade in September 2007. As part of this event the Urbanism Society of Belgrade and the Urbanism Institute of Belgrade gave mutual incentive to this manifestation with an exhibit which was held in the main hall of the Urbanism Institute. The project continued in 2008.

At the Architecture Expo in 2008 held in the Museum of Applied Art, the exhibit was enriched by new materials and accompanying program which not only stressed the importance of the Old Fairground but also the 60 years of Novi Beograd, whose nucleus (the old core of the new city) is the Old Fairground. As part of the project, the likes of which was presented at the 30th Architecture Expo, the leading roles were given to the young artists/students and their mentors who had. Through their work (plans, scenography, acting, photography, new architecture) at the "Old Fairground – Past/Present/Future" they tried to make the

belegten und ästhetische hoch gewerteten Maßstäben, Ansichten und Silhouetten bewahrt und präsentiert, mit dem Ziel, den Geist und Charakter des urbanen Raumes zu wahren, alle wertvollen Strukturelemente der Stadt auf Dauer hervorzuheben und zu präsentieren sowie Wege zu definieren, wie eine Verbindung geschaffen werden kann zu denjenigen Teilen der Stadt, welche immer noch wachsen und sich entfalten." Das alte Belgrader Messegelände unterliegt den Regeln für „Gebiete allgemeinen Aufbaus“, worunter eine „kombinierte Anwendung integrierender Konservierung, urbanen Wiederaufbaus und räumlicher Einrichtung zu verstehen ist, in Umfang und Grad an den Wert des architektonischen Erbes angepasst“.

Neue Initiativen zwischen 2006 und 2008

Im Jahr 2006 wurde im Nationaltheater im Rahmen der Veranstaltung „Tage des Staro Sajmište“ eine Tribüne abgehalten, deren Ziel es war, die breite Öffentlichkeit mit Tatsachen über Staro Sajmište vertraut zu machen, auf die kaum fassbare Verwahrlosung dieses Ortes und seine drohende Zerstörung hinzuweisen sowie Vorschläge zu Möglichkeiten eines Wiederaufbaus zu sammeln. In einer umfassenden Diskussion erläuterte eine ganze Reihe von Experten ihre Haltung gegenüber dieser Anglegenheit.

Im Ziele einer Revitalisierung des alten Messegeländes ist auch das Projekt „Das alte Belgrader Messegelände zu kulturelle, historische und urbanistische Ressource mit großem wirtschaftlichen Potential“ zu nennen, dessen erste Aktivitäten während der Veranstaltung „Zentrale Feier zum Tag des europäischen Erbes“ ansetzten, welche in September 2007 in Belgrad stattfand. Bei dieser Gelegenheit unterstützten der Belgrader Urbanistikverband und die Urbanismusanstalt Belgrads gemeinschaftlich diese Veranstaltung, indem sie im Hauptfoyer der Urbanismusanstalt eine Ausstellung organisierten. Das Projekt wurde auf das laufende Jahr übertragen.

Beim Architektursalon 2008 im Museum für angewandte Kunst wurde die Ausstellung um neues Material und Begleitprogramme bereichert, welche nicht nur die Bedeutung von Staro Sajmište selbst hervorheben sollten, sondern auch das 60-jährige Jubiläum Neu-Belgrads, dessen Nukleus (alter Kern der neuen Stadt) gerade Staro Sajmište ist. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt, welches beim 30. Architektursalon vorgestellt wurde, ist zu betonen, dass die Hauptakteure junge Künstler/Studenten und ihre Mentoren waren. In ihren Arbeiten (Pläne, Bühnenbild, Schauspiel, Fotografie, neue Architektur) versuchten sie im Rah-

реперима, визурама и силуетама, са циљем да се очува дух и карактер урбаног простора, трајно назначе и презентују сви вредновани елементи градске структуре и дефинишу путеве успостављања континуитета са оним аспектима града који даље расту и развијају се". Старо београдско сајмиште подлеже правилима за „подручја опште обнове“ под којом се подразумева „комбинована примена интегративне конзервације, урбане обнове и уређења простора, усаглашена према обиму и нивоу вредности градитељског наслеђа“.

Нове иницијативе од 2006. до 2008. године

Године 2006. у Народном музеју у оквиру манифестације „Дани Старог сајмишта“ одржана је трибина са циљем да се шири јавност упозна са чињеницама о Старом сајмишту, да се укаже на несхватљиву девастацију овога места и опасност од уништења комплекса, као и да се изнесу предлози о начинима његове обнове. У опширној дискусији, велики број различитих стручњака изнео је своје виђење о наведеним питањима.

У циљу ревитализације Старог сајмишта треба поменути и пројекат „Старо београдско сајмиште-као културни, историјски, урбанистичко-урбаноолошки ресурс са великим привредним потенцијалом“ чије су прве активности почеле током манифестације Централне прославе дана европске баштине која се одржала у Београду септембра 2007. године. У оквиру овог догађаја Друштво урбаниста Београда и Урбанистички завод Београда су заједнички дали подстицај овој манифестацији изложбом која је била постављена у главном холу Урбанистичког завода. Пројекат се проширио и на текућу годину.

На Салону архитектуре 2008. године у Музеју примењене уметности, изложба је обogaћена новим материјалом и пратећим програмом који нису истицали значај само Старог сајмишта него и 60 година Новог Београда, чији је нуклеус (Старо језгро новог града) Старо сајмиште. У склопу пројекта какав је представљен на 30 салону архитектуре треба истаћи да су главне улоге имали млади уметници/студенти и њихови ментори. Својим радовима (планови, сценографија, глума, фотографија, нова архитектура) они су покушали да кроз изложбу Старо сајмиште прошлост/садашњост/будућност

complex more approachable, save it and incorporate it into modern life. Answering their professors' assignments the architecture students made several completely different solutions which span from demolishing the whole complex and then rebuilding it, to reconstructing those pavilions which are no longer standing

During the Architecture Expo a round table also took place – on the topic of the Old Fairground development. Aside from existing fears that the complex may end up being owned by some investor if something is not done soon, it was stated that there is no consensus over its future purpose even though the urban plan shows that the structures will be reconstructed. It was also suggested that the best solution would be forming a company which would regulate this question and all accompanying problems which would be posed by reconstruction of the Old Fairground – and this relates also to the people who live there, where they would be moved to and how many new structures would be built.

At the beginning of May 2009, during the Belgrade Design Week, a discussion was held about the necessity of building a memorial center at the place where the Old Fairground concentration camp used to be. One of the participants, architect Danijel Libeskind, who designed the Jewish memorial centers in Berlin and Copenhagen, stressed the role of architectural memorials in reminding people about injustices. He stressed the need to acknowledge the past and that people must be made aware of what had happened and what the repercussions of these events were. He believes that the complex's future survival is in educational purposes; Fond B92 supports this idea and hopes that an educational center will be established and will, drawing on the existing heritage, teach tolerance and living together in peace. During the discussion criticism could be heard regarding the business dealings of the "Poseidon" company – which has owned the space of former Spasić's pavilion since 1998 and rents the space for various sports events, concerts and other events.

When it comes to what is going on regarding the reconstruction of the Old Fairground complex it must be said that in the period from 2005 to 2007 it was the subject of research of two concept projects which aimed at some sort of rehabilitation sidestepping

men der Ausstellung Staro Sajmište: Vergangenheit/Gegenwart/Zukunft den Komplex zugänglich zu machen, ihn zu erhalten und ins moderne Leben zu integrieren. In ihrer Bearbeitung der von Dozenten verfassten Aufgaben entwarfen die Architekturstudenten einige gänzlich unterschiedliche Konzepte, welche vom Niederriss des gesamten Komplexes über Neubau bis hin zum Wiederaufbau der zerstörten Pavillons reichten.

Im Rahmen des Architektursalons fand auch eine Diskussionsrunde zum Thema der Einrichtung des Komplexes am alten Messegelände statt. Neben der Angst, das Gelände könnte, falls nicht schnell etwas unternommen wird, in die Hände eines Anlegers gelangen, wurde festgestellt, dass kein Konsens über seinen künftigen Zweck bestünde, obwohl laut urbanistischem Plan vorgesehen sei, die Bauten zu rekonstruieren. Des Weiteren wurde vorgeschlagen, ein Unternehmen zu gründen, welches sich mit dieser Angelegenheit und allen auftretenden Schwierigkeiten beim Wiederaufbau des alten Messegeländes (worunter auch die Frage, wohin die Menschen, die dort leben, ausgesiedelt werden sollten, soweit die Zahl der neuen Bauten zu verstehen ist) auseinandersetzen würde.

Im Rahmen der Belgrader Designwoche Anfang Mai 2009 wurde eine Debatte über die erforderliche Einrichtung einer Gedenkstätte am Standort des einstigen Lagers Staro Sajmište veranstaltet. Einer der Teilnehmer, Architekt Daniel Libeskind, welcher die jüdischen Gedenkzentren in Berlin und Kopenhagen entwarf, betonte die Rolle von architektonischen Denkmälern für die Bewusstmachung von Greueln. Er hob hervor, wie notwendig es sei, die Vergangenheit anzuerkennen und Menschen die damaligen Ereignisse und deren Folgen vor Augen zu führen. Seiner Meinung nach läge die Zukunft des Komplexes in seinem didaktischen Zweck, was auch der Fonds B92 mit dem Wunsch, ein Bildungszentrum einzurichten, wo aufgrund von vorhandenem Erbe Toleranz und Zusammenleben gelehrt werden würden, unterstützt. Im Laufe der Diskussion wurden auch Kritiken an der Vorgehensweise des Unternehmens „Poseydon“ lautbar, das seit 1998 Eigentümer des Grundstückes, auf welchem sich einst der Spasić-Pavillon befand, ist und im Rahmen seiner Geschäfte den Raum auch für diverse Sportveranstaltungen, Konzerte und sonstige Programme vermietet.

Was die Maßnahmen zum Wiederaufbau des Komplexes am alten Messegelände anbelangt ist zu nennen, dass in der Zeit zwischen 2005 und 2007 Ausforschungen im Rahmen zweier Projektkonzepte für eine Art von Wiederaufbau außerhalb der

uchine Komplex pristupačnim, sačuvaју ga i uključe u savremeni život. Odgovaraјући na zadatak profesora studenti arhitekture su napravili nekoliko potpuno različitih rešenja, koja idu od rušenja celog kompleksa do ponovnog zidaња, do obnavljanja srušenih paviliona.

У оквиру Салона архитектуре одржан је и округли сто на тему уређења комплекса Старо сајмиште. Поред бојазни да би комплекс уколико се нешто убрзо не предузме могао прећи у руке неког инвеститора, исказано је да не постоји сагласност око његове будуће намене и поред тога што у урбанистичком плану стоји да ће објекти бити обновљени. Такође је предочено и да би најбоље решење било оформити предузеће које би се бавило овим питањем, са свим пратећим проблемима које би реконструкција Старог сајмишта носила, при чему се мисли и на људе који тамо живе где би се они иселили и који је број новоизграђених објеката.

У оквиру Београдске недеље дизајна, почетком маја 2009. одржана је дискусија о неопходности изградње Меморијалног центра на простору где је био логор Старо сајмиште. Један од учесника архитекта Данијел Либескинд, који је пројектовао јеврејске меморијалне центре у Берлину и Копенхагену, истакао је улогу архитектонских споменика у подсећању људи на злодела. Истакао је потребу признавања прошлости и да људи морају бити свесни шта се догађало и које су последице тога. Он сматра да је даљи опстанак комплекса у едукацији а ову идеју са жељом да се оформи едукативни центар који ће из постојећег наслеђа учити толеранцији и суживоту подржао је и Фонд Б92. У току дискусије чуло се и осуђивање рада фирме „Poseydon“ која је од 1998. године власник простора некадашњег Спасићевог павиљона и у чији опсег пословања улази и издавање простора за разна спортска, концертна и друга дешавања.

Када су дешавања везана за обнову комплекса Старог сајмишта у питању треба рећи и да је у периоду од 2005 - 2007. године био предмет истраживања кроз два концепта пројекта за неку врсту рехабилитације ван званичних институција.

the existing institutions. One was part of the Feasibility Study on conversion of the urban settlement for the needs of Belgrade's creative sector, as part of the SAIT (Social Actors in Transformation) Belgrade project, as part of the international team CHOROS International Projects, New York. The other concept dealt with the application of the IDEAS program, as part of the UNOPS program. Applying the experiences of revitalizing Havana's historic center (and social program at the same time), this concept was deemed irrational since ownership would not be clear, expenses of relocating the families that live there today and the artists' studios would be too high, and also the managing rights over the complex would not be clear either.

4. THE OLD FAIRGROUND TODAY

4.1. State of the Physical Structures

4.1.1. Structures

Today's structures which are in the Old Fairground can be divided into three groups in regards to the time they were constructed:

- structures built by 1939
- structures built between 1945 – 1950
- structures built after 1950

Structures built by 1939

1. *The Central Tower* (Old Fairground no. 3, cadastre property - c.p. 2360) – built in 1937 according to Aleksandar Sekulić's project. It has exceptional architectural value and is the recognizable symbol of the complex. It consists of a two-story base on a round foundation and a tower. The structure is 40 meters high. It was originally intended for exhibitions and business space, while during the time of the Nazi concentration camp it housed part of the camp's directorate.

Urbanism Institute – IONO, reached a decision in 1952 the Tower was given over to artists (painters, sculptors) to be used for artists' studios, and today it is used for living quarters.

The central tower has been preserved though it has changed – aside from the renovations and adaptations done in the fifties,

offiziellen Institutionen durchgeführt wurden. Eines war eine Machbarkeitsstudie über eine Konversion des urbanen Erbes für Bedarf des kreativen Sektors in Belgrad, welche Bestandteil des SAIT-Projekts (Social Actors in Transformation) zu Belgrad gemeinsam mit einem internationalen Team (CHOROS International Projects, New York) war. Das andere Konzept war die Anwendung des IDEAS-Programmes als Teil des UNOPS. Indem die Erfahrungen aus dem Wiederaufbau des historischen Kerns Havanas samt zeitgleichem Sozialprogramm bewertet wurden, wurde dieses Konzept wegen unklarer eigentumsrechtlichen Verhältnisse, hoher Umsiedlungskosten für die Familien, welche heute dieses Gebiet bewohnen, der Künstlerateliers und nicht eindeutigem Verwaltungsrecht über den Komplex als unvernünftig beurteilt.

4. STARO SAJMIŠTE HEUTE

4.1. Zustand der physikalischen Struktur

4.1.1. Bauten

Der aktuelle Korpus an Bauten im komplex Staro Sajmište kann nach Zeitpunkt der Errichtung in drei Gruppen unterteilt werden:

- bis 1939 entstandene Bauten
- zwischen 1945 und 1950 entstandene Bauten
- nach 1950 entstandene Bauten

Bis 1939 entstandene Bauten

1. *Zentralturm* (Staro Sajmište 3, KP 2360) – 1937 nach Entwurf von Aleksandar Sekulić errichtet. Der Turm zeichnet sich durch ausgesprochene architektonische Signifikanz aus und ist mit seinem Wiedererkennungswert Symbol des Komplexes. Das Objekt besteht aus einer zweistöckigen Basis mit kreisförmigem Fundament und Turm. Es ist 40 Meter hoch. Sein ursprünglicher Zweck war es, als Ausstellungs- und Geschäftsraum zu dienen, während zur Zeit des KZ-Lagers hier ein Teil der Lagerverwaltung einquartiert war.

Mit Beschluss der Exekutive im Volksausschuss wurde er 1952 Künstlern (Malern und Bildhauern) als Atelier zur Verfügung gestellt; heute dient er als Wohnobjekt.

Der Zenralturm ist in veränderter Form erhalten – neben den Änderungen und Anpassungen, welche in den 50-er Jahren des

Један је био у оквиру физибилити студије конверзије урбаног наслеђа за потребе креативног сектора Београда, у оквиру SAIT (Social Actors in Transition) Београд пројекта у заједничком интернационалном тиму (Choros International Projects, New York). Други концепт је био примена програма IDEAS, у оквиру програма UNOPS. Примењујући искуства ревитализације историјског језгра Хаване кроз истовремени социјални програм овај концепт је оцењен као нерационалан, из разлога нејасног власништва, великих трошкова расељавања породица које данас станују на локацији, уметничких атељеа и нејасних управљачких права над комплексом.

4. СТАРО САЈМИШТЕ ДАНАС

4.1. С тање физичке структуре

4.1.1. Објекти

Данашњи грађевински фонд у оквиру комплекса Старо сајмиште може се поделити у три групе обзиром на време изградње:

- Објекти настали до 1939. године.
- Објекти настали у периоду 1945-50. године
- Објекти настали после 1950. године

Објекти настали до 1939. године

1. *Централна кула* (Старо сајмиште бр.3, к.п.2360) - изграђена је 1937. године по пројекту Александра Секулића. Поседује изузетне архитектонске вредности и препознатљив је симбол комплекса. Састоји се из двоспратне базе кружне основе и куле. Висина објекта је 40 м. Првобитна намена била је изложбена и пословни простор, а за време нацистичког логора у њој је био смештен део управе логора.

Одлуком ИОНО-а 1952. године додељена је уметницима (сликари, вајари) за потребе атељеа, а данас се користи и за становање.

Централна кула је сачувана у измењеном облику - поред преправки и адаптација извршених педесетих година прошлог

recent interventions on the exterior carpentry are noticeable (new windows and doors – since the structures are used as living quarters). The overall condition of the structure is very bad, and the visible damage on the reinforced concrete columns of the tower is most worrisome.

A static sanitation project for the structure must momentarily be made. It is also necessary to examine the state of all installations, as well as to ascertain if there is a problem with dampness. After decision have been reached on the future purpose of the structures it is necessary to make a Reconstruction, Adaptation and Revitalization Project, which would have as an integral part restoration and conservation.

2. Directorate building (Old Fairground, no. 29, c.p. 2341/9) – built in 1937, according to Aleksandar Sekulic's project. It is a smaller structure with a dominant RIZALIT (nigde nisam nashla prevod ni objasnjenje ovog pojma), built in a half circle, on the main part of the exterior. The first purpose was administrative, while during the Nazi concentration camp it was part of the camp Directorate.

The structure has been maintained to this day, with some changes and additions. The building is used for office space of the English Book company, which owns it.

Considering that the archival plans are still in existence it is still possible to make a conservation-restoration project, as well as a project for reconstruction and revitalization.

3. Spasic's pavilion (Old Fairground, no. 20, c.p. 2354) built in 1937 according to Aleksandar Sekulic's project. It was designed as a structure with an elliptical base with an accented entrance annex of a rectangular base. It spans 1320 square meters. In regards to its architectural characteristics the pavilion represents an important example of the high modernist architecture, characteristic for Belgrade's architecture during the last decade before the war. During the Second World War the camp's hospital was located there.

During the post-war period Spasic's pavilion, on Old Fairground no. 20, had different uses. During the fifties its premises were by the Directorate for the Development of Novi Beograd, as well as the High-school for Architecture. The pavilion's hall was well suited for the needs of the school's physical education. During the seventies the Institute for Development of Belgrade

vergangenne Jahrhunderts erfolgten, sind am Objekt neuere Eingriffe an Holzelementen der Fassade sowie neu geschaffene Türen und Fenster zu erkennen (das Objekt wird als Wohnhaus genutzt). Der Allgemeinzustand des Gebäudes ist sehr schlecht, besonders besorgniserregend sind die deutschen Beschädigungen der Stahlbetonpfeiler am Turm.

Es ist erforderlich, dringend ein Projekt zur statischen Sanierung zu verfassen. Ebenfalls ist notwendig, den Zustand aller Installationen zu prüfen und festzustellen, ob Feuchtigkeit aufgetreten ist. Nach Fassung eines Beschlusses über den künftigen Zweck des Objekts ist ein Projekt der Rekonstruktion, Anpassung und Revitalisierung zu erstellen, dessen Bestandteil ein Plan betreffend Konservierung und Restaurierung sein sollte.

2. Verwaltungsgebäude (Staro Sajmište 29, KP 2341/9) – 1937 nach Entwurf von Aleksandar Sekulić errichtet. Es handelt sich um ein kleineres Objekt mit dominantem halbkreisförmigem Risalit an der Hauptfassade. Zunächst war es für Bedarf der Komplexverwaltung vorgesehen; zur Zeit des KZ-Lagers war es Teil der Lagerverwaltung

Das Gebäude ist in veränderter Form erhalten und ausgebaut. Es wird als Geschäftsraum des Unternehmens „English Book“ genutzt, in dessen Besitz es sich befindet.

Da Archivpläne vorhanden sind, ist es möglich, ein Projekt zu Konservierung und Restaurierung sowie eines zu Rekonstruktion und Revitalisierung zu erstellen.

3. Spasić-Pavillon (Staro Sajmište 20, KP 2354) – 1937 nach Entwurf von Aleksandar Sekulić errichtet. Konzipiert wurde er als Objekt mit Ellipsenförmigem Fundament und betontem Eingangsannex mit rechteckiger Basis und einer Gesamtfläche von 1.320 m². Mit seinen architektonischen Merkmalen stellt der Pavillon ein bedeutendes Beispiel der hohen Moderne, kennzeichnend für die Architektur Belgrads im letzten Jahrzehnt vor dem Krieg, dar. Während des Zweiten Weltkriegs war hier das Lagerlazarett eingerichtet.

In der Nachkriegszeit diente der Spasić-Pavillon (Staro sajmište 20) unterschiedlichen Zwecken. Während der 50-er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts nutzten die Baudirektion für Neu-Belgrad und die Berufsschule für Bauwesen diese Räume. Der Pavillonsaal diente als Turnhalle der Schule. In den 70-er Jahren des 20. Jahrhundert wurde die Bauanstalt der Stadt Belgrad als Eigentümer dieses Gr-

veka, na objektu se mogu uočiti nedavne intervencije na fasadnoj stolariji i otvaranju novih prozora i vrata (objekat se koristi i za stanovanje). Opšte stanje objekta je veoma loše, a naročito su zabrinjavajuća vidna oštećenja armirano-betonских stubova kule.

Потребно је хитно сачинити пројекат статичке санације објекта. Такође је потребно испитати стање свих инсталација, као и да ли постоје проблеми са влагом. После доношења одлука о будућој намени објекта, треба сачинити Пројекат реконструкције, адаптације и ревитализације, чији би саставни део био и конзерваторско-реставраторски пројекат.

2. Управна зграда (Старо сајмиште бр.29, к.п.2341/9) - изграђена је 1937. године по пројекту Александра Секулића. То је мањи објекат са доминирајућим полукружним ризалитом на главној фасади. Првобитна намена била је административна, а за време нацистичког логора -део управе логора.

Објекат је сачуван са изменама и дограђен. Зграда се користи као пословни простор предузећа „English books“, у чијој је својини.

Обзиром да постоје архивски планови, могућа је израда конзерваторско-реставраторског пројекта, као и пројекта реконструкције и ревитализације.

3. Спасићев павиљон (Старо сајмиште бр.20, к.п.2354) саграђен је 1937. године према пројекту Александра Секулића. Пројектован је као објекат елипсасте основе са наглашеним улазним анексом правоугаоне основе, укупне површине 1320 м². По својим архитектоским карактеристикама павиљон представља значајан пример архитектуре високе модерне, карактеристичне за последњу предратну деценију у градитељству Београда. У току Другог светског рата у њему је била логорска болница.

У послератном периоду Спасићев павиљон, Старо сајмиште 20 имао је различите намене. Његове просторије током педесетих година двадесетог века, користила је Дирекција за изградњу Новог Београда као и Средња грађевинска школа. Сала павиљона одговарала је потребама физкултурне наставе школе. Током 70-их година двадесетог века Завод за изградњу

was written in as the owner of this space. In 1998 the Poseidon Company buys the structure from the previous owner. In the pavilion's entrance hall Poseidon's tourist agency is located. The main hall is on the ground floor, it serves multimedia purposes (exhibits, concerts, theater...). On the floor above there is a gallery which is used for exhibits, a café and hall used by a dance school.

The Republic Public Ombudsperson's Office had started proceedings at court, in order to annul the contract on Poseidon's purchase of Spasic's pavilion. According to our findings this proceeding has not yet been finished. Considering that ownership over this structure is uncertain its usage has been minimal. There are not many adequate forms of usage considering the cultural-historical and memorial aspects of this structure. Due to inadequate maintenance the structure is in permanent state of decay.

Considering that the archival plans are still in existence it is still possible to make a conservation-restoration project, as well as a project for reconstruction and revitalization.

4. Italian pavilion (Old Fairground, no. 28, c.p. 2356) – the project was authored by Dante Petroni, a professor at the University of Florence, and built in 1937. The basic purpose it was intended for was to serve as a fair exhibition pavilion. During the Second World War it was kept as part of the Nazi camp, as a food storage space and carpenter workshop.

By IONO's decision in 1952 this space was given over to artists (painters, sculptors) for art studios, while today it is also used as living quarters.

The pavilion has been preserved, through minor interventions, and is currently in a bad state due to long-term neglect.

Considering that the archival plans are still in existence it is still possible to make a conservation-restoration project, as well as a project for reconstruction and revitalization.

5. Czechoslovakian pavilion (Old Fairground, no. 21, c.p. 2357) – authored by Vaclav Gisa, an accredited architect from Prague. It was built in 1937, and its main purpose was to serve as

undstücks eingetragen. Im Jahr 1998 übernimmt das Unternehmen „Poseydon GmbH“ das Objekt vom vorherigen Eigentümer. In der Eingangshalle des Pavillons befindet sich heute das Reisebüro „Poseydon“. Der Hauptsaal im Erdgeschoss ist multimedial ausgerichtet und wird für Ausstellungen, Konzerte und Vorstellungen eingesetzt. Im Obergeschoss befindet sich, neben eines Ausstellungsraumes und eines Cafés, auch ein Saal, welcher von einer Tanzschule beansprucht wird.

Die öffentliche Rechtsverteidigerkanzlei Serbiens hat 2003 ein Gerichtsverfahren in Gang gesetzt, um den Verkauf des Spasić-Pavillons an das Unternehmen „Poseydon“ für nichtig zu erklären. Laut unseren Erkenntnissen ist besagtes Verfahren noch nicht abgeschlossen. Aufgrund des ungeklärten Eigentumsrechts über dieses Objekt ist seine Nutzung minimal. Die Auswahl an entsprechenden Einsatzgebieten ist angesichts der kulturgeschichtlichen Eigenschaften des Objekts und seiner Ausrichtung als Gedenkstätte gerin Wegen unzureichender Instandhaltung verfällt das Objekt unaufhaltsam.

Da Archivpläne vorhanden sind, besteht sie Möglichkeit, ein Projekt zu Konservierung und Restaurierung sowie eines zu Rekonstruktion und Revitalisierung zu erstellen.

4. Italienischer Pavillon (Staro Sajmište 28, KP 2356) – Autor dieses Projekts ist Dante Petroni, Dozent an der Universität in Florenz; das Objekt wurde 1937 errichtet. Ursprünglich war das Objekt als Ausstellungsraum konzipiert, um im Zweiten Weltkrieg als Bestandteil des KZ-Lagers als Vorratskammer und Tischlerwerkstatt eingesetzt zu werden.

Mit Beschluss der Exekutive im Volksausschuss wurde er 1952 Künstlern (Malern und Bildhauern) als Atelier zur Verfügung gestellt; heute dient er als Wohnobjekt.

Der Pavilion ist, mit wenigen Eingriffen, erhalten, befindet sich jedoch wegen jahrelangem Mangel an Instandhaltung in ausgesprochen schlechtem Zustand.

Da Archivpläne des Italienischen Pavillons aus der Zeit der Baudirektion für Neu-Belgrad (als Konzept zum Umbau in ein Planungsbüro) bewahrt sind, besteht die Möglichkeit, ein Projekt zu Konservierung und Restaurierung sowie eines zu Rekonstruktion und Revitalisierung zu erstellen.

5. Tschechoslowakischer Pavillon (Staro Sajmište 21, KP 2357) – Autor des Projektes ist Waclaw Girs, beauftragter Architekt aus Prag; das Objekt wurde 1937 errichtet. Grundsätzlich war es als

града Београда укњижен је као власник овог простора. Године 1998. предузеће „Розеу1оп 1.о.о.“ купује објекат од претходног власника. У улазном холу павиљона данас се налазе просторије туристичке агенције „Poseydon“ Главна сала у приземљу, има мултимедијалну намену (изложбена, концертна, позоришна..). На спрату се поред галерије која има изложбену намену и кафе-бара, налази и сала коју користи школа плеса.

Републичко јавно правобранилаштво је 2003. године покренуло спор пред судом за утврђивање ништавости уговора о продаји Спасићевог павиљона фирми Посејдон. Према нашим сазнањима, овај спор још није окончан. У условима неизвесне својине над овим објектом, његово коришћење је сведено на минимум. Мали је и избор намена које би биле одговарајуће, обзиром на културно-историјска и меморијална својства ове грађевине. Услед недовољног одржавања, објекат перманентно пропада.

Обзиром да су сачувани архивски планови Спасићевог павиљона, могућа је израда конзерваторско-рестаураторског пројекта, као и пројекта реконструкције и ревитализације.

4. Италијански павиљон (Старо сајмиште бр.28, к.п.2356) – аутор пројекта је Данте Петрони, професор Универзитета у Фиренци, а објекат је изграђен 1937. године. Основна намена била је сајамски изложбени простор, а за време Другог светског рата био је у склопу нацистичког логора – макацин хране и столарска радионица.

Одлуком ИОНО-а 1952. године додељена је уметницима (сликари, вајари) за потребе атељеа, а данас се користи и за становање.

Павиљон је сачуван, са мањим интервенцијама, и налази се у лошем стању услед вишегодишњег неодржавања.

Обзиром да су сачувани архивски планови Италијанског павиљона из периода Дирекције за изградњу Новог Београда (када је рађен пројекат његове адаптације у пројектантски биро), могућа је израда конзерваторско-рестаураторског пројекта, као и пројекта реконструкције и ревитализације.

5. Чехословачки павиљон (Старо сајмиште бр.21, к.п.2357) – аутор пројекта је Вацлав Гирса, овлашћени архитекта из Прага, а објекат је изграђен 1937. године. Основна намена била је

a fair exhibit space. During the Second World War it was part of the Nazi camp.

The pavilion was preserved, though in a changed state, through numerous interventions on the exterior and adaptations. The object is in a bad state.

6. Hungarian pavilion (Old Fairground, no. 14, c.p. 2381) – authored by Zhorzh Lehotski from Budapest. The structure was built in 1937, and its original purpose was to serve as a fair exhibit space, while during the Second World War it was part of the Nazi camp – a place of torture.

The pavilion is only partially maintained today – major changes have been made. It isn't really sound and is hard to recognize. There is a tire repair shop on the ground floor, which additionally endangers the memorial value it has.

7. Turkish pavilion (Old Fairground, no. 19, c.p. 2358) – authorship unknown, built in 1938. Its original purpose was as a fair exhibition space, while during the Second World War it served as concentration camp's bath.

The pavilion has been preserved and recently it has been renovated. Today a café restaurant is located on the ground floor. On the upper floor there are living quarters.

Structures built between 1945 and 1950

In the period from 1945 to 1950 several structures were built which were located where the Yugoslavian pavilions once were. They are ground floor structures, mostly sheds, which were built for the youth brigade's stay while they worked on building Novi Beograd. In the vicinity of the Central Tower a one story structure was built then – workers' housing, large in scale; it undermines the ambient of the complex's central part.

All structures are in a bad state; in ruin. The living standard there is on a very low level.

Ausstellungsraum für Bedarf der Messe eingerichtet; im Zweiten Weltkrieg war es Bestandteil des KZ-Lagers.

Mit Beschluss der Exekutive im Volksausschuss wurde der Pavillon 1952 Künstlern (Malern und Bildhauern) zur Verfügung gestellt, um heute als Wohnobjekt genutzt zu werden.

Der Pavillon ist in veränderter Form erhalten, jedoch mit zahlreichen Anpassungen und Eingriffen an der Fassade. Das Objekt befindet sich in schlechtem Zustand.

6. Ungarischer Pavillon (Staro Sajmište 14, KP 2381) – Autor des Projekts ist Georg Lehotsky aus Budapest; das Objekt wurde 1937 errichtet. Ursprünglich war der Raum als Ausstellungshalle gedacht, um im Zweiten Weltkrieg zu einer Folterkammer im Rahmen des KZ-Lagers zu werden.

Der Pavillon ist heute lediglich teilweise erhalten: auf- und von signifikanten Änderungen und des schlechten Allgemeinzustandes ist das Objekt kaum zu erkennen. Im Erdgeschoss befindet sich eine Werkstatt zur Reparatur von Autoreifen, was den Wert dieses Objektes als Denkmal zusätzlich gefährdet.

7. Türkischer Pavillon (Staro Sajmište 19, KP 2358) – der Autor des Projekts ist nicht bekannt; errichtet wurde das Objekt 1938. Zunächst war der Pavillon als Ausstellungsraum konzipiert; während des Zweiten Weltkriegs war hier das Lagerbad eingerichtet.

Der Pavillon ist erhalten und restauriert. Heute befindet sich im Erdgeschoss das Lokal „So & Biber“ („Salz & Pfeffer“) mit Garten, was eine Gefahr für den Wert dieses Objektes als Denkmal darstellt. Im Obergeschoss sind Wohnquartiere eingerichtet.

Zwischen 1945 und 1950 entstandene Bauten

In der Zeit zwischen 1945 und 1950 wurden mehrere Gebäude an den Stellen errichtet, wo sich die jugoslawischen Pavillons befunden hatten. Es handelt sich hier um eintöckige Häuser, meist Baracken, die gebaut wurden zur Unterbringung der beim Bau von Neu-Belgrad eingesetzten Jugendbrigaden. In der Nachbarschaft des Turms entstand damals auch ein einstöckiges Gebäude als Arbeiter-Unterkunft, das in seiner Größe das Ambiente des zentralen Geländeteils stört.

Alle diese Bauten befinden sich in sehr schlechtem Zustand. Der Lebensstandard in ihnen ist extrem niedri

сајамски изложени простор, а за време Другог светског рата био је у саставу нацистичког логора.

Одлуком ИОНО-а 1952. године додељена је уметницима (сликари, вајари) за потребе атељеа, а данас се користи и за становање.

Павиљон је сачуван у измењеном стању, са бројним интервенцијама на фасади и адаптацијама. Објект је у лошем стању.

6. Мађарски павиљон (Старо сајмиште бр.14, к.п.2381) – аутор пројекта Жорж Лехотски из Будипеште, објект је изграђен 1937. година. Првобитна намена била је сајамски изложени простор, а за време Другог светског рата био је у склопу нацистичког логора – мучилиште.

Павиљон је данас само делимично сачуван, са знатним изменама, лошег бонитета и тешко препознатљив. Садашња намена је становање. У приземљу се налази вулканизерска радња, што додатно угрожава споменичке вредности.

7. Турски павиљон (Старо сајмиште бр.19, к.п.2358) – аутор пројекта је непознат, изграђен је 1938. године. Првобитна намена била је сајамски изложени простор, а за време Другог светског рата у њему је било логорско купатило.

Павиљон је сачуван, и недавно реновиран. Данас се у приземљу налази кафе ресторан „Со & бибер“ са баштом, што угрожава споменичке вредности. На спрату је становање.

Објекти настали од 1945 - 1950. године

У периоду од 1945 - 1950. подигнуто је неколико објекта лоцираних на местима на којима су не налазили југословенски павиљони. То су приземни објекти, углавном баракe, грађене за боравак омладинских бригада које су градили Нови Београд. У непосредној близини централне куле тада је подигнут спратни објект – раднички станови, већег габарита који битно нарушава амбијент централног дела комплекса.

Сви објекти су у веома лошем стању, веома руинирани. Стандард становања у њима је на веома ниском нивоу.

Structures built from 1950 to today

Structures built in this period are located in the western part of the complex, between the Old Fairground street and Zemun Road. Most of these objects came to being spontaneously during the nineties. Most of these structures are of a temporary character, of various purposes from the service sectors, from carwashes and car services to auto dealerships, sale of used vehicles, markets, newsstands and commercial branch offices. Many of these structures are prefabricated.

South of the Central Tower, in the central part of the complex, on the foundations of the "third" pavilion, a building which housed the Leather-Tanning School was built with accompanying structures. The structure is only ground level and is not sound.

4.1.2 Memorials

At the location of the Old Fairground there are two memorials today: the Monument to the Victims of Genocide (1995) and the Memorial Plaque Dedicated to the Victims of the Old Fairground Concentration Camp (1984).

Unfortunately, both memorials are frequently damaged. An adequate memorial plaque, located at the steps which lead to the monument from the Sava promenade, is frequently damaged by hoodlums. The bordering elements around the monument are also frequently damaged, and there is no constant and organized way of keeping maintenance of the memorials.

4.1.3 Open public spaces

The Project of an urban solution for the First Phase of the Old Fairground construction was done in 1937 by architects Milovoj Trickovic, Rajko Tatic and Djordje Lukic. It was completely realized, except for the river bank development and a restaurant that was supposed to be built.

The Park Development project, as well as its realization, was done under engineer Aleksandar Krstic's supervision – he was

Nach 1950 entstandene Objekte

Die in diesem Zeitraum errichteten Objekte befinden sich im westlichen Teil des Komplexes, zwischen der Staro-Sajmište-Straße und der Zemunski-Put-Straße. Die größte Zahl dieser Gebäude entstand spontan im Laufe der 90-er Jahre. Es handelt sich vorwiegend um provisorisch eingerichtete Objekte für unterschiedliche kaufmännische oder Servicetätigkeiten, von Autowaschsalons und Werkstätten bis hin zu Autohäusern, Lebensmittelgeschäften, Kiosken und Handelsniederlassungen. Bei vielen dieser Objekte handelt es sich um Montagehäuser.

Südlich des Zentralturms, im mittleren Teil des Komplexes und auf den Grundsteinen des einstigen „dritten“ Pavillons errichtet, befinden sich Räumlichkeiten der Berufsschule für Lederverarbeitung mit Annexen. Dies ist ein Erdgeschossgebäude in schlechtem Zustand.

4.1.2. Denkmäler

Am alten Messegelände befinden sich zwei Denkmäler: das Denkmal für Opfer des Völkermordes (1995) und die Gedenktafel für Opfer des Lagers Staro Sajmište (1984).

Leider werden beide Denkmäler häufig beschädigt. An der Treppe, welche von der Spazierzone an der Save zum Denkmal führt, ist eine entsprechende Gedenktafel angebracht, welche oft Gegenstand von Vandalisierung ist. Die Einrichtung des Raumes um das Denkmal wird ebenfalls häufig beschädigt, während es keinen langfristigen und organisierten Mechanismus zur einheitlichen Instandhaltung des Denkmals gibt.

Auch das zweite Denkmal, die Gedenktafel von 1984, befindet sich in ähnlichem Zustand – die beschriftete Granitplatte weist Bruchstellen auf, während der Zugang verwahrlost und ungepflegt ist.

4.1.3. Offener öffentlicher Raum

Das urbanistische Projekt für die erste Phase in der Einrichtung der alten Messe 1937 stammt von den Architekten Milivoj Trčković, Rajko Tatić und Đorđe Lukić. Das Projekt wurde zur Gänze umgesetzt, abgesehen von der Einrichtung des Flussufers und eines Restaurants.

Der Plan für die Einrichtung der Parkanlage und seine Umsetzung erfolgten unter Aufsicht von Ingenieur Aleksandar Krstić,

Објекти настали од 1950. до данас

Објекти који су настали у овом периоду лоцирани су у западном делу комплекса између улица Старо сајмиште и Земунски пут. Већина ових објеката настала је спонтано махом деведесетих година. То су углавном објекти привременог карактера, различитих намена из области услужних делатности, од перioniца аутомобила и ауто-сервиса до продајних салона аутомобила, продаје половних аутомобила, пиљарница, киоска и трговинских представништа. Многи од ових објеката су монтажног типа градње.

У централном делу комплекса, јужно од централе куле, а на темељима некадашњег „трећег“ павиљона, подигнут је објекат Кожарске школе са пратећим објектима. Објекат је приземни и лошег је бонитета.

4.1.2. Спомен - обележја

На простору Старог сајмиша налазе се два спомен обележја: Споменик жртвама геноцида (1995) и Спомен плоча посвећена жртвама логора на Старом сајмишту (1984).

Нажалост, оба обележја се често оштећују. У оквиру степеништа којим се прилази споменику са Савског шеталишта, постављена је одговарајућа спомен плоча, која је честа мета вандала. Елементи уређења простора око споменика такође се често оштећују, а не постоји сталан и организован начин текућег одржавања споменичке целине.

И друго спомен обележје - Сомен плоча из 1984. је у сличном стању - гранитна плоча са исписом је делимично поломљена, а приступна стаза је запуштена и неодржавана.

4.1.3. Отворени јавни простори

Пројекат урбанистичког решења за Прву фазу изградње Старог сајмишта 1937. године урадили су архитекте Миливој Тричковић, Рајко Татић и Ђорђе Лукић. Он је у целисти реализован, осим уређења приобаља и изградње ресторана.

Пројекат парковског уређења, као и његова реализација урађени су под надзором инжењера Александра Крстића,

chief of the Belgrade Municipality's Department for Parks – while the road projects were done by engineers Hugo Rosenzajt and Djordje Solovjev.

The fair complex was trapezoid in shape and fenced. It had two entrances on the north side – coming from the north-west and the north-east, from the King Aleksandar Bridge. The entrances to the complex were made up of two symmetrical structures (ticket sale booths), located to the left and right of the main gate.

The whole complex was made more appealing by adequate ground floor structure placement. The solution for the park consisted of a circular pathway, like a ring, which encompassed the space where the centrally located structures were placed. On the other side of the main pathway private pavilions were located. North of the main pathway, to the left and right of Spasić's pavilion, were two winding paths. On the main path two circular RUNDELA (nisam nasla ni jedan prevod ove rechi, niti objashnjenje pojma) were located, with paths approaching them which lead to the complex's entrances. The trapezoid shape of the complex made intrusions from the corners to the center possible.

The areas surrounding the central tower was regulated in a special way by a system of eight five-sided flower beds, while the central square got the dominant role in this space. The ground floor spaces between the pavilions were regulated so as to have small flower beds, lawns, pathways and fountains.

An expansion to the West and building of the German and the sixth Yugoslav pavilion was planned in the second phase of the Old Fairground construction.

The complex was downsized by the construction of a new road and newly built Sava Bridge. Its image degraded even more by the damages in 1944 and later with shacks that were built in 1950 when the complex was turned into a place of social housing. In the southern part of the complex, the place between embankments of the Zemun road and the shacks emerges the court with bleachers, for youth brigades. This court is preserved till today.

Today complex "Old Fairground" is in a very bad state. Inordinance of green spaces, along with buildings that are almost all ruined, also contributes to this image. The whole complex as an open space was left to itself and to chaotic devastation, therefore the former park spaces in time developed into shrubs. The space around the central tower is particularly devastated. Besides the

Abteilungsleiter für Grünanlagen in der Belgrader Gemeinde, während die Straßen von Hugo Rosenzweig und Đorđe Solovjev entworfen wurden.

Die Fläche des Messekomplexes war trapezförmig und umzäunt. An der Nordseite befanden sich zwei Eingänge aus nordwestlicher und nordöstlicher Richtung, neben der König-Aleksandar-Brücke. Am Eingang zum Komplex lagen zwei symmetrische Objekte (Kassen), links und rechts vom Haupteingang.

Zum Reiz des ganzen Geländes trug auch die entsprechende Flächeneinrichtung bei. Laut Entwurf besteht der Park aus einem Ringpfad, welcher die zentral gelegenen Objekte umfasst. Auf der anderen Seite des Weges waren private Pavillons errichtet. Nördlich des Hauptweges, links und rechts vom Spasić-Pavillon erstrecken sich geschlängelte Pfade. Am Hauptpfad befanden sich zwei Rondelle mit Zugang zu den Haupteingängen. Die trapezförmige Ausrichtung des Geländes ermöglichte ein Vordringen vom Rand zum zentralen Teil.

Im Raum um den zentralen Turm waren eigens acht fünfeckige Grünanlagen eingerichtet, während der zentrale Platz über den Komplex dominierte. Die Flächengestaltung zwischen den Pavillons umfasste kleinere Grünanlagen, Wiesen, Pfade und Brunnen.

Die zweite Phase beim Bau der alten Messe sah eine Ausweitung in Richtung Westen vor sowie die Errichtung des Deutschen Pavillons und des Sechsten jugoslawischen Pavillons.

Mit dem Bau einer neuen Straße und der Save-Brücke 1942 wurde die Fläche des Komplexes vermindert. Mit den 1944 entstandenen Schäden und dem Bau der Baracken von 1950, womit der Komplex zur Sozialwohnsiedlung umgestaltet wurde, war sein Aussehen umso mehr degradiert. Im südlichen Teil des Komplexes, zwischen der Zemunski-Put-Straße und den Baracken, entsteht ein Spielfeld mit Tribünen für die Jugendbrigaden. Dieses Spielfeld ist bis heute erhalten.

Insgesamt befindet sich der Komplex des alten Messegeländes heute in ausgesprochen schlechtem Zustand. Neben den Bauten, von denen fast alle ruiniert sind, trägt auch die Verwahrlosung der Grünanlagen zu diesem Bild bei. Das ganze Gelände inklusive der Freilufteinrichtungen war sich selbst überlassen und verfiel zwangsläufig, sodass Teile der einstigen Parkanlagen mit der Zeit

шефа одсека за паркове Општине београдске, док су пројекте путева урадили инжењери Хуго Розенцајг и Ђорђе Соловјев.

Сајамски комплекс је био трапезоидног облика, ограђен. Имао је два улаза са северне стране - из правца северозапада и североистока, уз мост краља Александра. Улаз у комплекс чинила су два симетрична објекта (билетарнице), постављени лево и десно од главне капије.

Атрактивности целог комплекса допринело је и адекватно партерно уређење. Парковско решење се састојало из кружне стазе, попут прстена, која је обухватала простор на коме су лоцирани објекти који су имали централну позицију. Са друге стране главне стазе били су постављени приватни павиљони. Северно од главне стазе, лево и десно од Спасићевог павиљона, формиране су две вијугаве стазе. На главној стази су се налазиле две кружне рунделе са прилазним стазама које воде ка главним улазима у комплекс. Трапезасти облик комплекса омогућио је продоре од углова ка центру.

Простор око централне куле био је посебно решен са осам петоугаоних баштица, а централни трг је имао доминантану улогу у простору. Партерно уређење између павиљона решено је мањим баштицама, травњацима, стазама и фонтанама.

Изградњом новог пута и новоподигнутог Савског моста, 1942. године, комплекс је био смањен. Оштећењима 1944, а потом изградњом барака 1950. и претварањем комплекса у место социјалног становања, његова слика се још више деградира. На јужном делу комплекса да простору између насипа Земунског пута и барака настаје игралиште са трибинама, за омладинске бригаде. Ово игралиште је сачувано до данас.

Комплекс Старог сајмишта се данас налази у јако лошем стању. Поред објеката, који су готово сви руинирани, неуређеност зелених површина такође доприноси тој слици. Цео комплекс, као отворени простор препуштен је самом себи, стихички се урушавао, тако да су делови некадашњих парковских површина временом прерасли у шипраже.

fact that the central tower is shorn to the structural system, the space around it is neglected, there are wild plants and trees which close up visibility of the tower. Tall and unplanned vegetation closes up visibility of the complex even from the approachable positions, from the direction of the bridge.

Part of the complex near the embankment today is occupied by sports court fields. The football club "Brodarac" has occupied the former playground designed for brigadiers, and it occupied part of the space of the closed sports field (balloon) as well. Dimensions, volume and purpose of this court decrease the value of this space.

The whole the "Old Fairground" complex requires more radical measures of reconstruction and revitalization by the park regulation.

The river bank zone is leaning up to the Old Fairground complex. The river bank zone of the Belgrade "Old Fairground" consists of the area between the Sava regulation line and the old coastal road, that is, the old embankment. The path and stairway descent connects it with the fairground complex but with its purpose it is specially arranged and an independent public river bank space.

The main purpose of the river bank zone on the Novi Beograd side was recreation and rest. The river bank zone of the "Old Fairground" was arranged in 1944, before the commemorative plaques were placed. It's a green belt with beautiful trails in the river bank area directly above the bank revetment and laid out ground floor of the memorial space. The project was planned by architect Brana Mitrovic in cooperation with architect Djordje Bobic (Slavia Bureau). The micro location of the monuments and river bank arrangement between the two bridges mark the introduction to the historical fairground space. It can be seen from the right river bank and keeps a dominant position and vista between the two bridges. This space, as part of entire river bank zone participates in forming the city landscape.

The river bank area occupies part of the river's flow. On the river, on the "Old Fairground" river bank zone, vessels were placed: restaurant-discotheque and few minor structures. Their location here is inadequate and unacceptable.

zu wild wucherndem Gewächs wurden. Besonders verwahrlost ist die Fläche um den Zentralturm. Zudem, dass der Zentralturm fast bis auf das bloße Konstrukt abgestreift ist, ist die Umgebung un gepflegt und mit wildem Gestrüpp und Bäumen bewachsen, welche die Sicht zum Turm verdecken. Das hohe und planlos gewachsene Dickicht verdeckt die Sicht zum Komplex aus Richtung der Brücke, d.h.vom Zugang zum Gelände aus.

Ein Teil des Geländes neben dem Deich dient als Sportplatz. Den einstigen Sportplatz der Jugendbrigaden nutzt heute der Fußballklub „Brodarac“, dessen bedachte Einrichtung (aufblasbare Sporthalle) ebenfalls einen Teil der Fläche bedeckt und mit Maß, Volumen, und Zweck den Wert dieses Geländes mindert.

Der ganze Komplex Staro Sajmište fordert durchgehendere Maßnahmen zur Rekonstruktion und einen Wiederaufbau der Parkanlagen.

Die Uferzone grenzt an den Komplex des alten Messegeländes. Unter der Uferzone des alten Belgrader Messegeländes ist der Raum zwischen der Abstandsfläche der Save und der alten Uferstraße, bzw. des alten Deiches zu verstehen. Durch Fußweg und Treppe steht sie mit dem Messegelände in Verbindung, stellt jedoch gemäß vorgesehenem Zweck einen eigens eingerichteten, getrennten öffentlichen Ort dar.

Primär diente die ganze Uferzone an der Neu-Belgrader Seite als Freizeit- und Erholungseinrichtung. Die Uferzone von Staro Sajmište wurde 1994, vor Enthüllung der Gedenktafel, eingerichtet. Sie umfasst einen Ring aus Grünflächen und Fußwegen am Flussufer, unmittelbar über der Ufersicherung, und einen Teil der Fläche um die Denkmäler. Das Projekt zur Einrichtung stammt vom Architekten Brana Mitrović in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Architekten Đorđe Bobić („Slavija Biro“). Die Mikrolage des Denkmals und die Einrichtung der Uferzone zwischen den beiden Brücken ist als Zugang zum historischen Gelände von Staro Sajmište anzusehen. Es ist vom rechten Flussufer sichtbar und nimmt eine dominante Stellung in der Ansicht zwischen den beiden Brücken ein. Diese Fläche ist als Segment des Flussufers Bestandteil der gesamten Stadtsicht.

Die Uferzone erstreckt auch über einen Teil der Wasserfläche. Am Fluss selbst, in Ufergebiet des alten Messegeländes, ankern ein Bootrestaurant und -Klub sowie einige kleiner Wasserfahrzeuge. Ihr jetziger Standort ist unangemessen und inakzeptabel.

Простор око централне куле нарочито је девастиран. Поред тога што је Централна кула огољена готово до самог конструктивног склопа, простор око ње је запуштен, са спонатно израслим растињем и дрвећем које затвара сагледивост куле. Висока и непланска вегетација затвара визуре и сагладивост комплкса и са прилазних позиција, из правца моста.

Део комплекса уз насип заузимају спортски терени. Некадашње игралиште намењено бригадирима, данас користи фудбалски клуб „Бродарац“, који је заузео и део простора за затворени спортски терен (балон), који својим габаритом, волуменом и наменом нарушава вредности овог простора.

Цео комплекс Старог сајмишта захтева радикалније мере реконструкције и ревитализације парковског уређења.

Уз комплекс Старог сајмишта наслана се простор приобаља. Под приобаљем Старог Београдског сајмишта подразумева се простор између регулационе линије Саве и старог приобалног пута, односно старог насипа. Стазом и степенишним силазом оно је повезано са комплексом Сајмишта, али својом наменом представља посебно уређен и независан јавни простор.

Основна намена целог приобалног појаса новобеоградске стране била је одмор и рекреација. Простор приобаља Старог Београдског сајмишта уређен је 1994. године, уочи постављања спомен обележја. Представља зелени појас са уређеним стазама у приобалном делу непосредно изнад обалоутврде, и уређени део партера на простору спомен обележја. Пројекат уређења урадио је архитекта Брана Митровић у сарадњи са архитектом Ђорђе Бобићем (Славија биро). Микролокација Споменика и уређење приобаља између два моста означава увод у историјски простор сајмишта. Оно се сагледава са десне обале реке и задржава доминантну позицију и визуру између два моста. Овај простор као део целог приобаља учествује у формирању градског пејзажа.

Приобаље заузима и део акваторије. На реци, у зони приобаља Старог сајмишта постављени су пловни објекти - сплав ресторана дискотека, и неколико мањих објеката. Њихова локација на овом месту је непримерена и неприхватљива.

4.2 PURPOSE AND USAGE

4.2.1 Terrain

The memorial complex of the “Old Fairground” is separated by the Satro Sajmište Street in two different parts in terms of purpose and use of the terrain.

The Western part has a high level of purpose homogeneity – businesses and services in the area of industrial and individual transportation. There is a large number of car services, car showrooms, agencies of vehicle manufacturers, etc. in this zone. Land usage is intensive during working hours but after that all the activities come to an end. The Eastern part doesn't have a homogenous character, but usage for low standard housing (collective and individual) prevails.

Aside from housing, land is used for education (School for Leather-Tanning), sport (football court), business (Spasic pavilion- “Poseidon .d.o.o”),services (tire repairman's service in the Hungarian pavilion), collection of secondary raw materials in the backyards of few objects, a bakery in a temporary object near the Central tower and catering (in the Turkish pavilion). The space between the old embankment and the Sava bank belongs to the continuous promenade along the Sava River bank on the Novi Beograd side.

4.2.2 Buildings

Housing Purpose-On the area of the former Yugoslav pavilions 1 and 2, after the Second World War, four shacks were built for the youth brigades stay (Old Fairground 4,5,7 and 8). Today, they are used for housin Shacks and warehouses were also built on the free surrounding spaces and around twenty years ago they were bought as apartments and today they are in private property. These housing objects don't satisfy standards of decent housing regarding constructional characteristics and infrastructural equipment. The central tower, Italian and Czechoslovakian pavilions, in 1952, were assigned to the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia for art studios, and are today being used for housin The Hungarian pavilion, almost completely redone, is used for collective housin Same is with the Turkish pavilion, where in the ground floor is a café-restaurant.

4.2. ZWECK UND NUTZUNG

4.2.1. Grundstück

Die Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište ist durch die Staro-Sajmište-Straße in zwei hinsichtlich Zweck und Nutzung unterschiedliche Teile gespalten.

Der westliche Teil ist in puncto Nutzung ausgesprochen homogen und für Handel und Service sowie Industrie- und Einzeltransport eingerichtet. In dieser „Zone“ befinden sich zahlreiche Autowerkstätten und -Häuser, Niederlassungen von Fahrzeugherstellern usw. Die Fläche wird zu Dienstzeiten stark genutzt, danach kommt es zur Ruhephase. Der östliche Teil ist heterogenen Charakters, jedoch überwiegen Wohnobjekte (kollektive sowie individuelle Behausungen) niedrigen Standards.

Neben der Siedlung wird diese Fläche auch zu Bildungszwecken (Berufsschule für Lederverarbeitung), Sport (Fußballplatz und Halle), Geschäften (Spasić-Pavillon – „Poseydon GmbH“), Dienstleistungen (Werkstatt für Reparatur von Autoreifen im Ungarischen Pavillon, Sammelstellen von sekundären Rohstoffen in den Höfen einiger der Gebäude, Bäckerei im provisorischen Objekt beim Zentralturm) sowie als Gasthaus (im Türkischen Pavillon) genutzt. Das Gebiet zwischen dem alten Deich und dem Save-Ufer ist Bestandteil des Spazierweges entlang des Flussufers auf der Neu-Belgrader Seite.

4.2.2. Gebäude

Wohnobjekte – An den Fundamenten der einstigen Jugoslawischen Pavillons 1 und 2 wurden nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg vier Baracken für Bedarf der Jugendbrigaden errichtet (Staro Sajmište 4, 5, 7 und 8). Heute werden sich nicht länger als Wohnobjekte eingesetzt. Auf den umgebenden Flächen wurden ebenfalls Baracken und Lagerhallen gebaut, welche vor etwa zwanzig Jahren als Wohnungen abgekauft wurden und nun in Privatbesitz sind. Diese Behausungen kommen mit ihren Baueigenschaften und Ausstattung der Infrastruktur keinem Kriterium akzeptablen Wohnens nach. Der Zentralturm sowie der Italienische und Tschechoslowakische Pavillon, welche 1952 dem Verband von bildenden Künstlern Serbiens als Ateliers zur Verfügung gestellt wurde, werden ebenfalls als Wohnobjekte genutzt. Auch hierbei handelt es sich um Behausungen niedrigen Standards. Der fast gänzlich umgebaute Ungarische Pavillon stellt eine Kollektivbehausung dar. Das gleiche gilt für den Türkischen Pavillon, in dessen Erdgeschoss sich ein Restaurant befindet.

4.2. НАМЕНЕ И НАЧИН КОРИШЋЕЊА

4.2.1. Земљиште

Споменички комплекс Старог сајмишта подељен је улицом Стао сајмиште на два, у погледу намене и начина коришћења земљишта, различита дела.

Западни део има висок ниво хомогености намена - пословање и услуге у области индустријског и појединачног транспорта. У овој „зони“ смештен је велики број ауто-сервиса, продајних салона аутомобила, заступништава произвођача превозних средстава.... итд. Коришћење земљишта је интензивно у току радног времена, а после тога активности у простору замиру. Источни део нема хомоген карактер, али преовлађујућа је намена становања (и колективног и индивидуалног) ниског стандарда.

Поред становања, земљиште се користи и за образовање (Средња кожарска школа), спорт (фудбалски терен и “балон”), пословање (Спасићев павиљон - „Poseydon д.о.о.”), услуге (вулканизерска радња у Мађарском павиљону, прикупљање секундарних сировина у двориштима неколико објеката, пекара у привременом објекту близу Централне куле) и угоститељство (у Турском павиљону). Простор између старог насипа и обале Саве припада потезу континуалног шеталишта дуж обале Саве са новобеоградске стране.

4.2.2. Објекти

Стамбена намена - На темељима некадашњих Југословенских павиљона 1 и 2, после Другог светског рата саграђене су четири бараке за боравак омладинских бригада (Старо сајмиште 4,5,7 и 8). Оне данас имају стамбену намену. На околним слободним просторима такође су подизане бараке и магацини који су пре двадесетак година откупљени као станови и данас су у приватном власништву. Ови стамбени објекти, по грађевинским својствима и опремљености инфраструктуром не задовољавају стандарде пристојног становања. Централна кула, Италијански и Чехословачки павиљон, који су 1952. године додељени УЛУС-у за уметничка атељеа, такође се користе за становање. И ово становање је ниског стандарда. Мађарски павиљон, готово потпуно преправљен служи за колективно становање. Исто је и са Турским, у чијем приземљу је кафе-ресторан.

Business purposes—A match for the pavilion 1 and 2 at the address Staro Sajmište 29, there were the Yugoslav pavilions 4 and 5. A Renault's business complex that includes a showroom, service center, space where annual car check-ups are done and a spare parts store, is built on the foundation of those pavilions. Further down the street, towards Branko's Bridge, on the same address there was a administrative building during the war command of the concentration camp, but today it is used for business. The publishing house "The English Book" has been the offices in the building since the 2003. Besides already mentioned housing buildings, there is also a tavern "Brodarac" on the address of Staro Sajmište 6. To the side, towards Sava there is football courtyard called "Brodarac".

Company "Poseidon d.o.o" has in its disposal the Spasic pavilion. The purpose of the main hall on the ground floor is multi medial (for exhibitions, concerts, theater shows). On the floor, there is, besides a gallery that has exhibition function and also serves as café-bar, also a hall that a dance school is using. In its management, company "Poseidon d.o.o" represents itself as ArtExpo/INFOEDUCENTAR of the fine arts, design and trades and its program is shown on website www.paviljon.org

Educational purpose—The Leather-Tanning School along with a courtyard and additional buildings for practical teaching is on the address Staro Sajmište 1, where there was once the biggest Fair pavilion - the former Yugoslav pavilion 3.

4.3. LEGAL PROPERTY ISSUES

4.3.1. Property and Right of Usage of the Land

Based on the data from the Republic Geodetic Office—Cadastral Service of Novi Beograd it is stated that the entire area is considered a cultural good, and is in the state's property sphere, while those who have the right to use the land are numerous (from Republic of Serbia, city of Belgrade, municipality of Novi Beograd, to public communal companies, public and private firms, and even individuals).

Geschäftsräume – Als Pendant zu den Pavillons 1 und 2 befanden sich unter der heutigen Anschrift Staro Sajmište 29 die Jugoslawischen Pavillons 4 und 5. Auf ihren Grundsteinen wurden die Renault-Geschäftsräume errichtet, welche Autohaus, Reparatur- und Diagnostikwerkstatt und Verkaufsstelle von Reserveteilen umfassen. Entlang derselben Straße Richtung Brankov-Most-Brücke und unter derselben Anschrift befand sich einst das Verwaltungsgebäude der Messe, im Laufe des Krieges war dort das Lagerkommando einquartiert, während das Objekt heute als Geschäftsraum dient. Das Gebäude wird seit 2003 vom Verlagshaus „The English Book“ genutzt. Unter der Adresse Staro Sajmište 6, neben den bereits erwähnten Wohnobjekten, befindet sich auch das Gasthaus „Brodarac“. Zur Save gelegen ist das Fußballfeld „Brodarac“.

Das Unternehmen „Poseydon GmbH“ verfügt über den Spasić-Pavillon. In der Eingangshalle befinden sich heute Geschäftsräume des Reisebüros „Poseydon“. Der Hauptsaal im Erdgeschoss ist multimedial eingerichtet und wird für Ausstellungen, Konzerte, Aufführungen etc. genutzt. Im Obergeschoss befindet sich neben Ausstellungsgalerie und Café auch ein Saal, welcher von einer Tanzschule genutzt wird. In seinem Geschäftsbereich präsentiert sich das Unternehmen „Poseydon GmbH“ als „ArtExpo/Info-Edu-Center“ für bildende Künste, Design und Handwerk, dessen Programm unter der Internet-Seite www.paviljon.org dargestellt ist.

Bildung – unter der Adresse Staro Sajmište 1 im einstigen Jugoslawischen Pavillon 3, welcher zugleich der größte Messepavillon war, befindet sich die Berufsschule für Lederverarbeitung mit Anbau für praktischen Unterricht und Hof.

4.3. EIGENTUMSRECHTLICHE LAGE

4.3.1. Eigentum und Nutzungsrecht über die Grundstücke

Aus den von der Landvermessungsanstalt der Republik Serbien, Kataster Neu-Belgrad, vorgelegten Daten geht hervor, dass das ganze Gelände, auf welchem sich das Kulturgut befindet, in staatlichem Eigentum ist, während zahlreiche Instanzen Träger des Nutzungsrechts sind (von der Republik Serbien, der Stadt Belgrad und der Stadtgemeinde Neu-Belgrad bis hin zu öffentlichen Kommunalunternehmen, staatlichen und privaten Unternehmen und Einzelpersonen).

Пословна намена - Као пандан павиљонима 1и 2, на данашњој адреси Старо сајмиште 29, налазили су се југословенски павиљони 4 и 5. На њиховим темељима подигнут је Реноов пословни комплекс који садржи продајни салон, сервис, простор за технички преглед и продајницу резервних делова. У продужетку улице, према Бранковом мосту, на истој адреси, некада се налазила зграда Управе сајма, током рата Команде логора, а данас је у намени пословања. Просторије зграде од 2003. године користи издавачка кућа „The English Book“. На адреси Старо сајмиште бр.6, поред већ споменутих стамбених објеката издваја се и кафана „Бродарац“. На страни према Сави налази се фудбалско игралиште „Бродарац“.

Предузеће „Poseydon d.o.o.“ располаже Спасићевим павиљоном. У улазном холу данас се налазе просторије туристичке агенције „Poseydon“. Главна сала у приземљу, има мултимедијалну намену(изложбена, концертна, позоришна..). На спрату се поред галерије која има изложбену намену и кафе-бара, налази и сала коју користи школа плеса. У свом пословању фирма „Poseydon d.o.o.“ се представља као ArtExpo/INFOEDUCENTAR лепих уметности, дизајна и заната чији је програм презентован на сајту www.paviljon.org

Образовна намена - На адреси Старо сајмиште 1, простору некадашњег Југословенског павиљона 3, који је био највећи сајамски павиљон, данас се налази Кожарска школа са пратећим објектом за практичну наставу и двориштем.

4.3. ИМОВИНСКО-ПРАВНА ПИТАЊА

4.3.1. Власништво и право коришћења земљишта

На основу података прикупљених од Републичког геодетског завода - Службе за катастар Нови Београд, констатовано је да је сво земљиште обухваћено границама културног добра у државној својини, док су бројни носиоци права коришћења на земљишту (од Републике Србије, Града Београда и ГО Нови Београд до јавних комуналних предузећа, друштвених и приватних предузећа, па чак и физичких лица).

4.3.2 Property and Right of Usage of Buildings

While all of the “Old Fairground” complex land is in state property, a form of property when it comes to buildings is not defined (“other forms of property”, “mixed property”) and also there is a large number of buildings that are still public property. Obviously, legal property rights should be questioned for each individual case. A significant number of buildings is listed in the real estate cadastre as “buildings built without permit”. These buildings are not coherent with monumental characteristics of cultural goods and they should be removed if conditions for conducting technical protection of cultural monuments can be achieved.

There are cases that in the real estate cadastre ownership of the apartments or business spaces is written as private - in buildings that are built without a construction permit (ex. The building located on the address Staro Sajmište 23, c.p.2353). Although the data received from the real estate cadastre shows that there is a relatively small number of private apartments, it can be presumed that there are de facto more of them. These apartments are mostly in former shacks and warehouse buildings mentioned in the previous section of the document.

Collected data that concerns the form of land ownership and building ownership is shown on following chart and table.

4.4. Conclusions – Problem Identification

In reviewing the current state of cultural goods the following problems are observed.

1. “Complex” Non-Existence

In the papers written by professionals from different fields, the term “Old Fairground” always concerns an area consisting of the old fair complex or of the concentration camp. That also happened while establishing the cultural good “Old Fairground—Gestapo Concentration Camp”. However, objectively speaking, today the complex is not at all recognizable in space. Except for the name “Old Fairground” which is mostly concerns the space between the two bridges and the Staro Sajmište Street, and general neg-

4.3.2. Eigentum und Nutzungsrecht über die Bauten

Während das ganze Grundstück, auf welchem sich Staro Sajmište befindet, in statlichem Eigenum ist, ist die Art des Verfügens über die Bauten meist nicht zu definieren („sonstige Eigentumsverhältnisse“, „gemischte Eigentumsverhältnisse“), wobei auch eine große Anzahl der Gebäude immer noch dem Staat gehört. Offensichtlich ist, dass die geltenden eigentumsrechtlichen Verhältnisse für jeden einzelnen Fall zu prüfen sind. Eine signifikante Zahl der Objekte ist im Immobilienkataster als „Objekt ohne Genehmigung“ eingetragen. Dabei handelt es sich in der Regel um Gebäude, welche nicht in Einklang mit der Funktion des Kulturguts als Denkmal stehen und welche zu entfernen wären, falls Maßnahmen zum technischen Schutz des Kulturdenkmalen getroffen werden sollten.

In einigen Fällen ist im Immobilienkataster Privateigentum über Wohnungen oder Geschäftsräume eingetragen, welche laut Eintrag ohne Baugenehmigung errichtet wurden (z.B. das Objekt unter der Anschrift Staro Sajmište 23, KP 2353). Die vom Immobilienkataster mitgeteilten Daten weisen darauf hin, dass lediglich eine geringe Anzahl an Wohnungen in Privatbesitz steht, wobei jedoch anzunehmen ist, dass es tatsächlich mehr sind. Dies sind vor allem Wohnungen in den einstigen Baracken und Lagerhallen, welche bereits im vorherigen Segment dieses Berichts erwähnt wurden.

Die recherchierten Daten betreffend eigentumsrechtliche Verhältnisse über Grundstück und Bauobjekte sind wie folgt graphisch und tabellarisch dargestellt.

4.4. Schlussfolgerung - Problemfeststellung

Den heutigen Zustand des Kulturguts „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“ ins Auge fassend, sind folgenden Probleme zu erkennen:

1. „Komplex“ nicht vorhanden

Der Begriff „Staro Sajmište“ bezieht sich in Arbeiten aus unterschiedlichen Fachgebieten immer räumlich auf die Fläche des einstigen Messegeländes oder des Lagers. So war es auch bei der Definierung der Termini für „Gestapolager Staro Sajmište“. Heute ist jedoch, objektiv betrachtet, der Komplex auf diesem Gelände nicht länger zu erkennen. Abgesehen von der Bezeichnung „Staro Sajmište“, welche meist für das Gelände zwischen den beiden Brücken und der Sajmište-Straße verwendet wird,

4.3.2. Власништво и право коришћења објеката

Док је сво земљиште комплекса Старо сајмиште у државној својини, облик својине на објектима је најчешће недефинисан („други облици својине“, „мешовита својина“), а велики је и број објеката који је још увек у друштвеној својини. Очигледно је да у сваком појединачном случају треба испитати имовинско-правне односе који су заправо на снази. Значајан број објеката уписан је у Катастар непокретности као „објекти изграђени без дозволе“. То су по правилу објекти који нису у складу са споменичким својствима културног добра и које би требало уклонити уколико се стекну услови за спровођење мера техничке заштите споменика културе.

Постоје и случајеви код којих је у Катастру непокретности уписана приватна својина на становима или пословном простору у објектима за које је уписано да су изграђени без грађевинске дозволе (нпр. објекат са адресом Сајмиште 23, к.п. 2353). Податак добијен из Катастра непокретности указује да је релативно мали број станова који су у приватној својини, иако се може претпоставити да их је слега више. Ово су углавном станови у некадашњим баракама и магацинским објектима, о којима је било реч и у претходном делу документа.

Прикупљени подаци који се односе на облик својине на земљишту и објектима приказани су на следећем графичком прилогу и у табели.

4.4. Закључц - идентификација проблема

Сагледавањем данашњег стања културног добра Старо сајмиште-Логор Гестапоа уочавају се следећи проблеми:

1. Непостојање „комплекса“

Појам „Старо сајмиште“ у стручним радовима из различитих области односи се увек на просторни оквир комплекса некадашњег сајма или логора. Тако је било и приликом утврђивања за културно добро „Старо сајмиште-Логор Гестапоа“. Међутим, данас се објективно комплекс уопште не препознаје у простору. Осим назива „Старо сајмиште“ који се најчешће односи на простор између два моста и улице Сајмиште и опште запушености, нема никаквих повезујућих

ligence, there are no other connecting elements (neither physical nor regarding purpose nor way of use). For those who don't have any knowledge about this areas place in history, it is absolutely impossible to know about its former homogenous meaning and particularly its cultural significance.

Even though the fact that "Old Fairground" now doesn't have characteristics of the complex in a physical sense, it doesn't have them in the administrative either. If the decisions in the direction of establishing a memorial complex as a new clearly profiled institution which has clearly defined space are made, one of its jurisdiction and responsibilities has to be space management (ground and buildings)

2. Inadequate Property and Land and Building Usage

All terrain which is considered to be a cultural good is owned by the state and has the character of the city's building plot. However, the parceling is very fragmented, and possessors and holders of the right of using are many (from the Republic of Serbia, City of Belgrade, Municipality of Novi Beograd to public communal firms, public and private companies, and even individuals).

State property should be kept as such, and conversion to private shouldn't be allowed. There is a similar situation with owners and holders of the rights on buildings- according to the data from the Republic Geodetic Office, buildings are in state, public, private, mixed and other forms of property. In regards to the way they are used, buildings can be sorted as: family buildings for housing, buildings for industrial transport, additional buildings, cultural buildings, educational buildings, health care services buildings and buildings for infrastructure and buildings whose purpose isn't specified.

This kind of heterogeneity when it comes to the type of property, forms of property and ways of use, points to the spontaneous character of the urban development and lack of existence of any kind of city's strategy towards this area. There is also a large number of buildings stated in the real estate cadastre as "Buildings Built Without Permits for Construction". It's expected that the owners of these buildings have already started the process of legalization. These buildings should get particular attention while

sowie der allgemeinen Verwahrlosung, sind auf dem als Komplex aufgefassten Raum keine bindenden Elemente (weder physikalische noch betreffende Funktion und Nutzung) vorhanden. Für diejenigen, ohne Wissen über die Geschichte dieses Ortes, ist es aufgrund von der heutigen physikalischen Struktur nicht möglich, die einst homogene Struktur dieses Stätte zu fassen, ihre kulturelle Bedeutung noch weniger.

Wie das alte Messegelände heute kein Komplex im physikalischen Sinn ist, ist es das aus administrativer Sicht genauso wenig. Sollte die Entscheidung getroffen werden, einen Gedenkkomplex als neue Ansalt mit klarer Funktion und eindeutig definierter Fläche einzurichten, wäre einer der Zuständigkeits- und Verantwortungsbereiche die Verwaltung über das Gelände (Grundstück und Bauten).

2. Inadäquate Eigentumsverhältnisse und Nutzung von Gelände und Objekten

Das ganze vom Kulturgut umfasste Gelände ist staatliches Eigentum und als Baugrund der Stadt Belgrad zu verstehen. Die Parzellen sind jedoch ausgesprochen klein mit unterschiedlichen Trägern des Nutzungsrechts und Haltern (von der Republik Serbien und der Stadt Belgrad über die Gemeinde Neu-Belgrad und öffentliche Kommunalunternehmen bis hin zu staatlichen und privaten Unternehmen und sogar Einzelpersonen).

Das Grundstück sollte in staatlichem Eigentum bleiben, ohne Möglichkeit der Konversion zu Privateigentum. Ähnlich steht es auch um die Eigentümer und Rechtsträger über die Objekte: Aufgrund von Daten der Landvermessungsanstalt der Republik Serbien stehen die Bauobjekte in staatlichen, gesellschaftlichen, privaten, gemischten und sonstigen Eigentumsverhältnissen. Nach Nutzungsart lassen sich die Gebäude in Familienhäuser, kollektive Wohnobjekte, Geschäftsräume, Objekte für Industrietransport, Hilfsgebäude, Kulturobjekte, Schulhäuser, Objekte aus dem medizinischen Sektor, Objekte der Infrastruktur und Objekte ohne bestimmten Zweck aufteilen.

Solch eine heterogene Struktur in Bezug auf Eigentumsrecht, Art des Eigentumsverhältnisses und Nutzungsweise weist auf den spontanen Charakter der urbanistischen Entwicklung hin sowie auf den Mangel jeglicher Strategie der Stadt (oder des Staates) zu diesem Gelände. Daneben gibt es eine große Zahl von Gebäuden, die im Kadaster als "Ohne Baugenehmigung erstellte Gebäude" geführt werden. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Eigentümer dieser Gebäude bereits eine Prozedur der Legalisierung

elementa (ni fizičkih, ni u pogledu namena i načina korišćenja) u prostoru koга називамо комплексом. За оне који немају сазнања о историји овога места, у данашњој физичкој структури је потпуно немогуће исчитати његово некадашње хомогено значење, а поготово његов културни значај.

Поред тога што Старо сајмиште данас нема својства комплекса у физичком, нема га ни у административном смислу. Уколико се донесу одлуке у правцу успостављања Меморијалног комплекса као нове, јасно профилисане институције која има јасан просторни обухват, једна од његових надлежности и одговорности мора бити и управљање простором (земљиштем и објектима).

2. Неодговарајуће власништво и начин коришћења земљишта и објеката

Сво земљиште обухваћено границама културног добра је у државној својини и има карактер градског грађевинског земљишта. Међутим, парцелација је веома уситњена, а различити су носиоци права коришћења и држаоци (од Републике Србије, Града Београда и ГО Нови Београд до јавних комуналних предузећа, друштвених и приватних предузећа, па чак и физичких лица).

Државну својину на земљишту би требало задржати и не дозволити конверзију у приватну. Слично је и са власницима и носиоцима права на објектима - на основу података добијених из РГЗ-а, објекти се налазе у државној, друштвеној, приватној, мешовитој и другим облицима својине. По начину коришћења, објекти се могу разврстати у: породичне стамбене зграде, зграде колективног становања, зграде пословних услуга, зграде индустријског транспорта, помоћне зграде, зграде културе, зграде образовних услуга, зграде здравствених услуга, објекти инфраструктуре и објекти за које није утврђена намена.

Оваква хетерогеност у врсти власништва, облицима својине и начинима коришћења указује на спонтани карактер урбаног развоја и непостојање билокакве стратегије Града (Државе) према овоме простору. Велики је и број објеката уписаних у Катастар непокретности који су означени као „објекти изграђени без одобрења за изградњу“. За очекивати је да су власници ових објеката покренули поступак легализације код надлежних служби. Приликом спровођења поступка

conducting the legalization process.

3. Neglect of Maintenance

Current building owners or those who are using them don't have an interest or capacity for quality preservation of these buildings. And they don't have any responsibility for that either. The current maintenance of public spaces is also very dissatisfying (uncontrolled vegetation growth, accumulated dirt, retention of standing water). Institutions in charge would have to improve their activities in the Old Fairground.

4. Inadequate Purposes

Most of today's purposes of the terrain and buildings are inadequate in regards to it being a cultural good. Particularly purposes like catering and fun and even sports are conflicted with the memorial significance and values of the Memorial of the Old Fairground. Substandard housing and confusing spatial organization of business content in the Western part of the complex is nothing less inappropriate.

5. Poor Condition of Buildings Which Have Memorial Characteristics

Buildings that were preserved from the period of the First Belgrade Fair construction have to be permanently saved for their cultural-historical and architectural-urban values. They are in pretty bad condition. The central tower building is especially threatened and it's in urgent need of appropriate repair. Due to many years of neglect and lack of maintenance permanent degradation of original building materials, falling parts of the façade and appearance of cracks comes about. These buildings have been devastated by the many adaptations, remodeling, applying inadequate materials, inadequate replacement of façade elements (carpentry, hardware), etc. Damages of the roof and roof covers lead to further damage because of the water and humidity in the atmosphere. The conditions of all these facilities should be recorded in full detail and projects for their reconstruction and revitalization need to be prepared in accordance with the future purpose within Memorial Complex.

6. Traffic and infrastructure

Existing transport and traffic levels in the Staro Sajmište Street do not provide adequate conditions for it being presented as a cul-

ing eingeleitet haben. Diesen Bauten sollte im Zug einer eventuellen Legalisierung besonderes Augenmerk gewidmet werden.

3. Mangel an Instandhaltung

Die jetzigen Eigentümer oder Nutzer der Objekte haben entweder keine Möglichkeiten oder kein Interesse, um die Bauten entsprechen in Stand zu halten. Für ihr Verhalten tragen sie keinerlei Konsequenzen. Die Pflege der öffentlichen Flächen ist ebenfalls unzureichend (wucherndes Gewächs, angesammelter Abfall, kein Abfluss von Stehwasser). Die für kommunale Ordnung zuständigen Instanzen müssten ihre Aktivitäten am alten Messegelände verbessern.

4. Inadäquater Zweck

Die meisten Objekte und Flächen im Rahmen des Kulturguts werden heute inadäquat genutzt. Vor allem die Nutzung der Gebäude als Gasthäuser und Freizeit- oder auch Sportanlagen stehen in Konflikt zum Wert von Staro Sajmište als Gedenkstätte. Nicht weniger unangemessen ist auch das Wohnen mit niedrigem Standard und die unklare räumliche Gliederung der Geschäftssangebote im westlichen Teil des Komplexes.

5. Schlechter Zustand der Gebäude mit Denkmalwert

Die Objekte, welche in der Entstehungszeit der ersten Belgrader Messe errichtet wurden, müssen wegen ihres kulturhistorischen und urbanistisch-architektonischen Werts dauerhaft erhalten bleiben. Diese befinden sich jedoch in sehr schlechtem Zustand. Besonders gefährdet ist der Zentralturm, sodass er dringend entsprechend statisch saniert werden müsste. Wegen jahrelanger Verwahrlosung und mangelnder Instandhaltung kommt es zum Verfall des ursprünglich eingesetzten Baumaterials, es lösen sich Teile der Fassade, Risse entstehen. Die Objekte sind durch häufigen Anbau, Einbau von Trennwänden, Anwendung ungeeigneten Baumaterials und durch inadäquaten Tausch von Fassadenelementen (Türen und Fenster, Schlösser) etc. ruiniert. Beschädigungen am Dach und den Dachelementen führen zu weiterem Verfall durch Niederschlag und Feuchtigkeit. Der Zustand jedes einzelnen von diesen Objekten sollte detailliert untersucht werden und Projekte zu deren Rekonstruktion und Wiederaufbau als künftige Gedenkstätte erstellt.

6. Verkehr und Infrastruktur

Das aktuelle Verkehrskonzept und die Verkehrsintensität in der Staro-Sajmište-Straße bieten nicht die notwendigen Vorausset-

легализације, овим објектима треба приступити са посебном пажњом.

3. Неодржавање

Садашњи власници и корисници објеката или немају могућности или немају интереса за њихово квалитетно одржавање. За то не носе никакву одговорност. Одржавање јавних површина је такође незадовољавајуће (неконтролисани раст вегетације, акумулирана прљавштина, задржавање стајаће воде). Институције надлежне за одржавање комуналног реда морале би да унапреде своју делатност на Старом сајмишту.

4. Неодговарајуће намене

Већина данашњих намена објеката и земљишта у оквиру културног добра су неодговарајуће. Посебно намене као што је угоститељство и забава, па и спорт, су у конфликту са меморијалним значењем и споменичким вредностима Старог сајмишта. Ништа мање није неодговарајуће ни супстандардно становање као и конфузна просторна организација пословних садржаја у западном делу комплекса.

5. Лоше стање објеката који имају споменичка својства

Објекти који су сачувани из периода изградње Првог београдског сајма се морају трајно сачувати због својих културно-историјских и архитектонско-урбанистичких вредности. Они су у прилично лошем стању. Посебно је угрожена зграда Централне куле коју хитно треба статички санирати на одговарајући начин. Услед дугогодишње небриге и неодржавања перманентно долази до пропадања оригиналних грађевинских материјала, отпадања делова фасада, појаве напрслина. Ови објекти су девастирани великим бројем доградњи, преградњи, применом неодговарајућих материјала, неодговарајућом заменом фасадних елемената (столарија, браварија) итд. Оштећења кровова и кровних покривача доводе до додатних оштећења од атмосферске воде и влаге. Стање свих ових објеката треба детаљно снимити у целисти и сачинити пројекте њихове реконструкције и ревитализације у складу са будућом наменом у оквиру Меморијалног комплекса.

6. Саобраћај и инфраструктура

Постојеће решење саобраћаја и интензитет саобраћаја у улици Старо сајмиште не пружа услове за квалитетну

tural good. Although it is placed between two bridges connecting the Belgrade and Novi Beograd bank, the Old Fairground is hardly approachable and poorly connected with the rest of the city. A particularly negative occurrence is that the area is in a significant depression in relation to the circular roads and bank revetment. However, with proficient urban and architectural design this can very well be used as a resource.

Reaffirming previous urbanism concepts of the Old Fairground, Staro sajmište Street should have a solely internal character, which demands a new traffic solution in the wider area around the location. According to our knowledge reconstruction of all existing infrastructural systems is also necessary.

7. Lack of financial resources

Rehabilitation of the Old Fairground is an undertaking that in addition to a clearly defined project and qualified and efficient project managing, involves considerable financial resources. Regarding the significance and complexity of this undertaking, it exceeds the capacity of local and city government, so it should become a state project. A special legal-administrative and financial mechanism needs to be defined for its realization (enacting a special law, forming special financial fund).

5. CONCEPT FORMATION FOR THE MEMORIAL COMPLEX “OLD FAIRGROUND”

In the previous section of this document it was stated a couple of times that without a doubt the most important historical value of the Old Fairground is in its role of a killing-field in the Second World War. Therefore, a memorial complex should be the main and only purpose of this complex, and it should integrate three primary components in a completely modern way: education, science and culture.

Concept of Spatial Planning

As mentioned above, buildings of the former concentration camp (and the First Belgrade Fair) have not been saved in authentic condition. Therefore, the presentation of this cultural good cannot be based on the model of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial

zungen für eine entsprechende Präsentation des Kulturguts. Obwohl zwischen zwei Brücken gelegen, welche Neu-Belgrad mit dem alten Teil der Stadt verbinden, ist das alte Messegelände schwer zugänglich und unzureichend mit anderen Stadtteilen verbunden. Ein besonderes ungünstiger Umstand ist, dass dieses Gelände im Vergleich zu den umgebenden Straßen und der Ufersicherung wesentlich niedriger gelegen ist. Mit einer gekonnten urbanistischen und architektonischen Einrichtung ließe sich das jedoch als Vorteil nutzen.

Durch die Wiederaufnahme des einstigen urbanistischen Konzepts von Staro Sajmište müsste die Staro-Sajmište-Straße ausschließlich internen Charakters sein, was auch eine neue Ausrichtung des Verkehrs in der weiteren Umgebung des Raumes mit sich zieht. Unseren Erkenntnissen nach ist auch ein Wiederaufbau aller vorhandenen Systeme der Infrastruktur erforderlich.

7. Mangel an Finanzmitteln

Der Wiederaufbau von Staro Sajmište ist ein Unterfangen, welches neben eines klar definierten Projekts und geschulter und effizienter Leitung, auch große finanzielle Mittel fordert. Angesichts der Bedeutung und Komplexität dieses Vorhabens, übersteigt es die Möglichkeiten der lokalen Selbstverwaltung und Stadtverwaltung, sondern sollte zum Projekt auf Staatsebene werden. Für seine Umsetzung sollte ein administrativrechtlicher und finanzieller Mechanismus ausgearbeitet werden (Verabschiedung eines besonderen Gesetzes, Einrichtung eines eigenen Fonds).

5. ENTWURF ZUR ERRICHTUNG DER GEDÄNKSTÄTTE “STARO SAJMIŠTE”

Im vorherigen Teil dieses Berichtes wurde hervorgehoben, dass zweifelsohne die größte historische Signifikanz von Staro Sajmište in seiner Zeit als Hinrichtungsstätte im Zweiten Weltkrieg liegt. Aus diesem Grund sollte der einzige und ausschließliche Zweck dieses Geländes eine Gedenkstätte sein, welche auf moderne Weise drei Grundkomponenten miteinander verbinden würde: Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur.

Konzept der räumlichen Gestaltung

Die Bauobjekte aus dem ehemaligen Lager (und der ersten Belgrader Messe) sind, wie bereits angeführt, nicht in ihrem ursprünglichen Zustand bewahrt. Aus diesem Grund kann die Präsentation des Kulturguts nicht etwa nach dem Modell der

präsentation kulturalnog dobra. Iako smesteno između dva mosta koja povezuju beogradsku i novobеоградску obalu, Staro sajmište je teško dostupno i loše povezano sa ostatkom grada. Posebno je отежавајућа околност то што је оно у значајној депресији у односу на ободне саобраћајнице и обалоутврду. Међутим, умешним урбанистичким и архитектонским и обликовањем, ово се може веома добро искористити и као ресурс.

Поновном афирмацијом некадашњег урбанистичког концепта Старог сајмишта, улица Старо сајмиште би требало да има искључиво интерни карактер, што подразумева ново решење саобраћаја у ширем окружењу предметне локације. На основу наших сазнања, потребно је извршити и реконструкцију свих постојећих инфраструктурних система.

7. Недостатак финансијских ресурса

Рехабилитација Старог сајмишта је подухват који, поред јасног дефинисања пројекта и квалификованог и ефикасног управљања пројектом, подразумева и велика финансијска средства. Обзиром на значај и сложеност овог подухвата, он превазилази капацитете локалне самоуправе и градске управе, већ треба да постане државни пројекат. За његову реализацију би било потребно дефинисати посебан административно-правни и финансијски механизам (доношење посебног закона, формирање посебног финансијског фонда).

5. КОНЦЕПТ ФОРМИРАЊА МЕМОРИЈАЛНОГ КОМПЛЕКСА СТАРО САЈМИШТЕ

У претходном делу овога документа наведено је више пута да је, без икакве сумње, најзначајнија историјска вредност Старог сајмишта као страстишта у Другом светском рату. Из тог разлога, основна и једина намена овога комплекса би требало да буде меморијални комплекс који би, на потпуно модеран начин, у себи интегрисао три основне компоненте: образовање, науку и културу.

Просторни концепт

Објекти некадашњег логора (и Првог београдског сајма), као што је напред наведено, нису сачувани у аутентичном стању. Из тих разлога, презентација овог културног добра не може се заснивати на моделу нпр. меморијалног комплекса Auschwitz-

Complex (the Polish Parliament enacted legislation establishing the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum back in 1947). In Serbia, that kind of memorial place exists in Nis — a memorial camp museum “12th of February” (Red Cross). The complex of the former concentration camp “Red Cross” in Nis is defined as monument of great importance for the Republic of Serbia, by the Socialist Republic of the Executive Council’s decision in 1979.

In the Old Fairground’s case it is not possible to transfer the model of presenting historic events as applied in the memorial complex Yad Vashem - The Holocaust Victims and Heroes Remembrance Authority, an institution dedicated to studying and commemoration of Jews victims of the Holocaust, founded in 1953 in Jerusalem. This, the most important institution of its kind, is located in a place where crimes have not really occurred, in a place that is not killing-field.

As defined in the current detailed urban plan of the memorial complex, during revitalization (rehabilitation), all buildings that were once part of First Belgrade Fair, concentration camp: central tower, Spasic’s pavilion, Italian pavilion, Czechoslovakian pavilion, Turkish pavilion, pavilion Stefanovic and the Directorate building, must be preserved, reconstructed and returned to their former original state.

Regarding a new physical structure, the solution given in the detailed urban plan for the Memorial Complex of the Old Fairground is today also fully acceptable. It provides for the construction of new buildings in places and sizes of destroyed fair pavilions and a renewal of the original urbanism plan. This way the former urbanism would be reconstructed in totality, and the authentic fair pavilions would have received the spatial context in which they were created.

Program Concept

Regulations of the detailed urban plan concerning the physical structures are still applicable, but the regulations concerning purposes of buildings and space need to be revised. Namely, this plan document suggests that Spasic’s pavilion along with few other preserved pavilions serve for marking the memory of the camp,

Gedenkstätte Auschwitz-Birkenau erfolgen (Das polnische Parlament verabschiedete bereits 1947 ein Gesetz über die Gründung des staatlichen Museums „Auschwitz-Birkenau“). Eine Gedenkstätte dieser Art in Serbien befindet sich in Niš: Es handelt sich um das Gedenkmuseum des Lagers „12. Februar“ (Rotes Kreuz). Der Komplex des einstigen KZ-Lagers „Rotes Kreuz“ in Niš wurde mit Beschluss des Exekutivausschusses der Bundesrepublik Serbien von 1979 („Amtsblatt der BR Serbien“, Nr. 14/79) zum Kulturdenkmal besonderen Werts für die Republik Serbien erklärt.

Im Fall von Staro Sajmište lässt sich auch die Methode, historische Ereignisse zu präsentieren, welche im Gedenkkomplex Yad Vashem – The Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, einer 1953 in Jerusalem gegründeten Anstalt zu Erforschung und Gedenken an die jüdischen Opfer des Holocaust, nicht übertragen. Diese Anstalt, zugleich die weltweit bedeutendste ihrer Art, befindet sich an einem Ort, wo tatsächlich keine Verbrechen geschahen und welcher daher nicht als Stätte massenhafter Hinrichtungen gelten kann.

Wie im geltenden UDP für den Gedenkkomplex Staro Sajmište („Amtsblatt der Stadt Belgrad“, Nr. 2/92) festgehalten, sind beim Wiederaufbau (Neueinrichtung) des alten Messegelände alle Objekte, welche sich einst im Rahmen der ersten Belgrader Messe, d.h. des Lagers befanden, zu erhalten, rekonstruieren und in ihren einstigen Zustand zurückzuführen; diese sind: Zentralturm, Spasić-Pavillon, Italienischer, Tschechoslowakischer, Türkischer und Ungarischer Pavillon, Stefanović-Pavillon und Verwaltungsgebäude.

In Bezug auf die neue physikalische Struktur ist der im Urbanistischen Detailplan für den Gedenkkomplex Staro Sajmište („Amtsblatt der Stadt Belgrad“, Nr. 2/92) vorgeschlagene Entwurf, laut welchem die Errichtung neuer Bauten an Stelle und mit Maßen der niedergerissenen Messepavillons und die Wiederherstellung der früheren urbanistischen Ausrichtung vorgesehen sind, auch heute noch gänzlich anwendbar. Auf diese Weise wäre die einstige urbanistische Einheit wiederhergestellt und den ursprünglichen, bis heute erhaltenen Messepavillons der Kontext verliehen, in welchem sie entstanden sind.

Programmwurf

Während die Bestimmungen aus dem UDP zur physikalischen Struktur immer noch umsetzbar sind, ist der Segment über die Nutzung der Objekte und des Geländes zu revidieren. Besagter Plan sieht nämlich vor, dass der Spasić-Pavillon sowie noch einige der erhaltenen Pavillons zum Gedenken an das Lager eingesetzt

Birkenau (Poljski parlament je još 1947. godine doneo zakon o osnivaњу “Auschwitz-Birkenau” državnog muzeja). Memoriјalno mesto tog „tipa” u Srbiji postoji u Nišu - memoriјalni muzej logora „12. februar” (Crveni krst). Komplex nekađasnog koncentracionog logora „Crveni krst” u Nišu utvrđen je za spomenik kulture od изуzетног значаја за Републику Србију одлуком Извршног већа СР Србије из 1979. године („Службени гласник СР Србије”, бр. 14/79).

У случају Старог сајмишта не може се пресликати ни модел презентовања историских догађаја какав је примењен у меморијалном комплексу Yad Vashem-The Holocaust Martyrs’ and heroes’ Remembrance Authority, институцији посвећеној проучавању и комеморацији Јевреја, жртава холокауста основаној 1953. године у Јерусалиму. Ова, најзначајнија институција ове врсте у свету, налази се на месту на коме се заправо нису десили злочини, на месту које није стратиште.

Као што је дефинисано у важећем ДУП-у споменичког комплекса Старо сајмиште („Сл. лист града Београда” бр.2/92), приликом ревитализације (рехабилитације) Старог сајмишта морају се сачувати, реконструисати и вратити у некадашње, првобитно стање сви објекти који су некада били у саставу Првог београдског сајма, тј. логора: Центална кула, Спасићев, Италијански, Чехословачки, Турски и Мађарски павиљон, павиљон Стефановић и Управна зграда.

У погледу нове физичке структуре, решење дато у Детаљном урбанистичком плану споменичког комплекса Старо сајмиште („Сл. лист града Београда” бр.2/92) које предвиђа изградњу нових зграда на местима и у габаритима порушених сајамских павиљона и обнови првобитног урбанистичког решења, у потпуности је и данас прихватљиво. На тај начин се реконструише некадашња урбанистичка целина, а аутентичним сајамским павиљонима, до данас очуваним, се обезбеђује просторни контекст у коме су настали.

Програмски концепт

Док су одредбе ДУП-а које се односе на физичку структуру и даље применљиве, одредбе које се односе на намене објеката и простора подложне су ревизији. Наиме, овим планским документом је предложено да Спасићев павиљон и још неки од очуваних павиљона послуже за обележавање сећања на логор,

and the whole area of the fairground should be marked partly and adequately through the reconstruction process or by the interpolation of elements that can be in a way associated with the concentration camp period. The plan has anticipates that studios and exhibition spaces can be adequately preserved in the other remaining pavilions. According to this plan, the purposes of new buildings that are to be built on the grounds of pavilions no longer in existence can be similar to the purposes that fair buildings have, but at the same time they have to be polyvalent purposes with an accent on cultural content.

Modern memorial complexes are dedicated to the remembrance of the Holocaust and genocide victims and they are established upon four program pillars: remembrance, documentation, investigation and education. Much more than turning one (or more) pavilion into a museum needs to be done if there is indeed a will to form such a center on the Old Fairground.

5.1. Proposals of Goals for Forming Memorial Complex Old Fairground

- Recollection and remembrance of the Holocaust and genocide victims
- Study of the Holocaust and genocide that occurred in the Old Fairground concentration camp (victims, perpetrators, witnesses, as well as the total historical and social context).
- Education of young generation about the Holocaust and genocide
- Raising the population's awareness about the Holocaust and genocide phenomenon
- Encouraging increased number of citizens who condemn the Holocaust and genocide and influencing the strengthening of social values which condemn fascist, racist and anti Semite ideas.
- Increasing the number of professional institutions and politicians in memorial complex activities.
 - Influencing society in order to prevent the Holocaust and genocide reoccurrence.

Activity of the Old Fairground Memorial Complex, an institution founded by special legislation, should be dedicated to following themes:

werden, während die ganze Fläche des Messegeländes stellenweise und entsprechend zu kennzeichnen ist, durch Rekonstruktion oder Einfügung von Elementen, welche an die Zeit als Lager erinnern würden. Laut Plan ist es möglich, in der anderen erhaltenen Pavillons die dort eingerichteten Ateliers und Ausstellungsräume entsprechend beizubehalten. Neue Bauten, welche an Stelle der niedergerissenen Pavillons zu errichten wären, können laut besagtem Plan in einer messeähnlichen Funktion eingesetzt werden, seien jedoch in ihrem Zweck polyvalent zu halten mit Betonung auf kulturellen Inhalten.

Die Programme moderner Gedenkzentren für Opfer des Holocaust und Völkermordes fußen auf vier Säulen: Gedenken, Bewahrung, Forschung und Bildung. Falls Wille besteht, Staro Sajmište in solch ein Gedenkzentrum umzuwandeln, bedarf es viel mehr als der Einrichtung eines (oder mehreren) Pavillons als Museum.

5.1. Vorschlag einer Zielsetzung bei der Einrichtung des Gedenkkomplexes „Staro Sajmište“:

- Gedenken an die Holocaust- und Völkermordopfer;
- Forschungsarbeit über Holocaust und Völkermord auf dem Gebiet von Staro Sajmište (Opfer, Täter und Zeugen sowie gesamter historischer und sozialer Kontext);
- Bildung junger Generationen zum Thema Holocaust und Völkermord;
- Herausbildung eines tieferen Bewusstseins über Holocaust und Völkermord in der breiten Öffentlichkeit;
- Förderung von Ablehnung des Holocaust und Völkermordes bei einer größeren Zahl von Bürgern, wodurch gesellschaftliche Werte gestärkt werden könnten, in welchen Faschismus, Rassismus und Antisemitismus inakzeptabel wären;
- Engagement einer größeren Zahl von Fachleuten, Institutionen und Trägern von politischen Funktionen am Wirken des Gedenk-Komplexes;
- Einfluss in der Gesellschaft, um Holocaust und Völkermord in Zukunft zu verhindern.

Das Wirken des Gedenkkomplexes Staro Sajmište als einer eigen gesetzlich begründeten Anstalt sollte sich folgenden Themen zuwenden:

а да се цела површина сајмишта местимично и на прикладан начин обележи реконструкцијом или интерполацијом елемената који би на одређени начин асоцирали на период логора. Планом је предвиђено да се у осталим сачуваним павиљонима могу на прикладан начин сачувати атељеи и изложбени простори. Нови објекти, који би требало да се подигну на местима несталих павиљона, према овом плану могу да буду намењени садржајима сличним сајамским, али да буду поливалентне намене, пре свега наглашеног културног садржаја.

Модерни меморијални комплекси посвећени сећању жртава холокауста и геноцида програмски се заснивају се на 4 стуба: сећање, документовање, истраживање и образовање. Уколико постоји воља да се на Старом сајмишту формира један овакав центар, потребно је учинити много више од претварања једног (или чак више) павиљона у музеј.

5.1. Предлог циљева формирања Меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште:

- Сећање и памћење жртава холокауста и геноцида;
 - Проучавање холокауста и геноцида који су се догодили у логору на Старом сајмишту (жртава, починилаца и посматрача, као и укупног историјског и друштвеног контекста);
- образовање младих генерација о холокаусту и геноциду;
- Подизање свести о феноменима холокауста и геноцида код шире јавности;
- Подстицање повећања броја грађана који осуђују холокауст и геноцид и тиме вршење утицаја на јачање друштвених вредности којима се осуђују фашистичке, расистичке и антисемитске идеје;
- Укључивање што већег броја професионалаца, институција и носилаца политичких функција у делатност Меморијалног комплекса;
- Вршење друштвеног утицаја да се холокауст и геноцид не понове у будућности.

Делатност Меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште, као посебним законом основане институције, треба да буде посвећена следећим темама:

- Recollection, remembrance, commemoration of the Holocaust and genocide (museums dedicated to Judenlager Semlin, Anhaltslager Semlin, and Old Fairground till the Second World War, have to be formed, install a number of monuments and plaques, make and continuously update a central data base with information about victims, perpetrators and witnesses)
- Documenting (establishing the archives, library, artwork collection, collections of videos and films)
- Researching (establishing an institute for researching the Holocaust and genocide in Serbia, publishing activity)
- Educating (establishing a school on the Holocaust and genocide with various educational programs for different attendants from Belgrade, Serbia, other countries – for example, children and youth of expatriates, but also other European countries)

Vision:

Memorial Complex “Old Fairground” As a Unique Institution of this Kind in Eastern Europe

Mission:

Education of Youth so as to Prevent Reoccurrence of the Holocaust

5.2. Activities for Achieving These Goals:

- Presentation of victims experiences with proper museum installments and memorials in open, public space
- Documenting and preserving experiences of victims and survivors
- Inclusion of survivors in educational programs
- Publishing appropriate educational materials that will influence the formation of values of children and youth
- Providing quality availability of all resources for the public
- Intensive cooperation with domestic and foreign institutions

- Erinnerung und Gedenken an Holocaust und Völkermordes (Es ist erforderlich, Museen für Judenlager Semlin, Anhaltslager Semlin und Staro Sajmište vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg einzurichten, mehr Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln an den Freiluftflächen des Gedenkkomplexes anzubringen und die Datenbank über Opfer, Täter und Zeugen stets zu aktualisieren.)
- Bewahrung (Einrichtung von Archiven, einer Bibliothek, Kunstsammlungen, Archiv von Filmaufnahmen)
- Forschung (Einrichtung eines Forschungsinstituts über Holocaust und Völkermord in Serbien, Forschungsarbeit)
- Bildung (Einrichtung eines Holocaust-Bildungszentrums mit Programmen für unterschiedliche Zielgruppen aus Belgrad, Serbien und dem Ausland, z.B. für junge Auslandsserben aber auch Jugendliche aus anderen Ländern Europas)

Vision:

Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište als einzige Einrichtung dieser Art in Südosteuropa

Mission:

Bildung von Jugendlichen mit dem Ziel, Holocaust und Völkermord in Zukunft zu verhindern

5.2. Maßnahmen, um diese Ziele zu erreichen:

- Präsentation der Erfahrungen von Opfern in entsprechenden Museumsausstellungen und durch Anbringung von Gedenktafeln in freiem, öffentlichem Raum
- Aufzeichnung und Bewahrung der Erfahrungen von Opfern und Überlebenden
- Einbeziehung von Überlebenden in die Bildungsprogramme
- Zusammenstellung entsprechenden Lehrmaterials, welches zur Herausbildung von Werten bei Kinder und Jugendlichen beitragen würde
- Gewährung von hochwertigem Zugang zu allen Ressourcen für die breite Öffentlichkeit
- Rege Zusammenarbeit mit Einrichtungen aus In- und Ausland

- Сећање, памћење, комеморација холокауста и геноцида (потребно је формирати музеје посвећене Judenlager Semlin, Anhaltelager Semlin и Старом сајмишту до 2. светског рата, поставити више споменика и спомен-обележја у отвореном простору Меморијалног комплекса и сачинити и стално ажурирати централна база података о жртвама, починиоцима и посматрачима)
- Документовање (формирање архива, библиотеке, колекције уметничких дела, колекција видео и филмских записа)
- Истраживање (формирање института за истраживање холокауста и геноцида у Србији, издавачка делатност)
- Образовање (оснивање школе холокауста и геноцида са разноврсним едукативним програмима намењеним различитим циљним групама полазника из Београда, Србије и иностранства - нпр. деца и млади из дијаспоре, али и из других европских земаља)

Визија:

Меморијални Комплекс Старо сајмиште као Јединствена институција ове врсте у Југоисточној Европи

Мисија:

ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ МЛАДИХ СА ЦИЉЕМ ДА СЕ ХОЛОКАУСТ И ГЕНОЦИД ВИШЕ НИКАДА НЕ ПОНОВЕ

5.2. Активности којима се постижу ови циљеви:

- Презентовање искустава жртава одговарајућим музејским поставкама и спомен-обележјима у отвореном, јавном простору
- Документовање и чување искустава жртава и преживелих
- Укључивање преживелих у едукативне програме
- Израда одговарајућих едукативних материјала који ће утицати на формирање вредности код деце и младих
- Обезбеђивање квалитетне доступности свих ресурса широј јавности
- Интензивна сарадња са домаћим и страним институцијама

How to reach the goal?

- Enacting a special law on establishing a new institution – “Old Fairground” Memorial Complex
- Within the limits of cultural goods all real estate (land and buildings) has to be in state ownership, and given to the management of this institution
- Realization must be planned according to a long term program, phase by phase

5.3. Realization Phases

First phase would refer to preparatory activities for the establishment of the “Old Fairground” Memorial Complex, which are mainly administrative activities. This means maximum engagement of the existing institutions and resources with minimum financial expenditures. Within this phase the following things would be done:

1. Disabling the legalization of buildings that are on the cultural good and that are built without construction permit.
2. Disabling conversion of state property, on the land designated as a cultural good, to private property
3. Enacting a law by which the Old Fairground Memorial Complex would be established.

At the same time, the Old Fairground should be on the list of priorities of all public communal companies in order to provide more efficient maintenance.

Second phase—Should the necessary decisions on establishing the Old Fairground Memorial Complex be made, and especially the law, then the second phase which would follow would cover the making of a program document which will define elements for announcing a international architectural-urbanism contest for the reconstruction of the Old Fairground complex.

The third phase would include the revitalization of all buildings that from the period of First Belgrade Fair which are still standing, and which are state owned. The Memorial Complex would begin its work in rehabilitated pavilions. Making of a new urbanism plan would start along with this process, after the international contest is finished.

Wie sind die Zeile zu erreichen?

- Verabschiedung eines Gesetzes über die Einrichtung einer neuen Institution: der Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište
- Innerhalb der Grenzen des Kulturguts muss sämtliches Eigentum (Grundstücke und Bauobjekte) in staatlichem Eigentum sein und von besagter Institution verwaltet werden
- Die Umsetzung muss entsprechend langfristigem Plan und in Phasen erfolgen

5.3. Umsetzungsphasen

Die erste Phase würde sich auf Vorbereitungen zur Einrichtung der Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište, welche vorwiegend verwaltungstechnisch und administrativ wären, beziehen. Darunter ist das höchste Engagement der bestehenden Einrichtung und Ressourcen zu verstehen sowie eine möglichst geringe Beanspruchung finanzieller Mittel. In dieser Phase wäre Folgendes zu vollbringen:

1. Verhinderung der Legalisierung von auf dem Gelände des Kulturguts errichteter Bauobjekte, welche ohne Baugenehmigung errichtet wurden;
2. Verhinderung der Konversion von zum Kulturgut gehörendem Baugrund in staatlichem Eigentum zu Privateigentum
3. Verabschiedung eines Gesetzes über die Einrichtung der Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište

Zugleich sollte Staro Sajmište auf die Prioritätenliste aller relevanten öffentlichen Kommunalunternehmen aufgenommen werden, um effiziente Instandhaltung der Gedenkstätte zu gewährleisten.

Zweite Phase – Falls alle erforderlichen Beschlüsse über die Einrichtung der Gedenkstätte Staro Sajmište getroffen, vorwiegend jedoch die notwendigen Gesetze verabschiedet werden sollten, sollte in der zweiten Phase ein Programm verfasst werden, in welchem die Kriterien für ein internationales architektonisch-urbanistisches Ausschreiben zum Wiederaufbau von Staro Sajmište zu definieren wären.

Die dritte Phase würde einen Wiederaufbau aller erhaltenen Objekte aus der Zeit der ersten Begrader Messe umfassen, welche zu dem Zeitpunkt in staatlichem Eigentum wären. In den renovierten Pavillons könnte die Gedenkstätte eröffnet werden. Zeitgleich zu diesem Prozess könnte nach Abschluss des internationalen Ausschreibens mit der Erstellung eines neuen urbanistischen Plans begonnen werden.

Како до циља?

- Доношење посебног закона о оснивању нове институције-Меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште
- У оквиру граница културног добра сва непокретна имовина (земљиште и објекти) морају бити у државној својини, а дати на управљање овој институцији
- Реализација се мора програмирати дугорочно, по фазама

5.3. Фазе реализације

Прва фаза би се односила на припремне активности за формирање Меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште, које су углавном активности управног, административног типа. Она подразумева максималну ангажованост постојећих институција и ресурса, уз минимални утрошак финансијских средстава. У овој фази би било учињено следеће:

1. Ономогућавање легализације објеката у оквиру културног добра који су изграђени без одобрења за изградњу
2. Ономогућавање конверзије државног облика својине над грађевинским земљиштем у оквиру културног добра, у приватни облик својине
3. Доношење Закона о формирању меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште

У исто време, Старо сајмиште би требало уврстити у листу приоритета рада свих релевантних јавних комуналних предузећа, како би се обезбедило ефикасније одржавање.

Друга фаза - уколико се донесу потребне одлуке о формирању меморијалног комплекса Старо сајмиште, а поготово закон, другом фазом би требало обухватити израду Програмског документа из кога би се могли дефинисати елементи за расписивање међународног архитектонско-урбанистичког конкурса за реконструкцију комплекса Старо сајмиште.

Трећа фаза би обухватила ревитализацију свих објеката који су сачувани из периода Првог београдског сајма, а који у том моменту буду у државној својини. У ревитализованим павиљонима отпочео би са радом Меморијални комплекс. Упоредо са овим процесом, а по завршетку међународног конкурса, приступило би се изради новог урбанистичког плана.

The fourth phase would involve successive creation of investment-technical documentation for new buildings, their construction, as well as complete regulation of the complex, in coherency with the dynamics of providing funds.

In der vierten Phase käme es zu einer sukzessiven Ausarbeitung von technischen Anlageunterlagen für neue Objekte und ihren Bau sowie für die gänzliche Gestaltung des Komplexes gemäß der Dynamik, in welcher Geldmittel zur Verfügung gestellt werden könnten.

Четврта фаза би подразумевала сукцесивну израду инвестиционо-техничке документације за нове објекте, њихову изградњу, као и целовито уређење комплекса, у складу са динамиком обезбеђивања средстава.



Central Tower



Spasić Pavillon - as it had been used for disco concerts



SAJMIŠTE — AN EXTERMINATION CAMP IN SERBIA

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[original source: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol 2, No 2, pp 243-260.1987.]

Abstract — German army reprisals against the local Serbian population's resistance to the Occupation, between August and December 1941, were used by the army as an excuse to murder the Jewish men of Serbia. Jewish women and children (8000-9000) were then interned in Sajmište, a concentration camp established at the site of an abandoned exhibition ground on the outskirts of Belgrade. After seeking RSHA aid to deal with these Jews, the local German administration received a gas van with which it murdered the Jews, from March to May 1942. This is the only known instance of on-the-spot gassing outside of Eastern Europe.

On the left bank of the Sava river, not far from where it flows into the Danube, and hidden among the modern buildings of new Belgrade, stands the Sajmište¹ Fairground. Today, the decrepit, old barracks shelter poor Gypsies and the homeless human rejects of the socialist society. People huddle around an open fire, as laundry flutters in the wind, in the shadow of what was once an impressive tower. Near what was originally the main entrance, the following words are written:

In this place, between 1941-1944 stood a concentration camp erected by the German Fascists. Let us remember the victims who perished here.

This small plaque, insignificant to passers-by, calls attention to a place from which the anguished cries of thousands of women and children emanated only 45 years ago. Here, beside this broken gate, in the spring of 1942, these people were forced into a gas van and put to death as the van passed through the main streets of Belgrade. In this forsaken place the tragedy of the Serbian Jews came to its end.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN?

On 6 April 1941, the Germans and their Allies invaded Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav army collapsed in a fortnight and the former Yugoslav state was divided

¹ The camp had several names. The Germans called it 'Judenlager Semlin', the Serbs 'Jevrejski Logor Sajmište' and the Jews 'Jevrejski Logor Zemun'. This article uses the contemporary Yugoslav name 'Sajmište'.

SAJMIŠTE – LOGOR ZA ISTREBLJIVANJE U SRBIJI*

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[Ovo je izmjenjena verzija članka na hebrejskom jeziku objavljenog u *Studijama o periodu Holokausta IV* (*Studies on the Holocaust Period IV*), Univerzitet Haifa, 1986]

Apstrakt – Odmazde nemačke vojske usled otpora lokalnog srpskog stanovništva okupaciji, od avgusta do decembra 1941, korišćene su kao izgovor za ubijanje jevrejskih muškaraca u Srbiji. Jevrejske žene i deca (8.000-9.000) su zatim internirani u koncentracioni logor podignut na mestu napuštenog sajamskog prostora u predgrađu Beograda. Pošto je tražila pomoć od Glavne uprave bezbednosti Rajha (RSHA) u rešavanju pitanja Jevreja, lokalna nemačka uprava dobila je kamion-gasnu komoru (poznat i kao dušegupka, prim. prev.) kojim je ubijala Jevreje od marta do maja 1942. godine. Ovo je jedini poznat slučaj pogubljenja gasom na licu mesta izvan Istočne Evrope.

Na levoj obali Save, nedaleko od ušća u Dunav, sakriveno između modernih zgrada Novog Beograda, nalazi se Sajmište.¹ Danas siromašni cigani i beskućnici, ljudi odbačeni od socijalističkog društva nastanjuju oronule stare barake. Ljudi se guraju oko otvorene vatre dok se veš vijori na vetru, u senci nekada impresivne kule. Pored nekadašnjeg glavnog ulaza, ispisane su ove reči:

Na ovom mestu, od 1941. do 1944, nalazio se koncentracioni logor koji su podigli nemački fašisti. Setimo se žrtava koje su na ovom mestu izgubile život.

Ova mala ploča, nebitna slučajnim prolaznicima, skreće pažnju na mesto sa koga su pre samo 40 godina dopirali izmučeni krici hiljada žena i dece. Ovde, pored ove slomljene kapije, u proleće 1942. godine, ti ljudi su silom odvođeni u dušegupku i ubijani dok su voženi glavnim ulicama Beograda. Na ovom napuštenom mestu završila se tragedija srpskih Jevreja.

ŠTA DA RADIMO SA ŽENAMA I DECOM?

Šestog aprila 1941. godine, Nemci i njihovi saveznici izvršili su invaziju na Jugoslaviju. Jugoslovenska vojska doživela je propast u roku od dve nedelje, a oku-

¹ Logor je imao nekoliko imena. Nemci su ga zvali 'Judenlager Semlin', Srbi 'Jevrejski logor Sajmište', a Jevreji 'Jevrejski logor Zemun'. Ovaj članak koristi savremeni jugoslovenski naziv 'Sajmište'.

among the invaders. Germany occupied Serbia, the heart of Yugoslavia and the focus of its independence. Shortly thereafter, a German military administration was established in Belgrade. It was headed by a German General, but in reality various German authorities fought among themselves for hegemony in Serbia. The head of the German civilian administration was SS *Gruppenführer* Harald Turner, an experienced administrator who previously headed the military administration in Occupied Paris. Turner was an old SS man with very good connections among the higher echelons of the SS, and he had widespread authority in all civilian matters. Under his command (and sometimes opposing him) was a special commando unit of the RSHA, *Einsatzgruppe Serbien*, whose main tasks, similar to those of commandos that operated in Poland, were to take care of internal security, fight against opponents of the Occupation, keep track of suspicious elements and deal with the Jewish problem. The head of the *Einsatzgruppe* was, until January 1942, SS *Standartenführer* Wilhelm Fuchs, and after that these activities were undertaken by SS *Gruppenführer* August Meyszner with SS *Standartenführer* Emanuel Schäfer as his deputy. Others involved in the decision-making process on Jewish policy were: the Belgrade representative of the German Foreign Office, Felix Benzler, who was a professional diplomat, and Hans Neuhausen, the plenipotentiary for the economy, and in essence Göring's representative in Serbia. These men were required to coordinate all measures with the army, especially after the beginning of the Serbian rebellion in July 1941.²

The implementation of the Jewish policy, always one of the main goals of the Nazi regime, was the responsibility of the local Gestapo. The commander of the Belgrade Gestapo was SS *Sturmbannführer* Bruno Sattler, with SS *Sturmführer* Stracke as the head of its Jewish Department. A short time after the Occupation of Belgrade, the Germans published the usual array of anti-Jewish legislation which included compulsory registration of all Jews, removal from jobs, confiscation of property (i.e. legalized plunder), restriction of movement, segregation and compulsory hard labour in the bombed city.³

The oppressive measures imposed on the Serbian population by the German authorities after the start of the German-Russian War on 22 June 1941 caused

² On the German military administration see (1) Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, Vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1974); Jovan Marjanović, 'The German Occupation System in Serbia in 1941', in *Les Systèmes de l'Occupation en Yougoslavie*, ed. Brajović et al. (Belgrade. Les Instituts pour l'Etude du Mouvement Ouvrier, 1963), pp. 263-301. On Turner see his personal file in the Berlin Documentary Centre (BDC).

³ For an excellent article on the murder of Jews in Belgrade see Jovan Ivanović, 'Teror nad Jevrejima u Beogradu', in *Godišnjak Grada Beograda* (Beograd, 1966), Vol. XIII, pp. 289-317

patori su među sobom razdelili bivšu jugoslovensku državu. Ubrzo potom, uspostavljena je nemačka vojna uprava u Beogradu. Na njenom čelu bio je nemački general, ali su se zapravo različite strukture nemačkih vlasti međusobno borile za prevlast u Srbiji. Na čelu nemačke civilne uprave nalazio se SS grupenfirer Harald Turner, iskusni administrator koji je prethodno bio na čelu vojne uprave u okupiranom Parizu. Turner je bio stari SS-ovac sa izuzetno dobrim vezama u visokim krugovima SS-a i širokim obimom civilnih nadležnosti. Pod njegovom komandom (ponekad suprotstavljajući mu se) bila je operativna grupa pri Glavnoj upravi bezbednosti Rajha – Ajnzacgrupe Srbija – čiji su glavni zadaci, slično jedinicama koje su delovale u Poljskoj, bili briga o unutrašnjoj bezbednosti, borba sa protivnicima okupacije, evidencija sumnjivih elemenata i bavljenje jevrejskim problemom. Do januara 1942, na čelu Ajnzacgrupe bio je SS štandartenfirer Vilhelm Fuks, koga je zamenio SS grupenfirer August Majsner, dok je zamenik bio SS štandartenfirer Emanuel Šefer. Ostale osobe uključene u proces donošenja odluka u politici prema Jevrejima bili su: beogradski predstavnik Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Nemačke, Feliks Bencler, koji je bio profesionalni diplomata, i Hans Nojhauzen, opunomoćenik za privredu i u suštini Geringov predstavnik u Srbiji. Svi oni bili su obavezni da sve mere koordinišu sa vojskom, naročito posle početka srpske pobune u julu 1941. godine.²

Sprovođenje politike prema Jevrejima – jednog od glavnih ciljeva nacističkog režima – bilo je u nadležnosti lokalnog Gestapoa. Komandant beogradskog Gestapoa bio je SS šturmbanfirer Bruno Satler, dok je SS šturmfirer Štrake bio na čelu Odseka za Jevreje. Ubrzo nakon okupacije Beograda, Nemci su usvojili uobičajeno antijevrejsko zakonodavstvo, uključujući obavezan popis svih Jevreja, uklanjanje sa radnih mesta, zaplenu imovine (tj. legalizovanu pljačku), ograničeno kretanje, segregaciju i obavezan težak rad u bombardovanom gradu.³

Represivne mere koje su nemačke vlasti nametnule srpskom stanovništvu posle početka nemačko-ruskog rata, 22. juna 1941, izazvale su spontanu po-

² O nemačkoj vojnoj upravi, vidi (1) Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, Vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1974); Jovan Marjanović, *Nemačka okupacija u Srbiji 1941*. iz *Les Systemes de l'Occupation en Yougoslavie*, ur. Brajović et al (Belgrade. Les Instituts pour l'Etude du Mouvement Ouvrier, 1963), str. 263-301. O Turneru, vidi njegov lični dosije u Berlinskom dokumentacionom centru (BDC)

³ Odličan članak o ubijanju Jevreja u Beogradu; vidi Jovan Ivanović, 'Teror nad Jevrejima u Beogradu', u *Godišnjaku grada Beograda* (Beograd, 1966), Vol. XIII, str. 289-317

a spontaneous rebellion all over Serbia. The Germans, as part of the measures used to crush the rebellion, imprisoned all Jewish men in concentration camps under the false pretence that, 'the Jews are inciting the population and are leading the revolt', hence, their incarceration was a preventive measure. The Germans, of course, knew that very few Jews actually participated in the resistance and that there were practically no Jews among its leaders.⁴

Jews who were prepared, in fact, to join the partisans could not because of extremely tight German supervision. Among hundreds of acts of sabotage against German objectives, we know (as the Germans knew then) of only one case which was carried out by a Jewish boy.⁵

At the end of August 1941, all Jewish men in Serbia were imprisoned in concentration camps, primarily in the Topovska Šupa camp in Belgrade. At the same time, the Germans began to execute the Jews as part of the German hostage retaliation policy. Orders were issued by Hitler and the head of the OKW, Feldmarschall Keitel, to all German army units in Serbia to shoot 50-100 'communists' for every German killed. The local army command chose the higher number and added the provision to kill 50 hostages for every German wounded. In addition, the German army, in its anti-partisan campaign, burned and pillaged villages, and evicted the local population. It must be emphasized and repeatedly pointed out that the *Wehrmacht* willingly and consciously carried out these actions.⁶

The Jews, as previously noted, took no part in the Serbian rebellion, but bore the brunt of the German retaliation policy. Until the end of 1941, most of the male Serbian Jews were shot. A Yugoslav historian points out that, 'The Serb revolt

⁴ Evidence that the Germans were perfectly aware that Jews did not participate in the Serbian rebellion may be found in a private letter from Turner in October 1941 to his friend and mentor SS Gruppenführer Hildebrandt in which he writes '...2200 [men] ... most of them Jews, will be shot in the next eight days ... The Jewish question solves itself most quickly in this way. Actually it is false, if one is to be precise about it, that for murdered Germans — on whose account the ratio 1.100 should be borne by Serbs — 100 Jews are shot instead; but the Jews are in camps ... and besides they have to disappear [und sie müssen ja auch verschwinden].' See International Military Tribunal [hereafter IMT], NO 5810.

⁵ About Almoslino and the shooting of 122 Jewish hostages see *Zločini protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, ed. Zdenko Levental (Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opština, 1952), pp. 15-17; German documents, IMT, NOKW 251, 551, 1057, NO 9252.

⁶ About the German reprisal policy see Christopher R. Browning, *Fateful Months* (New York, Holmes & Meier, 1985), pp. 39-56. The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg (Trial 7) placed the responsibility for the murderous acts of the German army in Serbia on the German high command in the Balkans. Stiff prison sentences were passed on the commander, Field Marshal List and on his deputy, General Kuntze. The commandant of the terrible anti-rebel campaign in September-October 1941, General Böhme, committed suicide after the war.

bunu širom Srbije. Kao deo mera za suzbijanje pobune, Nemci su zatvorili sve jevrejske muškarce u koncentracione logore pod izgovorom da 'Jevreji podstiču stanovništvo i predvode revolt' i da, samim tim, njihovo hapšenje predstavlja preventivnu meru. Nemci su, naravno, znali da je veoma mali broj Jevreja učestvovao u otporu, a da ih među vođama otpora praktično nije ni bilo.⁴

Jevreji koji su bili spremni da se priključe partizanima nisu to ni mogli da učine zbog izuzetno budnog nadzora Nemaca. Od više stotina sabotaža nemačkih ciljeva, poznata nam je (kao što je i tada bila poznata Nemcima) samo jedna, koju je izveo jedan jevrejski dečak.⁵

Krajem avgusta 1941. godine, svi jevrejski muškarci odvedeni su u koncentracione logore, prvenstveno u logor Topovske šupe u Beogradu. Istovremeno, kao deo svoje politike odmazde nad taocima, Nemci počinju sa pogubljenjima Jevreja. Hitler i načelnik Vrhovne komande, feldmaršal Kajtel, izdali su naređenje svim jedinicama nemačke vojske u Srbiji da za svakog poginulog Nemca streljaju 50 do 100 'komunista'. Lokalna vojna komanda izabrala je viši broj, dodajući pravilo da se za svakog ranjenog Nemca ubije 50 talaca. Pored toga, nemačka vojska je tokom svoje antipartizanske kampanje palila i pljačkala sela i iseljavala lokalno stanovništvo. Treba naglasiti i ponovo ukazati na činjenicu da je Vermaht ova dela činio svojevolejno i svesno.⁶

Kao što je već rečeno, Jevreji nisu učestvovali u srpskoj pobuni ali su snosili teret nemačke politike odmazde. Do kraja 1941. godine, većina srpsko-jevrejskih muškaraca je streljana. Jedan jugoslovenski istoričar ističe: 'Za Nemce je srpski revolt predstavljao samo izgovor za uništenje [Jevreja]'.⁷ Kada god je broj

⁴ Dokazi da su Nemci bili savršeno svesni činjenice da Jevreji ne učestvuju u srpskoj pobuni mogu se naći u privatnom pismu koje je u oktobru 1941. Turner poslao svom prijatelju i mentoru, SS grupenführeru Hildebrandtu, u kome piše: '2.220 (muškaraca)...većinom Jevreji, biće streljani tokom sledećih osam dana...Pitanje Jevreja se najbrže rešava na ovaj način. Ako bismo želeli da budemo precizni, Srbi su ti koji bi trebali da budu streljani — 100 za svakog ubijenog Nemca — a ne Jevreji; ali Jevreji su u logorima...i pored toga, ionako moraju nestati'. Vidi Međunarodni vojni tribunal (u nastavku IMT), NO 5810

⁵ O Almoslinu i streljanju 122 jevrejska taoca, vidi *Zločini protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, ur. Zdenko Levental (Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština, 1952), str. 15-17; Nemački dokumenti, IMT, NOKW 251, 551, 1057, NO 9252

⁶ O nemačkoj politici odmazde, vidi Christopher R. Browning, *Fateful Months* (New York, Holmes & Meier, 1985), str. 39-56. Međunarodni vojni tribunal u Nirnbegu (sudenje br. 7) proglasio je nemačku Vrhovnu komandu na Balkanu odgovornom za ubistva koja je nemačka vojska počinila u Srbiji. Stroge zatvorske kazne dobili su komandant feldmaršal List i njegov zamenik, general Kunc. Komandant stravične antipobunjeničke akcije u septembru i oktobru 1941, general Beme, počinio je samoubistvo posle rata.

⁷ Ivanović, 'Teror nad Jevrejima u Beogradu', str. 299; IMT, NOKW 192. Primer toga je posledica bitke kod

was, in German eyes, only an excuse for annihilating [the Jews].⁷ Jewish inmates were supplied by the SD men responsible for the Jewish camps whenever the quota of hostages needed by the army was not filled.

Plans for the fate of the Jewish Serbian women and children by the heads of the German administration began even before all the Jewish men were killed. In October 1941, while *Wehrmacht* shooting detachments worked overtime, a meeting of high-ranking officials was convened in Belgrade to consider the Jewish problem in Serbia. The demand for such a meeting came from the head of the civil administration, Harald Turner, and from Felix Benzler, the local Foreign Office representative. They both harangued their Berlin superiors to free them from what they termed the 'Jewish nuisance', as they repeatedly requested the evacuation of the Jews either to Rumania or to the East. Berlin's reply was negative, and the persistence of the two men angered the Foreign Office and the RSHA. Ribbentrop asked Martin Luther, the head of the Deutschland Department, to deal with the matter, and in turn Luther handed the problem over to Franz Rademacher, the department Referent on the Jewish question. Rademacher then applied to his counterpart at the RSHA, Adolf Eichmann. In a phone conversation between the two, in Luther's presence, Rademacher asked Eichmann's advice on the problem of the Serbian Jews and the answer was short and to the point: 'Shoot [them]' (*erschiesen!*).⁸ This very practical conversation prompted Luther to send an angry message to his Belgrade representative, Benzler: 'If the German army commander in Serbia thinks that the Jews interfere in the cleanup operation ... it is his duty to get rid of them ... in other parts [of Europe] the local army commanders eliminated a lot more Jews without making such a fuss.'⁹

Apparently, because of a snag in communications, neither the Foreign Office, nor Eichmann's office, knew of the wholesale killings by the Wehrmacht in Serbia. Consequently, in October 1941, Rademacher and two officials from Eichmann's office, SS *Sturmabführer* Suhr and SS *Untersturmführer* Stoschke were sent to check on the situation in Belgrade, where they met with Turner, Benzler

⁷ Ivanovic, 'Teror nad Jevrejima u Beogradu', p. 299; IMT, NOKW 192. An example of this is the aftermath of the Topola battle between the rebels and the Germans in which 21 German soldiers were killed. The army commanders asked Turner to supply them with Jewish hostages in order to reach the necessary quota. He obliged them with Jewish inmates from Belgrade and Šabac.

⁸ The well-known 'Erschiesen' was brought up on many occasions after the war, among others, at the Eichmann and Rademacher trials. See Israeli State Archives [hereafter ISA] 06/1244 and Yad Vashem Archives [hereafter YV] TR 10/628, 73-74.

⁹ ISA 06/650.

talaca potreban vojsci bio nedovoljan, pripadnici Službe bezbednosti zaduženi za jevrejske logore dovodili su Jevrejske zatočenike.

Još pre nego što su ubijeni svi jevrejski muškarci, nemačka uprava je započela planiranje sudbine jevrejsko-srpskih žena i dece. U oktobru 1941, dok su streljački vodovi Vermahta radili prekovremeno, sazvan je sastanak visokih zvaničnika u Beogradu u cilju razmatranja jevrejskog problema u Srbiji. Sastanak su zatražili načelnik civilne uprave Harald Turner i lokalni predstavnik Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Feliks Bencler. Obojica su nagovarali svoje nadređene u Berlinu da ih oslobode 'jevrejske smetnje', redovno zahtevajući evakuaciju Jevreja u Rumuniju ili na Istok. Odgovor Berlina bio je odričan, a upornost obojice izazvala je bes Ministarstva spoljnih poslova i Glavne uprave bezbednosti Rajha. Ribentrop je zatražio od Martina Lutera, načelnika Odseka za Nemačku, da se pozabavi ovim pitanjem, a on ga je prosledio Francu Rademaheru, koji je bio referent za Jevrejsko pitanje pri Odseku. Zatim se Rademacher obratio Adolfu Ajhmanu, svom pandanu pri Glavnoj upravi bezbednosti. U njihovom telefonskom razgovoru koji je vođen u Luterovom prisustvu, Rademacher je zatražio Ajhmanov savet u vezi sa problemom srpskih Jevreja. Odgovor je bio kratak i direktan: 'Streljaj' (*erschiesen!*).⁸ Ovaj izuzetno praktičan razgovor naveo je Lutera da pošalje ljutitu poruku svom predstavniku u Beogradu, Bencleru: 'Ako nemački vojni komandant u Srbiji smatra da Jevreji ometaju operaciju čišćenja... njegova dužnost je da ih se reši...u drugim delovima [Evrope], lokalni vojni komandanti su eliminisali mnogo više Jevreja bez pravljenja tolike buke'.⁹

Čini se da usled problema u komunikaciji ni Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova ni Ajhmanov kabinet nisu bili upoznati sa obimom ubistava koje je Vermaht počinio u Srbiji. Zbog toga su Rademacher i dva zvaničnika iz Ajhmanovog kabineta, SS šturmbanfirer Zur i SS untersturmfirer Stoške, u oktobru 1941. poslati da ispituju situaciju u Beogradu, gde su se sreli sa Turnerom, Benclerom i Fuksom. Tom prilikom su obavešteni o inicijativi vojske i pogubljenjima muških

Topole između pobunjenika i Nemaca, u kojoj je poginuo 21 nemački vojnik. Vojni komandanti su tražili od Turnera da im dostavi jevrejske taoce ne bi li dostigli potreban broj. On je to učinio, poslavši jevrejske logoraše iz Beograda i Šapca.

⁸ Poznati izraz 'erschiesen' pomenut je u brojnim prilikama posle rata. Između ostalog, na suđenjima Ajhmanu i Rademaheru. Vidi Državni arhiv Izraela (u nastavku ISA) 06/1244 i Arhiv Jad Vašem (u nastavku YV) TR 10/628, 73-74.

⁹ ISA 06/650.

and Fuchs. They were then informed about the army's initiative and the execution of the male Jews. It was clear that now at least a part of the Jewish problem was being solved. The local officials asked the guests from Berlin to help them get rid of the remaining women and children, once and for all. Turner and Benzler again raised the possibility of deporting the women and children to Rumania or to the East. Rademacher, representing his boss, Ribbentrop, vetoed the Rumanian option and Eichmann's representatives explained that because of an overall plan, the Serbian Jews could not be transported to the East before the summer of 1942. Their conclusion was to concentrate the women and children temporarily in a camp and deal with them later.¹⁰

Turner and his staff began to search for a site for the planned concentration camp. At first, they considered establishing a ghetto in the Gypsy quarter of Belgrade, but the site was so filthy and unhygienic that even the Germans, who were not particularly fastidious when dealing with the Jews, were appalled. Later, somebody raised the possibility of shipping the Jews to an island on the Danube near the city of Mitrovica, but the plan was abandoned when the area was flooded during the rainy season. The solution that was finally found was practically on the doorstep of the German Command. On the left bank of the Sava river, a mile from the centre of Belgrade, near the Zemun bridge, stood a score of empty buildings that were used before the war as an exhibition centre. The site, known as Sajmište, was built at the end of the 1930s by the Belgrade municipality in an attempt to attract international commerce to the city. The war put an end to that possibility until a German official had the 'brilliant' idea to use the area as a camp for Jewish women and children who 'endanger' the public safety and the German army.

There is no doubt that the site was perfectly suited to the German purpose. It was situated on a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the Sava River, a fact which facilitated the guarding of the inmates and made escape almost impossible. It was located near the administrative and security police centres which insured maximum control; and last but not least it was near the Belgrade central railway station which allowed for the deportation of the Jews from all over Serbia to Sajmište, and for the eventuality of their shipment to the East.¹¹ The interior of

Jevreja. Bilo je jasno da se sada rešava makar deo jevrejskog problema. Lokalni zvaničnici zatražili su od gostiju iz Berlina da im pomognu da se jednom za svagda reše preostalih žena i dece. Turner i Bencler su ponovo naveli mogućnost deportacije žena i dece u Rumuniju ili na Istok. Ribentrop je stavio veto na rumunsku opciju, a Ajhmanovi predstavnici su objasnili da zbog sveukupnog plana srpski Jevreji ne mogu biti deportovani na Istok pre leta 1942. godine. Došli su do zaključka da žene i deca budu privremeno koncentrisani u logoru i da se njihovo pitanje reši kasnije.¹⁰

Turner i njegovo osoblje započeli su potragu za lokacijom za planirani koncentracioni logor. U početku su razmatrali mogućnost uspostavljanja geta u ciganskom delu Beograda, ali to mesto je bilo toliko prljavo i nehigijensko da su čak i Nemci, inače ne preterano izbirljivi pri rešavanju pitanja Jevreja, bili užasnuti. Kasnije je neko predložio slanje Jevreja na ostrvo na Dunavu blizu Mitrovice, ali se od tog plana odustalo kada je ova oblast poplavljena tokom kišne sezone. Rešenje do koga se na kraju došlo je bilo takoreći ispred nosa Nemačke komande. Na levoj obali Save, oko kilometar i po od centra Beograda, blizu Zemunskog mosta, nalazila se grupa praznih zgrada koje su pre rata služile kao sajamski prostor. Ovo mesto, poznato kao Sajmište, izgradila je beogradska opština krajem tridesetih godina u pokušaju da privuče međunarodnu trgovinu u grad. Izbijanje rata onemogućilo je bilo kakvu upotrebu Sajmišta, sve dok neki nemački zvaničnik nije došao na 'sjajnu' ideju da se ovo mesto iskoristi kao logor za jevrejske žene i decu koji 'ugrožavaju' javnu bezbednost i nemačku vojsku.

Ova lokacija je savršeno odgovarala nameni koju su Nemci odredili. Sajmište se nalazilo na poluostrvu okruženom rekom Savom sa tri strane, što je olakšavalo čuvanje zatočenika, a bekstvo činilo gotovo nemogućim. Logor se nalazio blizu centara uprave i Policije bezbednosti, što je garantovalo maksimalnu kontrolu; i, konačno, bio je u blizini centralne beogradske železničke stanice, omogućavajući deportaciju Jevreja iz svih delova Srbije na Sajmište i njihovo eventualno slanje na Istok.¹¹ Unutrašnjost logora bila je pogodna, sa zgradama različite veličine

¹⁰ Ibid., 06/170. For more about the meeting, see YV TR 10/628, 68-71.

¹¹ The Sava riverbed has been changed since the end of the war. At that time it surrounded Sajmište on three sides. A photograph of the site on the eve of the war can be found in Jovan Ivanović and Mladen Vukomanović, *Dani Smrti na Sajmištu* (Novi Sad: Savez Udružavanja boraca NO. Rata Srbije, 1969), p. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., 06/170. O detaljnijim podacima o sastanku, vidi YV TR 10/628, 68-71.

¹¹ Rečno korito Save se izmenilo od završetka rata. U to vreme je okruživalo Sajmište sa tri strane. Fotografija napravljena uoči rata se može naći u: Jovan Ivanović i Mladen Vukomanović, *Dani smrti na Sajmištu* (Novi Sad: Savez udruženja boraca NO rata Srbije, 1969), str. 6.

the camp was conveniently ready with buildings of different sizes that ultimately served various purposes, such as housing, administration, storage, etc. A tower that was originally intended as a lookout point, stood in the centre of the compound and was used as a watchtower.

Sajmište had two drawbacks: first, anybody standing on the Kalemegdan Hill, located in the centre of Belgrade, could easily see into the camp, and secondly, Sajmište was situated in the territory of the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia', a puppet state carved by the Germans in the division of Yugoslavia and ruled by a fanatical fascist-terrorist paramilitary group called the *Ustasha*. The problem of the Croat sovereignty was easily solved. A formal appeal from the German Foreign Office to the Croat government was immediately approved.¹² As to the matter of secrecy: apparently at this stage of the war, when the Germans seemed assured of victory, they were not troubled by the possibility of their criminal acts being discovered. There is a certain contradiction between the strict secret orders we find in many documents regarding the mass murders, and the public activities in Belgrade. As late as mid-1943, long after the murder of the Jews, when the camp was used for the incarceration of Serbs, the German Foreign Office representative in the Balkans, Herman Neubacher, urged that the camp be shut down because 'Its continued existence, in clear view of the residents of Belgrade, is detrimental for morale and undesirable for policy.' His appeal was rejected.¹³ When the positive reply arrived from the Croatians, Turner sent a warning to all concerned to be ready from 15 November 1941 for the transfer of the Jewish women and children to the camp.¹⁴

In his excellent article about Sajmište, Professor Christopher Browning emphasizes the high degree of cooperation and the unusual harmony with which all German government organs dealt with the matter of Sajmište. While the 'five kings of Serbia' (as Browning terms the military commander, General Bader, Fuchs, Turner, Benzler and Neuhausen) were notoriously unable to agree on most matters, the selection, diplomatic negotiations, construction and financing of the Semlin (Sajmište) *Judenlager* proved a rare example of frictionless cooperation.¹⁵ The army supplied the logistics, Turner coordinated the whole operation, Fuchs'

koje su služile za razne svrhe, kao što su stanovanje, uprava, skladištenje, itd. Kula, koja je prvobitno bila predviđena za vidikovac, stajala je u centru ograđenog prostora i koristila se kao osmatračnica.

Sajmište je imalo dva nedostatka: kao prvo, svako ko je stajao na Kalemegdanskom brdu u centru Beograda mogao je lako da vidi unutrašnjost logora, a drugo, Sajmište se nalazilo na teritoriji tzv. 'Nezavisne države Hrvatske', marionetske države koju su Nemci stvorili podelom Jugoslavije. NDH je bila pod vlašću fanatične fašističko-terorističke paravojne grupe zvane Ustaše. Problem hrvatskog suvereniteta lako je rešen. Formalni zahtev Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Nemačke hrvatskoj vladi odmah je odobren.¹² A što se tiče problema tajnosti: u ovoj fazi rata, kada su bili uvereni u pobedu, Nemci se nisu zamarali mogućnošću otkrivanja njihova zlodela. Postoji određena kontradikcija između strogih naredbi o masovnim ubistvima pronađenih u mnogim dokumentima i javnih aktivnosti u Beogradu. Krajem 1943. godine, dugo pošto su ubijeni Jevreji, kada je logor bio namenjen za internaciju Srba, predstavnik Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Nemačke na Balkanu, Herman Nojbaher, zalagao se za zatvaranje logora zato što je 'njegovo dalje postojanje naočigled stanovnika Beograda štetno za moral i nepoželjno u političkom smislu'. Njegov zahtev je odbijen.¹³ Kada je stigao potvrđan odgovor od Hrvata, Turner je poslao upozorenje svim nadležnim organima da počev od 15. novembra 1941. budu spremni za prebacivanje jevrejskih žena i dece u logor.¹⁴

U svom sjajnom članku o Sajmištu, profesor Kristofer Brauning naglašava visok nivo saradnje i neobičnu saglasnost svih nemačkih organa vlasti pri rešavanju pitanja Sajmišta. Naime, vojni zapovednik general Bader, Fuks, Turner, Bencler i Nojhauzen (za koje Brauning koristi termin pet kraljeva Srbije) bili su poznati po neslaganju oko većine pitanja. Međutim, odabir, diplomatski pregovori, izgradnja i finansiranje Jevrejskog logora Zemun (Semlin *Judenlager*), tj. Sajmišta, predstavljali su redak primer saradnje bez napetosti.¹⁵ Vojska je pružila logističku podršku, Turner je koordinirao celom operacijom, Fuksova

¹² Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Gesandtschaft Belgrad 62/6, 29 October, 11 November 1941; IMT, NOKW 801. The only Croat demand was that the food for Sajmište be brought from Belgrade.

¹³ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 82.

¹⁴ Vojno Istorijski Institut (Jugoslav Army Archives) [hereafter VII], German Files 272-19/3.

¹⁵ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 70.

¹² Politički arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Nemačke, Izaslanstvo Beograd 62/6, 29. oktobar, 11. novembar 1941.

¹³ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 82.

¹⁴ Vojno-istorijski institut [u nastavku VII], Nemački dosijei 272-19/3.

¹⁵ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 70.

Security Police were directly responsible for the camp, as his men stood guard and engineered the gassings, Benzler took care of the diplomatic side and Neuhausen, the economic dictator, financed the project.

THE CAMP IS READY

Three weeks passed between Turner's order and the arrival of the first inmates. During that time, work parties consisting mostly of Jewish men who were kept alive specifically for this purpose, prepared the camp to absorb a large number of people.¹⁶ The Sajmište compound had been badly damaged in the German bombing of the Yugoslav capital at the beginning of the war. All the windows were smashed, some of the buildings had cracked walls with big holes in the roofs, and there were almost no doors. In essence, the buildings were totally unfit for normal habitation. The labourers did all they could to repair the damage; some of the windows were shuttered and a few doors were replaced, but they could not fix the roofs and the repairs were very superficial. In the biggest pavilion (number 3), wooden beds were erected in three tiers. The smaller buildings were designated as an infirmary, a kitchen, wash rooms, administration, etc. In retrospect, the preparations clearly indicate the total lack of concern on the part of the Germans for providing adequate living conditions for the inmates. Four rows of barbed wire encircled the camp and a score of guard towers with spotlights were erected.¹⁷

At a meeting in Belgrade on 3 December 1941 with General Kuntze, the deputy commander of the German army in the Balkans, it was decided that 'All Jews and Gypsies shall be interned in the Semlin [Sajmište] camp because it was proven that they were intelligence agents of the rebels.'¹⁸ Four days later, on 7 December, Serbian policemen, who had helped the Germans in previous anti-Jewish manhunts, issued an order to all Jewish women to appear on the following day with their children at the police station, at 23 Washington Street. They were allowed to bring food for three days and personal baggage. In addition, they were ordered to lock their apartments and hand over the keys, marked with their addresses, at the police station.

The next day, hundreds of Jewish women and children carrying their last possessions, trudged through the streets of Belgrade. Near the police station, the

¹⁶ At the meeting in October it was decided to spare 500 male Jews as a labour contingent for the work in Sajmište. See note 10.

¹⁷ Ivanović and Vukomanović, *Dani Smrti*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸ NOWK 1500. Kuntze claimed in Nuremberg that he knew nothing about the whole affair.

Policija bezbednosti bila je direktno odgovorna za logor pošto su njegovi ljudi čuvali stražu i izvršili ubijanje gasom, Bencler se bavio diplomatskim pitanjima, a ekonomski diktator Nojhauzen je finansirao projekat.

LOGOR JE SPREMAN

Prošle su tri nedelje od Turnerovog naređenja do pristizanja prvih logoraša. Za to vreme, radne grupe sačinjene uglavnom od jevrejskih muškaraca koji su ostavljeni u životu samo za tu namenu, pripremale su logor za prihvatanje velikog broja ljudi.¹⁶ Sajmište je teško oštećeno tokom nemačkog bombardovanja jugoslovenske prestonice na početku rata. Svi prozori su bili slomljeni, neke od zgrada su imale napukle zidove sa velikim rupama u krovovima, a vrata gotovo da nije ni bilo. U suštini, zgrade su bile potpuno nepodesne za normalno stanovanje. Radnici su uradili koliko su mogli da poprave štetu: zakucali su neke od prozora i zamenili nekoliko vrata, ali nisu mogli da poprave krov, tako da su radovi bili veoma površni. U najvećem paviljonu (br. 3), postavljeni su drveni kreveti na tri sprata. Manje zgrade su služile kao ambulanta, kuhinja, perionica, uprava, itd. Ovakve pripreme jasno pokazuju potpuno odsustvo brige Nemaca za obezbeđivanje adekvatnih uslova života zatočenicima. Logor je bio opasan sa četiri reda bodljikave žice, a podignuto je nekoliko stražarskih kula sa reflektorima.¹⁷

Tokom sastanka sa generalom Kunceom, zamenikom komandanta nemačke vojske za Balkan, održanog 3. decembra 1941. u Beogradu, odlučeno je da 'svi Jevreji i Cigani budu internirani u logor u Zemunu [Sajmište] jer je dokazano da rade za pobunjenike kao obaveštajni agenti'.¹⁸ Četiri dana kasnije, 7. decembra, srpski policajci koji su pomagali Nemcima u prethodnim progonima Jevreja naredili su svim jevrejskim ženama da se narednog dana sa svojom decom pojave u policijskoj stanici u Ulici Džordža Vašingtona 23. Bilo im je dopušteno da ponesu hranu za tri dana i lični prtljag. Pored toga, naređeno im je da zaključaju svoje stanove i predaju ključeve sa ispisanim adresama u policijskoj stanici.

Sledećeg dana, stotine jevrejskih žena i dece su se vukli ulicama Beograda noseći svoju poslednju imovinu. U blizini policijske stanice, policajci su pre-

¹⁶ Na oktobarskom sastanku odlučeno je da se 500 jevrejskih muškaraca poštedi da bi radili na Sajmištu. Vidi Napomenu 10.

¹⁷ Ivanović i Vukomanović, *Dani smrti*, str. 8-9.

¹⁸ NOWK 1500. Kunce je u Nirnbergu tvrdio da o celoj stvari nije znao ništa.

policemen searched the arrivals and took all their valuables.¹⁹ It was a very cold winter day, and the people huddled together for warmth while waiting until late morning for the lorries to arrive. During the next three days, the lorries shuttled to and from Sajmište transporting over 5000 persons, who were crowded into a single big buildin Inside, total anarchy prevailed, as hundreds of people rushed around in confusion looking for a place to lie down. Children and babies cried and screamed, the sick moaned and old people fell wherever they stood; fights broke out among the highly strung and nervous people, and the terrible cold affected everyone. One of the few survivors testified after the war that 'on arriving at Sajmište, we were put in pavilion 3 The windows were broken, the walls cracked, snow fell through the open roof onto the concrete floor and the puddles froze.'²⁰ Another inmate described the living conditions:

Everyone was allotted a space for lying down of about a half meter. The climb to the third layer was very dangerous often women, particularly the elderly and famished, collapsed and were seriously injured, and some even died. The moisture on the walls froze and we felt like we were living in a refrigerator from the beds above, the children's secretions fell on those below and the straw on which we slept and which was not changed became a stinking, filthy, wet mess. We did not get any blankets or sheets and those who did not bring any with them, froze during the night.²¹

The food in the camp was below all standards, both qualitatively and quantitatively. It was supplied by the Belgrade municipality who allotted food to Sajmište only after first taking care of the Serb population, who themselves were subjected to very harsh rationing by the Germans. The food problem in the camp reached such proportions that even the brutal and callous SS medical officer, Dr. Jung, intervened at the end of December 1941 and demanded a double ration of the daily bread from the administration. His demand was rejected. The food that arrived at the camp was usually unfit for human consumption. Potato and cabbage, the mainstays of the daily menu, were usually rotten, and all complaints were futile because nobody really cared about the fate of the Jewish women and children.²²

¹⁹ Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej (The Jewish Archives in Belgrade) [hereafter JIM], 24-2-2/8, Šarlote Roth testimony

²⁰ Zločini, ed. Levental, p. 25, Vera Danon testimony; JIM 24-2-2/6, Hedwiga Schönfein testimony. Only 10 women among those imprisoned in Sajmište remained alive at the end of the war. They were non-Jews married to Jews. All of them were freed a few days after the end of the gassings, at the beginning of May 1942

²¹ Zločini, ed. Levental, p. 26, Šarlote Čosić testimony

²² Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945* (Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opstina Jugo-slavije, 1980), p. 81; VII, German Files 22/1-1/36, 22/1-3/36 The daily Gestapo bread ration was 900 grams, the Serbs got 500

tresali pridošlice i oduzimali im sve dragocenosti.¹⁹ Bio je veoma hladan zimski dan i ljudi su se zbijali da bi se ugrejali dok su do ranog jutra čekali dolazak kamiona. Tokom naredna tri dana, kamioni su vozili do Sajmišta i nazad, prevozeći preko 5.000 osoba koje su strpane u jednu veliku zgradu. Unutra je vladala opšta anarhija – stotine ljudi su zbunjeno žurili tražeći mesto na kome bi mogli da legnu. Deca su plakala i vrištala, bolesni su stenjali a starije osobe padale na mestu na kome bi se zatekle; izbijale su tuče između izuzetno napetih i nervoznih ljudi a strašna hladnoća je uticala na sve. Jedan od retkih preživelih je posle rata svedočio: 'Pošto smo stigli na Sajmište, smešteni smo u Paviljon br. 3...Prozori su bili polomljeni, zidovi napukli, sneg je padao kroz otvoren krov na betonski pod i bare su se ledile.'²⁰ Drugi logoraš je ovako opisao uslove života:

'Zatočnici su za sebe imali prostor širok oko pola metra. Penjanje na sprat kreveta bilo je veoma opasno...žene, posebno starije i izgladnele, često su padale i ozbiljno se povređivale, neke su čak i umrle. Vлага na zidovima se ledila i osećali smo se kao da živimo u frižideru...dečiji sekret sa gornjih kreveta padao je na one ispod...a slama na kojoj smo spavali i koja se nije menjala, pretvorila se u smrdljiv, prljav i mokar nered. Nismo dobili čebad i čaršave, tako da su se oni koji ih nisu poneli sa sobom noću smrzavali'.²¹

U pogledu kvaliteta i kvantiteta, hrana u logoru bila je ispod svih standarda. Beogradska opština je dopremala hranu, ali tek pošto bi zbrinula srpsko stanovništvo, i samo izloženo veoma oskudnom sledovanju koje su propisali Nemci. Problem sa hranom u logoru dostigao je takve razmere da je čak i brutalni i bezosećajni oficir medicinske službe SS-a dr Jung krajem decembra 1941. intervenisao i od uprave zatražio udvostručenje dnevnog sledovanja hleba. Njegov zahtev je odbijen. Hrana koja je obično stizala u logor bila je nepodobna za ljudsku konzumaciju. Krompir i kupus, osnove dnevnog jelovnika, bili su uglavnom truli, a svaka žalba je bila uzaludna jer nikoga nije bilo briga za sudbinu jevrejskih žena i dece.²²

¹⁹ *Jevrejski istorijski muzej* [u nastavku JIM], 24-2-2/8, svedočenje Šarlote Rot

²⁰ Zločini, ur. Levental, str. 25, svedočenje Vere Danon; JIM 24-2-2/6, svedočenje Hedvige Šenfajn.

²¹ Zločini, ur. Levental, str. 26, svedočenje Šarlote Čosić

²² Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945* (Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980), str. 81; VII, Nemački dosijei 22/1-1/36, 22/1-3/36. Dnevno sledovanje hleba koje je propisao Gestapo bilo je 900 grama, Srbi su dobijali 500 grama, a Jevreji 200 grama, vidi VII 38/10-2/36. U logor je stizalo 40 litara mleka dnevno, što znači da je 300 jevrejske dece dobijalo po 0.03 litra mleka dnevno. Vidi VII 36/11-1/36. O detaljima žalbe komandanta, vidi VII 25/1-3/36.

The terrible anguish of the imprisoned women is expressed in the letters of Hilda Deutsch, a young woman who voluntarily joined the inmates as a nurse. She writes: 'We, the inmates, are turning into wild beasts because of the terrible hunger. We are sullen, impatient, and constantly counting our fellow prisoners' bites. We are desperate.'²³ The unavoidable result of the unhygienic conditions, and overcrowding, the cold weather and the undernourishment was a total deterioration of the inmates' health. A staff member at one of Belgrade's hospitals recounted:

During the winter [of 1941-2] we got a score of new patients: Women from Sajmište. With them came children with frostbite. Their nails fell off because of cold and hunger. They looked like living skeletons, only skin and bones. Children's eyes stared at us out of old men's faces. They did not look like children at all. The women refused to talk about what was going on in Sajmište.²⁴

In the wake of the physical breakdown came the mental breakdown. Once again we read about it in the letters of Hilda Deutsch:

I cannot find tranquility for my tormented soul. My philosophical thoughts are crushed on the barbed wire of terrible reality. If you there, outside, could imagine our plight, you would surely howl. It is impossible to describe our life, our terrible suffering. The so-called mental faculties are drowned in tears of hunger and cold. The hope of future redemption is destroyed by our passive existence, an existence which has no similarity to the thing you call 'life'. It is an impossible tragedy. We live, not because we are strong, but because of our unawareness of our real situation.²⁵

In January 1942, at the peak of the hunger, the inmates attempted a protest. The head of the Jewish department at the Belgrade Gestapo, SS *Sturmführer* Stracke, immediately arrived and in a speech in front of all the prisoners declared that if anything like this happened again he would shoot 100 inmates on the spot.²⁶ The death toll in the camp grew daily and corpses were removed from the morgue, situated in the former Turkish pavilion, for burial somewhere across the ice-cov-

grams and the Jews 200 grams, see VII 38/10-2/36. The amount of milk arriving daily at the camp was 40 litres, which means that 300 Jewish children received 0.03 litre of milk daily, see VII 36/11-1/36. For the complaints of the commandant see VII 25/1-3/36.

²³ The letters of Hilda Deutsch are in the Istorijски Arhiv Grada Beograda (the Belgrade municipal Archives). They are a unique source about daily life in the camp. The letters are sensitive, exciting and beautifully written, and they merit publication. The girl was a student of architecture before the war. At the beginning of the German Occupation she worked as a nurse at the Jewish hospital in Belgrade. She volunteered for medical duty in the camp and was subsequently murdered. See *Politika* 20.2.1974.

²⁴ *Zločini*, ed. Levental, p. 26, Kušnin testimony.

²⁵ Deutsch letters.

²⁶ Ivanović and Vukomanović, *Dam Smrti*, p. 24.

Strašne muke zatočenih žena iskazane su u pismima Hilde Dajč, mlade žene koja je volontirala kao medicinska sestra. Ona piše: 'Mi, logoraši, pretvaramo se u divlje zveri usled strašne gladi. Potišteni smo, nestrpljivi i neprekidno brojimo tuđe zalogaje. Očajni smo'.²³ Potpuno narušavanje zdravlja zatočenika bilo je neizbežno usled ne higijenskih uslova, prenatrpanosti, hladnog vremena i nehranjenosti. Član osoblja jedne od beogradskih bolnica se priseća:

'Tokom zime [1941-1942] stigao je novi kontingent pacijenata: žene sa Sajmišta. Sa njima su došla i deca sa promrzlinama. Nokti su im otpali usled hladnoće i gladi. Izgledali su kao živi skeleti, samo kosti i koža. Dečije oči su nas gledale sa lica starih ljudi. Uopšte nisu izgledali kao deca. Žene su odbijale da govore o onome što se dešavalo na Sajmištu'.²⁴

Kao posledica fizičkog, usledio je mentalni slom. Ponovo čitamo o tome u pismima Hilde Dajč:

„Ne mogu da pronađem mir za svoju napaćenu dušu. Moje filozofske misli lome se o bodljikavu žicu užasne stvarnosti. Kada biste vi, napolju, mogli da zamislite našu muku, sigurno biste vrištali. Nemoguće je opisati naš život, naše užasne patnje. Takozvane mentalne sposobnosti dave se u suzama gladi i hladnoće. Nada u buduće iskupljenje uništena je našim pasivnim postojanjem koje nema sličnosti sa onim što biste nazvali 'životom'. To je nemoguća tragedija. Živimo, ne zato što smo jaki, već zato što smo nesvesni naše stvarne situacije“.²⁵

U januaru 1942, na vrhuncu gladovanja, logoraši su pokušali da organizuju protest. Načelnik Odseka za Jevreje pri beogradskom Gestapou, SS *sturmführer* Strake, odmah je stigao i pred svima objavio da će njih 100 biti streljano na licu mesta ukoliko se bilo šta nalik tome dogodi.²⁶ Broj mrtvih u logoru je rastao iz dana u dan, a leševi su uklanjani iz mrtvačnice koja se nalazila u nekadašnjem Turskom paviljonu i sahranjivani negde preko zaleđene reke, na beogradskoj strani. U jednom od svojih pisama, Hilda Dajč navodi da je jednog jutra po ulasku u mrtvačnicu videla tela 25 ljudi koji su umrli tokom noći.²⁷ Teško je

²³ Pisma Hilde Dajč nalaze se u Istorijском arhivu grada Beograda. Ona predstavljaju jedinstven izvor podataka o svakodnevnom životu u logoru. Napisana su na osećajan, uzbudljiv i lep način i zaslužuju da budu objavljena. Ova devojka je pre rata bila student arhitekture. Na početku nemačke okupacije radila je kao medicinska sestra u Jevrejskoj bolnici u Beogradu. Dobrovoljno se prijavila za obavljanje zdravstvene službe u logoru, a kasnije je ubijena. Vidi *Politika*, 20.2.1974.

²⁴ *Zločini*, ur. Levental, str. 26, svedočenje Kušnina.

²⁵ Pisma Hilde Dajč

²⁶ Ivanović i Vukomanović, *Dani smrti*, str. 24.

²⁷ Pisma Hilde Dajč

ered river, on the Belgrade side. In one of her letters, Hilda Deutsch writes that on entering the morgue one morning she saw the bodies of 25 people who had died during the night.²⁷ It is difficult to estimate the number of people who died at Sajmište before the gassings, but we have an indication by the percentage of Gypsies who died in Sajmište during their six weeks' stay. During that time 57 out of 600 Gypsies died, approximately 10%.²⁸

In addition to the physical and mental hardships, the inmates were particularly troubled by the total absence of communication with anybody outside the camp and with any aspect of the life they saw going on not far away, in the big city. The Germans were determined to cut off Sajmište completely.

We are so near and so far from anyone [writes Hilda Deutsch], there is no chance of being freed in the near future What do they plan to do with us? Our nerves are strun Are they going to kill us? To blow us up? Shall we be sent to Poland? ... We could stand all hardships if we could fathom what is in store for us. Oh my God, when, oh when, shall the gates of mercy open up!²⁹

Uncertainty bred all kinds of rumours. The rumours spread and were inflated, hopes were born and shattered. The Germans encouraged this in order to confuse, demoralize and weaken the willpower of the prisoners, a calculated measure for their eventual purpose — murder. The pitiful and human delusions which the Jews needed in order to sustain their sanity were exploited by the Germans.³⁰

THE GAS VANS ARRIVE

Between December 1941 and January 1942, as 'life' in the camp continued, the Germans sought a solution to their ultimate goal, the disposal of the women and children. Realizing that shipping them to the East before the summer was impossible, they pressed Berlin for a radical solution. One must ask why the Nazi lead-

²⁷ Deutsch letters

²⁸ Zločini, ed. Levental, p. 28 The arrest and release of the Gypsies from Sajmište requires further research. The German policy toward the Gypsies was ambiguous and inconsistent. They were marked in the Third Reich as a social and criminal element and as such were imprisoned in concentration camps See Donald Kenrick and Grattan Paxton, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (London: Chatto-Heinemann, 1972), pp 59-100 In Serbia the local commanders were authorized to exempt the so-called 'productive and positive' Gypsies from incarceration. Many Serbian Gypsies were shot together with the Jews, others were employed by the Germans as gravediggers. The Gypsy women and children (mostly from the Srem district) who were brought to Sajmište were freed from the camp several days before the beginning of the gassings. There may be a connection there.

²⁹ Deutsch letters

³⁰ Andorfer explained at his trial that he composed the false camp regulations out of compassion for the victims in order to spare them fear and anguish. See YV TR 10/900, 19-20.

proceniti broj ljudi koji su umrli na Sajmištu pre početka ubijanja gušenjem, ali imamo predstavu na osnovu procenta Cigana koji su umrli na Sajmištu tokom boravka od šest nedelja. Za to vreme, umrlo je 57 od 600 Cigana, dakle, otprilike 10%.²⁸

Pored fizičkih i mentalnih patnji, logoraši su se naročito teško nosili sa potpunim nedostatkom komunikacije sa bilo kim izvan logora, kao i sa bilo kojim vidom života koji bi videli u velikom gradu nedaleko od logora. Nemci su bili rešeni da u potpunosti odseku Sajmište od sveta.

'Mi smo tako blizu, a tako daleko od bilo koga (piše Hilda Dajč); nema nikakvih izgleda da budemo oslobođeni u skorijoj budućnosti...Šta nameravaju da učine s nama? Nervi su nam napeti. Hoće li nas ubiti? Dići u vazduh? Hoćemo li biti poslati u Poljsku?...Mogli bismo podneti sve teškoće ukoliko bismo znali šta nas čeka. Bože, kada, oh kada će se otvorili kapije milosti!'²⁹

Usled neizvesnosti kolale su razne glasine koje su se širile i preuveličavale, a nade rađale i umirale. Nemci su to namerno podsticali ne bi li zbunili, demoralisali i oslabili snagu volje logoraša: bila je to proračunata mera za ispunjenje njihove konačne namere – ubistva. Nemci su iskorišćavali jadne ljudske iluzije koje su Jevrejima bile potrebne zarad očuvanja zdravog razuma.³⁰

STIŽE KAMION-DUŠEGUPKA

Između decembra 1941. i januara 1942, dok je 'život' u logoru tekao dalje, Nemci su tražili način da ispune svoj konačni cilj i reše se žena i dece. Shvativši da je nemoguće poslati ih na Istok pre leta, vršili su pritisak na Berlin zahtevajući radikalno rešenje. Postavlja se pitanje zašto nacističke vođe nisu u Srbiji odobrile metod pri kome pogubljenja vrše Ajnzacgrupen, kao što su učinili u Rusiji?

²⁸ Zločini, ur. Levental, str. 28. Hapšenje i puštanje Cigana sa Sajmišta zahteva dalje istraživanje. Nemačka politika prema Ciganima bila je dvosmislena i nedosledna. U Trećem rajhu, oni su označeni kao asocijalni i kriminalni element i kao takvi su zatvarani u koncentracione logore. Vidi Donald Kenrick i Grattan Paxton, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (London: Chatto-Heinemann, 1972), str. 59-100. U Srbiji su lokalni komandanti imali ovlašćenje da izuzmu od hapšenja tzv. 'produktivne i pozitivne' Cigane. Mnogi srpski Cigani su streljani zajedno sa Jevrejima, a drugi su angažovani kao kopači grobova. Ciganske žene i deca (uglavnom iz sremske oblasti) koji su dovedeni na Sajmište, pušteni su iz logora nekoliko dana pre početka gušenja Jevreja. Moguća je veza između ta dva događaja.

²⁹ Pisma Hilde Dajč

³⁰ Na svom suđenju, Andorfer je objasnio da je napisao izmišljena pravila logora iz samilosti prema žrtvama, da bi ih pošteđeo straha i patnje. Vidi YV TR 10/900, 19-20.

ership did not apply the method of execution by *Einsatzgruppen* here in Serbia, as they did in Russia.³¹ It may be that since the shootings in Serbia were executed by the *Wehrmacht*, a group not as highly motivated or as thoroughly indoctrinated as the *Einsatzgruppen*, the Nazi leadership was hesitant to use the same method of operation. The results of the wholesale shootings in the East, as well as certain mental effects suffered by the members of the army's killing squads in Serbia, alerted the commanders to the possible psychological dangers of assigning the regular army to this task. Although there was some connection between *Einsatzgruppen* killings in the East and the murders carried out by the *Wehrmacht* in Serbia, the methods were different.³¹

In the absence of sufficient documentation we do not know how the idea of bringing a gas van to Belgrade to murder the Sajmište inmates by asphyxiation originated. It would be worthwhile at this time, however, to present the members of the German staff who were personally involved in the gassings.

In order to put an end to the constant fights and friction between Harald Turner, the head of the civil administration, and the head of the Security Police and the SD in Serbia, SS *Standartenführer* Wilhelm Fuchs, the latter was dismissed in January 1942. Fuchs was replaced by SS *Gruppenführer* August Meyszner, an SS official of much higher authority, and personally sanctioned by Hitler. Meyszner was not the subordinate that his predecessor was. He was Himmler's representative and he supervised the gassings. Meyszner arrived from Berlin with SS *Standartenführer* Emanuel Schäfer, who was appointed head of the Belgrade Security Police which supervised the Sajmište Camp.³² Schäfer was no stranger to Jewish policy as the head of the Gestapo in Cologne, where he was responsible for the deportation of the local Jews to the East, and as the head of the Gestapo in Katowice (Poland). His subordinate and head of the Jewish Division in Belgrade was Stracke, who was appointed administrative supervisor of the Sajmište camp.

With the establishment of the camp, SS Scharführer Edgar Enge, from the Belgrade Gestapo, was appointed as commandant, in early December 1941. His appointment was seemingly temporary, as his qualifications fell short of SS standards: lack of leadership qualities and education, and a dilatory career in the SS

Moguć odgovor na to pitanje je da su nacističke vođe, s obzirom na to da je streljanja u Srbiji vršio Vermaht, grupa koja nije bila motivisana i zadojena u istoj meri kao Ajnzacgrupen, oklevale da upotrebe isti metod. Rezultati masovnih streljanja na Istoku, kao i određene mentalne posledice koje su se javile kod pripadnika vojnih streljačkih vodova u Srbiji, skrenuli su pažnju komandanata na moguće psihološke efekte pri dodeljivanju ovog zadatka redovnoj vojsci. Iako je bilo određenih veza između ubistava koje su počinile Ajnzacgrupen na Istoku i onih koja su izvršili pripadnici Vermahta u Srbiji, metodi su bili različiti.³¹

Zbog nedovoljne količine dokumentacije, ne znamo kako je nastala ideja o dopremanju dušegupke u Beograd radi ubijanja logoraša Sajmišta. Međutim, na ovom mestu bilo bi značajno predstaviti članove nemačkog osoblja koji su bili lično umešani u gušenje logoraša.

Zarad prekida stalnih svađa i napetosti između načelnika civilne uprave Haralda Turnera i načelnika Policije bezbednosti i Službe bezbednosti u Srbiji, SS štandartenfirera Vilhelma Fuksa, ovaj drugi je smenjen u januaru 1942. godine. Fuksa je zamenio SS grupenfirer August Majsner, SS-ovac mnogo većih ovlašćenja, koga je odobrio lično Hitler. Majsner nije bio podređen poput svog prethodnika – bio je Himlerov predstavnik i nadgledao je gušenja Jevreja. Stigao je iz Berlina zajedno sa SS štandartenfirerom Emanuelom Šeferom, koji je imenovan za načelnika beogradske Policije bezbednosti koja je nadgledala logor na Sajmištu.³² Šefer je bio upoznat sa politikom prema Jevrejima, s obzirom na to da je bio načelnik Gestapoa u Kelnu, gde je bio odgovoran za deportaciju lokalnih Jevreja na Istok, kao i načelnik Gestapoa u Katovicama (Poljska). Njegov podređeni i načelnik Odseka za Jevreje u Beogradu bio je Štrake, koji je bio imenovan za administrativnog nadzornika logora na Sajmištu.

Kada je osnovan logor, za komandanta je početkom decembra 1941. postavljen SS šarfirer Edgar Enge iz beogradskog Gestapoa. Njegovo imenovanje bilo je privremeno pošto su mu kvalifikacije bile ispod SS-ovskih standarda: nedostatak kvaliteta vođe i obrazovanja, kao i spora karijera u SS-u, kome se

³¹ In many German documents we find accounts of the disturbing psychological effects of the executions on Einsatzgruppen personnel. Without any doubt it influenced Himmler's order to find a more 'human' method of mass murder. Regarding the psychological effects on German soldiers in Serbia see note 16

³² Meyszner told his Yugoslav interrogators that Schäfer informed him about the imminent arrival of the gas vans See ISA 06/1435.

³¹ U mnogim nemačkim dokumentima mogu se pronaći svedočenja o štetnim psihološkim efektima pogubljenja na pripadnike Ajnzacgrupen. To je nesumnjivo uticalo na Himlerovu naredbu da se pronađe 'humaniji' metod masovnih ubistava. O psihološkim efektima na nemačke vojnike u Srbiji, vidi Napomenu 16.

³² Majsner je rekao jugoslovenskim islednicima da ga je Šefer obavestio o skorom dolasku dušegupke. Vidi ISA 06/1435.

which he had joined by chance.³³ SS Untersturmführer Herbert Andorfer, the permanent camp commander, arrived at Sajmište at the end of January 1942. Andorfer, a lower-middle-class Austrian, was 30 years old when he arrived at Sajmište. He was a high school graduate, but the Depression forced him to leave the university in mid-studies. He then began working in several hotels in Austria. He was a member of the National Socialist party from 1931 and joined the SS in 1934. His clandestine political activities forced him to escape to Germany before the Anschluss. Afterwards, he joined the permanent staff of the Security Police and specialized in combating the black market and in monitoring public opinion, i.e. spying and informin. Prior to his arrival in Yugoslavia, he finished a special course at one of the various SS training camps for Einsatzgruppen in Pretch and was then assigned to a unit of the German Occupation forces in Yugoslavia. Before arriving in Belgrade, he took part in anti-partisan activities.³⁴ As commandant of Sajmište, Andorfer was confronted with a camp consisting of approximately 6000 inmates, mainly Jewish women and children, and a few hundred Jewish men who survived the autumn 1941 massacres. The men were probably taken from the camp in February and shot.³⁵

During February 1942, Jewish women and children from the outlying towns in Serbia, such as Smederevo, Niš and Šabac were brought to Sajmište and by the end of the month the number of inmates had grown to 7000. As already mentioned, the German authorities in Serbia abhorred any kind of Jewish presence in their domain and the camp was no exception. Meanwhile, rumours of the 'Final Solution' reached Belgrade and hence certain high officials were aware of the events in the East. It was not known who suggested the idea, but the solution was to use a gas van, brought from Berlin, to exterminate the inmates of Sajmište. Turner's personal file contains a letter dated 11 April 1942, before the completion of the gassings, addressed to Himmler's adjutant, Karl Wolff, in which the head

³³ Enge was not an SS man. He joined the Gestapo after his call-up in 1940 because of his unfitness for military duty. His name appears as an observer of the Belgrade Gestapo at one of the mass shootings. See YV TR 10/656, Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 76; IMT, NOKW 497 (Lieutenant Lippie report).

³⁴ Professor Browning makes a perceptive sociological distinction between the desk murderers and the actual killers. He writes 'The murder of the Serbian Jews would be earned out by a typical di-vision of labour between well trained and well educated organizers and the executioners mobilized from Germany's depressed lower middle class.' See Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 76. Turner, Fuchs and Schäfer came from well-to-do families and had an academic education (law and economics). They had close connections with the high SS leadership. On the other hand Andorfer barely finished high school and his family was hit by the economic depression. His deputy, Enge, was forced to leave school after the sixth grade and was unemployed for two years. See their personal files at the BDC.

³⁵ Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije*, p. 83

slučajno priključio.³³ Stalni komandant logora, SS untersturmfirer Herbert Andorfer, austrijanac iz niže srednje klase, stigao je na Sajmište krajem januara 1942. godine kao tridesetogodišnjak. Završio je srednju školu, ali velika ekonomska kriza ga je primorala da napusti univerzitet u toku studija. Posle toga, radio je u nekoliko hotela u Austriji. Postao je član Nacionalsocijalističke partije 1931, a tri godine kasnije se pridružio SS-u. Usled zakulisnih političkih aktivnosti, pobegao je iz Nemačke pre anšlusa. Posle toga se priključio stalnom osoblju Policije bezbednosti i specijalizovao za borbu protiv crnog tržišta i nadgledanje javnog mnjenja, tj. špijuniranje i obaveštajne poslove. Pre dolaska u Jugoslaviju, završio je specijalni kurs pri jednom od SS-ovskih kampova za obuku Ajnzacgrupa u Preču, a zatim je raspoređen u jedinicu nemačkih okupacionih snaga u Jugoslaviji. Pre dolaska u Beograd, učestvovao je u antipartizanskim akcijama.³⁴ Kao komandant Sajmišta, Andorfer je zatekao logor sa oko 6.000 zatočenika, uglavnom jevrejskih žena i dece, kao i nekoliko stotina jevrejskih muškaraca koji su preživeli masakr iz jeseni 1941. godine. Muškarci su verovatno izvedeni iz logora i streljani.³⁵

Tokom februara 1942, jevrejske žene i deca su iz okolnih gradova Srbije, kao što su Smederevo, Niš i Šabac, dovedeni na Sajmište, pa se broj logoraša do kraja meseca popeo na 7.000. Kao što je već pomenuto, nemačke vlasti u Srbiji užasavale su se svake vrste jevrejskog prisustva u svojoj blizini, a logor nije bio izuzetak. U međuvremenu, glasine o 'konačnom rešenju' stigle su do Beograda i samim tim su određeni visoki zvaničnici bili svesni događaja na Istoku. Nije poznato ko je došao na tu ideju, ali rešenje je bilo korišćenje dušegupke koja je stigla iz Berlina u cilju istrebljenja logoraša na Sajmištu. Turnerov lični dosije sadrži pismo od 11. aprila 1942, dakle, pre završetka ubijanja gušenjem, upućeno Himlerovom adutantu Karlu Volfu, u kome načelnik civilne uprave piše:

³³ Enge nije bio SS-ovac. Pošto je mobilisan 1940, priključio se Gestapou usled nesposobnosti za vojnu službu. Pominje se kao posmatrač beogradskog Gestapoa na jednom od masovnih streljanja. Vidi YV TR 10/656, Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 76; IMT, NOKW 497 (izveštaj poručnika Lipea).

³⁴ Profesor Brauning opaža sociološku razliku između salonskih i neposrednih ubica. On kaže: Ubijanje srpskih Jevreja sprovedeno je kroz tipičnu podelu rada između dobro obučanih i obrazovanih organizatora i izvršitelja koji su mobilisani iz siromašne nemačke niže srednje klase.' Vidi Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 76. Turner, Fuks i Šefer su potekli iz dobrostojećih porodica i stekli su akademsko obrazovanje (prava i ekonomija). Imali su bliske veze u visokim krugovima SS-a. S druge strane, Andorfer je jedva završio srednju školu, a porodica mu je bila na udaru ekonomske krize. Njegov zamenik, Enge, bio je primoran da napusti školu posle šestog razreda i dve godine je bio nezaposlen. Vidi njihove lične dosije u BDC.

³⁵ Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije*, str. 83.

of the Serbian civil administration writes:

A few months ago I ordered the shooting of all the Jewish males under my command, and the assembling of all the Jewish women and children in the camp. At that time I obtained, with the help of the SD, a delousing van [*Entlausungswagon*] which shall clean up the camp in a few weeks time.³⁶

Significantly, however, Schäfer, the head of the Belgrade Security Police, related that on the eve of his departure to Belgrade in January 1942, Heydrich personally briefed him and never mentioned Jews. Furthermore, he claimed at his trial after the war that he did not ask Berlin to send the gas van, and upon his arrival in Belgrade, when he heard about the annihilation of the local Jewish men, he was convinced that it was part of the so-called 'Final Solution'. He was, therefore, not surprised when he received a telegram from Berlin concerning the dispatch of the gas van, nor had he any doubts as to its purpose. The wording, (according to Schäfer) was something like this:

The subject: Jewish action [*Judenaktion*] in Serbia.
A special detachment [*Einsatzkommando*] with a Saurer van
is on the way for a special action.

Schäfer, who tried at his trial to deny any responsibility for the crimes in which he took part (such as the deportation of the Cologne Jews to the Polish camps), admitted that the telegram about the imminent arrival of the gas van was addressed personally to him and he, naturally, informed his superior, Meyszner.³⁷

This has not enlightened us any further as to the source of the idea of using the gas van, but for the sake of historical accuracy let us briefly address the issue. In a letter to Wolff, Turner states that it was he who pressured to have the gas van sent over. Browning claims that Turner's assertion was an empty boast used to strengthen his own position with Himmler in his fight with Meyszner. 'Thus Turner [notes Browning] made many exaggerated, and in some cases totally false claims about his role in Jewish affairs ... to impress Himmler.'³⁸ To say Turner used the Jewish issue to strengthen his position against his adversaries is valid, but this does not mean he lied concerning the gas van. By examining his past actions it is clear that Turner's main concern was to get rid of the Serbian Jews and consequently, during the summer and autumn of 1941, he pressured Berlin to deport them to Poland or to Rumania. When this was staunchly refused, he

'Pre nekoliko meseci naredio sam streljanje svih jevrejskih muškaraca pod svojom komandom i okupljanje svih jevrejskih žena i dece u logoru. Za to vreme sam uz pomoć Službe bezbednosti nabavio kamion za istrebljivanje vaški [*Entlausungswagen*] koji će očistiti logor kroz nekoliko nedelja'.³⁶

Međutim, načelnik beogradske Policije bezbednosti Šefer je rekao da je uoči dolaska u Beograd u januaru 1942. raportirao lično Hajdrihu, koji tom prilikom ni u jednom trenutku nije pomenuo Jevreje. Pored toga, Šefer je tokom svog suđenja po završetku rata tvrdio da nije tražio kamion od Berlina i da je, kada je stigao u Beograd i čuo za uništenje lokalnih jevrejskih muškaraca, bio ubeđen da je to deo tzv. 'konačnog rešenja'. Samim tim, nije bio iznenađen kada je dobio telegram iz Berlina u vezi sa slanjem kamiona, niti je imao bilo kakvih nedoumica u vezi sa njegovom namenom. Telegram (na osnovu Šeferovog iskaza) izgledao je otprilike ovako:

Predmet: Akcija prema Jevrejima (*Judenaktion*) u Srbiji.
Specijalna jedinica (*Einsatzkommando*) sa kamionom tipa
„zaurer“ je na putu, kao deo specijalne akcije.

Šefer, koji je tokom suđenja pokušao da porekne svoju odgovornost za zločine u kojima je učestvovao (kao što je deportacija kelnskih Jevreja u logore u Poljskoj), priznao je da je telegram o skorom pristizanju kamiona bio upućen lično njemu i da je, prirodno, o tome obavestio svog nadređenog, Majšnera.³⁷

Ovi podaci nas nisu približili izvoru ideje o upotrebi dušegupke, ali ćemo se zarad istorijske tačnosti nakratko pozabaviti tim pitanjem. U pismu Volfu, Turner navodi da je on izvršio pritisak da se pošalje kamion. Brauning tvrdi da je Turnerova tvrdnja predstavljala prazno hvalisanje zarad jačanja sopstvene pozicije kod Himmlera tokom svađe sa Majšnerom. 'Zato je Turner [kaže Brauning] iznosio mnoge preterane i, u nekim slučajevima, potpuno netačne tvrdnje o svojoj ulozi u rešavanju jevrejskog pitanja...da bi impresionirao Himmlera'.³⁸ Može se reći da je Turner koristio jevrejsko pitanje za jačanje sopstvene pozicije protiv svog rivala, ali to ne znači da je lagao u vezi sa kamionom. Uzevši u obzir njegove prethodne aktivnosti, jasno je da je Turnerova glavna briga bila kako da se reši srpskih Jevreja i, shodno tome, tokom leta i jeseni 1941, vršio je pritisak na Berlin da ih deportuje u Poljsku ili Rumuniju. Kada je to oštro odbijeno,

³⁶ BDC, Turnerov dosije.

³⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, pp 77-8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Browning writes 'Turner's reports to Berlin were often inaccurate and self servin'

³⁶ BDC, Turnerov dosije.

³⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 77-8.

³⁸ *Ibid.* str. 77. Brauning kaže: 'Turnerovi izveštaji Berlinu su često bili netačni i vođeni ličnim interesima'.

agreed to the *Wehrmacht's* and to the Foreign Office's solution, to have the Jewish males murdered as part of the anti-partisan terrorism.³⁹ The portrayal by Professor Browning of a vacillating Turner, who lost the fight against the Diadochs in Serbia, is not the same Turner who steadily climbed the SS hierarchy, or the man with such good personal connections in the Nazi leadership.

In his 15-page report to Himmler, written in February 1942, Turner claimed that *Wehrmacht* soldiers in Belgrade 'refused to execute Jews', and he was, therefore, forced to use members of the *Einsatzgruppen* and his own police force. Browning asserts that Turner's claim, in this instance, was totally false.⁴⁰ In most cases the *Wehrmacht* soldiers willingly carried out the executions, although at times they refused to do so. In the execution report written by Lieutenant Walther in October 1941, he states: 'At the start of the executions there was no evidence of emotional disturbances among the soldiers. As time passed, however, these disturbances manifested themselves. It is my personal impression that during the shooting one does not have psychological reactions, but they may set in following reflective evenings alone.'⁴¹ Walther admitted, in the course of his interrogation after the war, that after three mass shootings he could not carry on because of terrible nightmares, and that he asked to be released from this duty. His request was granted and a police detachment, under Turner's jurisdiction, took over.⁴² On the whole, it seems as if Turner's statement that the *Wehrmacht* soldiers refused to carry out the shootings was not an empty one, and, hence, it is possible that his claim regarding his initiative in bringing over the gas van may be true. Be that as it may, the lethal van arrived in Belgrade at the end of February 1942, and to all concerned it was clear that it was to be used solely for killing Jews.⁴³

At the beginning of March 1942, Andorfer was asked to appear before the Security Police in Belgrade, and at his trial after the war he could not recall if he had met with Schäfer or with the head of the Gestapo, Sattler. He was told

³⁹ Bundesarchiv Koblenz, NS (Neu) 19-1730.

⁴⁰ Christopher Browning, 'The Final Solution in Serbia — The Semlin Judenlager', in *Yad Vashem Studies* 15 (1983), 73-4.

⁴¹ IMT, NOKW 905.

⁴² Professor Browning investigated Walther's postwar interrogation files. Apparently Walther made a career in the Bundeswehr, see Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 54. A totally different opinion of Turner was given by one of his subordinates during his stay in France. He said: 'Turner was a very capable man, a lawyer, a party member and an SS man, but of an independent mind.' See David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (London: Collins, 1981), p. 252.

⁴³ ISA 06/1435. Meysner said that he is absolutely sure that only Jews were killed in the gas van. Schäfer and the special detachment received strict orders to use the van only for Jews.

pristao je na rešenje Vermahta i Ministarstva spoljnih poslova: pogubljenje svih jevrejskih muškaraca kao deo antipartizanske akcije.³⁹ Turner kakvog ga je prikazao profesor Brauning – kolebljivi gubitnik bitke sa dijadovima u Srbiji – ne slaže se sa Turnerom koji sigurno napreduje u hijerarhiji SS-a ili čovekom koji je imao dobre lične veze sa nacističkim vođama.

U izveštaju na 15 strana koji je februara 1942. napisao Himleru, Turner tvrdi da su vojnici Vermahta u Beogradu 'odbili da streljaju Jevreje' i da je zbog toga bio primoran da angažuje pripadnike Ajnzacgrupa i sopstvene policije. Brauning kaže da je u ovom slučaju Turnerova tvrdnja potpuno netačna.⁴⁰ U većini slučajeva, vojnici su dobrovoljno vršili streljanja, iako su povremeno i odbijali. U izveštaju o streljanjima iz oktobra 1942, poručnik Valter kaže: 'U početku, nije bilo znakova emotivnih smetnji među vojnicima prilikom streljanja. Međutim, one su se javljale posle nekog vremena. Moj lični utisak je da u toku streljanja nema psiholoških reakcija, ali one mogu nastupiti tokom zamišljenih večeri u samoći.'⁴¹ Prilikom isleđivanja po završetku rata, Valter je priznao da posle tri masovna streljanja nije mogao da nastavi zbog strašnih noćnih mora i da je tražio da bude razrešen dužnosti. Njegov zahtev je odobren, pa je posao preuzeo policijski odred pod Turnerovom komandom.⁴² Sve u svemu, čini se da Turnerova izjava o odbijanju vojnika Vermahta da nastave sa streljanjima nije bila prazna priča i, samim tim, moguće je da je njegova tvrdnja o sopstvenoj inicijativi za dopremanje dušegupke bila tačna. U svakom slučaju, smrtonosni kamion stigao je u Beograd krajem februara 1942. i svima koji su bili upoznati s tim bilo je jasno da će se koristiti isključivo za ubijanje Jevreja.⁴³

Početkom marta 1942, Andorfer je pozvan u Policiju bezbednosti u Beogradu. Tokom suđenja po završetku rata, nije mogao da se seti da li se sreo sa Šeferom ili načelnikom Gestapoa, Sattlerom. Rečeno mu je da je specijalni kamion-gasna

³⁹ Savezni arhiv Koblenc, NS {Neu} 19-1730.

⁴⁰ Christopher Browning, *The Final Solution in Serbia — The Semlin Judenlager*, *Yad Vashem Studies* 15 (1983), 73-4.

⁴¹ IMT, NOKW 905.

⁴² Profesor Brauning je proučavao dosijee o posleratnom ispitivanju Valtera. Valter je očigledno napravio karijeru u Bundesveru, vidi Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 54. Potpuno drugačije mišljenje o Turneru izneo je jedan od njegovih potčinjenih tokom boravka u Francuskoj: 'Turner je bio veoma sposoban čovek, pravnik, član partije i SS-ovac, ali bio je nezavisnog duha.' Vidi David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (London: Collins, 1981), str. 252.

⁴³ ISA 06/1435. Majsner je rekao da je potpuno siguran da su isključivo Jevreji ubijani u dušegupki. Šefer i specijalni odred dobili su strogo naređenje da kamion koriste samo za Jevreje

that a special gas van arrived in Belgrade and that this van would facilitate the 'resettlement' of the Sajmište Jews. He understood that the Jews would be 'put to sleep' (*eingeschläfert*) it was made clear to him that this was a matter of the highest secrecy to the Reich (*Geheime Reichsache*). In order to facilitate his task, he was given special documents to prevent the guards from searching the van when he crossed the Sava Bridge. It was explained to him that the tasks of unloading and burying the corpses would be assigned to the German police.

Andorfer returned to the camp, assembled the Jewish leaders and informed them that, in the near future, they were all going to be transported to a new camp. The Jews were suspicious and wanted to know more details about the new camp. In order to quiet their fears and to reinforce the deception, Andorfer drew up regulations for the fictitious camp in which he listed the duties and privileges of the inmates.⁴⁴ Moreover, to make the hoax more credible, he ordered a doctor or a nurse to accompany every transport to 'take care of their medical needs'. The attempts made by the remaining inmates to learn about the destination and the fate of the deportees were futile.⁴⁵ There is no doubt that Andorfer's deception was successful. At the start of the gassings many inmates volunteered to be transported, and as they continued the Germans prepared a daily list, with no evidence of dissent. The inmates, in their innocence, were convinced that any change would be an improvement over Sajmište. A Serb prisoner who arrived at Sajmište on 5 May 1942, three days before the end of the gassings and two months after they began, inquired about the fate of some of his Jewish friends from one of the few remaining Jewish girls. She replied: 'Oh yes, they were here ... not long ago they were sent to Poland. All of us are going there, to a ghetto. We hear that life there is much better than here. The adults will work and we, the children, will study in school. Many have already gone and I am eagerly waiting to join them.'⁴⁶

In early March, before the gassings began, four men from Police Battalion 64, stationed in Belgrade, were sent to the headquarters of the local security police. The four, under the command of a man named Wetter, were ordered to report

komora stigao u Beograd, što će omogućiti 'premeštanje' Jevreja sa Sajmišta. Razumeo je da će Jevreji biti 'uspavani'. Naređeno mu je da isprati kamion od logora do mesta sahranjivanja. Tom prilikom mu je objašnjeno da se radi o službenoj tajni Rajha. Da bi ispunio zadatak, dobio je posebna dokumenta kako bi izbegao pretresanje kamiona dok bude prolazio pored straže na Savskom mostu. Rečeno mu je da će zadatak istovara i sahranjivanja leševa biti dodeljen nemačkoj policiji.

Andorfer se vratio u logor, okupio predstavnike Jevreja i obavestio ih da će uskoro biti premešteni u drugi logor. Jevreji su bili sumnjičavi i želeli su da čuju više detalja o novom logoru. Da bi umirio njihove strahove i obmanuo ih, Andorfer je sačinio pravilnik fiktivnog logora u kome je nabrojao dužnosti i privilegije zatočenika.⁴⁴ Štaviše, da bi prevaru učinio uverljivijom, naložio je da doktor i medicinska sestra prate svaki transport da bi 'brinuli o zdravstvenim potrebama zatočenika'. Pokušaji preostalih logoraša da saznaju više o svom odredištu i sudbini bili su uzaludni.⁴⁵ Andorferova varka je nesumnjivo bila uspešna. Kada su počela gušenja, mnogi logoraši su se dobrovoljno javljali da budu transportovani, a kako su se ona nastavljala, Nemci su sastavili dnevni spisak, bez dokaza o protivljenjima. U svojoj nevinosti, logoraši su bili ubeđeni da bi svaka promena predstavljala poboljšanje u odnosu na Sajmište. Jedan srpski zatočenik koji je stigao na Sajmište 5. maja 1942, tri dana pre završetka ubistava u dušegupki, a dva meseca od njihovog početka, raspitao se o sudbini svojih jevrejskih prijatelja kod jedne od retkih preostalih jevrejskih devojčica. Ona je odgovorila: 'Ah, da, bili su ovde... nedavno su poslani u Poljsku. Svi idemo tamo, u geto. Čuli smo da je tamo život mnogo bolji. Odrasli će raditi a mi, deca, ćemo ići u školu. Mnogi su već otišli i jedva čekam da im se pridružim'.⁴⁶

Početkom marta, pre nego što je počelo ubijanje gušenjem, četiri pripadnika 64. Policijskog bataljona stacioniranog u Beogradu, poslata su u centralu lokalne policije bezbednosti. Pod komandom čoveka zvanog Veter, dobili su naređenje

⁴⁴ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 80; YV TR 10/900, 11-12, 19-20. The Jewish representatives at the camp were two Jewish women named Jarfaš and Kraus, both German refugees. Witnesses claim they collaborated with the SS. Prior to their appointment the inmates were represented by two outstanding and dedicated Belgrade Jews, the former deputy head of the Jewish community Emil Deutsch and its secretary Mila Demajo. Both were shot in February 1942. See VII, German Files 27/ 1-30; Zločini, ed. Levental, p. 26.

⁴⁵ Zločini, ed. Levetal, p. 30.

⁴⁶ Kompanjec testimony. See *Otpor u žicama* (Beograd: Savez udruženja boraca NOR, 1962), Vol. 2, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁴ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 80; YVTR 10/900, 11-12, 19-20. Predstavnici Jevreja u logoru bile su dve žene, Jarfaš i Kraus, obe nemačke izbeglice. Svedoci tvrde da su sarađivale sa SS-om. Pre njihovog imenovanja, logoraše su predstavljali dvoje uvažanih i posvećenih beogradskih Jevreja: bivši zamenik predsednika Jevrejske zajednice Emil Dajč i njegova sekretarica Mila Demajo. Oboje su streljani u februaru 1942. Vidi VII, Nemački dosijei 27/1-30; *Zločini*, ur. Levental, str. 26.

⁴⁵ *Zločini*, ur. Levetal, str. 30.

⁴⁶ Svedočenje Kompanjeca. Vidi *Otpor u žicama* (Beograd: Savez udruženja boraca NOR, 1962), Vol. 2, str. 21-22

the next day to the main prison in town and to take charge of a group of Serbian prisoners. They were told that they were taking part in a highly secret mission. At the prison, seven Serbian prisoners were assigned to these men, and they were provided with a security police truck which took them to the firing range at Avala, some 15 kilometres from town.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Andorfer took care of the final preparations in the camp. At dawn (the exact date is not clear but apparently it was the first week of March) two trucks arrived at the camp gates. The smaller truck entered the camp and stopped in front of the headquarters, while the bigger truck, which resembled a removal van and was painted dark grey, remained parked near the gate outside the camp. Between 50 and 80 inmates, who had volunteered the previous evening, waited nearby. They gathered their belongings which they had marked beforehand, put them into the small truck, and then proceeded to climb into the big truck. The truck drivers, SS *Scharführer* Meier and SS *Scharführer* Götz helped them. The inmates sat down on benches along the width of the truck (witnesses said there were 10 benches). As the last prisoner took his place, the heavy doors were hermetically sealed shut. The drivers took their places in the front seats and the death convoy moved on. Andorfer (and sometimes his deputy Enge) led the way in a small car, followed by the big gas van, with the luggage truck in the rear. After a few hundred metres the convoy stopped at the Sava Bridge that connected Sajmište with Belgrade, and which served as the border between the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia' and German-occupied Serbia. Andorfer presented his special documents to the Croat and German guards and passed the checkpoints without any delay. Upon arrival at the Belgrade side of the bridge, the convoy stopped while one of the gas van drivers got out and connected the exhaust pipe to a rubber hose that was inserted into the van's interior. The luggage truck left the convoy, while Andorfer and the gas van travelled through Belgrade's main streets in the direction of the Belgrade-Niš highway, as the lethal exhaust gases filled the van and asphyxiated the women and children inside.

The cars arrived at the Avala shooting range after about 20 minutes, where they were received by the Wetter police detachment and their Serbian prisoners. As the gas van manoeuvred its approach to the freshly dug mass graves, Andorfer approached Wetter (the two were previously acquainted when Wetter was stationed at Sajmište on guard duty), related to him what had taken place in the gas van, and ordered him to ensure the safety of the burial area. In the meantime, the back

da se narednog dana jave u glavni gradski zatvor i preuzmu grupu srpskih zarobljenika. Rečeno im je da učestvuju u strogo poverljivoj misiji. U zatvoru im je dodeljeno sedam srpskih zarobljenika i dat im je kamion Policije bezbednosti koji ih je odveo do strelišta na Avali, nekih 15 kilometara od grada.⁴⁷ U međuvremenu, Andorfer je preduzeo poslednje pripreme u logoru. U zoru (tačan datum nije poznat, ali očigledno se radi o prvoj nedelji marta), dva kamiona su stigla do kapije logora. Manji kamion je ušao u logor i zaustavio se ispred glavnog štaba, dok je veći, koji je ličio na kamion za selidbe i bio ofarban u tamnosivu boju, ostao parkiran blizu kapije izvan logora. U blizini je čekalo između 50 i 80 zatočenika koji su se dobrovoljno javili prethodne večeri. Sakupili su svoje stvari koje su prethodno obeležili, stavili ih u mali kamion, a zatim se popeli u dušegupku. Vozači kamiona, SS šarfirer Majer i SS šarfirer Gec, su im pomogli. Logoraši su seli na klupe koje su bile raspoređene po širini kamiona (svedoci kažu da je bilo deset klupa). Kada je poslednji logoraš zauzeo mesto, teška vrata su se hermetički zatvorila. Vozači su seli napred i konvoj smrti je krenuo. Predvodio ga je Andorfer (ponekad i njegov zamenik Enge) u malom automobilu koga su pratili dušegupka i kamion sa opremom. Konvoj se posle nekoliko stotina metara zaustavio kod Savskog mosta koji je povezivao Sajmište sa Beogradom i služio kao granica između tzv. 'Nezavisne države Hrvatske' i okupirane Srbije. Andorfer je pokazao svoju specijalnu dokumentaciju hrvatskim i nemačkim stražarima i prošao kontrolne punktove bez zadržavanja. Po dolasku na beogradsku stranu mosta, konvoj se zaustavio. Jedan od vozača dušegupke je izašao i spojio izduvnu cev sa gumenim crevom koje je ubačeno u unutrašnjost kamiona. Kamion sa prtljagom je napustio konvoj, a Andorfer i dušegupka su nastavili glavnim beogradskim ulicama u pravcu autoputa Beograd-Niš dok su smrtonosni izduvni gasovi ispunjavali unutrašnjost i gušili žene i decu.

Posle otprilike 20 minuta, vozila su stigla na strelište na Avali, gde ih je dočekaio Veterov policijski odred sa srpskim zarobljenicima. Dok se dušegupka približavala sveže iskopanim masovnim grobnicama, Andorfer je prišao Veteru (njih dvojica su se prethodno upoznali dok je Veter bio stacioniran na Sajmištu gde je obavljao dužnost stražara), preneo mu šta se dogodilo u gasnoj komori i naredio mu da bezbednosno zaštititi mesto sahranjivanja. U međuvremenu, ot-

⁴⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 105. Wetter appears as Karl W.

⁴⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 105. Veter se pominje kao Karl V.

doors of the van were opened and the dead bodies fell out. The Serbian prisoners threw the bodies into the open grave and buried them, finishing the task in less than an hour. All those involved returned to town in order to proceed with work for the next day.⁴⁸

During the unloading of the bodies, another group of Serbian prisoners was present at the firing range and was somehow not referred to by Andorfer or Wetter. These men were accomplices to the gassing procedure, as their task was to dig the graves, but they would leave the area when the convoy approached. After the Liberation one member of that group testified, in December 1944:

I dug the graves for the people who were asphyxiated. We did not cover up the graves ... the other group who was brought daily by the Germans, did that. ... From afar I saw a small German car approaching in which an officer sat. Then came another car, as an escort, and a big well sealed truck out of which came thick smoke... I dug those graves for two months between March and May in which the suffocated Jews were buried. When our German guards saw the convoy coming they drove us away and we were forbidden to look at the unloading ... In that period we dug about 81 or 82 mass graves such as these ... their capacity was about a hundred corpses each ... only the suffocated Jews were buried there. We dug graves elsewhere for the victims of mass shootings.⁴⁹

The gassing procedure became a matter of routine. The big grey van arrived daily at the Sajmište main gate, except on Sundays, and the Jews would climb into the van for their last journey. Sometimes the industrious Germans accomplished two gassings in one day and sometimes a bored Andorfer left the convoy on its way to Avala and took the day off. The SS drivers would kindly distribute sweets among the children, thereby winning their affection. The last Sajmište Jew was killed on 8 May 1942.

The Jewish inmates, as we already know, were totally deceived, but not the people outside the camp. Rumours about the grey death van circulated among the Germans stationed in Belgrade and even reached some Serbians. Most members of the German local administration knew about it and did not deny it at their trials after the war.⁵⁰ Anyone who either passed by or worked at the Security Police

⁴⁸ YV 10/900. Efforts to find the van drivers failed. The two apparently liked children and would give them sweets before helping them climb into the van. At the Andorfer trial there was a lengthy discussion about the location where the drivers connected the exhaust pipe to the truck and about the distance between the camp and the Sava Bridge. The problem could have been easily solved by sending somebody to Belgrade and measuring the distance (which is as a matter of fact a few hundred metres).

⁴⁹ Zločini, ed. Levental, p 32, Milutinović testimony. His assessment of approximately 8000 Sajmište victims corresponds to the numbers in the contemporary documents. See Appendix.

⁵⁰ Zločini, ed. Levental, pp 32-4. This is parts of Turner's, Kiessel's (Turner's deputy), Helm's and Meysner's

vorena su zadnja vrata kamiona i mrtva tela su ispala napolje. Srpski zarobljenici su ubacili tela u grobnicu i sahranili ih – obavili su taj zadatak za manje od jednog sata. Svi učesnici su se zatim vratili u grad da bi nastavili sa poslom za naredni dan.⁴⁸

Tokom istovara tela, na strelištu je bila prisutna još jedna grupa srpskih zarobljenika koju, iz nepoznatog razloga, nisu pomenuli ni Andorfer ni Veter. Ti ljudi su bili saučesnici u gušenju Jevreja, pošto je njihov zadatak bio da iskopaju grobove, ali su napustili lokaciju dok se konvoj približavao. Nakon oslobođenja, u decembru 1944, jedan od pripadnika ove grupe je svedočio:

'Kopao sam grobove za ljude koji su ugušeni. Nismo prekrivali grobove...to je činila druga grupa koju su Nemci svakodnevno dovodili...U daljini sam video kako se približava mali nemački automobil u kome je sedeo oficir. Onda je stigao i drugi automobil kao pratnja i veliki, potpuno zatvoreni kamion iz koga je izlazio gust dim...dva meseca, od marta do maja, kopao sam grobnice u kojima su sahranjeni ugušeni Jevreji. Kada su nemački stražari videli da dolazi konvoj, odvezli su nas i zabranili nam da posmatramo istovar...U tom periodu smo iskopali 81 ili 82 takve masovne grobnice...svaka je primala oko sto leševa...tu su sahranjeni samo ugušeni Jevreji. Na drugim mestima smo kopali grobnice za žrtve masovnih streljanja'.⁴⁹

Procedura ubijanja u dušegupki postala je rutinska. Svakog dana osim nedelje, veliki tamnosivi kamion stizao je do glavne kapije Sajmišta i Jevreji bi se popeli unutra i krenuli na svoje poslednje putovanje. Preduzimljivi Nemci su ponekad ubijali dve grupe u jednom danu, a nekada bi Andorferu postalo dosadno, pa bi napustio konvoj na putu do Avale i uzeo slobodan dan. Vozači SS-a bi ljubazno podelili slatkiše deci, time pridobijajući njihovu naklonost. Poslednji jevrejski logoraš na Sajmištu ubijen je 8. maja 1942. godine.

Jevrejski logoraši, kao što smo već saznali, bili su potpuno obmanuti, ali se to ne može reći za ljude izvan logora. Glasine o sivom kamionu smrti kružile su među Nemcima stacioniranim u Beogradu i čak su stigle i do nekih Srba. Pripadnici lokalne nemačke uprave uglavnom su bili upoznati i nisu to negirali tokom suđenja po završetku rata.⁵⁰ Svako ko je prošao pored ili bio zapo-

⁴⁸ YV 10/900. Napori da se pronađu vozači kamiona nisu urodili plodom. Čini se da su voleli decu i davali im slatkiše pre nego što bi im pomogli da se ukrcaju u dušegupku. Tokom suđenja Andorferu, dugo se diskutovalo o lokaciji na kojoj su vozači spojili izduvnu cev sa kamionom, kao i o udaljenosti logora od Savskog mosta. Problem je mogao biti lako rešen slanjem u Beograd nekoga ko bi izmerio razdaljinu (radi se o nekoliko stotina metara)

⁴⁹ Zločini, ur. Levental, str. 32, svedočenje Milutinovića. Njegova procena od oko 8.000 žrtava Sajmišta odgovara ciframa iz savremenih dokumenata. Vidi Dodatak.

⁵⁰ Zločini, ur. Levental, str 32-4. Ovo su delovi svedočenja Turnera, Kisela (Turnerovog zamenika), Helma

Headquarters could see the gas van in the courtyard being cleaned every day of the excrement of the murdered Jews. The members of the German unit talked freely among themselves about their duty and, hence, the information reached the local German nationals, the Serbian police and private citizens.⁵¹ At this stage, feeling assured of an imminent victory in the war, the Germans seemingly did not care about keeping this a secret. Obviously, an unusual truck making daily trips through Belgrade's main streets, and out of which came muffled cries, would arouse a certain amount of curiosity and suspicion. On the last day of the gasings, a group of high-ranking Belgrade SS officers arrived at the shooting range at Avala. When the last gas van of human cargo arrived and the bodies were buried and disposed of, the seven Serbians of the burial detachment stood alongside the graves and listened as the officers read the decree to have them shot. They were shot and buried, although it is unclear who did the actual shooting. Were the Belgrade bureaucrats eager to participate at least once in the real shootings, or did they stand by and watch the policemen and Enge shoot the men? West German courts discussed this matter thoroughly and could not reach a definitive conclusion.⁵²

At the end of the gasings, a few persons remained in the camp, mostly non-Jewish women who were married to Jews. They were released after a few days and sworn to secrecy. Another group of Jews, of German origin (probably of the Šabac or Banat groups), stayed for a few days to complete the clerical work, and they, too, were shot by the end of May 1942.⁵³

In addition to the Sajmište inmates, patients and the staff of the Belgrade Jewish Hospital, as well as Jewish prisoners of the nearby Banjica concentration camp were killed in the gas van. The 500 patients and the Jewish hospital staff were murdered on 19 and 20 March 1942. On the night of 19 March, the doctors and nurses were arrested in their homes and brought to the hospital on Veliki Stevan Street, while at the same time the sick Jews who were hospitalized at the small infirmary in the *Oneg Shabbat* building on Kosma-jaka Street, were brought there

testimonies before the Yugoslav authorities. The full protocols are classified in VII.

⁵¹ Browning, *Fateful Months*, pp. 82–3.

⁵² Enge claimed at his trial that he did not shoot those Serbian prisoners. He added that at that particular moment he was sent to fetch something for one of the SS officers, so he could not see who did the killings. Wetter said that the van driver Götz did it. It is obvious that everybody tried to accuse somebody else. See YV TR 10/656, 4–7. Testimony by a Serb witness, *Zločini*, ed. Levental, p. 32.

⁵³ See notes 20 and 46. In the Kompanjec testimony there is a very impressive story about a Jewish girl leading the group proudly to their death.

slen u Glavnom štabu Policije bezbednosti, mogao je da vidi kako se u dvorištu dušegupka čisti od izmeta ubijenih Jevreja. Pripadnici nemačke jedinice su među sobom slobodno pričali o svojoj dužnosti, tako da je informacija stigla do lokalnih stanovnika nemačke nacionalnosti, srpske policije i običnih građana.⁵¹ Nemci, koji su u tom periodu bili sigurni u skorbu pobjedu u ratu, nisu se trudili da čuvaju tajnu. Jasno je da je neobični kamion koji svakodnevno prolazi glavnim ulicama Beograda i iz koga dopiru prigušeni vapaji izazvao određenu pažnju i sumnjičavost. Poslednjeg dana gušenja, grupa visokorangiranih beogradskih oficira SS-a stigla je na strelište na Avali. Kada je stigao poslednji kamion sa ljudskim tovarom i kada su tela zakopana, sedam Srba iz odreda za sahranjivanje stajalo je pored grobnica i slušalo dok su oficiri čitali naredbu o njihovom streljanju. Oni su ubijeni i sahranjeni, iako ostaje nejasno ko je izvršio streljanje. Da li su beogradske birokrate bile željne da makar jednom učestvuju u pravom streljanju ili su stajale pored i gledale kako policajci i Enge streljaju ove ljude? Sudovi Zapadne Nemačke su detaljno raspravljali o ovom slučaju, ali nisu mogli da donesu konačan zaključak.⁵²

Posle završetka ubijanja gušenjem, nekoliko osoba je ostalo u logoru, uglavnom nejevrejke koje su bile udate za Jevreje. Obavezane na ćutanje, puštene su posle nekoliko dana. Ostali Jevreji, nemačkog porekla (verovatno iz Šapca ili Banata), zadržali su su nekoliko dana da završe administrativne poslove, pa su zatim i oni streljani do kraja maja 1942. godine.⁵³

Pored logoraša sa Sajmišta, u dušegupki su ubijeni i pacijenti i osoblje Beogradske jevrejske bolnice, kao i jevrejski zarobljenici obližnjeg koncentracionog logora na Banjici. Pet stotina pacijenata i članova osoblja jevrejske bolnice ubijeno je 19. i 20. marta 1942. godine. U noći 19. marta, doktori i medicinske sestre su uhapšeni u svojim domovima i odvedeni u bolnicu u Ulici Stevana Velikog, a u isto vreme su dovedeni i bolesni Jevreji koji su ležali u maloj ambulanti u zgradi 'Oneg šabat' u Kosmajskoj ulici. U bolnici je bilo zarobljeno ukupno 700 ljudi.

i Majnsnera pred jugoslovenskim vlastima. Integralne verzije protokola su zavedene kao službena tajna u VII.

⁵¹ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 82–3.

⁵² Enge je tokom svog suđenja tvrdio da nije streljao srpske zarobljenike. Rekao je i da je baš u tom trenutku bio poslat da nešto donese jednom SS-ovcu, tako da nije mogao da vidi ko je izvršio ubistva. Veter je rekao da je ubistva izvršio vozač kamiona Gec. Jasno je da su svi pokušavali da optuže nekog drugo. Vidi YV TR 10/656, 4–7. Svedočenje srpskog svedoka, *Zločini*, ur. Levental, str. 32.

⁵³ Vidi Napomene 20 i 46. Svedočenje Kompanjeca sadrži veoma impresivnu priču o jevrejskoj devojčici koja je ponosno predvodila grupu u smrt.

as well. A total of 700 people were held captive in the hospital. As the morning of 19 March dawned, relatives and acquaintances who had heard of the internment gathered near the hospital but were held at bay by the German guards surrounding the entire area. The gas van arrived towards noon and the loading began. Eyewitnesses described the appalling scene: enfeebled and sick people, blind men and invalids were dragged, pushed and beaten by callous soldiers. People on stretchers were thrown into the van. The Germans were shouting: 'Los, los!' (go on, go on!), moans and cries, and desperate calls of farewell reached the bystanders. This scene was repeated many times in the next three or four days, as the grey van made its rounds to and from the burial grounds at Avala.⁵⁴

We have only one testimony which describes the murder of the Jewish prisoners at the Banjica camp, where the majority of the inmates were members of the resistance movement, although Jews who were caught hiding throughout Serbia were also brought there. The Germans, it seems, decided not to transport the Jews of Banjica to Sajmište, and twice during the spring of 1942, according to the witness, the gas van was used to murder the Jews at the site of the Banjica camp. The killings were done under the supervision of the chief SS medical officer in Belgrade, the infamous Dr. Jun⁵⁵

The gas van was returned to Berlin only on 9 June, even though the gassings ended on 9 May. Schäfer sent a telegram to SS *Sturmabführer* Friedrich Pradel, the head of the motor vehicle pool at the RSHA headquarters:

The subject:	Special Saurer type van.
The drivers	... Götz and Meier finished their special assignment. They are returning with the van. Because of damage in the rear part of the van ... I ordered its transportation by train. ⁵⁶

Seemingly, the return of the gas van was delayed because of repair work attempted by SS mechanics in Belgrade.

Kada je osvanulo jutro 19. marta, rođaci i poznanici koji su čuli za internaciju okupili su se u blizini bolnice, ali su nemački stražari opkolili celo područje i držali ih na odstojanju. Dušegupka je stigla oko podneva i utovarivanje je počelo. Svedoci opisuju strašan prizor: bezosećajni vojnici su vukli, gurali i tukli iznurene i bolesne ljude, slepe i invalide. Ljudi na nosilima su ubacivani u kamion. Nemci su vikali: 'Los, los!' (hajde, hajde!) a krici, jauči i očajnički pozdravi su dopirali do okupljenih ljudi. Ova scena je ponovljena mnogo puta tokom naredna tri ili četiri dana kada je sivi kamion vozio do grobnice na Avali i nazad.⁵⁴

Imamo samo jedno svedočenje koje opisuje ubijanje jevrejskih logoraša na Banjici, gde su uglavnom dovođeni pripadnici pokreta otpora, ali i Jevreji koji su hapšeni tokom skrivanja širom Srbije. Čini se da su Nemci odlučili da ne transportuju Jevreje sa Banjice na Sajmište. Prema svedočenjima, dušegupka je tokom proleća 1942. dva puta upotrebljena za ubijanje Jevreja iz logora na Banjici. Ubistva su počinjena pod nadzorom oficira medicinske službe SS-a u Beogradu, zloglasnog dr. Junga.⁵⁵

Iako su se ubistva u dušegupki okončala 9. maja, ona je vraćena u Berlin tek 9. juna. Šefer je poslao telegram SS šturmbanfireru Fridrihu Pradelu, načelniku voznog parka pri Glavnom štabu Glavne uprave bezbednosti Rajha:

Predmet:	Specijalni kamion tipa 'zaurer'.
Vozači:	Gec i Majer su obavili svoj specijalni zadatak. Vraćaju se sa kamionom. Zbog oštećenja na zadnjem delu kamiona... naredio sam transport vozom. ⁵⁶

Izgleda da je povratak dušegupke odložen zbog popravke koju su pokušali mehaničari SS-a u Beogradu.

⁵⁴ Zločini, ed. Levental, pp. 36-7.

⁵⁵ D. Marković, *Zabranjeni život-Beograd 1941-1944* (Beograd, 1965), p. 171

⁵⁶ PS 501.

⁵⁴ Zločini, ur. Levental, str. 36-7

⁵⁵ D. Marković, *Zabranjeni život-Beograd 1941-1944* (Beograd, 1965), str. 171

⁵⁶ PS 501.

CONCLUSIONS

Andorfer and Enge were transferred to a different Security Police assignment some time after the annihilation of the Sajmište Jews, an accomplishment for which Andorfer was decorated with the Iron Cross, second class, and for which he received a promotion. The Sajmište camp became a concentration camp for thousands of Serbian prisoners, where they were tortured and killed, or deported to camps in Germany or other Occupied areas.

The German high command in Serbia considered the total annihilation of the local Jews as a feather in their cap. In his report to the newly appointed German commander in the Balkans, Harald Turner wrote in August 1942: 'Serbia is the only country in Europe where the Jewish problem has been solved.'⁵⁷ In a private conversation in 1942, the head of the Belgrade Security Police, Emanuel Schäfer, boasted that 'Belgrade is the only major European city cleansed of Jews.'⁵⁸

The wholesale murder of the European Jews, the 'Final Solution', was a tightly kept secret known to only a few people. Despite the involvement of many people in the implementation of various aspects of the 'Final Solution', most were unaware of the total scheme. When the leaders of the Third Reich began to doubt the certainty of their military victory, they began to destroy evidence of their crimes against the Jews. Consequently, SS *Standartenführer* Paul Blobel, who served in the *Einsatzgruppen* and was in charge of the notorious mass murder of the Jews of Kiev at Babi Yar, was in June 1942 appointed commander of 'Kommando 1005' whose task was to locate the mass graves of the Jews who were murdered throughout the Nazi empire. It was his responsibility to exhume the graves, burn the bodies and erase all traces of mass killings, primarily in Poland and Russia where the major massacres took place.⁵⁹

Blobel arrived in Belgrade in November 1943, and ordered the head of the local Gestapo, SS *Sturmbannführer* Sattler, to form a special detachment to perform the exhumation and the burning of the bodies of those who were murdered in Serbia and buried in mass graves. The task was accomplished by 10 security policemen, led by SS *Untersturmführer* Sack, together with 48 German military policemen

⁵⁷ NOKW 1486, YV TR 10/900, 4.

⁵⁸ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 85. The judges at Schäfer's trial described him in the verdict as 'a correct and honest official', and others described him as not at all a 'pigheaded SS man'. And he made a 'thoroughly human impression' on the denazification judges in Bielefeld, a man who 'did his duty but showed humane tendencies and endeavoured to remedy the excesses of the regime'. See *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁹ Blobel's testimony at the Einsatzgruppen trial; NO 3947. See also Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973), pp. 222, 628-9.

ZAKLJUČAK

Andorfer i Enge su prebačeni na druge zadatke Policije bezbednosti neko vreme posle uništenja Jevreja sa Sajmišta, za šta je Andorfer odlikovan Gvozdenim krstom druge klase i unapređen. Sajmište je pretvoreno u koncentracijski logor za hiljade srpskih zatočenika koji su mučeni i ubijani ili deportovani u logore u Nemačkoj ili u drugim okupiranim oblastima.

Nemačka vrhovna komanda u Srbiji smatrala je potpuno uništenje lokalnih Jevreja svojim velikim dostignućem. U izveštaju koji je u avgustu 1942. poslao novopostavljenom nemačkom komandantu za Balkan, Harald Turner je napisao: 'Srbija je jedina zemlja u Evropi u kojoj je rešen jevrejski problem'.⁵⁷ U privatnom razgovoru vođenom 1942, načelnik beogradske Policije bezbednosti Emanuel Šefer hvalisao se da je 'Beograd jedini veliki evropski grad očišćen od Jevreja'.⁵⁸

Masovno uništenje evropskih Jevreja – 'konačno rešenje' – bilo je strogo čuvana tajna za koju je znalo samo nekoliko ljudi. Uprkos učešću velikog broja ljudi u primeni različitih aspekata 'konačnog rešenja', većina nije bila upoznata sa celim planom. Kada su vođe Trećeg rajha počele da sumnjaju u izvesnost vojne pobede, počeli su da uništavaju dokaze svojih zločina nad Jevrejima. SS *standartenfirer* Paul Blobel, koji je je služio pri Ajnzacgrupen i bio odgovoran za zloglasna masovna ubistva Jevreja u klanu Babi jar kod Kijeva, postavljen je u junu 1942. za komandanta 'Specijalne jedinice 1005', čiji je zadatak bio da locira masovne grobnice Jevreja koji su ubijeni širom nacističkog carstva. Blobel je bio zadužen za ekshumaciju grobnica, spaljivanje tela i brisanje svih tragova masovnih ubistava, prvenstveno u Poljskoj i Rusiji, gde su se odigrali najveći masakri.⁵⁹

Blobel je stigao u Beograd u novembru 1943. i naredio načelniku lokalnog Gestapoa, SS *sturmbanfireru* Sattleru, da formira specijalni odred koji će izvršiti ekshumaciju i spaljivanje tela sahranjenih u masovnim grobnicama u Srbiji. Taj zadatak je obavilo deset pripadnika Policije bezbednosti pod komandom SS *untersturmfirera* Zaka, zajedno sa 48 nemačkih vojnih policajaca pod koman-

⁵⁷ NOKW 1486, YV TR 10/900, 4.

⁵⁸ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 85. Sudije na Šeferom suđenju su ga u presudi opisale kao 'ispravnog i poštenog oficira', a drugi su rekli da 'uopšte nije zarditi SS-ovac'. Ostavio je 'izrazito ljudski utisak' na sudije za denacifikaciju u Bielefeldu koji su ga opisali kao čoveka koji je 'obavljao svoju dužnost, ali i pokazivao humane sklonosti i nastojao da ispravi preterivanja režima'. Vidi *ibid.*, str. 74.

⁵⁹ Blobelovo svedočenje na suđenju Ajnzacgrupen; NO 3947. Vidi i Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973), str. 222, 628-9.

under the command of Lieutenant Erich Grunwald. The digging battalions consisted of 100 Serbian pri YV TR 10/219. soners and Jews (the Jews were brought from the Dalmatian coast which was captured by the Germans after the Italian surrender in September 1943). From December 1943 to April 1944 the digging unit exhumed thousands of bodies at the Jajince shooting range (Avala), and then proceeded to other areas in Serbia.⁶⁰ All the prisoners from the digging unit were shot after their job was completed, except for three Serbs who miraculously escaped. One of these survivors reported after the war: 'While excavating the bodies of the women and children [from the Sajmište inmates' graves — M.S.], I noticed that they were not shot. Their bodies had no trace of bullet holes or wounds. ... In the graves, there were no traces of blood such as we saw in other mass graves.'⁶¹ The bodies were piled up and burned. The ashes were collected and scattered in the nearby river, and by Blobel's order, the valuables found in the graves were sent to the Criminal Department at the RSHA Headquarters in Berlin.⁶²

It is difficult to establish the exact number of people murdered in the gassings at Sajmište, but a conservative estimate is 8000 persons, mainly women and children (see Appendix). The majority of Germans who were involved in the Sajmište murders were brought to trial. The Allies extradited Harald Turner, August Meyszner and Wilhelm Fuchs to Yugoslavia where they were executed. Emanuel Schäfer managed to conceal his identity until the mid-1950s, and was then brought to trial before a West German court where he was sentenced to six-and-a-half years in prison. The verdict was mainly based on his participation in the deportation of the Jews from Cologne to Poland.⁶³ Herbert Andorfer, the commandant of Sajmište, managed to escape (probably with the help of the Church) to Venezuela. He worked there under a false name until the beginning of the 1960s, when he returned to Austria and worked under his original name in a tourist agency. In the wake of the gas van trials, and after his deputy Enge was tried in 1967, Andorfer was finally apprehended. The Austrian courts refused to try him, under the pretext that he was a Venezuelan citizen, but the German Federal Government intervened and brought him to trial in Dortmund in 1968. He was convicted of the relatively minor charge of accessory to murder and sentenced to two-and-a-half years of imprisonment. He was freed after the trial because the court took

dom poručnika Eriha Grunvalda. Bataljoni kopača grobova sastojali su se od 100 srpskih zarobljenika i Jevreja (Jevreji su dovedeni sa dalmatinskog primorja, koje su Nemci osvojili posle predaje Italijana u septembru 1943). Između decembra 1943. i aprila 1944, ova jedinica je iskopala hiljade tela na strelištu u Jajincima (Avala), a zatim isti posao nastavila u drugim delovima Srbije.⁶⁰ Po obavljenom poslu, streljani su svi zarobljenici iz jedinice zadužene za kopanje, izuzev tri Srbina koji su nekim čudom pobjegli. Posle rata, jedan od njih je rekao: 'Dok sam iskopavao tela žena i dece [iz grobnica logoraša Sajmišta — M.S.], primetio sam da nisu streljani. Nije bilo tragova rupa od metaka ili rana... U grobnicama nije bilo tragova krvi kakve smo viđali u drugim masovnim grobnicama'.⁶¹ Tela su zatim bačena na gomilu i spaljena. Pepeo je sakupljen i bačen u obližnju reku, a po Blobelovom naređenju, dragocenosti pronađene u grobnicama su poslate u Krivično odeljenje Glavnog štaba Glavne uprave bezbednosti Rajha u Berlinu.⁶²

Teško je utvrditi koliko je tačno logoraša Sajmišta ugušeno, ali prema skromnim procenama radi se o 8.000, uglavnom žena i dece (vidi Dodatak). Većini Nemaca koji su učestvovali u ubistvima na Sajmištu je suđeno. Saveznici su izručili Haralda Turnera, Augusta Majsnera i Vilhelma Fuksa Jugoslaviji, gde su pogubljeni. Emanuel Šefer je uspeo da sakrije svoj identitet do sredine pedesetih godina prošlog veka kada je izveden pred sud u Zapadnoj Nemačkoj koji ga je osudio na zatvorsku kaznu od šest i po godina. Presuda je uglavnom bila zasnovana na njegovom učešću u deportaciji Jevreja iz Kelna u Poljsku.⁶³ Herbert Andorfer, komandant Sajmišta, uspeo je da pobjegne (verovatno uz pomoć crkve) u Venecuelu. Tamo je pod lažnim imenom radio do ranih šezdesetih godina prošlog veka, kada se vratio u Austriju i pod pravim imenom radio u turističkoj agenciji. U jeku suđenja za ubistva dušegupkom i pošto je njegovom zameniku Engeu suđeno 1967, Andorfer je napokon uhapšen. Pod izgovorom da je državljanin Venecuele, austrijski sudovi odbili su da mu sude, ali je uz intervenciju Nemačke savezne vlade izveden pred sud u Dortmundu 1968. godine. Proglašen je krivim po optužnici za manje teško delo — saučesništvo u ubistvu — i osuđen na dve i po godine zatvorske kazne. Oslobođen je posle suđenja pošto je

⁶⁰ Muharem Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu* (Beograd: Istorijski Arhiv Beograd, 1979), pp. 209-10. The book contains the names of all German members of the detachment

⁶¹ Zločini, ed Levental, p 43, Damjanović testimony.

⁶² VII, German Files 24-1-2/8; Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu*, p 210

⁶³ YV TR 10/219.

⁶⁰ Muharem Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu* (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1979), str. 209—10. Knjiga sadrži imena svih nemačkih pripadnika odreda.

⁶¹ *Zločini*, ur. Levental, str 43, svedočenje Damjanovića.

⁶² VII, Nemački dosijei 24-1-2/8; Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu*, str. 210

⁶³ YV TR 10/219.

into account his pre-trial Austrian incarceration.⁶⁴ Andorfer stayed in prison one day for every 10 murdered Jews.

Andorfer's deputy, Enge, was arrested at the end of the war but was not put on trial. After his liberation from a prisoner-of-war camp he lived as a law-abiding citizen until he was apprehended in 1965, freed once again and then brought to trial in 1968. He was convicted of the charge of accessory to murder, as Andorfer was, and sentenced to one-and-a-half years in prison. His sentence was never carried out because of his old age and poor health.⁶⁵ The German guards who served at the burial ground appeared in several West German trials as witnesses, but were themselves never put on trial, in spite of the fact that they were suspected of having participated in the execution of the Serbian prisoners.⁶⁶

The Sajmište episode is not of central significance in the historiography of the Holocaust, but it can serve to clarify certain problems. First, the role of the gas van in the murder process: one historian has noted that this was a 'technological curiosity of the "Final Solution"'.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, these lethal vans were responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of human beings. Secondly, as Browning points out, this clearly illustrates the division of labour in the implementation of the Final Solution between the 'desk murderers', i.e. the bureaucrats, and those who did the actual killing, such as Andorfer and Turner. Finally the Sajmište killings are central to the history of the Holocaust in Serbia. The majority of the Jewish women and children were killed in that forsaken place, so close to the teeming centre of the Yugoslav capital, and yet so far from the conscience of her citizens. In full view of the world, these women and children were tortured and then murdered; their bodies were removed from the grave and their ashes scattered. These words are their only token of remembrance.

⁶⁴ YV TR 10/900

⁶⁵ YV TR 10/656. Apparently the West German justice system grinds very slowly. Four years passed between Enge's appearance as a witness in the gas van trials and his apprehension in 1965.

⁶⁶ At their interrogation at Andorfer's trial, the German guards expressed their deep disappointment that at the end of 'that dirty job', the only token of appreciation they got was one week's leave in Germany and sleeping car facilities. Enge expressed similar feelings saying: 'It may seem strange but we didn't get any compensation or reward for the [Sajmište] operation.' I would like to thank Professor Browning who examined the interrogation files and allowed me to use these quotations.

⁶⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 65.

sud uzeo u obzir vreme provedeno u austrijskom pritvoru.⁶⁴ Za deset ubijenih Jevreja, Andorfer je proveo po jedan dan u zatvoru.

Enge, Andorferov zamenik, uhapšen je po završetku rata, ali mu nije suđeno. Pošto je pušten iz logora ratnih zarobljenika, živio je kao uzoran građanin dok nije uhapšen 1965, ponovo pušten i konačno izveden pred sud 1968. godine. Kao i Andorfer, proglašen je krivim za saučesništvo u ubistvu i osuđen na godinu i po dana zatvorske kazne. Usled Engeove starosti i lošeg zdravlja, kazna nikada nije izvršena.⁶⁵ Nemački stražari koji su služili na mestu grobnica, pojavili su se pred nekoliko sudova Zapadne Nemačke kao svedoci, ali im nikada nije suđeno uprkos činjenici da je postojala sumnja o njihovom učešću u streljanju srpskih zarobljenika.⁶⁶

Epizoda Sajmišta nije od centralnog značaja u istoriografiji Holokausta, ali može služiti za pojašnjenje određenih problema – prvenstveno uloge dušegupke u ubijanju. Jedan istoričar je primetio da se radi o „tehnoškom kuriozitetu 'konačnog rešenja'“. ⁶⁷ Bilo kako bilo, smrtonosni kamioni su odgovorni za ubistvo desetina hiljada ljudskih bića. Osim toga, kao što Brauning ističe, ovaj primer jasno ilustruje podelu rada u primeni 'konačnog rešenja' između 'salonskih ubica', tj. birokrata, i neposrednih ubica, kao što su Andorfer i Turner. Naposljetku, ubistva logoraša Sajmišta predstavljaju centralni deo istorije Holokausta u Srbiji. Većina jevrejskih žena i dece je ubijena na tom napuštenom mestu, tako blizu vreva centra jugoslovenske prestonice, a tako daleko od savesti njenih građana. Pred očima sveta, ove žene i deca su mučeni, pa zatim ubijani. Njihova tela su izvađena iz grobnica, a pepeo rasut. Ove reči su jedini znak sećanja na njih.

⁶⁴ YV TR 10/900

⁶⁵ YV TR 10/656. Zapadnonemački pravni sistem očigledno funkcioniše veoma sporo. Prošle su četiri godine od Engeovog pojavljivanja u svojstvu svedoka na suđenjima za ubistva u dušegupki do hapšenja 1965. godine.

⁶⁶ Tokom ispitivanja na suđenju Andorferu, nemački stražari izrazili su duboko razočaranje zato što su posle 'tog prljavog posla' u znak zahvalnosti dobili samo jednonedeljno odsustvo i poseban železnički kupe za povratak vozom u Nemačku. Enge je izrazio slična osećanja: 'Možda izgleda čudno, ali nismo dobili nikakvu nadoknadu ili nagradu za operaciju [Sajmište].' Želeo bih da se zahvalim profesoru Brauningu koji je proučavao dosjee o isleđivanju i dozvolio mi da koristim ove citate.

⁶⁷ Browning, *Fateful Months*, str. 65.

Pierre Nora

Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory

We are witnessing a world-wide upsurge in memory. Over the last twenty or twenty-five years, every country, every social, ethnic or family group, has undergone a profound change in the relationship it traditionally enjoyed with the past.

This change has taken a variety of forms: criticism of official versions of history and recovery of areas of history previously repressed; demands for signs of a past that had been confiscated or suppressed; growing interest in „roots“ and genealogical research; all kinds of commemorative events and new museums; renewed sensitivity to the holding and opening of archives for public consultation; and growing attachment to what in the English-speaking world is called „heritage“ and in France „patrimoine“. However they are combined, these trends together make up a kind of tidal wave of memorial concerns that has broken over the world, everywhere establishing close ties between respect for the past – whether real or imaginary – and the sense of belonging, collective consciousness and individual self-awareness, memory and identity.

France was quite possibly the first to embark on this age of ardent, embattled, almost fetishistic „memorialism“. It was followed, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, by the „recovery of memory“ in Eastern Europe. And this in turn was followed, after the fall of the military dictatorships in Latin America, and after the end of apartheid in South Africa and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, by a world-wide „memorialism“ and the emergence of all kinds of initiatives that, in one form or another, involved settling scores with the past. This French specificity resulted from the confluence, in the mid-1970s, of three major phenomena which, though apparently independent of each other, had the combined effect of pushing France from a historical awareness of itself into an awareness by memory. With a slight twist in the chronology, it could be argued that 1975 was the signal moment when the after-effects of the economic crisis, the fallout from the post-de Gaulle era, and the exhaustion of the revolutionary idea most visibly encountered one another.

The economic crisis, unleashed in 1974 by the huge rise in oil prices, affected all industrialised countries. France, however, felt it all the more acutely because the crisis put an end to thirty years of accelerated growth and intensive industrialisation and urbanisation, which had mercilessly swept away an entire set of traditions, landscapes, jobs, customs, and life styles that had long remained unchanged in France, more so than in any of its industrial neighbours. This reversal in growth forced France to recognise not only the damage caused by progress but also the uprooting of what until the Second World War had remained its foundation – in particular, the profound, centuries-old stability of the rural society.

Sociologists and historians had been writing about the end of the peasantry for fifteen years, but its demise suddenly became almost tangible and as painful as an amputation. It was the end of the prototypical „collective memory“. In 1975, the percentage of the population actively engaged in

Pjer Nora

Procvat Sećanja

Živimo u doba globalnog procvata sećanja. Proteklih dvadeset do dvadeset pet godine svugde, u svim zemljama, svim društvenim i etničkim grupama primetna je duboka promena tradicionalnog odnosa prema prošlosti.

Ova promena javlja se u mnoštvu oblika: u vidu kritike zvaničnog predstavljanja istorije i ponovnog buđenja potisnutih elemenata istorijskih zbivanja; u vidu potrage za tragovima uništene ili oduzete prošlosti; u vidu negovanja korena (roots) i razvoja genealoških istraživanja; u vidu naviranja svih vrsta pomenâ; u vidu pravnog suočavanja sa prošlošću; u vidu otvaranja najrazličitijih muzeja; u vidu rastućeg kritičkog senzibiliteta prema nepristupačnosti arhiva i njihovom otvaranju za javnost; u vidu uspostavljanja novih veza prema nasleđu, koje se na anglosaksonskom govornom području naziva heritage, kod Francuza patrimoine, kod Nemaca Erbe. Kako god da se ovi elementi kombinuju, čini se da je čitav svet poplavio talas sećanja i svugde stvorio blisku vezu između (stvarne ili imaginarne) odanosti prošlosti i osećanja pripadnosti, između kolektivne svesti i individualnog samopoimanja, između sećanja i identiteta.

Francuska je kao prva zemlja ušla u eru pasioniranih, skoro kompulzivnih pomenâ punih konfliktnog naboja. Zatim se nakon pada zida i raspada Sovjetskog Saveza javilo i „novootkriveno sećanje“ istočne Evrope. Nakon što su srušene diktature u latinskoj Americi i južnoafričkom aparthejdu i Komisiji za istinu i pomirenje došao kraj, postala je primetna prava globalizacija sećanja i razvili su se višestrani, ali svakako uporedivi oblici savladavanja prošlosti. Osobnosti položaja u kom se Francuska nalazi, a koji želim da elaboriram na samom početku, proizlazi iz spoja triju suštinski značajnih fenomena iz sredine 70-ih godina, i to naizgled međusobno nezavisnih fenomena, no čije se dejstvo povezalo na takav način da se istorijska svest u Francuskoj pretvorila u svest o sećanju. Mogli bismo postaviti još precizniji vremenski okvir i 1975. godinu definisati kao prekretnicu, budući da se tada najjasnije preklapaju posledice ekonomske krize, pad nakon De Golove ere i posustajanje revolucionarnih ideja.

Privredna kriza, izazvana naglim skokom cene nafte 1974. godine, pogodila je sve industrijalizovane zemlje u svetu. No za Francusku je to bio utoliko teži udarac, što je nakon više od trideset godina ubrzanog razvoja, intenzivne industrijalizacije i urbanizacije ovo označilo kraj dotadašnjeg uspona i kao oluja za sobom povuklo čitav splet tradicije, predela, sindikata, običaja i načina života, koji se dugo – i to u Francuskoj daleko duže nego u bilo kojoj drugoj susednoj, takođe industrijalizovanoj zemlji – nisu menjali. Pad standarda Francuskoj ne samo da je u trenu predočio svu štetu koju je napredak bio naneo, već i konačnu otuđenost od onoga što je nakon Drugog svetskog rata predstavljalo njenu bazu i osnovu, a posebno gubitak neoborive, hiljadugodišnje stabilnosti seoskog i poljoprivrednog temelja.

Sociolozi i istoričari već su skoro petnaest godina predviđali nestanak zemljoradnika, no najedared je bilo skoro fizički osetno i bolno poput amputacije: u pitanju je kraj „kolektivnog sećanja“ par excellence. Upravo je 1975. godine kvota predstavnika poljoprivredne delatnosti

agriculture fell below 10 per cent, a fateful threshold. In 1945, right after the Second World War, it had still been about 50 per cent. That was the year when the unexpected and meteoric success of a series of books – such as Pierre-Jakez Hélias' *Le Cheval d'orgueil*, the chronicle of a traditional Breton village; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*, village occitan; and Georges Duby and Armand Wallon's *L'Histoire de la France rurale* – made it obvious that „rural memory“ existed only through emotional or scholarly education. The ending of the rural era, soon accompanied by the ending of the mass in Latin, cut the umbilical cord that still connected France to what Jacques Le Goff has called the long Middle Ages of France and led to the growing popular success enjoyed ever since by the Middle Ages and its monuments.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the accession of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the presidency in 1974 reinforced this implantation of the imaginary. Here was a brilliant young economist from the upper bourgeoisie, a European at heart, in favor of „relaxing“ political life, who began his term of office under the banner of „change“. What kind of rooted France did he embody? The accelerated pace of the new presidency, deliberately technocratic and Parisian, may not have been at odds with France's enthusiastic plunge into the lost and recovered past, the emerging effects of which were just becoming widespread when, to everyone's surprise, 1980 became the year the President of the Republic proposed to dedicate himself to the national heritage.

The arrival of Giscard d'Estaing heightened the effects of the post-de Gaulle period and marked a sharp break with the Gaullist tradition in all areas. This second major phenomenon produced numerous effects, powerful as they were insidious, which deserve deeper exploration. Concerning the reinterpretation of the national past, they manifested themselves in three waves of different duration.

The first was short. General de Gaulle's death in November 1970 put a quick end to the prevailing version of the Resistance – imposed when Paris was liberated by de Gaulle – according to which the entire French nation, with the exception of a handful of traitors and lost souls, resisted the German occupation. The emergence of the dark memory of Vichy France, which was to become „the past that did not pass“, was signaled threefold: by the indignant reactions by associations of Resistance fighters to the pardon granted by President Pompidou to the milicien Touvier (1971); by Marcel Ophüls' 1972 film *The Sorrow and the Pity*, which revealed an unheroic France (the film was not allowed to be shown); and by the translation into French of Robert Paxton's book *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order* [*La France de Vichy* (1973)], which contrasted sharply with the official history.

The second wave was longer. The post-de Gaulle period represented a return to a more distant and deeper past. The survival of the institutions of the Fifth Republic – though tailored for the General then adopted by François Mitterrand as soon as he came to power, though he had opposed them when in opposition – confirmed the suspicion that de Gaulle had won his historic gamble by restoring the balance among state institutions that the fall of the absolute monarchy had disrupted at the time the Revolution. It was a presentiment that François Furet, for example, conveyed in a famous sentence from his book *Penser la Révolution française*: „The French Revolution is over.“ By the same token, the last two centuries were reinserted into the long continuity of the nation-state.

pala ispod sudbonosnih deset posto, dok je nedugo posle rata još uvek skoro polovina radnog stanovništva potpadala pod ovu kategoriju. Iste te godine neočekivani, siloviti uspeh pojedinih knjiga – među njima su Konj gordosti, hronika tradicionalnog sela u Bretanji, autora Pjer-Žakea Elijasa, Montažo, selo u Oksitaniji Emanuela la Rua-Ladorija i Istorija sela u uredništvu Žorža Dubija i Armanda Valona – otkriva „seosko sećanje“, koje opstaje jedino još posredstvom empatičkog ili naučnog prikaza. Kraj ruralnog razdoblja, nakon kog će ubrzo uslediti i kraj mise na latinskom jeziku, predstavlja istinski lom: Time je presečena pupčana vrpca koja je Francusku spajala sa njenim, prema rečima istoričara Žaka le Gofa, „dugim, veoma dugim srednjim vekom“, a to će biti osnova za veliki uspeh koji srednji vek i srednjovekovne građevine od tog trenutka uživaju kod publike i koji ne jenjava.

Ponovno ukorenjivanje imaginarnog u dalekoj prošlosti možda je itekako doprinelo činjenici da je 1974. godine upravo čovek poput Valerija Žiskara Destena postao predsednik države. Kakvu je pritajenu sliku Francuske predstavljao ovaj briljantni mladi ekonomski stručnjak iz vi-soke buržoazije, svim srcem Evropljanin i zagovornik „labavijeg“ političkog života, koji je na svoj semogodišnji mandat stupio pod okriljem „promene“, odnosno modernizacije? Verovatno probono raspoloženje na početku predsedovanja, koje je tako samouvereno predstavljeno kao sasvim tehnokratsko i parižansko, ipak ima neke veze sa povratkom izgubljenim i ponovo nađenim dubinama, kojima su se Francuzi drage volje prepustili, a zatim i sa opštim iznenađenjem nastalim 1980. godine, koju je sam predsednik republike želeo da posveti „nasleđu“, kada su mnoge stvari ponovo isplivale na videlo.

Činjenica da je Žiskar Desten nakon preuzimanja funkcije jasno prekinuo svaku golističku tradiciju sigurno je ojačala uticaj postgolizma, drugog fenomena širokih razmera. Taj uticaj, manifestovan na razne načine i jednako moćan koliko je i pritajen, nije ni izbliza dovoljno ispitan koliko je potrebno. A što se tiče nove interpretacije nacionalne istorije, ona se, šematski prikazano, razvila u tri smeru.

„Oslobodiočeva“ smrt je u novembru 1970. godine kratkoročno dovela do naglog kraja zvanične i važeće „verzije otpora“ u ratnim zbivanjima, koju je De Gol objavio nakon oslobođenja Pariza, a prema kojoj su se svi Francuzi, osim nekolicine izdajnika ili onih koji se našli u zabludi, usprotivili nemačkoj okupaciji. Tri faktora obično se vezuju za mračna sećanja na Francusku iz doba režima u Višiju, na „prošlost koja nikako da prođe“, kako se u međuvremenu skoro poslovično naziva, a to su: šok kojim je udruženje nekadašnjih pripadnika Pokreta otpora reagovalo na to što je predsednik Pompidu 1971. godine pomilovao rezervistu Tuvijea; film režisera Marsela Ofla Čemer i jad (1971), koji je dospao na crnu listu, a prikazuje Francusku u daleko manje herojskom svetlu; i prevod na francuski jezik dela Roberta O. Pakstona Francuska u vreme Višija (1973), koje se ograđuje od zvanične istorije.

Na duge staze postgolizam predstavlja prisećanje na jedan dublji sloj prošlosti. Pokazalo se da institucije Pete republike, za koje se u početku verovalo da su formirane sasvim po generalovoj meri, mogu da opstanu, a kada ih je njihov najveći protivnik Fransoa Miteran nakon dolaska na vlast smesta preuzeo, potvrdila se i ranija pretpostavka da De Gol ipak jeste istorijski pobednik i da je uspeo da stabilizuje institucije, koje su još od pada apsolutne monarhije u vreme Revolucije bile poljuljane. Fransoa Fure upravo je sazeo ovu pretpostavku 1978. godine u svojoj knjizi *Razmišljanja o Francuskoj revoluciji* u čuvenu rečenicu: „Francuska revolucija je okončana.“ Time su i protekla dva stoleća podvedena pod dugovečnost i kontinuitet nacionalne države.

The entire monarchical past was reevaluated positively, and, contrary to all expectations, the improbable millennium of Hugues Capet in 1987, which preceded the fifteen hundredth anniversary of Clovis in 1996, was a popular success, based on the theme that France is a thousand years old!

Still more generally, the rise of nation's last great figure to his zenith reinvigorated the entire pantheon. It was impossible not to make a connection between the exaltation of the „great man“ and the return of a historical biography, a flourishing genre in these years after long neglect, and a renewed sensibility of the French for „a certain idea of France“, not only for its history but also for its landscape, its cuisine, its fields, and its traditions. This sensibility accounted for the rapid rise of the extreme right and Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front. For the left, it meant that their concern for the nation had regained its legitimacy – a legitimacy which, thanks to the decline of the revolutionary idea, served to emphasise that Marxism had run aground.

The third phenomenon, less perceptible but perhaps of greater importance, contributed powerfully to the remodelling of the French attitudes toward their own past. The major events of those years included the intellectual collapse of Marxism; the falling of the Soviet Union into total disrepute; the rapid decline of the Communist party, which just a few years before was still mobilising about a quarter of the electorate; and the eclipse of the party's influence on most of the French intelligentsia. To complete the picture, the year 1975 saw the enormous success of the French translation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. Here too the phenomenon extended well beyond national boundaries, but it was highlighted by the existence of a strong Communist party that was still profoundly Stalinist. In a country like France, the home, the mother of revolutions since 1789, the end of the revolutionary idea, which had been the most potent vector directing historical times toward the future, could only lead to a rapid transformation in feelings about the past. In a concept of time organised around revolutions, it was clear what had to be retained from the past in order to prepare the future. It was clear as well what parts must be suppressed, forgotten, and destroyed if need be. Historical time of the revolutionary type is informed by the desire for rupture. The devaluation of the notion of rupture that accompanied the decline of the revolutionary idea restored legitimacy to the idea of tradition. Not a tradition of which we would be the heirs and sustainers (as in the revolutionary mode), but a tradition from which we would be forever separated, one that would thereby become precious, mysterious, and imbued with an uncertain meaning, which was our task to recover. The meteoric rise of the cult of national heritage has no other source. Its secret? The disappearance of historical time oriented by the revolutionary idea restored to the past its freedom, its indetermination, its stature – both material and immaterial.

Together, these three phenomena, not the only ones but surely the most powerful, were soon promoting the idea of a national „memory“. Though the idea dates back only about thirty years, it has grown with embellishment. This „memorialist“ trend, for which I have suggested the name „the age of commemoration“, is so widespread, so deep-seated and all-powerful, that it may be worthwhile – at the risk of confining oneself to generalisations or trivialities – trying to understand the reasons for it. This upsurge in memory intersects, it seems to me, with two major historical phenomena which have marked the age, one temporal and one social. It is these two phenomena that I would like to underline and present for discussion today.

Dolazi do novog, pozitivnog vrednovanja nekadašnje monarhije i mimo svih očekivanja navodna hiljadugodišnjica od rođenja Igoa Karpea proslavljena je 1987. godine – još pre Hlodovihovog 1500. jubileja 1996. godine – kao pravo narodno veselje pod sloganom Francuska slavi hiljaditi rođendan!

Još uopštenije rečeno, uzdizanje poslednje velike ličnosti francuske nacije na pijedestal slave osvežilo je i čitavu galeriju velikana. Ne možemo a da ne pomenemo ponovno isticanje „velikog čoveka“ u kontekstu povratka istorijskoj biografiji, dugo prezrenom žanru koji u poslednje vreme iznova cveta. Isto tako ne možemo a da ovo na dubljem nivou ne povežemo sa jednim drugim efektom, naime sa novim senzibilitetom koji Francuzi pokazuju prema „određenoj predstavi o Francuskoj“, dakle ne više samo prema istoriji zemlje, već i prema njenim predelima, kuhinji, prema rodnoj grudi i tradiciji. No koliko god bi se ovim novim senzibilitetom adekvatno mogao objasniti nagli uspon ekstremne desnice i Nacionalnog fronta Žan-Marija le Pena, njega je za pravo i levica podržala iz novonastale brige za naciju – ova činjenica rado se koristi kako bi se slabljenjem revolucionarnih ideja istakao neuspeh marksizma.

Upravo je to treći fenomen, manje opipljiv ali možda utoliko značajniji, koji je suštinski doprineo formiranju drugačijeg stava o vlastitoj istoriji kod francuskog naroda. Intelaktualna propast marksizma, radikalna diskreditacija Sovjetskog Saveza, naglo slabljenje Komunističke partije, koja je nekoliko godina pre toga uspela da zadobije i do četvrtine biračkog tela, kao i jenjavanje harizme francuske inteligencije glavni su događaji ovog doba. Da bismo zaokružili čitavu sliku napomenućemo na kraju još i 1975. godinu, kada je prevod na francuski jezik Arhipelaga Gulag Aleksandra Solženjicina doživeo veliki uspeh. I taj fenomen daleko nadilazi nacionalne okvire, no ipak ga je posebno obeležilo samo postojanje snažne i u korenu staljinizovane Komunističke partije. U zemlji kakva je Francuska, zemlji koja je od 1789. godine otadžbina revolucije, jenjavanje revolucionarne ideje, dakle najmoćnijeg vektora za usmeravanje istorijskog doba ka budućnosti, neminovno je moralo dovesti i do brze promene osećanja prema prošlosti. U revolucionarnom tipu poimanja vremena jasno je šta moramo sačuvati od prošlosti kako bismo pripremili teren za budućnost; a jednako znamo i šta nam valja potisnuti, zaboraviti, po potrebi čak i uništiti. Istorijskom vremenu svojstvena je volja za jasnim rezom. Omalovažavanjem ideje reza tradicije ponovo stiče legitimitet. Pritom se ne radi o tradiciji koju bismo mi nastavili ili nasledili, već od tradiciji od koje smo zauvek odvojeni, te nam se ona upravo zbog toga čini dragocenom i tajanstvenom, bremenitom nekakvim neizvesnim smislom, koji pokušavamo da pronađemo i vratimo joj ga. Upravo je to razlog kulta nasleđa nacije, koji ovih godina najedared cveta. Njegova tajna je upravo u tome što gubitak istorijskog vremena, koje je vođeno revolucionarnom idejom, vraća prošlosti njenu slobodu, neodređenost, njenu materijalnu i nematerijalnu težinu u odnosu prema sadašnjosti.

Navedena tri velika fenomena – kao najaktivniji i možda i najznačajniji, ali dakako ne i jedini – sredinom 70-ih godina našla su zajedničko plodno tle i iznedrila ideju nacionalnog „sećanja“. U pitanju je dakle nova ideja, pošto jedva da ima i trideset godina, ali se zato već izvrsno razvila. Ovaj pokret, koji otvara sasvim nov prostor za sećanje i za koji sam predložio da se nazove „epohom pomenâ“, toliko je opšt, toliko sveobuhvatan i toliko moćan da se svakako isplati, čak i uz opasnost da zapadnemo u opšta mesta i trivijalnost, pozabaviti se njegovim uzrokom. Čini mi se da do procvata sećanja dolazi na preseku dvaju velikih istorijskih fenomena koji su obeležili epohu: u pitanu su jedan vremenski i jedan društveni fenomen. Upravo ću se njima ovde pozabaviti i staviti ih u centar diskusije.

The first concerns what is usually referred to as the „acceleration of history“. This notion, first put forward by Daniel Halévy, essentially means that the most continuous or permanent feature of the modern world is no longer continuity or permanence but change. And increasingly rapid change, an accelerated precipitation of all things into an ever more swiftly retreating past. We must take the measure of this change for the way in which memory is organised. It is of crucial importance, for it has shattered the unity of historical time, that fine, straightforward linearity which traditionally bound the present and the future to the past.

In effect, it was the way in which a society, nation, group or family envisaged its future that traditionally determined what it needed to remember of the past to prepare that future; and this in turn gave meaning to the present, which was merely a link between the two. Broadly speaking, the future could be interpreted in one of three ways, which themselves determined the image people had of the past. It could be envisaged as a form of restoration of the past, a form of progress or a form of revolution. Today, we have discarded these three ways of interpreting the past, which made it possible to organise a „history“. We are utterly uncertain as to what form the future will take. And because of this uncertainty, the present – which, for this very reason no doubt, now has a battery of technical means at its disposal for preserving the past – puts us under an obligation to remember. We do not know what our descendants will need to know about ourselves in order to understand their own lives. And this inability to anticipate the future puts us under an obligation to stockpile, as it were, in a pious and somewhat indiscriminate fashion, any visible trace or material sign that might eventually testify to what we are or what we will have become. In other words, it is the end of any kind of teleology of history – the end of a history whose end is known – that places on the present this urgent „duty to remember“ (*devoir de mémoire*) that is so much talked about. Unlike my friend Paul Ricoeur, who keeps his distance from this hackneyed phrase, preferring that of „effort to remember“ (*travail de mémoire*), I am willing to accept the term, provided it is understood in a much broader sense than is usually attributed to it, a sense more mechanical, material and heritage-based than moral, and linked, not to the idea of „debt“ but of „loss“, which is a very different matter.

For the other effect of this „acceleration of history“, symmetrical with that of the future, is to abruptly distance us from the past – we are cut off from it. It has become what an English demographic historian has famously described as „the world we have lost“. We no longer inhabit that past, we only commune with it through vestiges – vestiges, moreover, which have become mysterious to us and which would do well to question, since they hold the key to our „identity“, to who we are. We are no longer on very good terms with the past. We can only recover it by reconstructing it in monumental detail with the aid of documents and archives; in other words, what we today call „memory“ – a form of memory that is itself a reconstruction – is simply what was called „history“ in the past. We are dealing here with a radical and dangerous shift in the meaning of words, a shift itself characteristic of the spirit of the age. „Memory“ has taken on a meaning so broad and all-inclusive that it tends to be used purely and simply as a substitute for „history“ and to put the study of history at the service of memory.

The „acceleration of history“, then, has two effects on memory:

– on the one hand, it leads to a kind of stockpiling, bound up with this feeling of loss and responsible for the exaggerated importance now attached to memory and the proliferation of institutions and instruments that relate to it: museums, archives, libraries, collections, digitalized

Prvi fenomen vezuje se za takozvano „ubrzavanje istorije“. Pod ovom formulacijom Danijela Alevija podrazumevamo da ono što poseduje najveći kontinuitet i trajnosti upravo više nije ukorenjeno u tom kontinuitetu i trajnosti, već u promenljivosti: u promenljivosti koja sve više dobija na tempu i koja sve većim ubrzanjem sve izmešta u daleku prošlost. Mora nam biti jasno šta ovakav preokret zapravo znači. On presudno utiče na ustrojstvo sećanja. Kao pod dejstvom eksplozivne naprave raspršeno je jedinstvo istorijskog vremena, fina i jednostavna linearnost koja je spajala sadašnjost sa budućnošću.

Sve do tog trenutka predstava koju neka proizvoljna zajednica – nacija, grupa ili porodica – gaji o vlastitoj budućnosti bila je presudna za odluku šta će iz prošlosti sačuvati kako bi oblikovali željenu budućnost, a samim tim i šta će sadašnjosti, koja je vršila samo funkciju spona, dati smisao. Šematski rečeno postojala su tri obrasca po kojima bismo mogli zamisliti budućnost, a koji su opet definisali i prošlost: budućnost možemo zamišljati kao nekuvarijantu ponovnog uspostavljanja prošlosti, kao napredak ili kao neki vid revolucije. Danas se više ne oslanjamo na ova tri šematska prikaza, koji nam omogućavaju da „istoriju“ organizujemo na različite načine. Šta će biti od budućnosti pod teretom je potpune neizvesnosti. Upravo ta neizvesnost obavezuje sadašnjost (kojoj su na raspolaganju do sada nepoznate tehničke mogućnosti skladištenja) na sećanje. Ne znamo šta će naši potomci jednog dana morati da znaju o nama kako bi razumeli same sebe. Upravo usled naše nemogućnosti da anticipiramo budućnost, u situaciji smo da dosta neizdiferencirano ali savesno prikupimo sve vidljive tragove i materijalne dokaze, koji će jednog dana (možda) svedočiti o tome šta smo bili ili šta ćemo biti. Drugim rečima: Kraj svekolike istorijske teleologije, tj. kraj istorije čiji nam je ishod poznat, nameće sadašnjosti neizbežnu „dužnost da se seća“, o kojoj se toliko govori. Za razliku od Pola Rikera, koji se distancirao od ove otrcane fraze i umesto nje predlaže izraz „proces sećanja“, ja sam spreman da je prihvatim, no jedino pod uslovom da joj se dodeli daleko širi smisao od onoga koji joj se obično pripisuje: smisao koji će biti znatno opsežniji, mehaničiji, materijalniji i patrimonijalniji od sadašnjeg etičkog značenja. Smisao koji se neće vezivati za krivicu, već za gubitak, a to je nešto posve drugačije.

Usled „ubrzanja istorije“ neminovno i u skladu sa njegovim uticajem na budućnost dolazi do udaljavanja od prošlosti, te smo i mi odsečeni od nje. Iz našeg ugla gledanja prošlost je izgubljena, ona je „the world we have lost“, da citiramo poznatu izjavu jednog engleskog istoričara. To je daleko svet u kom više ne živimo i koji sa nama komunicira jedno još preko tragova, i to zagonetnih tragova koje nam valja ispitati, budući da se upravo tu skriva i tajna onoga šta smo zapravo mi sami, našeg „identiteta“. Nismo višeu istoj ravni sa prošlošću. Da bismo je pronašli, upućeni smo na pokušaje rekonstrukcije pomoću izvornika, arhiva i spomenika, a takav postupak opet dovodi do pojave da se danas „sećanjem“ – a u pitanju je upravo rekonstruisani oblik sećanja – naziva ono što smo ranije naprosto zvali „istorijom“. I u ovom dubokom i opasnom izopačenju smisla prepoznaćemo duh epohe. Reč „sećanje“ poprimilo je toliko opšte i toliko sveobuhvatno značenje da preti da naprosto potisne reč „istorija“ i praktičnu istoriju podvede pod službu sećanja.

„Ubrzanje istorije“ ima dakle dve posledice po sećanja:

– tu je najpre efekt akumulacije, koji je povezan sa osećanjem gubitka i zapravo i odgovoran za sve veću ulogu funkcije sećanja, za hipertrofiraju institucija i instrumenata sećanja: muzeja, arhiva, biblioteka, kolekcija, digitalizacije fundusa, baza podataka, hronika itd;

inventories, data-banks, chronologies, and so forth;

- and on the other, between an unforeseeable future and a past shrouded in darkness or mist, the autonomising of the present, the emergence of the present as a category for understanding our own lives, but a present that is already historical and overlaid with an awareness of its own character and truth. It is this explosion of historical and temporal continuity which, in my opinion, makes memory so topical today: the past is no longer the guarantee of the future, and it is largely for this reason that memory has come to play such an active role in society and been invested with a promise of continuity. In the old days, it was the past and the future that were independent, the present acting as a bridge between them. Today, it is the present and memory that are independent.

The second reason for this outbreak of memory is of a social nature and is linked to what might be called, by analogy with „acceleration“, the „democratization“ of history. This takes the form of a marked emancipatory trend among peoples, ethnic groups and even certain classes of individual in the world today; in short, the emergence, over a very short period of time, of all those forms of memory bound up with minority groups for whom rehabilitating their past is part and parcel of reaffirming their identity.

Minority memories of this kind are mainly the outcome of three types of decolonization: international decolonization, which has allowed societies previously stagnating in the ethnological inertia of colonial oppression access to historical consciousness and the rehabilitation (or fabrication) of memories; domestic decolonization, within traditional western societies, of sexual, social, religious and provincial minorities now being integrated with the mainstream and for whom reaffirming their „memory“ - in actual fact, their history - is a way of having their „particularism“ recognized by a community that had previously refused them that right, while at the same time cultivating their difference and their attachment to an identity threatened with disintegration. (Had I had the time, I would have liked to have shown you this, taking working-class or Jewish memory, for example.) Finally, there is a third type of decolonization which followed on the collapse of twentieth-century totalitarian regimes, whether communist, Nazi or just plain dictatorial: an ideological decolonisation which has helped reunite these liberated peoples with traditional, long-term memories confiscated, destroyed or manipulated by those regimes: this is the case with Russia and many countries in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Latin America and Africa.

The explosion of minority memories of this kind has profoundly altered the respective status and the reciprocal nature of history and memory - or, to be more precise, has enhanced the very notion of „collective memory“, hitherto little used.

Unlike history, which has always been in the hands of the public authorities, of scholars and specialised peer groups, memory has acquired all the new privileges and prestige of a popular protest movement. It has come to resemble the revenge of the underdog or injured party, the outcast, the history of those denied the right to History. Hitherto, if it did not have truth, it at least had loyalty on its side. What is new, and what it owes to the abysmal sufferings of the last century, to the increase in life expectancy and to the continuing presence of survivors, is the demand for a truth more „truthful“ than that of history, the truth of personal experience and individual memory.

History, on the other hand, though it was always founded on memory, as a discipline that aspired to scientific status had traditionally been built up in opposition to memory, thought to be idiosyn-

- Drugi efekt jeste – uz nepredvidivu budućnosti i nejasnu i netransparentnu prošlost – osamostaljenje sadašnjosti, koja se sada javlja kao kategorija inteligibiliteta našeg sopstva, ali u okviru istorijske sadašnjosti, koja reflektuje samu sebe i svoju istinu. Po mom mišljenju sećanje svoju aktuelnost crpi iz razbijanja istorijskog i vremenskog kontinuiteta. Prošlost više nije garancija budućnosti: To je osnovni razlog zašto se sećanje uzdiže na nivo dinamičke sile, predskazanja kontinuiteta. Ranije je postojala veza između prošlosti i budućnosti, kojima je sadašnjost služila jedino kao spojnica. Danas veza postoji između sadašnjosti i sećanja.

Drugi razlog za veliki procvat sećanja društvene je prirode: On je povezan sa razvojem koji bismo, analogno „ubrzanju“, mogli nazvati „demokratizacijom“ istorije. Radi se naime o intenzivnim nastojanjima naroda, etničkih grupa, zajednica ili čak i pojedinaca za oslobođenjem i emancipacijom, koja utiču na savremeni svet; ukratko rečeno, u pitanju je brzo, skoro silovito nadiranje svih mogućih oblika sećanja kod manjina, za koje ponovno ovladavanje vlastitom prošlošću predstavlja sastavni deo potrage za identitetom.

Sećanje kod manjina suštinski potiče iz tri tipa dekolonijalizacije. Jedan je globalna dekolonijalizacija potlačenih društava, koja su spavala etnološkim snom kolonijalne vladavine i koja oslobođenjem stiču istorijsku svest i ponovo ovladavaju vlastitim sećanjem ili ga iznova izgrađuju. Drugi jeste unutarnja dekolonijalizacija seksualnih, društvenih, verskih ili regionalnih manjina, koja se u klasičnim zapadnim društvima nalaze na putu integracije i kojima borba za vlastitim „sećanjem“ – što zapravo znači za vlastitom istorijom – pruža mogućnost da u svojoj osobenosti budu prihvaćeni od strane većine, koja im je to pravo dugo uskraćivala, ali i da ujedno neguju razlike i odanost identitetu, koji se postepeno već gubi. Naposljetku postoji i treći tip dekolonijalizacije, koji se ispoljava tamo gde nestaje neki od totalitarnih režima XX veka, bio on komunistički, nacionalsocijalistički ili naprosto diktatorski: ovo je ideološka dekolonijalizacija pomoću koje oslobođeni narodi ponovo pronalaze svoje dugo, tradicionalno sećanje, koje su im ti režimi bili oduzeli, uništili ili izmanipulisali. Ovaj slučaj jednako se odnosi na Rusiju kao i na zemlje istočne Evrope, na Balkan, latinsku Ameriku ili Afriku.

Eksplozija sećanja kod svih tih manjina suštinski je promenila status i međusobni odnos istorije i sećanja. Tačnije rečeno: opravdala je do tada retko upotrebljavani izraz „kolektivno sećanje“.

Za razliku od istorije, koja je oduvek bila u rukama moćnika ili ljudi od stručnog i naučnog autoriteta, sećanje je okićeno novim privilegijama i prestižom protesta. Pojavilo se kao odmazda poniženih i uvređenih, kao mala istorija onih koji na veliku istoriju nisu imali pravo. Do sada je sećanje bilo simbol ako ne istine, a ono svakako odanosti. Novinu, koja potiče iz neumitne nesreće XX veka i iz produženog životnog veka, iz dužeg opstanka preživelih, predstavlja zahtev da postoji istina koja je „istinitija“ od one istorijske: istina doživljaja i sećanja.

Obratno se istorija, koja se pretvorila u disciplinu u znaku naučne ambicije, do danas razvijala upravo polazivši od sećanja, a protiv njega, dok je ono istodobno smatrano nečim individualnim,

cratic and misleading, nothing more than private testimony. History was the sphere of the collective; memory that of the individual. History was one; memory, by definition, plural (since by nature individual). The idea that memory can be collective, emancipatory and sacred turns the meaning of the term inside out. Individuals had memories, collectivities had histories. The idea that collectivities have a memory implies a far-reaching transformation of the status of individuals within society and of their relationship to the community at large. Therein lies the secret of that other mysterious shift which has occurred, and on which a little light needs to be thrown: the shift in our understanding of identity, without which it is impossible to understand this upsurge in memory.

The concept of identity has undergone a similar reversal in meaning at the same time as that of memory. It has gone from being an individual and subjective notion to a collective, quasi-formal and objective one. Traditionally, identity characterises all that is unique about an individual – so much so, in fact, that it has acquired an essentially administrative sense relating to law enforcement: our fingerprints are the expression of our „identity“, we have „identity“ cards and papers. The expression has become a group category, a way of defining us from without. „One is not born a woman“, Simone de Beauvoir famously remarked, „one becomes one“. It might serve as a catch-phrase for all identities created from self-assertion. Identity, like memory, is a form of duty. I am asked to become what I am: a Corsican, a Jew, a worker, an Algerian, a Black. It is at this level of obligation that the decisive tie is formed between memory and social identity. Viewed in this light, they are both governed by the same mechanism: the two terms have become all but synonymous, and the fact that they have merged reflects a change in the way that history and society interact.

France, with an intensity both emotional and political, has traditionally maintained an essential, determining connection to its history and its past. That is why France knew such a broad and profound transformation of national historical consciousness in social consciousness. With the installation of the Third Republic this connection assumed a particular centrality, since history had become the nerve of the social and political bond. Through the schools, the scholarly little manuals of Ernest Lavisse, and books for children like the celebrated *Tour de la France par deux enfants*, the grand narrative of the national collectivity was set. An epic in many different versions, offered to everyone, it smoothed out any particularity, whether provincial, familial, linguistic, religious, social, or sexual, that did not readily fit the grand national history. On the one hand, therefore, was a saga, a powerful recitative with a touch of epic, with its highs and lows, its great moments and its ordeals, its inexhaustive repertoire of personalities, scenes, lines, intrigues, dates, good and bad people – an absorbing family saga starting with Vercingétorix and the battle of Alésia and ending with the triumph of the Republic and the Rights of Man, touching on the Crusades, Louis XIV, the Enlightenment, the Revolution, the Napoleonic epic, the colonial conquests, the trials of World War I, and ending up with de Gaulle, the heir to all of this. On the other hand were particular affinities and individual loyalties. In sum, there is a collective national history on the one hand, private memories on the other. It was sacred history because it was just like the religious catechism it was supposed to combat; holy because it was that of the patrie which merited the sacrifice of one's life; a legend – but one that acted as a driving force for social integration, cohesion, and promotion. And then there were the memories (or memoirs) of particular groups, or rather minorities: workers, Jews (called „Israelites“ at the time), royalists, Bretons or Corsicans, women. It was on this division that traditional French identity was constructed and developed for a century, and this was the mould that cracked. It cracked under a double movement: the internal collapse of the myth that bore the national project and the emancipation that liberated the minorities.

psihološkim, varljivom, pukim svedočanstvom i ničim više. Istorija je opisivala domen kolektiva, a sećenje domen pojedinačno. Istorija je bila jedna jedina, dok je sećanja po definiciji bilo mnoštvo, budući da je samo po sebi individualno. Ideja o postojanju kolektivnog, emancipujućeg i sakralizovanog sećanja predstavlja suštinsku prekretnicu: Budući da su do sada pojedinci na raspolaganju imali sećanje a zajednice istoriju, to znači da ideja po kojoj zajednice raspolažu sećanjem iz korena menja shvatanje o poziciji pojedinaca u društvu i njihovom odnosu prema kolektivu. U ovome leži tajna onog drugog zagonetnog uspona, koji nam valja još razjasniti: uspona identiteta, bez kog ne možemo razumeti ni uspon sećanja.

Pojam identiteta prošao je kroz upravo analogno i paralelno izopaćenje značenja kao i pojam sećanja. Individualni se pretvara u kolektivni, a subjektivni u objektivni, u skoro formalni pojam. Obično identitet označava individuu u njenoj jedinstvenosti, čak do te mere da je „identitet“ poprimio mahom administrativno i policijsko značenje. Otiscima prstiju dokazujemo svoj identitet, jednako kao i npr. ličnom „iskaznicom“. Ovaj izraz razvio se u grupnu kategoriju, u neku vrstu spoljne definicije vlastite ličnosti. „Niko nije od rođenja žena, ženom se postaje“, napisala je Simone de Beauvoir u jednoj svojoj čuvenoj formuli, koja se bez zadržke može preneti i na svaki drugi vid samodefinisanog identiteta. Kao i sećanje, identitet predstavlja dužnost. Dužan sam da postanem ono što jesam: Korzikanac, Jevrejin, radnik, Alžirac, crnac. Na ravni dužnosti nastaje veza između sećanja i posebnog identiteta. Tako posmatrano, i jedan i drugi potčinjeni su istom mehanizmu: Ove dve reči praktično su postale sinonimi i njihov spoj predstavlja novu ekonomiju istorijske i društvene dinamike.

Francuska je posebno intenzivno proživela metamorfozu istorijske samosvesti u socijalnu svest, budući da je tradicionalno negovala suštinski i determinativni odnos prema prošlosti, prema svojoj istoriji. Taj odnos dobio je najveći značaj u doba Treće republike, budući da je istorija postala nerv društvenih i političkih veza. U školi je, zahvaljujući knjižicama Ernesta Lavisa kao što je čuveni naslov *Dvoje dece na putu po Francuskoj*, u svačiju glavu usađena velika pripoveda o nacionalnoj zajednici, moćna saga sa brojnim verzijama, koja je pak učinjena pristupačnom za sve i iz koje je izbačen svaki sadržaj, za koji se činilo da ne pripada sjajnoj nacionalnoj istoriji, baš kao što je izbačena i svaka osobenost, bila ona regionalna, jezička, verska, društvena ili seksualna. Tako je s jedne strane postojao veliki junački spev, moćni ep sa svim svojim usponima i padovima, proslavljenim i teškim trenucima, neiscrpnim repertoarom ličnosti, scena, konflikata, zavera, podataka, dobra i zla; napeti porodični roman koji seže od Vercingetoriksa i bitke kod Alezije, preko krstaških pohoda, Luja XIV i prosvetiteljstva do Revolucije, preko epa o Napoleonovoj vladavini, o kolonijalnom osvajanjima i patnjama u Drugom svetskom ratu pa sve do pobede Republike i ljudskih prava, čiji je legat naposljetku trebalo da nastavi De Gol. S druge strane postojao je osećaj pripadnosti pojedinca, individualna odanost. S jedne strane dakle kolektivna nacionalna istorija, s druge strane lična sećanja. Ovde imamo svetu istoriju, budući da je po svojoj prirodi jednaka verskom katehizmu (istom obom protiv kog je bila započela borbu), sakralnu istoriju, budući da je u pitanju istorija otadžbine, za koji bismo mirno dali život, legendu koja deluje kao džinovski pogon, motor integracije i socijalne povezanosti. Onda imamo sećanje grupe, dakle manjine: sećanje radnika, Jevreja (ranije se govorilo „Izraelci“), rojalista, Bretonaca, Korzikanaca ili žena. Na osnovu ove podvojenosti razvio se tradicionalni francuski identitet, a na istoj je toj osnovi i ojačao tokom poslednjeg veka. Upravo se ta osnova sada i raspala. Raspala se pod uticajem dvostrukog pokreta: unutarnje propasti mita o velikom nacionalnom konceptu s jedne strane i samosvesnog stremljenja ka slobodi kod svih manjina s druge strane.

This double movement burst forth in the crucial decade of the 1970s, when France experienced a key transformation. The emergence of a sovereign, tyrannical, and almost intrusive „national memory“ was tied directly to the transition from a historical consciousness of self to a social consciousness; national identity was replaced by social identities. Traditional faith in the greatness and destiny of France was attacked from within; the European, colonial, and world wars - 1914-1918, 1939-1945, and the Algerian War - led not only to a real reduction in power but also to profound, insidious doubt about the validity and infallibility of the classic national model. The result was an upsurge of the repelled episodes of the national consciousness (from the Terror during the Revolution to torture during the Algerian War in the 1950s); a crisis in all the institutions - churches, unions, parties, families - whose mission it was to give a national form; an uncertainty about what to teach in the schools, and inability to achieve a balance between the forces of decentralisation and the move to join the European Union. During that time, a powerful internal decolonisation movement and the emancipation of group identities were taking place in France; each minority seeking integration wanted its own history, its „memory“; each wanted „to reappropriate its own memory“ and demanded that the nation recognise that history. The Jewish case serves as a prime example. Hardly anyone would have spoken about a Jewish „memory“ thirty years ago. Even the memory of Vichy was not totally linked to anti-Semitic legislation or to the French state's responsibility for deportation and extermination. The opposite situation exists today. The „Jewish community“ - a phrase that would not have been used then - has relentlessly demanded that the president of the Republic recognise France's responsibility in that regard. Jacques Chirac acceded to that demand on July 16, 1995, at the Vélodrome d'Hiver, the sports stadium to which Jews were herded in 1942 prior to deportation. What in France is now called the „national memory“ is nothing other than the transformation of historic memory, which has been invaded, subverted, and flooded by group memories. At this point, of course, it would be important to describe in greater detail how this new memory is organised. I have tried to do this in my introductions and conclusions to *Realms of Memory*. Let us make do for the moment, by way of conclusion, with underlining some of the immediate effects of this recent surge in memory. There are two main effects, it seems to me.

The first consists in a dramatic increase in the uses made of the past for political, commercial and tourist purposes. One example of this is a sharp rise in the number of commemorative events, particularly in France. The last decade, 1989 to 2000, may even have marked the high point of this „age of commemoration“, with at one end the Bicentenary of the French Revolution - in which the phenomenon, already well under weigh by this time, took on its full historic, political, national, religious, ideological and symbolic significance - and at the other the new millennium. Between those two dates, each year brought its particular batch of commemorations, from the Dreyfus affair and the 80th anniversary of the armistice of 1918 to the 1,500th anniversary of Clovis and the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery. France is, I believe, the only country to have set up a National Festivities Bureau, now in its twentieth year. There are all kinds of reasons for this proliferation of commemorative events, but they all go to show that the past has ceased to have a single meaning and that a present that is overlaid with an awareness of its own history necessarily allows for several possible versions of the past.

The second effect of this change in the way memory is organised has been to deprive the historian of the monopoly he traditionally enjoyed in interpreting the past. In a world in which you had collective history and individual memories, the historian exercised exclusive control, so to speak, over

Ovaj dvostruki pokret razvija se uporedo, a u presudnim 70-im godinama, u kojima je Francuska prošla kroz dalekosežne promene, i to značajno bržim tempom. Tajna koja se krije iza nastanka hegemonijskog, tiranijskog, skoro kompulzivnog „nacionalnog sećanja“ leži u prelazu sa istorijske na društvenu svest. Na mesto nacionalnog identiteta stupa socijalni identitet. Tradicionalna vera u veličinu i sudbinu francuske nacije poljuljana je iznutra: Ratovi, bilo da su evropski, svetski ili kolonijalni - dakle rat između 1914. i 1918, onaj između 1939. i 1945. i rat u Alžiru - ne samo da su Francuskoj doneli realan gubitak moći, već i duboku, pritajenu sumnju u legitimitet i nepogrešivost klasičnog nacionalnog modela. Kao posledica toga na površinu je isplivalo sve ono što je nacionalni ponos bio potisnuo, počev od terora za vreme Revolucije pa sve do torture tokom rata u Alžiru; sve institucije koje su bile u službi obrazovanja nacije - a to znači crkva, sindikati, partije, porodica - zapale su u krizu; smisao pedagoškog naravoučenića doveden je u pitanje, a položaj Francuske između naletâ dekolonijalizacije i uvođenja u zajednički evropski koncept bilo je veoma teško definisati. Istodobno se razvijao i snažan pokret unutarnje dekolonijalizacije i emancipacije grupnog identiteta, što je ohrabrilo manjine na putu ka nacionalnoj integraciji: Svaka manjina zatražila je pravo na vlastitu istoriju, dakle vlastito „sećanje“, koju je, kao što se govorilo, želela „ponovo da stekne“ i zahtevala je od nacije da to sećanje i prizna. Primer Jevreja posebno je slikovit. Pre trideset godina teško da bi neko govorio o jevrejskom „sećanju“. Čak ni sećanje na Viši nije se primarno odnosilo na antisemitske zakone i odgovornost francuske države za deportaciju i ubijanje Jevreja. Danas je sasvim suprotno. „Jevrejska zajednica“ - još jedan izraz koji se ranije ne bi koristio - u više je navrata zahtevala od predsednika republike da prizna taj vid odgovornosti, sve dok Žak Širak to nije učinio 16. jula 1995. godine na zimskoj biciklističkoj stazi, gde su Jevreji okupljeni u velikoj raciji 1942. godine. U Francuskoj se pod „nacionalnim sećanjem“ ne podrazumeva ništa drugo do preinačenje, invazija, podrivanje i preplavlivanje bazične istorijske svesti od strane sećanja pojedinih grupa. Sada bi naravno bilo od značaja da dalje razradimo pojašnjenje unutarnje ekonomije ovog novog sećanja. To sam pokušao da učinim u uvodu i pogovoru zbirci *Lieux de mémoire*. Neka na ovom mestu bude dovoljno što ćemo na kraju istaći nekoliko direktnih, dakle neposrednih posledica ovog naglog uspona sećanja.

Naročito mi se dva uticaja čine značajnim. Jedan je da se od tada prošlost sve intenzivnije koristi, bilo politički, u svrhe turizma ili komercijalno. U prilog takvoj tendenciji govori i naglo rastuća krivulja pomenâ, što je u Francuskoj posebno uočljivo. Poslednja decenija XX veka mogla bi se nazvati i vrhuncem ove ere sećanja, omeđena 200. godišnjicom Francuske revolucije, koja je demonstrirala celokupnu istorijsku, političku, nacionalnu, versku, ideološku i simboličku težinu ovog svakako dobro etabliiranog fenomena, i proslavom smene milenijuma. Svaka godina doprinela je svoj deo pomenima, počev od afere Drajfus preko Hlodovehove 1500. godišnjice, od 80. godišnjice primirja iz 1918. pa sve do 150 godina od ukidanja ropstva. Francuska je, koliko mi je poznato, jedina zemlja koja već dvadeset godina ima komisiju za nacionalne praznike. Brojni su razlozi za ovakav uspon pomenâ: Svi oni pokazuju da prošlost ne kulminira više u jednom jedinom značenju i da sadašnjost, ukoliko se reflektuje u istorijskoj samosvesti, mora prihvatiti više mogućih verzija prošlosti.

Drugi uticaj nove ekonomije sećanja svodi se na to da se istoričarima oduzima monopol, koji su tradicionalno držali nad tumačenjem prošlosti. U svetu u kom je postojala jedna jedina kolektivna istorija i mnogo individualnih sećanja oni su imali nekakvu vrstu ekskluzivne kontrole na

the past. This privilege had even been greatly consolidated over the last hundred years by what is sometimes referred to as „scientific“ history. To the historian alone befell the task of establishing the facts, producing the evidence and delivering the truth. It was his profession and his mark of respectability. Today, the historian is far from alone in manufacturing the past; it is a role he shares with the judge, the witness, the media and the legislator. All the more reason, therefore, to speak out loud and clear today on behalf of the „duty towards history“, rather than the „duty to remember“, the need for which a few of us were proclaiming some twenty or twenty-five years ago.

For the real problem raised by the sacred aura with which memory has now been invested is to know how, why and at what moment the otherwise positive principle of emancipation and liberation on which it is based backfires and becomes a form of closure, a grounds for exclusion and an instrument of war. To claim the right to memory is, at bottom, to call for justice. In the effects it has had, however, it has often become a call to murder. The time has perhaps come to bring against memory the charge that in his *Untimely Meditations* Nietzsche brought a century ago against history, but replacing the word „historical“ by „memorial“: „There is a certain degree of sleeplessness, of rumination, of [memorial] significance beyond which any living creature is threatened with collapse, and in the long run destroyed, whether it be an individual, a people or a civilization.“ It is this message left by memory that we also need to remember.

prošlosti. „Naučna“ istorija ovu je privilegiju tokom poslednjeg veka čak izrazito i potkrepljivala. Jedino je istoričar imao prava da beleži i overava činjenice i da širi istinu. To mu je bilo zanimanje i dostojanstvo. U međuvremenu dakako ne proizvodi više samo on istoriju. On taj zadatak deli sa sudijama, svedocima, medijima i zakonodavstvom. To je još jedan razlog da „dužnosti prema sećanju“, koju su neki od nas proklamovali pre dvadeset ili dvadeset pet godina, suprotstavimo „dužnost prema istoriji“.

Jer pravi problem koji proističe iz sakralizacije sećanja sastoji se u tome da otkrijemo kako se, zašto i u kom trenutku pozitivni princip emancipacije i oslobođena, koji je omogućio procvat sećanja, pretvara u svoju suprotnost i u neki vid zatočeništva, u motiv izopštenosti, čak i u oružje. Principijelno je zahtev za vlastitim sećanjem ujedno i poziv na pravdu. Na delatnom planu često se pokazao kao poziv na linč. Možda je došlo vreme da proces koji je Niče pre više od sto godina pokrenuo protiv istorije sada ponovo pokrenemo protiv sećanja i da, kao što je on to učinio u *Nesavremenim razmatranjima*, ali zamenivši reč „istorija“ rečju „sećanje“, izdamo sledeće upozorenje: „Postoji jedan stepen nesаницe, preživljanja, istorijskog [dakle: zapamćenog] smisla, na kojem ono što je živo biva oštećeno i najzad propada, pa bio to čovek ili narod ili kultura.“ Jednako smo dužni da upamtimo i ovu poruku sećanja.



Picture from the Serbian “Blic” newspaper in an article about the future of Sajmište

(September 22, 2011)

Günter Morsch

“...a Comprehensive Revaluation of European History?”

Developments, Tendencies and Problems of a Culture of Remembrance in Europe¹

In August this year a declaration entitled “Celebrating the Events of 1989 also Means Remembering 1939!” was published by a large German national weekly, initiated, *inter alia*, by the current Commissioner for Documents of the Former DDR State Security and her predecessor. It was signed by numerous public figures, including a notable number of historians from the left liberal specter². The title brings about the impression that the initiators did this as a form of warning, in view of the multimedia storm in form of various activities on the 20th anniversary of the fall of Berlin Wall, as well as the 70th anniversary of begin of World War II, which has been raging as early as since 2009. However, already the caption represents a disappointment for all those who perhaps hoped for such a signal.

Namely, this was a declaration on the 70th anniversary of the August 23 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact. The text contains many balanced, sensible and true sentences about the historical meaning of this pact between the two dictators. However, its direction in terms of policy of remembrance is only introduced in the last sentence, *en passant*. It is stated that in April, the European Parliament recognized for the first time its responsibility to build a responsible culture of remembrance which will sensibilize new

- 1 The following article was already published by „Blättern für deutsche und internationale Politik“, entitled „Geschichte als Waffe“, no. 5/2010, pp. 109-121. For the purpose of this publication, it was edited and supplemented with bibliographical references. The suggested „Charter“ at the end of the article will be topic of discussion at the annual „IC Memo“ general meeting this October which will take place at the Wewelsburg Memorial Museum.
- 2 The declaration was printed by different publications. As the list of signatories did not remain the same throughout, we refer to the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship's website www.23August1939.de; also compare with my commentary „Schlachtfeld EU. Wie der Jahrestag des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts für einen erinnerungspolitischen Deutungskampf missbraucht wird“, in: Jüdische Allgemeine, no. 34, August 20 2009, p. 1.

Günter Morsch

„...eine umfassende Neubewertung der europäischen Geschichte“

Entwicklungen, Tendenzen und Probleme einer Erinnerungskultur in Europa¹

Unter der Überschrift „Das Jahr 1989 feiern, heißt auch, sich an 1939 zu erinnern!“ erschien im August diesen Jahres eine u. a. von der derzeitigen Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen der ehemaligen Staatssicherheit der DDR und ihrem Vorgänger initiierte Anzeige in einer großen überregionalen deutschen Wochenzeitung, die von zahlreichen Persönlichkeiten, darunter von auffallend vielen Historikern gerade auch aus dem linksliberalen Spektrum, unterschrieben wurde.² Nun lässt der Titel zunächst vermuten, dass es den Initiatoren um die Mahnung geht, in dem spätestens seit Anfang 2009 über uns herein gebrochenen multimedialen Dauergewitter der verschiedensten Aktivitäten zum 20. Jubiläum des Mauerfalls den keinesfalls ganz unwichtigen 70. Jahrestag des Beginns des Zweiten Weltkrieges zu vergessen. Doch bereits die Unterzeile enttäuscht diejenigen, die möglicherweise auf ein solches Zeichen gehofft hatten.

Es handelte sich nämlich um einer Erklärung zum 70. Jahrestag des Hitler-Stalin-Paktes am 23. August 1939. Der Text enthält viele ausgewogene, sensible und richtige Sätze über die historische Bedeutung dieses Paktes der beiden Diktatoren. Doch die mit der Erklärung verbundene erinnerungspolitische Zielrichtung wird erst im letzten Satz und nur quasi *en passant* eingeführt. Im April, so heißt es dort, habe sich das Europäische Parlament erstmalig zu seiner Verantwortung bekannt, eine ve-

- 1 Der nachfolgende Artikel wurde unter der Überschrift „Geschichte als Waffe“ bereits in den „Blättern für deutsche und internationale Politik“, Heft 5/2010, S. 109-121 abgedruckt. Für die vorliegende Publikation wurde er redaktionell überarbeitet und um Literaturhinweise ergänzt. Die am Schluss des Artikels vorgeschlagene „Charta“ wird auf der jährlichen Mitgliederversammlung des „IC Memo“ im Oktober d. J. diskutiert werden, die in der Erinnerungs- und Gedenkstätte Wewelsburg stattfindet.
- 2 Die Erklärung wurde an unterschiedlichen Orten publiziert. Da die Liste der Unterzeichner nicht immer die gleiche blieb, sei auf die Seite der SED-Unrechtsstiftung www.23August1939.de verwiesen.; vgl. dazu auch meinen Kommentar „Schlachtfeld EU. Wie der Jahrestag des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts für einen erinnerungspolitischen Deutungskampf missbraucht wird“, in: Jüdische Allgemeine, Nr. 34 vom 20.08.2009, S. 1.

Ginter Morš

„... sveobuhvatno ponovno vrednovanje evropske prošlosti“

Razvojni put, tendencije i problemi jedne jedinstvene kulture sećanja u Evropi¹

Pod naslovom „Slaviti godinu 1989. znači sećati se 1939.“ tekuće godine u avgustu u jednom nadregionalnom nemačkom nedeljniku objavljeno je saopštenje koje su pre svega pokrenuli sadašnja šefica Biroa za nadzor i analizu dokumenata Stazija Nemačke demokratske republike i njen prethodnik na tom mestu, i koje je potpisao veliki broj ličnosti, među njima i upečatljivo veliki broj istoričara, pogotovu onih koji pripadaju levom liberalnom političkom spektru². Na osnovu naslova dalo bi se zaključiti da je inicijatorima stalo do toga da upozorore javnost na to da, s obzirom na multimedijalnu oluju raznoraznih aktivnosti koje su najkasnije počev od 2009. počele da se obrušavaju na nas, a koje se organizuju povodom dvadesetogodišnjeg jubileja pada Berlinskog zida, ne zaboravimo ni ne toliko nebitnu sedamdesetogodišnjicu početka Drugog svetskog rata. Ali već sam podnaslov tog oglasa razočarava sve one koji su se ponadali da će ovim biti dat jedan takav signal.

Reč je, naime, o jednoj deklaraciji povodom sedamdesetogodišnjice potpisivanja pakta između Hitlera i Staljina koji je sklopljen 23. avgusta 1939. Tekst obiluje mnogim odmerenim, saosećajnim i ispravnim rečenicama o istorijskom značaju pakta između ta dva diktatora. Politička usmerenost teksta u pogledu na kulturu sećanja pominje se, pak, tek *en passant* na samom kraju teksta. U aprilu, kako se navodi u tekstu, Evropski parlament se po prvi put obavezuje da izgradi jedinstvenu i odgovornu kult-

- 1 Članak je pod naslovom „Geschichte als Waffe“ (Istorija kao oružje) već objavljen u „Blättern für deutsche und internationale Politik“, Heft 5/2010, str. 109-121. Za ovo izdanje je prerađen i dopunjen bibliografskim notama. „Povelja“ će biti predstavljena na godišnjoj skupštini članova „IC Memo“ oktobra tekuće godine, koja treba da se održi u memorijalnom centru u Wewelsburgu (Wewelsburg).
- 2 Saopštenje je objavljeno na nekoliko različitih mesta. Spisak potpisnika nije uvek ostao isti, i stoga ovde upućujemo na stranicu Fondacije za nepravdu NDR-a www.23August1939.de; uporedi i moj komentar pod naslovom „Schlachtfeld EU. Wie der Jahrestag des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts für einen erinnerungspolitischen Deutungskampf missbraucht wird“, objavljen u: Jüdische Allgemeine, br 34 od 20.08.2009, str. 1

generations for new authoritarian and dictatorial developments. This is the road which was to be continued.

Whether we like it or not, we must assume that the declaration's signatories know which course of policy of remembrance they implicitly supported with their signature. Still, it is clearly noticeable that only few experts dealing with remembrance and commemoration in Europe are familiar with this important, paradigmatic Resolution of the European Parliament.

In April 2009, timely before the new elections, the European Parliament passed a Resolution by an overwhelming majority declaring August 23 Remembrance Day for Victims of Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes³. The Resolution which was installed primarily by Baltic, Czech and Polish deputies of Christian-democratic, liberal and national fractions and – certainly no coincidence – during Prime Minister Václav Klaus' term as President of the Council of EU. It demands, *inter alia*, "a comprehensive reevaluation of European history". The Resolution states that "Europe will be united only when it is capable to reach a common point of view on its history, recognize communism, Nazism and fascism as collective legacy and lead an honest and thorough debate on all totalitarian crimes of the last century." "In order to reach this goal, the European Parliament calls for "creation of a platform for the remembrance and conscience of Europe which will offer support for the networking and cooperation of research institutes dealing with the history of totalitarianism, as well as the creation of a pan-European documentation center, i.e. a pan-European memorial site for victims of all totalitarian regimes⁴."

3 Resolution of the European Parliament from April 2 2009 on the Conscience of Europe and Totalitarianism, P6 TA-PROV(2009)0213, also compare with proposal: Europäisches Parlament. Plenarsitzungsdokument vom 30.03.2009, Entschließung des Europäischen Parlaments zum Gewissen Europas und zum Totalitarismus, RC\778929DE.doc; according to the undated EP press release, the Resolution was passed with 553 votes in favor, 44 votes against and 33 abstain. The vote was preceded by a public hearing on March 18 2009 „European Conscience and Crimes of Totalitarian Communism: 20 Years after“, summoned by Deputy Prime Minister of European Affairs Alexander Vondra and the Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the EU Milena Mícenová.

4 The establishment of the House of European History is scheduled for 2014 in Brussels. It is described by the previously quoted Claus Leggewie as one of the greatest achievements of (Western) Europe since 1950. (translator's note)

verantwortungsbewusste Erinnerungskultur aufzubauen, die die nachwachsenden Generationen für neu aufkommende autoritäre und diktatorische Entwicklungen sensibilisiert. Diesen Weg gelte es weiter zu gehen.

Wir müssen wohl oder übel davon ausgehen, dass die Unterzeichner der Erklärung wissen, welchem erinnerungspolitischen Kurs sie mit der Unterschrift implizit auch ihre Zustimmung geben. Trotzdem kann man immer wieder feststellen, dass selbst die wenigsten mit der Erinnerung und dem Gedenken in Europa sich abmühenden Experten diese doch erstaunliche und wichtige, geradezu paradigmatische Resolution des Europäischen Parlaments bisher kennen.

Noch rechtzeitig vor den Neuwahlen nämlich hat das europäische Parlament im April 2009 mit großer Mehrheit eine Entschließung angenommen, den 23. August zum Gedenktag für die Opfer totalitärer und autoritärer Regime zu erheben.³ Die vor allem von baltischen, tschechischen und polnischen Parlamentariern christdemokratischer, liberaler und nationaler Fraktionen eingebrachte und sicherlich nicht zufällig während der Ratspräsidentschaft von Ministerpräsident Václav Klaus verabschiedete Resolution verlangt u. a. „eine umfassende Neubewertung der europäischen Geschichte“. „Europa“, so heißt es in der Entschließung, „wird erst dann vereint sein, wenn es imstande ist, zu einer gemeinsamen Sicht seiner Geschichte zu gelangen, Kommunismus, Nazismus und Faschismus als gemeinsames Vermächtnis anzuerkennen und eine ehrliche und tief greifende Debatte über sämtliche totalitären Verbrechen des vergangenen Jahrhunderts zu führen.“ Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, fordert das Europäische Parlament die „Errichtung einer Plattform für das Gedächtnis und das Gewissen Europas, die Unterstützung für die Vernetzung und die Zusammenarbeit unter nationalen Forschungsinstituten bietet, deren Fachgebiet die Geschichte des Totalitarismus ist, sowie die Errichtung eines gesamteuropäisch-

3 Entschließung des Europäischen Parlaments vom 2. April 2009 zum Gewissen Europas und zum Totalitarismus, P6 TA-PROV(2009)0213, vgl. auch den Antrag :Europäisches Parlament. Plenarsitzungsdokument vom 30.03.2009, Entschließung des Europäischen Parlaments zum Gewissen Europas und zum Totalitarismus, RC\778929DE.doc; nach der undatierten Pressemitteilung des Pressedienstes des Europäischen Parlaments wurde die Entschließung mit 553 Ja-, 44 Nein-Stimmen und 33 Enthaltungen angenommen. Voran gegangen war eine öffentliche Anhörung am 18.03.2009 „European Conscience and Crimes of Totalitarian Communism: 20 Years after“, die vom „Deputy Prime Minister of European Affairs“ Alexander Vondra und der „Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the EU“ Milena Mícenová einberufen worden war.

uru sećanja kojoj će biti cilj da mlade generacije senzibilizuje za nadolazeće autoritarne i diktatorske režimske pojave. Ujedno se iskazuje i nastojanje da se i budućnosti ostane na tom tragu.

Hteli-ne hteli, moramo da pretpostavimo da potpisnici ovog saopštenja znaju na koji politički kurs u pogledu kulture sećanja su se svojim potpisom implicitno obavezali. Ipak, da se uvek iznova zapaziti da veoma mali broj stručnjaka u Evropi koji se bave sećanjem i komemoracijom zna za onu ipak zadivljujuću i važnu, skoro paradigmatičnu Rezoluciju Evropskog parlamenta.

Blagovremeno pred izbore, Evropski parlament je aprila 2009. sa velikom većinom izglasao da se 23. avgust proglasi danom sećanja na žrtve totalitarnih i autoritarnih režima³. Ova Rezolucija koju su pre svega baltički, češki i poljski parlamentarci hrišćansko-demokratske, liberalne i nacionalne provenijencije, i ne tako slučajno, upravo za vreme predsedavanja premijera Václava Klause, podneli zahteva da se između ostalog „sveobuhvatno prevrednuje evropska prošlost.“ „Evropa“, kako glasi u toj deklaraciji, „će se tek ujediniti kada bude bila u stanju da dosegne jedan zajednički stav prema prošlosti, i kada prizna komunizam, nacizam i fašizam kao zajedničko povesno zaveštanje i kada bude bila kadra da vodi iskrenu i dubokosežnu raspravu o svim zločinima totalitarnih režima prethodnog veka.“ Kako bi se ostvario ovaj cilj, Evropski parlament zahteva „osnivanje jedinstvene platforme za sećanje i savest Evrope, podršku za umrežavanje i saradnju na nivou nacionalnih naučnih instituta specijalizovanih za istoriju totalitarizma, kao i osnivanje zajedničkog evropskog dokumentacionog centra odnosno zajedničkog evropskog memorijalnog centra za sećanje na žrtve svih totalitarnih režima.“⁴

3 Odluka Evropskog parlamenta od 2. aprila 2009. o Savesti Evrope i o totalitarizmu, P6 TA-PROV(2009)0213, up. i predlog :Europäisches Parlament. Plenarsitzungsdokument vom 30.03.2009, Entschließung des Europäischen Parlaments zum Gewissen Europas und zum Totalitarismus, RC\778929DE.doc; na osnovu nedatirne izjave za štampu PR-službe EP odluka je donesena na osnovu 553 glasova za, i 44 protiv i 33 uzdržana glasa. Ovoj odluci je predstojala javno saslušanje (nem. Anhörung) od 18.03.2009 „European Conscience and Crimes of Totalitarian Communism: 20 Years after“, kog su sazvati „Deputy Prime Minister of European Affairs“ Aleksandra Vondra (Alexander Vondra) i „Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the EU“ Milena Mícenová (Milena Mícenová).

4 Godine 2014. u Briselu treba da bude otvorena „Kuća (zajedničke) Evropske prošlosti“ koju, na primer, ovde citirani Klaus Leggewie (Claus Leggewie) ocenjuje kao jedno od najvećih dostignuća (zadane) Evrope od

This relatively elaborate, comprehensively reasoned Resolution, imbued with numerous historical and political principles and challenging declarations of intent, moral verdicts and judgments, represents both the conclusion and climax of an opinion-forming process which began in January 1993 in the European Parliament. Namely, almost 16 years before – in February 1993 – the European Parliament had adopted a Resolution on European and international protection of former concentration camps established by the National Socialists, as sites of historical warning⁵. In this Resolution, which was barely half a page long and limited to a few points, the parliamentarians expressed their concern about the future of national memorial sites in the former German Democratic Republic, demanding that maintenance of these authentic sites be placed under European and international protection. At the same time, almost unanimously, following an initiative by presidents of international inmates' associations, they firmly refused "any form of arbitrary combination of the reality of National Socialist camps and their purpose after the war" – this refers primarily to the Soviet Camps in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald.

The Change of the Culture of Remembrance

Comparison between the two Resolutions illustrates the deep and enormous change of Europe's culture of remembrance in recent years. In only 16 years, all principles and basic standpoints regarding the policy of remembrance have almost turned into their opposite when it comes to the most important issues. It is my opinion that this process can be determined based on two directions of development: on the one hand it seems as though the "long process of reaching a certain equality in the European culture of remembrance" between the memories of both totalitarian dictatorships is completed, as opposed to the fears by former Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sandra Kalniete in October 2007⁶. The integration of their specific remembrances of more

en Dokumentationszentrums bzw. einer gesamteuropäischen Gedenkstätte für die Opfer aller totalitären Regime."

Mit dieser als relativ umfangreichen, ausführlich begründeten, mit zahlreichen geschichtspolitischen Grundsatz- und anspruchsvollen politischen Absichtserklärungen unterlegte, von moralischen Verdikten und Urteilen voll gesogenen Resolution kommt ein im Januar 1993 begonnener Meinungsbildungsprozess im Europäischen Parlament zu einem gewissen Abschluss und Höhepunkt. Fast sechzehn Jahre zuvor nämlich, im Februar 1993, hatte das Europäische Parlament eine EntschlieÙung zum europäischen und internationalen Schutz der Stätten der von den Nationalsozialisten errichteten Konzentrationslager als historische Mahnmale angenommen.⁴ In dieser, kaum eine halbe Seite langen, auf wenige Punkte beschränkten Resolution hatten die Parlamentarier in Sorge um die Zukunft der Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in der vormaligen DDR die Erhaltung dieser authentischen Stätten unter europäischem und internationalem Schutz verlangt. Dabei lehnten sie in ihrer nahezu einstimmigen Erklärung, die auf eine Initiative der Präsidenten internationaler Häftlingsvereinigungen zurückging, „jegliche willkürliche Verquickung zwischen der Realität der nationalsozialistischen Lager und ihrer etwaigen Nutzung nach dem Krieg“ – gemeint sind vor allem die sowjetischen Speziallager in Sachsenhausen und Buchenwald – dezidiert ab.

Der Wandel der Erinnerungskultur

Der Vergleich beider EntschlieÙungen verdeutlicht den tief gehenden, enormen Wandel, den die Erinnerungskultur in Europa in den letzten Jahren erfahren hat. Innerhalb von nur 16 Jahren haben sich erinnerungspolitische Prinzipien und Grundhaltungen in wichtigen Fragen fast in ihr Gegenteil verkehrt. Dieser Wandlungsprozess lässt sich m. E. vor allem an zwei Entwicklungen festmachen: Zum einen scheint der „lange Weg um in der europäischen Erinnerungskultur eine gewisse Gleichheit“ zwischen der Erinnerung an beide totalitäre Diktaturen, zu erreichen, anders als die ehemalige lettische Außenministerin Sandra Kalniete noch im Oktober 2007 befürchtete⁵, inzwischen bereits an

Ova relativno opširna, opsežno obrazložena, i sa mnogobrojnim istorijsko-političkim načelima i zahtevima i namerama prožeta Rezolucija, koja je ujedno potkovana moralnim postulatima i osudama predstavlja kako kraj tako i vrhunac tog oblikovanja mnjenja u Evropskom parlamentu koji je počeo januara 1993. Naime, skoro 16 godina ranije, februara 1993, Evropski parlament usvojio je Odluku o evropskoj i međunarodnoj brizi o nekadašnjim koncentracionim logorima koje su izgradili nacionalsocijalisti, a koja treba da služe kao mesta povesnog upozorenja⁵. U toj kratkoj rezoluciji sastavljenoj u nekoliko tačaka, na jedva pola stranice, parlamentarci su izrazili svoju brigu o budućnosti nacionalnih memorijalnih mesta u bivšoj Istočnoj Nemačkoj i zahtevali su da se očuvanje ovih autentičnih mesta stavi pod evropsku i međunarodnu zaštitu. Pritom su decidirano, u skoro jednoglasnoj saglasnosti, odbili inicijativu predsednika Međunarodnog udruženja zarobljenika koja je išla u smeru da se „volšebno poveže stvarnost nacionalsocijalističkih logora sa njihovom potonjom daljom upotrebom posle rata“ – konkretno se mislilo na Zaksenhauzen i Buhenvald koji su posle 1945. bili preuređeni u specijalne sovjetske logore.

Promena u kulturi sećanja

Poređenje ove dve rezolucije, odnosno odluke, predočava tu duboku i ogromnu promenu koju je kultura sećanja u Evropi doživela poslednjih godina. Za samo šesnaest godina svi principi i osnovni postulati u pogledu kulture sećanja su se skoro preokrenuli u svoju suprotnost. Ova metamorfoza da se, prema mom mišljenju, utvrditi na osnovu dve manifestacije. S jedne strane čini se da je okončan „dug put ka dosezanju izvesne jednakosti“ u povesnom sećanju na dve totalitarne diktature, sasvim suprotno od sumnje nekadašnje letonske ministarske inostranih poslova Sandre Kalniete kako ju je ona izrazila oktobra 2007⁶. Ne tako

1950. naovamo. (prim. prev.)

5 Odluka o evropskoj i međunarodnoj zaštiti mesta koja su za vreme nacionalsocijalizma postala koncentracioni logori od 11.02.1993., Službeni list Evropske zajednice od 15.03.1993., br. C 72/118ff. (Amtsblatt der Europäischen Gemeinschaft v. 15.03.1993, Nr. C 72/118ff.)

6 Sandra Kalniete, Eine gemeinsame Geschichtserzählung für Europa?, u: Thomas Großbölting, Dirk Hoffmann (Hrs), Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart. Vom Umgang mit Diktaturerfahrungen in Ost- und Westeuropa, Göttingen 2008, str. 131-139, ovde str. 133.

5 Resolution on the European and International Protection of Concentration Camps Established by the National Socialists as Historical Memorials, February 11 1993, Official Journal of the European Community, March 15 1993, no. C 72/118.

6 Sandra Kalniete, Eine gemeinsame Geschichtserzählung für Europa?, in: Thomas Großbölting, Dirk Hoffmann (publisher), Vergangenheit

4 EntschlieÙung zum europäischen und internationalen Schutz der Stätten der von den Nationalsozialisten errichteten Konzentrationslager als historische Mahnmale v. 11.02.1993, Amtsblatt der Europäischen Gemeinschaft v. 15.03.1993, Nr. C 72/118ff.

5 Sandra Kalniete, eine gemeinsame Geschichtserzählung für Europa?, in: Thomas Großbölting, Dirk Hoffmann (Hrs), Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart. Vom Umgang mit Diktaturerfahrungen in Ost- und

than 40 years of communist oppression into the pan-European culture of remembrance, rightfully demanded mainly by new EU member states of Eastern and Central Europe, is principally no longer brought into question.

The second, certainly no less important change of recent years, is an increasing will in many European countries, as well as in the European Parliament, to unite the different cultures of remembrance through a new form of politics of history, based on a common European master narrative, thus instrumentalizing the past for current political goals much more than it had previously been the case. What are the reasons for such – in historical terms – rapid process of change, and what are its consequences?

A New “Age of Remembrance”

As early as in the early 1990s, French cultural historian Pierre Nora spoke of a new “age of remembrance”. This notable “conjuncture of remembrance” (Christoph Cornelißen) is described by some historians as a form of “memory boom”. However, it is not confined only to the territory of Europe. Active debates, primarily on the consequences of a war and dictatorships, are taking place in the USA, many South American states, Korea, Japan, Cambodia and other Asian countries, as well as in various countries in Africa. That is why Fabrice Larat speaks of a “world market of policy of remembrance”, Andrew H. Beattie calls it “cosmopolitan memory”, Henry Rousso analyzes a “global regime of historicity”, whereas other authors simply speak of a globalized policy of remembrance, in a simple adaptation of the economic development in recent years. As indicated by the terms used by the authors, a separate branch of historical and cultural studies has developed, publishing a vast amount of literature in this new world market. Wherever discussions on the legacy of dictatorships and state violence call for social relevance, historical museums and memorial sites are created at an astonishing pace. Those institutions do not only consider the victims, but also the historical events which are displayed in large and impressive exhibitions and documented in various mediums.

in der Gegenwart. Vom Umgang mit Diktaturerfahrungen in Ost- und Westeuropa, Göttingen 2008, pp. 131-139, specifically p. 133.

seinem Ziel angekommen zu sein. Die vor allem von den neuen Mitgliedsstaaten der EU in Ostmitteleuropa nicht zu Unrecht geforderte Integration ihres jeweils spezifischen Gedächtnisses an die über vierzigjährige Phase kommunistischer Unterdrückung in die gesamteuropäische Erinnerungskultur wird grundsätzlich nicht mehr in Zweifel gezogen.

Die zweite, keinesfalls weniger wichtige Veränderung in den vergangenen Jahren, besteht darin, dass in vielen Ländern Europas und eben auch im Europäischen Parlament ein immer stärkerer Wille heran gewachsen ist, die unterschiedlichen Erinnerungskulturen durch eine neue Form von Geschichtspolitik auf der Basis einer gemeinsamen europäischen Meistererzählung zu vereinen und damit die Vergangenheit für gegenwärtige politische Ziele viel stärker und viel eindeutiger als bisher zu instrumentalisieren. Welche Gründe haben zu diesem in historischen Zeiträumen eher raschen Wandlungsprozess geführt und was sind seine Folgen?

Ein neues „Zeitalter des Gedenkens“

Schon Anfang der neunziger Jahre hat der französische Kulturhistoriker Pierre Nora von einem neuen „Zeitalter des Gedenkens“ gesprochen. Diese auffällige „Konjunktur des Gedächtnisses“ (Christoph Cornelißen) wird von manchen Historikern als eine Art „memory boom“ bezeichnet. Dieser findet jedoch nicht nur auf dem Boden Europas statt. In den USA ebenso wie in vielen südamerikanischen Staaten aber auch in Korea, Japan, Kambodscha und anderen asiatischen Ländern, schließlich auch in verschiedenen Ländern Afrikas, überall finden engagierte Debatten vor allem über die Folgen von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft statt. Fabrice Larat spricht deshalb von einem „Weltmarkt der Erinnerungspolitik“, Andrew H. Beattie nennt es ein „cosmopolitan memory“, Henry Rousso analysiert ein „globales Historizitätsregime“, wohingegen andere Autoren in einfacher Adaption der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung in den letzten Jahren einfach von einer globalisierten Erinnerungspolitik sprechen. Wie schon die Nennung der Namen einiger Autoren andeuten sollte, hat sich daraus in wenigen Jahren ein eigener Zweig der Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften entwickelt, der inzwischen eine große Fülle von kaum noch zu überschauender Literatur auf diesem neuen Weltmarkt publiziert. Überall dort, wo Diskussionen über das Erbe von Diktaturen und staatlicher Gewalt gesellschaftliche Relevanz erheischen, überall dort ent-

Westeuropa, Göttingen 2008, S. 131-139, hier S. 133.

neosanovno zahtev, pre svega od strane novih istočnoevropskih članica EU, za integracijom svakog pojedinačnog sećanja na četrdesetogodišnji period komunističke represije u opšti evropski diskurs sećanja, više se načelno ne može dovesti u pitanje.

Druga, nikako manje bitna, promena poslednjih godina sastoji se u tome da je u mnogim zemljama Evrope, i upravo u Evropskom parlamentu, ojačala volja da se pojedinačne divergentne kulture sećanja objedine u vidu novog oblika politike sećanja koja bi se zasnivala na zajedničkom evropskom *master narrative* čime bi se prošlost još jače i mnogo promišljenije nego do sada instrumentalizovala u političke svrhe. Koji su razlozi za ovaj, gledano u istorijskim razmerama ipak vrlo nagao, preobražaj i koje su njegove posledice?

Novo „Doba sećanja“

Već početkom devedesetih je francuski ministar kulture Pjer Nora govorio o „dobi sećanja“. Ovu uočljivu „konjunkturu sećanja“ (Kristof Kornelisen) mnogi istoričari karakterišu kao neku vrstu „memory boom“-a, koji se, doduše, ne odvija samo na prostoru Evrope. I u SAD-u i mnogim južnoameričkim državama, ali i u Koreji, Japanu, Kambodži i drugim azijskim državama, naposljetku i u nekim afričkim državama, svuda se vode burne diskusije o pre svega posledicama rata i strahovlada. Fabrice Larat stoga govori o svojstvenom „svetskom tržištu politike sećanja“, Endru H. Biti to naziva „cosmopolitan memory“, Henri Ruso analizira „globalne režime istoriciteta“, dok drugi autori u prostoj analogiji sa privrednim razvojem poslednjih godina govore o globalizovanoj kulturi sećanja. Kako već i nazivi koje pojedini autori koriste mogu da nagoveste, iz toga se poslednjih godina razvila posebna grana istorijske i kulturološke nauke. A u međuvremenu je na ovom svetskom tržištu objavljena opsežna i skoro nepregledna literatura. Gde god da se vode diskusije o nasleđu diktatura i režimskog nasilja kao o društveno relevantnim temama, ubrzo se osnivaju istorijski muzeji i memorijalni centri u kojima se ne osvrće na žrtve već se istorijska dešavanja pompezno i upečatljivo prikazuju u svim mogućim medijalnim oblicima.

So, it seems obvious that with the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the old ideological fronts, as well as the development of global communications and economy, a memory boom has been introduced, equally encompassing societies and states. As a consequence, concealed and hushed-up crimes are revealed and forgotten and discredited victims are publicly honored, people receive information on their family members' graves, the survivors get belated recognition and culprits are brought to justice even decades after their crimes. In many countries, the "memory boom" led to a fundamental change of the culture of remembrance – this mainly benefitted memorial sites, which received previously unknown attention and recognition. However, the end of the taboos and silence marked the beginning of a bitter battle of interpretation: old enemies are reintroduced, rifts between social groups, ethnicities and states are reopened, victims' rivalries are developing, parties and governments are transforming the reintroduced resentments into "policies of remembrance, i.e. policies of the past". History becomes a weapon and in extreme cases like, for example, the disintegration of Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, actual shots are fired. Writer, Nobel Prize laureate and survivor of several concentration and extermination camps Imre Kertész writes about "Europe's oppressing heritage" with dismay: "Who would have believed that the 'velvet revolution' would prove to be the Eastern European peoples' time machine, taking them back rather than forward, and that they would continue their child's play where they left off – in 1919, at the end of World War I."⁷

The revival of national myths, illusions and fears is by no means limited to the new EU members, as shown, for instance, by a conflict – luckily carried out only with the use of weapons of history – between the "old" and the "new" Europe concerning the issue of the Iraq War, or when suddenly the memories of the Conti-

stehen erstaunlich schnell zeithistorische Museen und Gedenkstätten, in denen nicht nur der Opfer gedacht wird, sondern auch das historische Geschehen in großen und eindrucksvollen Ausstellungen dargestellt und in den verschiedenen medialen Formen dokumentiert werden.

Es scheint also offensichtlich zu sein, dass mit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges, dem Zusammenbruch der alten ideologischen Frontstellungen sowie mit der Entwicklung globaler Kommunikation und Wirtschaft ein Gesellschaften und Staaten gleichermaßen durchdringender Erinnerungsboom eingesetzt hat. In der Folge werden verschwiegene und vertuschte Verbrechen aufgedeckt, vergessene und diskreditierte Opfer werden öffentlich geehrt, Angehörige erhalten Auskunft über die Gräber ihrer Toten, die Überlebenden erfahren eine späte Anerkennung und Täter werden auch Jahrzehnte nach ihren Verbrechen zur Rechenschaft gezogen. In vielen Ländern führte der „memory boom“ zu einem grundsätzlichen Wandel der Erinnerungskultur und dieser kam in erster Linie auch den Gedenkstätten zugute, die eine bis dahin kaum gekannte Aufmerksamkeit und Anerkennung erfahren. Doch mit dem Ende der Tabus und des Schweigens setzte gleichzeitig ein erbitterter Deutungskampf ein: die alten Feindbilder werden hervor gezerzt, Risse zwischen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, Ethnien und Staaten reißen auf, Opferkonkurrenzen entstehen, Parteien und Regierungen formen die wieder aufgebrochenen Ressentiments in „Erinnerungs- bzw. Vergangenheitspolitiken“ um. Geschichte wird zur Waffe und in Extremfällen, wie z. B. beim Zerfallsprozess Jugoslawiens und der Sowjetunion, wird auch wirklich geschossen. Voller Entsetzen über „Europas bedrückende Erbschaft“ schreibt der Schriftsteller, Nobelpreisträger und Überlebende mehrerer Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Imre Kertész: „Wer hätte geglaubt dass sich die „samtene Revolution“ für die osteuropäischen Völker als Zeitmaschine erweisen würde, die mit ihnen nicht vorwärts, sondern rückwärts in die Zeit abhebt, und dass sie ihre Kinderspiele nun dort fortsetzen würden, wo sie sie etwa 1919, am Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, abgebrochen hatten.“⁶

Die Wiederbelebung nationaler Mythen, Illusionen und Ängste ist keinesfalls auf die neuen Beitrittsländer der EU beschränkt, wie z. B. der erfreulicherweise nur mit den Waffen der Geschichte ausgetragene Konflikt zwischen dem „alten“ und dem „neuen“ Europa in der Frage des Irakkrieges zeigt, als etwa zwischen

Čini se stoga očiglednim da je sa krajem Hladnog rata, sa krajem starih ideoloških oprečnosti i sa razvojem globalne komunikacije i privrede otopočeo je i jedan polet sećanja koji je u podjednako meri obuhvatio i društva i države. Otkrivaju se prećutkivanji i zataškani zločini, zaboravljenim i diskreditovanim žrtvama javno se odaje počast, porodice dobijaju informacije o grobovima svojih mrtvih, a preživeli doživljavaju zakasnelo priznanje dok se počinocima i decenijama posle njihovih zločina sudi. U mnogim zemljama je ovaj „memory boom“ doveo do potpunog preokreta u vladajućoj kulturi sećanja i on je pre svega doprineo memorijalnim centrima koji su doživeli do tada neviđenju pažnju i prihvatanje. Ali s prestankom tabua i ćutanja usledila je i ogorčena borba oko [pravog] tumačenja. Stari neprijatelji ponovo bivaju izvučeni iz naftalina, razjapljaju se jazovi između društvenih grupa, etnosa i država, dolazi do konkurencije između grupa žrtava, stranke i države u svojim „politikama sećanja i prošlosti“ formulišu resantimane koji se ponovo javljaju. Istorija postaje oružje, a u ekstremnim slučajevima, kao na primeru raspada Jugoslavije i Sovjetskog saveza, se u to ime zaista i puca. Pun očaja nad „Evropskim teskobnim nasleđem“ pisac, nobelovac i preživeli nekoliko koncentracionih logora Imre Kerteš piše: „ko bi verovao da će se „somotna revolucija“ za narode Istočne Evrope preobraziti u vremensku mašinu koja ih neće odvesti u budućnost, već vratiti nazad kako bi nastavili sa svojim dečijim igrama tamo gde su negde oko 1919., krajem Prvog svetskog rata, bili stali.“⁷

Ponovno oživljavanje nacionalnih mitova, iluzija i strahova ni u kom slučaju nije ograničeno samo na nove članice Evropske unije, kao što to, na opštu radost, pokazuje rat u Iraku koji se vodi isključivo oružjem istorije kao konflikt između „stare“ i „nove“ Evrope, kao kada su na primer između Velike Britanije i Francuske

7 Imre Kertész, Europas bedrückende Erbschaft, in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 1-2/2008, December 31 2007, pp.3-6, specifically p. 6.

6 Imre Kertész, Europas bedrückende Erbschaft, in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 1-2/2008 v. 31.12.2007, S.3-6, hier S. 6.

7 Imre Kertész, Europas bedrückende Erbschaft, u: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 1-2/2008 od 31.12.2007, str.3-6, u ovom slučaju str. 6.

nental System, Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Congress are invoked between Great Britain and France, in order to place different opinions on current conflicts in a supposed continuity of national rivalries thus discrediting them. Seventy years after the victory of Falangists led by Franco, Spanish society is particularly torn by dealing with both sides' crimes during the civil war. The Belgian debate about the establishment of the Mechelen Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance is another example of a social division process caused by the issue of remembrance. The question of whether "Transit Mechelen" should be a "classic" Holocaust museum or a place which will deal with the entire history of persecution and genocide in the last centuries was not only faced with the usual victims' rivalries, but also brought about profound debates on national historical myths and identities⁸. All these completely different conflicts over policy of remembrance share a common feature in the search for an indisputable, uniform, transnational and morally impregnable framework for the interpretation of wars and crimes – primarily those which took place in the 20th century.

Battlefield Europe?

In view of such increasing disputes regarding the policy of remembrance in Europe, it is easy to attempt to force the constitution of a uniform European policy of remembrance by decree and from above. In what he calls "Battlefield Europe"⁹, German political scientist Claus Leggewie recently identified a total of seven circles of "transnational memories" competing in the creation of a collective European remembrance, i.e. tend to become a part thereof. Two of the most important and influential master narratives are undoubtedly the so-called "Holocaust education", on one side, and the theory of totalitarianism, on the other.

The Stockholm Declaration and the creation of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Re-

Großbritannien und Frankreich plötzlich die Erinnerung an Kontinentalsperre, napoleonische Kriege und Wiener Kongress beschworen wurde, um unterschiedliche Meinungen über aktuelle Konflikte in die vermeintliche Kontinuität nationaler Rivalitäten zu stellen und damit zu diskreditieren. Ganz besonders heftig zerreit derzeit auch die Aufarbeitung der wechselseitigen Verbrechen whrend des Brgerkrieges die spanische Gesellschaft noch 70 Jahre nach dem Sieg der Falangisten unter Franko. Als ein weiteres Beispiel fr einen ber Fragen der Erinnerung aufbrechenden gesellschaftlichen Spaltungsprozess sei die belgische Debatte um die Einrichtung eines Museums in Mechelen zum Thema Judenverfolgung genannt. ber die Frage, ob „Transit Mechelen“ ein „klassisches“ Holocaust-Museum sein soll oder ein Ort, an dem die Gesamtgeschichte von Verfolgung und Vltermord in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten behandelt wird, prallten nicht nur die blichen Opferkonkurrenzen aufeinander, sondern brachen tief gehende Debatten ber nationaler Geschichtsbilder und Identitt auf.⁷ Alle diese vllig unterschiedlichen erinnerungspolitischen Konflikte verbindet die Suche nach eindeutigen, einheitlichen, transnationalen und moralisch unangreifbaren Interpretations- und Deutungsrahmen fr die vor allem in der Geschichte des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts stattgefundenen Kriege und Verbrechen.

Schlachtfeld Europa?

Angesichts solcher zunehmender erinnerungspolitischer Auseinandersetzungen in Europa liegt der Versuch nahe, die Konstituierung einer einheitlichen europischen Erinnerungskultur per Dekret und von oben zu erzwingen. Der deutsche Politikwissenschaftler Claus Leggewie hat krzlich auf dem, wie er es nennt, „Schlachtfeld Europa“⁸, insgesamt sieben Kreise „transnationaler Erinnerungen“ identifiziert, die miteinander um die Bildung eines kollektiven europischen Gedchtnisses wetteifern, bzw. in sie einflieen mssen. Die beiden bedeutendsten und einflussreichsten Meistererzhlungen sind dabei zweifellos die so genannte „Holocaust Education“ einerseits und die Totalitarismustheorie andererseits.

Der Stockholmer Erklrung und der darauf fuenden Grndung einer *Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust*

opet vaskrsla seanja na Kontinentalnu blokadu, Napoleonove ratove i Beki kongres, kako bi se aktuelni konflikti stavili u kontinuitet nacionalnih rivalstava i time omalovaili trenutni sukobi miljenja. Trenutno se, sedamdeset godina nakon pobede Falangista na elu sa Frankom, pansko drutvo razdire zbog suoavanja sa uzajamnim zloinima. Kao jo jedan primer naveu jo jedno drutveno razdiranje koje je uzrokovala diskusija u Belgiji povodom osnivanja muzeja u Mehelenu koji je posveen progonu Jevreja. Na pitanju da li „Tranzit Mehelen“ treba da postane „klasian“ muzej Holokausta ili mesto koje e se baviti itavom istorijom progona i genocida u proteklim vekovima, suelili su se ne samo uobiajene konkurentne grupe rtava ve su se povele dublje rasprave o nacionalnim istorijskim mitovima i identitetima.⁸ Svim ovim sasvim razliitim memorijalnopolitikim konfliktima zajednika je potraga za jednoznanim, jedinstvenim, transnacionalnim i moralno neosporivim okvirima za tumaenje ratova i zloina koji su se pre svega odigrali tokom dvadesetog veka.

Bojno polje Evropa?

Suoeni sa ovim sve ustrijim raspravama o kulturi seanja u Evropi lako moemo da napravimo pogrean korak pokuavi odlukom odozgo da naredimo konstituisanje jedinstvene evropske kulture seanja. Nemaki politikolog Klaus Legevi je nedavno na tom „Bojnom polju Evropa“⁹ identifikovao ukupno sedam krugova „transnacionalnog seanja“ koji su meusobno konkurentni u pogledu stvaranja kolektivnog evropskog seanja. Ta seanja sva treba da se utope u evropsko jedinstvo. Dva najvanija i najuticajnija masternarativa su pri tom nesumnjivo tzv. „Holocaust Education“ s jedne strane i Teorija totalitarizma s druge.

Stockholmska deklaracija i na njoj zasnovana organizacija *Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education*,

8 Georgi Verbeeck, Erinnerungspolitik in Belgien, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 8/2008, February 18 2008, pp. 25-31.

9 Claus Leggewie, Schlachtfeld Europa. Transnationale Erinnerung und europische Identitt, in: Bltter fr deutsche und internationale Politik, 2/2009, pp. 81-94.

7 Georgi Verbeeck, Erinnerungspolitik in Belgien, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 8/2008 v. 18. Februar 2008, S. 25-31.

8 Claus Leggewie, Schlachtfeld Europa. Transnationale Erinnerung und europische Identitt, in: Bltter fr deutsche und internationale Politik, 2/2009, S. 81-94.

8 Georgi Verbeeck, Erinnerungspolitik in Belgien, u: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 8/2008 od. 18. februara 2008., str. 25-31.

9 Claus Leggewie, Schlachtfeld Europa. Transnationale Erinnerung und europische Identitt, u: Bltter fr deutsche und internationale Politik, 2/2009, str. 81-94.

membrance and Research in 2000, which was based on it had political significance which is difficult to surpass, alone by the presence of 47 heads of government and other important state representatives, including the US president. The rebuilding of Europe should be attempted “on the basis of the worst [historical experience]” (Henry Rousso). Starting with the thesis of singularity, the genocide of European Jews as the absolute evil was declared a negative benchmark of a uniform European and global culture of remembrance. During numerous conferences, armies of experts and diplomats defined pedagogical and didactical Standards, developing practical recommendations for combating antisemitism and racism and planting, through sponsorships, partially privately financed Holocaust museums in various countries. In the broad European public, the introduction of January 27 as “Holocaust Remembrance Day” had a significant impact.

However, something conceived as a negative constitutive consensus in Europe, developed into what was described by Tony Judt as Eastern and Central European countries’ entrance ticket into the European Union. This is where the most resistance came from. One’s own experience with the terror of the communist system was perceived as much more oppressive. Other states of Western and Northern Europe which were located in the periphery of the genocidal process also could not equate their own respective memories with the concept of “Holocaust education”. Historians and other experts eventually criticized the decontextualization of genocide, its causal reduction to antisemitism, the fading-out of other victim groups and the tendency to anthropologize the crime, which is connected to the universalization of Auschwitz.

The revival of the theory of totalitarianism which was decisively developed during the Cold War was eventually connected with the attempt to integrate the historical experiences of new member states into the European remembrance. Who would question the fact that millions of victims of the communist terror have equal right to remembrance and commemoration as Nazi victims? However, as opposed to the Holocaust education, the theory of totalitarianism seeks the right to synthesize remembrance of concentration camps and gulags. However, this is not a matter of a scientifically legitimate, even indispensable comparison between genocide and crime, but – despite all denials in Sunday speeches – an *a priori* equation. While it is officially claimed that there is no

Education, Remembrance und Research im Jahr des Jahrtausendwechsels wurde allein durch Anwesenheit von 47 Regierungschefs und anderen wichtigen Staatsvertretern, unter ihnen der amerikanische Präsident, ein politisch kaum zu übertreffender Nachdruck verliehen. „Auf der Basis des Schlimmsten“ (Henry Rousso) sollte die Neugründung Europas versucht werden. Ausgehend von der Singularitätsthese wurde der Völkermord an den europäischen Juden als das absolut Böse zum negativen Fixpunkt einer einheitlichen europäischen und globalen Erinnerungskultur deklariert. In einer Vielzahl von Konferenzen definierten Heerscharen von Experten und Diplomaten pädagogisch-didaktische Standards, entwickelten praktische Handlungsanleitungen für die Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und Rassismus und verpflanzten mittels Patenschaften teilweise privat finanzierte Holocaust-Museen in verschiedene Länder. In der breiten europäischen Öffentlichkeit hat vor allem die Einführung des 27. Januar als „Holocaust-Gedenktag“ eine größere Wirksamkeit entfaltet.

Was aber als Angebot eines negativen Gründungskonsenses in Europa gedacht war, entwickelte sich für die ostmitteleuropäischen Länder zum, wie es Tony Judt genannt hat, Entbillet für die Europäische Union. Dort vor allem regte sich daher zunehmend Widerstand. Man empfand die eigene Erfahrung mit dem Terror des kommunistischen Systems als sehr viel drückender. Auch andere west- und nordeuropäische Staaten, die eher an der Peripherie des genozidalen Prozesses lagen, fanden ihre eigenen nationalen Erinnerungen in dem Konzept der „Holocaust-Education“ nicht aufgehoben. Historiker und andere Experten schließlich kritisieren vor allem eine Entkontextualisierung des Völkermordes, seine kausale Reduktion auf den Antisemitismus, die Ausblendung anderer Opfergruppen und die mit dem Konzept der Universalisierung von Auschwitz verbundene Tendenz einer Anthropologisierung der Tat.

Mit der Wiederbelebung der in Zeiten des Kalten Krieges maßgeblich entwickelten Totalitarismustheorie schließlich war mehr als nur der Versuch verbunden, die historischen Erfahrungen der neuen Mitgliedsländer in das europäische Gedächtnis zu integrieren. Dass die Millionen Opfer des kommunistischen Terrors in gleichem Maße ein Anrecht auf Gedenken und Erinnerung haben sollen wie die NS-Opfer, wer wollte daran zweifeln. Anders aber als die Holocaust-Education erhebt die Totalitarismustheorie den Anspruch, KZ-Gedächtnis und Gulag-Gedächtnis zu synthetisieren. Dabei geht es nicht um den wissenschaftlich legitimen, gar unverzichtbaren Vergleich von Völkermord und Verbrechen, sondern es geht trotz aller Dementis in den Sonntag-

*Remembrance and Research*¹⁰ koja postoji od 2000. doživele su prisustvom 47 šefova država, i drugih važnih državnika, među kojima se našao i američki predsjednik, politički značaj koji je teško u toj meri opet dostići. „Na temelju Najstrašnijeg“ (Henri Ruso) trebalo bi pokušati ponovo izgraditi Evropu. Pošavši od teze singulariteta genocida nad evropskim Jevrejima kao apsolutnog zla, ovaj događaj proglašen je negativnom polaznom tačnom jedne jedinstvene evropske i globalne kulture sećanja. U okviru bezbroj konferencija čete stručnjaka i diplomata su definisali pedagoško-didaktičke standarde i razvili praktične preporuke za borbu protiv antisemitizma i rasizma i kroz pokroviteljstva su širom sveta posejali muzeje Holokausta koji se delom finansiraju i iz privatnih sredstava. U širokoj evropskoj javnosti uvođenje 27. januara kao dana sećanja na Holokaust doživeo je veliki značaj.

Međutim to što je Evropi poslužilo kao negativni konstitutivni konsensus, za istočnoevropske zemlje je, kako Toni Džad primećuje, postalo ulaznica za Evropsku uniju. U tim zemljama se sve više razvijao otpor prema tom narativu. Sopstveno iskustvo komunističkog režimskog terora poimalo se kao mnogo mučnije. No, i druge, zapadno- i severnoevropske, zemlje, koje su se našle pre na periferiji genocidalnih procesa nisu mogle da sopstveni koncept nacionalne kulture sećanja poistovete sa konceptom „Holocaust education“. Istoričari i drugi stručnjaci naposljetku su kritikovali pre svega dekontekstualizaciju genocida, njegovu kauzalnu redukciju na antisemitizam, zanemarivanje drugih grupa žrtava i kocept koji je univerzalizacijom Aušvica tendirao ka atropologizaciji zločina.

Sa oživljavanjem teorije totalitarizma, koja je u velikoj meri razvijena tokom trajanja Hladnog rata, naposljetku je trebalo istorijska iskustva novih zemalja članica integrisati u evropsko sećanje. Ko bi posumnjao u to da milioni žrtava komunističkog terora u istoj meri imaju pravo na sećanje i komemoraciju kao i žtve nacionalsocijalizma. No, drugačije od *holocaust education*-koncepta, teorija totalitarizma zahteva sintezu mesta sećanja na koncentracione logore sa sećanjem na gula. Pritom se ne radi o naučno legitimnom, čak nezaobilaznom poređenju genocida i

10 Radna grupa za međunarodnu saradnju u oblasti obrazovanja, sećanja i istraživanja Holokausta, skraćeno ITF. (prim. prev.)

intention of turning victims' suffering against each other in order to prevent classification of first- and second-rate victims, at the same time historical analogies are sought which should affirm the essential indistinguishability of these crimes. Because, from the victims' perspective – as claimed in the aforementioned European Parliament Resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism – it is irrelevant which regime and for what reason robbed them of their freedom, tortured and murdered them.

Strategic Decontextualization

When, for instance, the destruction of Warsaw in 1944 and the murder of hundreds of thousands are stated as the worst example of a "cooperative destruction"¹⁰ by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, or when the execution of Polish officers in Katyn by the Soviet secret service and the mass murders of Polish elites by the SS and Wehrmacht are evaluated as result of a joint, or at least concordant plan, then the analysis of historical contexts and causes is put in the background of moral verdicts. It is not a matter of explanation and justification of historical events and processes, but only of remembrance and condemnation. As shown by the following quote of renowned British historian Norman Davies, this level of decontextualization can bring about a reevaluation of crime through comparison between Stalinism and National Socialism. "In light of the consequential change of course" – Norman Davies writes in his book "A Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland"¹¹ – "one could even conclude that the Soviet terror in this period (1939–41, G. M.) largely surpassed the one by the Nazis. In regard to techniques and logistics of terror, the Stalinist system had a head start over the Nazis, since it had built the necessary apparatus during recent cleansings in its own country. While the Germans still prepared Auschwitz or Treblinka, the Soviets could easily endure the increase of their 'Gulag Archipelago's' population by a couple of million Poles and Western Ukrainians. Namely, they preferred condemning their victims to a gradual, slow death from cold and hunger, whereas the Germans opted for quick killing – and who is to say which was more humane – however, the result was practically the same." The widely

sreden um eine Gleichsetzung a priori. Während man offiziell beteuert, das Leid der Opfer nicht gegeneinander aufrechnen zu wollen, um nicht Opfer erster und zweiter Klasse zuzulassen, sucht man zur gleichen Zeit nach historischen Analogien, die die essentiellen Übereinstimmung der Verbrechen belegen sollen. Denn vom Blickwinkel der Opfer aus, so heißt es in der eingangs genannten Entschließung des Europaparlaments zum Gewissen Europas und zum Totalitarismus, sei es unwesentlich, welches Regime sie aus welchem Grunde auch immer ihr Freiheit beraubte und sie foltern oder ermorden ließ.

Strategische Entkontextualisierung

Wenn z. B. die Verwüstung Warschaus 1944 und die Ermordung Hunderttausender als schlimmstes Beispiel einer „kooperativen Zerstörung“⁹ von Sowjetunion und Nazi-Deutschland oder wenn die Erschießungen der polnischen Offiziere durch den sowjetischen Geheimdienst in Katyn und die Massenmorde von SS und Wehrmacht an den Vertretern der polnischen Eliten als das Ergebnis eines gemeinsamen oder zumindest übereinstimmenden Plans bewertet werden, dann tritt die Analyse historischer Kontexte und Ursachen hinter moralische Verdikte zurück. Es geht nicht mehr um Erklärung und Begründung historischer Ereignisse und Prozesse, sondern nur noch um Gedenken und Verurteilung. Derart entkontextualisiert kann dann, wie im folgenden Zitat des bekannten britischen Historikers Norman Davies deutlich wird, im Vergleich zwischen Stalinismus und Nationalsozialismus eine Umbewertung der Verbrechen vorgenommen werden. „Man könnte im Lichte des späteren Kurswechsels sogar sagen“, so schreibt Norman Davies in seinem Buch „Im Herzen Europas. Geschichte Polens“¹⁰, „dass der sowjetische Terror den der Nazis während dieser Phase (gemeint ist 1939–41, G. M.) in mancher Hinsicht übertraf. Das stalinistische System hatte, was die Techniken und die Logistik des Terrors angeht, einen Vorsprung gegenüber den Nazis, da es während der kurz zurück liegenden Säuberungen im eigenen Land den dazu erforderlichen Apparat aufgebaut hatte. Während die Deutschen noch an ihren Vorbereitungen für Auschwitz oder Treblinka feilten, konnten die Sowjets die Vermehrung der Bevölkerung ihres 'Archipel Gulag' um ein paar Millionen Polen und Westukrainer ohne größere Schwierigkeiten verkraften. Sie zogen es zwar vor,

zločina, već, uprkos svim demantijima o *a priori* izjednačavanju jednog sa drugim. Dok se oficijalno trvdi da se ne namerava odmeravati čije su patnje veće, kako se ne bismo sveli na klasifikaciju žrtava u prvu i drugu klasu, istovremeno se traga za istorijskim analogijama koje bi potvrdile esencijalnu istovetnost tih zločina. Jer gledano iz perspektive žrtava, kako se navodi u rezoluciji Evropskog parlamenta pomenutoj s početka ovog teksta, nebitno je koji režim je i iz kog razloga lišavao slobode, mučio i ubijao.

Strategijska dekontekstualizacija

Kada se npr. pustošenje Varšave 1944. i ubijanje stotine hiljada ljudi navode kao najstrašniji primeri „kooperativnog uništenja“¹¹ udruženih Sovjetskog saveza i nacističke Nemačke, ili kada se streljanje poljskih oficira u Katynu od strane sovjetske tajne službe i masovna ubistva poljske elite koje su sprovele SS-jedinice i Vermaht označavaju kao rezultat zajedničkih ili bar podudarnih planova, onda analiza istorijskih konteksta i uzroka biva stavljena izvan moralnih načela. Nije više reč o objašnjenju i utemeljenju istorijskih događaja i procesa, već samo o sećanju i osudi. Dekontekstualizacija koja je u toj meri sprovedena može, kako pokazuje citat poznatog britanskog istoričara Normana Dejvisa, u poređenju staljinizma sa nacionalsocijalizmom da uslovi prevrednovanje zločina. „U novom svetlu promene kursa moglo bi se čak zaključiti“, piše Norman Dejvis u svojoj knjizi „U srcu Evrope. Istorija Poljske“¹², „da je sovjetski teror u toj fazi (misli se na period 1939–41, prim. aut.) umnogome nadmašio teror nacista. Staljinistički sistem je, u pogledu tehnike i logistike terora, bio u prednosti u odnosu na nacistе, jer je tokom čistki koje su prethodile ratu u sopstvenoj zemlji uspeo da izgradi potreban aparat. Dok su Nemci još pripremali Aušvic i Treblinku, Sovjeti su mogli da bez velikih poteškoća pretrpe porast broja stanovništva svog „Arhipel gulaga“ za nekoliko miliona Poljaka i zapadnih Ukrajinaca. Oni su svoje žrtve radije prepuštali laganoj smrti usled hladnoće i gladi, dok su nacisti davali prednost brzom uništenju – i ko bi tu uopšte mogao reći šta je bilo humanije – ali rezultat je bio praktično isti.“ Na stranu to što ovaj i dalje priznati britanski istoričar time celu predistoriju koncentracionih logora, počev

10 Timothy Snyder, Diktaturen in Osteuropa: Regionalgeschichte oder europäisches Erbe?, in: T. Großbölting/ D. Hofmann (publisher), Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart, pp. 33–42, specifically p. 36.

11 Norman Davies, Im Herzen Europas. Geschichte Polens, München, 2000, p. 61.

9 Timothy Snyder, Diktaturen in Osteuropa: Regionalgeschichte oder europäisches Erbe?, in: T. Großbölting/ D. Hofmann (Hrs), Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart, S. 33–42, hier S. 36.

10 München 2000, S. 61.

11 Timothy Snyder, Diktaturen in Osteuropa: Regionalgeschichte oder europäisches Erbe?, u: T. Großbölting/ D. Hofmann (izdavač), Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart, str. 33–42, ovde str. 36.

12 Norman Davies, Im Herzen Europas. Geschichte Polens, München 2000, str. 61.

renowned British historian not only skips the entire prehistory of the concentration camp system, from Dachau and Sachsenhausen to Buchenwald, Flossenbürg and Mauthausen – he also withheld that the most Holocaust victims were, in true sense of the word, slaughtered by Einsatzgruppen. Finally, he even approaches the controversial self estimate of mass murderers who gave themselves credit of having invented a more “humane” form of mass destruction – gas chambers.

Forced Unification

With this background – to state an example from the Sachsenhausen memorial center – it is utterly insignificant whether the terrible mass dying of the inmates of Soviet special camps from hunger and illness as result of criminal conditions of imprisonment in the period from 1945 to 1950 will be interpreted primarily as result of a prepared murder plan or a consequence of the typical Stalinist indifference towards human life in the backdrop of a hunger epidemic which ravaged large parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Whoever even states such differences and qualifies them as distinguishing feature, becomes suspicious not only to organizations representing victims and their interests, but to certain public and political circles, as well.

Naturally, the forced unification is particularly strong at places of multiple pasts. For instance, Sachsenhausen which was originally a Nazi camp and center of the entire concentration camp system between 1936 and 1945, as well as a training and education center near Berlin and later the largest Soviet special camp, can exemplarily show that in the long term there is no way of overlapping and common remembrance of both dictatorship's victims without opening graves and wounds, particularly when it is state-financed. In such conditions, it is difficult even for science to free itself of instrumentalization and assimilation. The multi-causal history of the special camp's origin is not only a result of World War II – caused by Germany – but also of the continuity of Soviet secret service's terror, as well as the extraordinarily heterogeneous composition of the inmate population and therefore

ihre Opfer einem allmählichen, langsamen Sterben durch Kälte und Hunger zu verurteilen, während die Nazis der raschen Tötung den Vorzug gaben – und wer kann sagen, was humaner war –, doch das Ergebnis war praktisch dasselbe.“ Nicht nur dass der weithin anerkannte britische Historiker damit die gesamte Vorgeschichte des KZ-Systems, von Dachau über Sachsenhausen bis nach Buchenwald, Flossenbürg und Mauthausen, übergeht, er unterschlägt auch, dass die meisten Opfer des Holocaust durch Einsatzgruppen im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes abgeschlachtet wurden. Schließlich nähert er sich bedenklich jener Selbsteinschätzung der Massenmörder an, die für sich selbst in Anspruch nahmen, mit den Gaskammern eine „humanere“ Form der Menschenvernichtung erfunden zu haben.

Der Zwang zur Vereinheitlichung

Auf diesem Hintergrund ist es, um ein Beispiel aus der Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen zu nennen, auch völlig unwichtig, ob das furchtbare Massensterben, das die Inhaftierten der sowjetischen Speziallager durch Hunger und Krankheiten aufgrund der verbrecherisch zu nennenden Haftbedingungen in den Jahren 1945-50 dahin raffte, in erster Linie das Ergebnis eines vor gefassten Mordplans oder die Folge typisch stalinistischer Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber Menschenleben vor dem Hintergrund einer große Teile Mittel- und Osteuropas verwüstenden Hungerepidemie interpretiert wird. Wer solche Unterschiede überhaupt benennt und sie gar als Unterscheidungsmerkmal qualifiziert, macht sich nicht nur gegenüber Opfer- und Interessenorganisationen, sondern auch in bestimmten Teilen der Öffentlichkeit und Politik bereits verdächtig

Der Zwang zur Vereinheitlichung ist natürlich an den Orten mehrfacher Vergangenheit besonders stark. In Sachsenhausen z. B., wo auf das nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager, das zwischen 1936 und 1945 als Verwaltungszentrum des gesamten KZ-Systems sowie Modell- und Schulungslager der SS bei Berlin bestand, das größte sowjetische Speziallager folgte, lässt sich exemplarisch zeigen, dass es auf lange Zeit keinen Weg gibt, der ein übergreifendes und gemeinsames Gedenken an die Opfer unterschiedlicher Diktaturen ermöglicht, das nicht wieder Gräben und Wunden aufreißt, auch oder gerade wenn es von staatlicher Seite befördert wird. Unter diesen Bedingungen hat es selbst Wissenschaft schwer, sich gegen Instrumentalisierungen und Vereinnahmungen zu behaupten. Die multikausale Entstehungsgeschichte der Speziallager, die nicht nur ein Ergebnis des

od Dahaua, preko Zaksenhauzena do Buhenvalda, ne samo da preskače, već i prećutkuje činjenicu da je većina žrtava Holokausta u pravom smislu reči brutalno pobijena od strane streljačkih odreda. Naposletku se on čak približava i onoj samoooceni masovnih ubica, po kojoj oni sebi daju za pravo da tvrde da su kroz gasne komore izumeli „humaniji“ način za masovna ubistva.

Prinudno izjednačavanje

Iz tog razloga je onda, da navedemo primer iz memorijalnog centra Zaksenhauzen, potpuno nebitno kako ćemo tumačiti užasno masovno umiranje zarobljenika sovjetskog specijalnog logora usled gladi i bolesti i koje je rezultat zločinačkih uslova zatočeništva u godinama 1945-50. Postaje nebitno da li je to u prvom redu izraz jednog unapred smišljenog plana za ubijanje ili pre posledica tipične staljinističke nebrige za ljudski život na foliji epidemije gladi koja je odnela mnoge živote u velikom delu Srednje i Istočne Evrope. Onaj ko uopšte ukaže na ovakve razlike ova dva režima ili ih čak karakteriše kao distinktivne tačke postaje sumnjiv ne samo organizacijama koje zastupaju žrtve i njihove interese, već i u određenim krugovima javnosti i politike.

Prinuda za izjednačavanje je, razume se, na mestima sa višeslojnom istorijom izuzetno izražena. U Zaksenhauzen, gde se isprva nalazio nacionalsocijalistički koncentracioni logor, i koji je je između 1936. i 1945. bio administrativni centar celokupnog sistema koncentracionih logora i koji je ujedno bio centar za obrazovanje i trening SS-kadra, u blizini Berlina, i gde je zatim usledio najveći sovjetski logor, može egzemplarno da pokaže da na duže staze ne postoji način da se svobuhvatno sećamo i jednih i drugih žrtava, a da se pritom ne otvore stare rane, upravo i zbog toga što je finansiran od strane države. Pod tim uslovima je i samoj nauci teško da se otrgne od instrumentalizacije i podmičivanja. Istorija nastanka specijalnog sovjetskog logora, sa svim svojim mnogobrojnim razlozima, nije samo rezultat Drugog svetskog rata, kog je opet uzrokovala Nemačka, već i kontinuiteta sovjetskog terora

it defies politically and morally desired simple models of explanation. The perception of the true complexity of historical events is shattered due to the obviously overpowering necessity for clear and undisputable systems for determining guilt as well as condemnation and evaluation – on one hand, in the context of the special camps as places of internment of Nazi criminals and as German branch of the Soviet gulag system. This can only result in suspicions and insinuations, mutual accusations and insults. The more the process of unification of memory and remembrance is forced for political reasons, the stronger the conflicts become. Only based on an unforced coexistence of different historical narratives is it perhaps possible (this is the experience of Sachsenhausen) to gradually and slowly build understanding on similarities and differences of different criminal complexes.

Example August 23, 1939

The problematic consequences of constituting a unified European culture of remembrance by decree can be illustrated with the introduction of August 23 as Remembrance Day for the Victims of All Totalitarian and Authoritarian Dictatorships.

By choosing the date when the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed, there is a danger of wresting the begin of World War II from its historical causalities and dissolve it in a new historical construct. The impression is created that the war and the genocide following September 1 1939 were the result of a conflict between totalitarian dictatorships, on one side, and the democratic liberal states, on the other. This could not be more wrong, for the National Socialists were determined to attack Poland as early as in 1933 based on their racist and antisemitic ideology of the *Lebensraum*, while the Soviet Union, at least until the Munich Agreement, seriously negotiated an agreement, not only with the western powers, but with Poland, as well. Finally, Poland at the time was a totalitarian, partially nationalist and antisemitic state which previously itself took part in the so-called destruction of Czechoslovakia – the only democratic and liberal Eastern European state that provided refuge and protection to German expatriates and resistance fighters – following the National Socialist expansionis-

Zweiten von Deutschland verschuldeten Weltkrieges, sondern auch der Kontinuität des sowjetischen Geheimdienstterrors war, sowie die außerordentlich heterogene Zusammensetzung der Häftlingsgesellschaft lassen sich mit politisch und moralisch erwünschten einfachen Erklärungsmodellen nicht erfassen. Die Wahrnehmung realer Komplexität des historischen Geschehens zerbricht in der Folge am offenbar überstarken Bedürfnis nach klaren und eindeutigen Schuld- sowie Ver- und Beurteilungssystemen – auf der einen Seite Speziallager als Internierungsort für NS-Täter und auf der anderen Seite als deutscher Zweig des sowjetischen Gulag-Systems. Das Ergebnis sind Verdächtigungen und Unterstellungen, gegenseitige Schuldzuweisungen und Beschimpfungen. Je mehr der Prozess der Vereinheitlichung von Erinnerung und Gedenken aus politischen Gründen forciert wird, umso heftiger werden die Konflikte ausgetragen. Nur auf der Grundlage eines zwanglosen Nebeneinanders unterschiedlicher historischer Erzählungen kann vielleicht, das ist die Erfahrung von Sachsenhausen, allmählich und langsam eine Verständigung über Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der verschiedenen Verbrechenskomplexe erwachsen.

Exempel 23. August 1939

Die problematischen Folgen der Konstituierung einer einheitlichen europäischen Erinnerungskultur per Dekret lassen sich sehr gut an der Einführung des 23. August als Gedenktag für die Opfer totalitärer und autoritärer Diktaturen zeigen.

Indem die Wahl auf den Tag der Vertragsunterzeichnung des so genannten Hitler-Stalin-Pakts gelegt wird, besteht die Gefahr, den Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges aus seinen historischen Kausalitäten heraus- und in ein neues Geschichtskonstrukt aufzulösen. Es wird der Eindruck erweckt, als seien Krieg und Völkermord nach dem 1. September 1939 das Ergebnis eines Konfliktes zwischen den totalitären Diktaturen auf der einen Seite und demokratisch liberalen Staaten auf der anderen Seite gewesen. Nichts ist falscher als das, denn der Entschluss der Nationalsozialisten, Polen zu überfallen, stand spätestens seit 1933 aufgrund seiner rassistisch und antisemitisch bestimmten Lebensraumideologie weitgehend fest, wohingegen die Sowjetunion durchaus ernsthaft mindestens bis zum Münchener Abkommen nicht nur mit den Westmächten, sondern auch mit Polen über ein Abkommen verhandelte. Und schließlich war das damalige Polen ein autoritärer, teilweise nationalistischer und antisemitischer Staat, der sich kurz zuvor selbst an der so genannten Zerschla-

tajnih službi, pošto se izuzetna heterogenost zatočenika specijalnog logora ne da podvesti ni pod jedan od političkih i moralno poželjnih pojednostavljenih koncepata tumačenja. Shvatanje stvarnih složenosti istorijskih dešavanja vidno posustaje pred veoma snažnom potrebom za jasnim i jednoznačnim sistemima za određivanje počinioca i žrtava u kontekstu s jedne strane specijalnog sovjetskog logora kao logora za nacističke zločince, i s druge strane ovog mesta kao nemačke ispostave sovjetskog gulag-sistema. Rezultat mogu biti samo sumnje i podozrenja, uzajamno optuživanje i prokazivanje. Što proces izjednačavanja sećanja i memorijalizacije biva iz političkih razloga više iznuđivan, utoliko se konflikti snažnije ispoljavaju. Samo na osnovi neiznuđenog suživota različitih istorijskih narativa moguće je možda, kako pokazuje iskustvo iz Zaksenhauzena, postepeno i polako izgraditi razumevanje za sličnosti i razlike dva različita zločinačka kompleksa.

Primer 23. Avgust 1939.

Problematične posledice stvaranja jedinstvene evropske kulture sećanja na osnovu naredbe odozgo daju se veoma lako ilustrovati na primeru uvođenja 23. avgusta kao dana sećanja na žrtve totalitarnih i autoritarnih diktatura.

Time što je datum potpisivanja tzv. *sporazum Molotov-Ribbentrop* izabran za taj dan, javlja se opasnost da se početak Drugog svetskog rata istrgne iz njegove istorijske uslovljenosti i da se on rastoči u jednom novom istorijskom konstrukt. Stvara se utisak da su genocid i rat počev od 1. septembra 1939 posledica konflikta dve totalitarne diktature sa jedne strane i demokratskih liberalnih država na drugoj. Ništa ne može biti pogrešnije od toga, jer je plan nacionalsocijalista da napadnu Poljsku postojao još od 1933. godine, što je proizašlo iz same rasne i antisemitske ideologije *Lebensrauma*, dok je Sovjetski savez i te kako ozbiljno, bar do Minhenskog sporazuma, razmatrao da sklopi savez ne samo sa zapadnim silama, već i sa Poljskom. I uz sve to, tadašnja Poljska je i sama bila autoritarna, čak delimično nacionalistička i antisemitska, država koja se i sama malo pre toga u savezu sa nacionalsocijalističkim snagama uključila u okupatorsko razbijanje jedine demokratske i liberalne istočnoevropske države, Čehoslovačke, – što znači da je i sama bila sve samo ne protivnik totalitarnim diktaturama.

tic policy. This means that Poland was anything but the opposite of a totalitarian dictatorship.

To avoid being misunderstood I wish to add that, on the other hand, we must, of course, face the subjective experience of suffering with acceptance and understanding, as recently strikingly displayed by Andrzej Wajda in his award-winning film “The Katyn Massacre”. Both occupiers attacked Poland with similar terror – especially against the Polish elites – and committed countless crimes. Therefore, Alaida Assmann rightfully warns that the subsequent comprehension of a historical context must not silence the truth of selective experiences¹². However, they must be classified. Memorial sites must not be content to represent and interpret experiences of suffering, unless they want to prioritize an irreconcilable solipsism.

That way, the attempt to create an anti-totalitarian culture of remembrance in Europe through the Resolution of the European Parliament may result with a questionable decontextualization with no foreseeable consequences, at the price of erasing clear historical causality and indisputable responsibilities.

It is becoming obvious how seriously the authors of the Resolution on the Conscience of Europe truly observe the “comprehensive reevaluation of European history” which is explicitly stated in their explanatory text. It is not their goal only to honor communist terror victims – the date of the October Revolution would have been perhaps better suited for that purpose – but also to elevate a political theory to the level of a master narrative which would be binding on the whole of Europe and suppress the rivaling models of explanation.

Battlefields in the “War of Remembrance”

Many authors and scientists describe the process of constituting a new collective European culture of remembrance with the use of drastic terms. The following terms are used: “battlefields”,

gung des einzigen demokratischen und liberalen osteuropäischen Staates, nämlich der anders als Polen den deutschen Exilanten und Widerstandskämpfern Heimstatt und Schutz gewährenden Tschechoslowakei, im Geleitzug der nationalsozialistischen Eroberungspolitik beteiligt hatte, alles andere als das Gegenbild einer totalitären Diktatur also.

Um nicht missverstanden zu werden, will ich hinzufügen, dass wir andererseits selbstverständlich mit Akzeptanz und Verständnis den subjektiven Leidenserfahrungen begegnen müssen, wie sie erst kürzlich von Andrzej Wajda in seinem preisgekrönten Film „Das Massaker von Katyn“ eindrucksvoll dargestellt wurden. Beide Invasoren fielen mit ähnlichem Terror über Polen und insbesondere über die polnischen Eliten her und begingen zahllose Verbrechen. Zu Recht warnt daher Alaida Assmann, dass die nachträgliche Einsicht in einen historischen Zusammenhang nicht die Wahrheit der punktuellen Erfahrungen mundtot machen darf¹¹. Allerdings muss sie eingeordnet werden. Gedenkstätten dürfen bei der Darstellung und Ausdeutung der Leidenserfahrungen nicht stehen bleiben, wollen sie nicht einem unversöhnlichen Solipsismus Vorschub leisten.

So nimmt der Versuch, eine antitotalitäre Erinnerungskultur in Europa durch Beschluss des europäischen Parlaments zu stiften, eine in ihren Folgen noch nicht absehbare, bedenkliche Entkontextualisierung zum Preis der Verwischung klarer historischer Kausalitäten und eindeutiger Verantwortlichkeiten in Kauf.

Nun wird auch deutlich, wie ernst es die Verfasser der EntschlieÙung zum Gewissen Europas tatsächlich mit der im Begründungstext explizit ausgeführten „umfassenden Neubewertung der europäischen Geschichte“ meinen. Es geht ihnen nicht nur um eine Würdigung der Opfer des kommunistischen Terrors – dafür hätte sich das Datum der Oktoberrevolution als Gedenktag möglicherweise besser geeignet – sondern Ziel ist die Erhebung einer politischen Theorie in den Rang einer für Europa verbindlichen, konkurrierende Erklärungsmodelle verdrängenden Meistererzählung

Umkämpfte Orte im „Krieg der Erinnerung“

Viele Autoren und Wissenschaftler beschreiben den Prozess der Herausbildung einer neuen kollektiven europäischen Erinnerungskultur mit drastischen Worten. Man spricht von

Kako me ne biste pogrešno shvatili, dodao bih da s druge strane moramo da prihvatimo i razumemo subjektivna iskustva patnje, kako je to na vrlo upečatljiv način pokazao Adnrej Vajda u svom nedavno nagrađenom filmu „Masakar u Katinu“. Oba okupatora su se istovetnom silom obrušili na Poljsku, pre svega na njene elite, počinivši nebrojene zločine. S pravom Alaida Asman upozorava da potonji uvidi u istorijske kontekste ne smeju da učutkaju istinu punktualnih iskustava.¹³ Ona se u svakom slučaju moraju kontekstualizovati. Memorijalni centri ne smeju da obustave svoj rad sa prikazivanjem i tumačenjem, sem ako ne žele da prednost daju nepomirljivom solipsizmu.

Tako pokušaj da se u Evropi kroz odluku Evropskog parlamenta pokrene antitotalitarna kultura sećanja može imati kao posledicu diskutabilnu dekontekstualizaciju zločina, čije posledice još ne možemo sagledati, a sve to po cenu brisanja jasnih istorijskih uzročnosti i jednoznačnih odgovornosti.

Sada postaje jasno koliko je autorima Odluke da se uspostavi zajednička Savest Evrope zaista stalo do „sveopšteg prevrednovanja evropske istorije“ koje su formulisali u svom tekstu obrazloženja. Nije im stalo do poštovanja žrtava komunističkog terora, jer u tu svrhu je pre mogao da posluži i datum Oktobarske revolucije – već im je cilj da jednu političku teoriju podignu na nivo jednog masternarativa koji bi bio opštevažeći za Evropu i potisnuo druga dva međusobno konkurentna.

Bojna polja u „ratu sećanja“

Mnogi autori i naučnici grubim rečima opisuju proces konstituisanja nove kolektivne evropske kulture sećanja. Govori se

12 Alaida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München 2006, p. 269.

11 Alaida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München 2006, S. 269.

13 Alaida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München 2006, str. 269. U prevodu na srpski Drinko Gojković: *Duga senka prošlosti*; Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 2011. (prim. prev.)

“battles of interpretation“, “weapons“, “mobilization“, “enemies“, “dividing lines“, “trenches“ or even explicitly, as by Harald Welzer, the “war of remembrance“¹³. Other military terms are being used, too, in order to characterize the conflicts over the European policy of remembrance. As head of a memorial site foundation which has been exposed to the conflicts and competing remembrances for years, I can fully understand the choice of vocabulary. That is why, as representatives of memorial sites and historical museums, we must be fully aware of the fact that our sites are seen by some governments, parties and interest groups as significant part of the arsenal in the battle of interpretation over European remembrance. Wherever the interpretation of the past becomes an instrument of political influence, museums and memorial sites are quickly created, upgraded or reconceptualized, in order to freeze the respective interpretation of history in stone, concrete or glass.

Notably, the majority of those newly founded historical museums, e. the Budapest “House of Terror“, founded in 2001 by the conservative-liberal Fidesz government, or the Warsaw Uprising Museum created by the city’s then Mayor Kaczynski, use mainly scenographical means which reflects their obvious desire to generate simple answers, rather than ask questions. They are experience-museums, where a visitor can stand behind a machine gun and slip into the role of a hero fighting against evil. Unlike most of previous memorial sites, these museums are making a great effort to overwhelm the audience and it is for that reason that they barely allow any alternative historical perspectives. They do not support the formation of independent judgment, but also spare neither creative nor financial efforts to convey preconceived and undisputable doctrines to the visitors. That is one of the reasons of their obviously extraordinary popularity.

From the perspective of memorial sites’ educational purpose, it is necessary to challenge the process of decontextualization and dedifferentiation favoring historical or even anthropological theorems which should encompass different criminal complexes.

„Schlachtfeldern“, „Deutungskämpfen“, „Waffen“, „Mobilisierungen“, „Feinden“, „Trennlinien“, „Schutzgräben“ oder sogar unverhohlen, wie Harald Welzer, vom „Krieg der Erinnerung“¹². Auch andere Begriffe aus der Militärsprache werden benutzt, um die ausgebrochenen Konflikte um die europäische Erinnerungspolitik zu charakterisieren. Als Leiter einer Gedenkstättenstiftung, der den Konflikten und Erinnerungskonkurrenzen seit Jahren ausgesetzt ist, kann ich die Auswahl des Vokabulars durchaus nachvollziehen. Wir müssen uns daher als Vertreter von Gedenkstätten und zeithistorischen Museen sehr klar bewusst machen, dass unsere Orte in diesem Deutungskampf um die Erinnerung Europas nach dem Willen mancher Regierungen, Parteien und Interessengruppen einen nicht unerheblichen Teil der Waffen schiednen sollen, mit denen er geführt wird. Wo die Deutung der Vergangenheit zum Instrument politischer Einflussnahme wird, werden in rascher Folge Museen und Gedenkstätten gegründet, ausgebaut oder neu konzipiert, um die jeweilige Interpretation der Geschichte in Stein, Beton oder Glas einzufrieren.

Es ist auffallend, dass ein Großteil dieser neu gegründeten Geschichtsmuseen, wie z. B. das von der konservativ-liberalen Fidesz-Regierung 2001 in Budapest gegründete „Haus des Terrors“ oder das vom damaligen Warschauer Stadtpräsidenten Kaczynski errichtete Museum des Warschauer Aufstandes, in erster Linie mit inszenatorischen Mitteln arbeiten und damit offenbar weniger Fragen an die Geschichte als einfache Antworten generieren wollen. Sie sind Erlebnis-Museen, in denen sich die Besucher selbst hinter Maschinengewehre stellen und damit in die Rolle der Helden schlüpfen können, die das Böse bekämpfen. Anders als von den meisten bisherigen Gedenkstätten proklamiert, wollen diese Museen dezidiert das Publikum überwältigen und lassen daher kaum alternative Sichtweise auf die Geschichte zu; sie fördern nicht die Herausbildung eigenständiger Urteile, sondern scheuen weder gestalterische noch finanzielle Mittel, um erinnerungspolitisch vorgefasste und eindeutige Lehrmeinungen den Besuchern zu vermitteln. Nicht zuletzt deshalb sind sie offenbar außerordentlich populär.

Auch aus der Perspektive der Gedenkstättenpädagogik ist der Prozess der Entkontextualisierung und Entdifferenzierung zugunsten von historischen oder gar anthropologischen Lehrsätzen, die unterschiedliche Verbrechenskomplexe umgreifen sollen, zu hinterfragen. Kann wirklich alles Böse dieser Welt aus dem Sys-

o „bojnom polju“, „borbama tumačenja“, „oružju“, „mobilizaciji“, „neprijateljima“, „granicama“, „šančevima“ ili čak, krajnje nepatvoreno, poput Haralda Velcera, o „ratu sećanja“¹⁴. Koriste se i drugi izrazi iz vojnog žargona kako bi se karakterisali konflikti koji su se javili oko evropske politike sećanja. Kao upravnik jednog memorijalnog centra koji je već godinama izložen tim konfliktima i konkurentnim sećanjima, i te kako mogu da razumem odabir takvog rečnika. Stoga mi, kao upravnicu memorijalnih muzeja i istorijskih muzeja, moramo da budemo svesni zadataka koji nam se nameću. Naša mesta u tom konfliktu tumačenja oko sećanja Evrope, koji se odvija po volji nekih vlada, stranaka i interesnih grupa, treba da proizvode ne mali kontingent oružja kojim taj rat treba da se vodi. Tamo gde tumačenje prošlosti postaje instrumentom političkog uticaja ubrzo se osnivaju muzeji i memorijalni centri, osnivaju se ili iznova koncipiraju, kako bi se određena interpretacija istorije zamrzla u kamenu, betonu ili staklu.

Uočljivo je da velika većina skoro izgrađenih istorijskih muzeja u prvom redu deluju na posetioca upečatljivim sredstvima kako bi se time očigledno manje postavljala pitanja, a više generisali jednostavni odgovori. Takvi su „Kuća terora“ koju je godine 2001. osnovala konzervativno-liberalna Fidesova vlada ili „Muzej varšavskog otpora“ kog je inicirao tadašnji gradonačelnik Kačinski. To su sve muzeji „doživljaja“ u kojima posetilac može lično da stane iza mašinske puške i time da uskoči u ulogu heroja koji se bori protiv zla. Nasuprot zahtevu dosadašnjih muzeja, ovi deciderano nastoje da obuzmu posetioca i stoga skoro ne dopuštaju alternativan pogled na istoriju. Oni ne navode na izvođenje ličnih i samostalnih zaključaka, i ne štete ni finansijska ni prikazna sredstva kako bi posetiocima ponudili unapred definisanu i sažvakanu istoriju. Zbog toga naposljetku i uživaju ne tako malu popularnost.

Iz perspektive didaktike memorijalnih i dokumentacionih centara potrebno je preispitati proces dekontekstualizacije i nediferencijacije u korist istorijskih ili čak antropoloških pouka koje treba da obuhvate različite zločinačke komplekse. Da li je

13 Harald Welzer (publisher), *Der Krieg der Erinnerung Holocaust, Kollaboration und widerstand im europäischen Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt/Main, 2007.

12 Harald Welzer (Hrs), *Der Krieg der Erinnerung Holocaust, Kollaboration und widerstand im europäischen Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt/Main 2007.

14 Harald Welzer (izdavač), *Der Krieg der Erinnerung Holocaust, Kollaboration und Widerstand im europäischen Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt/Main 2007.

Is it really possible that all evils in the world stem from the systematic difference between totalitarian and open societies? Does this mean that, accordingly, victims of (non-totalitarian) military dictatorships and World War I are second- and third-rate victims, respectively? What category do the victims of the Srebrenica or Darfur mass murders belong to? Is it worthwhile to memorialize the 15.000 victims of the Sétif massacre which was committed by French troops against the Algerian population on May 8 1945?

Finally, one should ask to what extent these master narratives – Holocaust education or the theory of totalitarianism – can have a transnationally hermeneutical role? What is the share of German history in the expansive policy of National Socialism no later than since the undigested trauma of World War I and how much can be explained by the Nazi system's totalitarian structure? What is the responsibility of the Soviet Union in the subjugation of Eastern and Central Europe after World War II through Russian power politics and how much of the Stalinist system was behind it? I believe that the strength of the theory of totalitarianism lies in the explanation of intra-societal processes of dictatorships. However, both theories seem to me as lacking explanation of European states' mutual relations in the 20th century.

Bone of Contention: Centre Against Expulsions¹⁴

The vehement debate taking place in Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic on the planned Centre Against Expulsions represents an attempt of a recontextualization through Europeanization. However, it introduces problems which are by no means less volatile. The demand by liberal and critical circles for embedding the issue in a European context in hope of soothing the emotionally charged conflicts which seriously harm inter-state and neighbor relations, threatens to transform into the opposite of the original intentions. From the ashes of a completely different discourse about the history of expulsions in Europe, a new model of interpretation is emerging, according to which, not later than since the 19th century ethnic cleansings were being committed by all sides in the "nation building" process. In view of that, the mass and brutal expulsion of Germans after World War II seems less like the main consequence of the previous Nazi crimes. Accord-

temunterschied zwischen totalitären und offenen Gesellschaften zurückgeführt werden? Sind danach bereits die Opfer der (nicht-totalitären) Militärdiktaturen z. B. Opfer zweiter und folglich die Toten des Ersten Weltkrieges Opfer dritter Klasse? Zu welcher Kategorie gehören die Toten der Massenmorde von Srebrenica oder Darfur? Lohnt es sich überhaupt noch der 15.000 Opfer des Massakers von Sétif zu gedenken, das ausgerechnet am 8. Mai 1945 von französischen Truppen an der algerischen Bevölkerung verübt wurde?

Es ist schließlich danach zu fragen, inwieweit die Meistererzählungen, ob nun Holocaust-Education oder Totalitarismustheorie, als transnationales Hermeneutikum taugen? Wieviel Anteil an der expansiven Politik des Nationalsozialismus hat die Geschichte Deutschlands spätestens seit dem unverarbeiteten Trauma des Ersten Weltkrieges und wieviel erklärt sich aus der totalitären Struktur des NS-Systems? Wieviel an der Unterjochung Ostmitteleuropas durch die Sowjetunion nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges ist russische Machtpolitik und wie viel stalinistisches System steckt darin? Die Stärke der Totalitarismustheorie liegt m. E. eher in der Erklärung innergesellschaftlicher Prozesse von Diktaturen, doch für das wechselhafte Verhältnis zwischen den europäischen Staaten im Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert scheinen mir beide Meistererzählungen zu wenig Erklärungskraft zu besitzen.

Zankapfel Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen

Auch die in Deutschland, Polen und Tschechien mit großer Heftigkeit geführte Debatte um das geplante Zentrum für Vertreibungen belegt, dass der Versuch einer Neukontextualisierung durch Europäisierung andere aber keinesfalls weniger brisante Probleme aufwirft. Die gerade von liberaler und kritischer Seite vorgebrachte Forderung, das Thema in einen europäischen Kontext einzubetten, in der Hoffnung, so die außerordentlich emotionalen, die zwischenstaatlichen und nachbarschaftlichen Beziehungen ernsthaft gefährdeten Konfliktlagen zu entschärfen, droht, sich in das Gegenteil der ursprünglichen Intention zu verkehren. Aus der Asche eines mit ganz unterschiedlichen Vertreibungsgeschichten in Europa angereicherten Diskurses entsteht ein neues Erklärungsmodell, wonach spätestens seit dem 19. Jahrhundert im Prozess des „nation building“ ethnische Säuberungen von allen Seiten betrieben wurden. Die millionenfache und brutale Vertreibung der Deutschen nach dem Ende des Zweiten Welt-

stvarno sve zlo ovog sveta moglo da potekne iz sistemske razlike dva totalitarna i otvorena društva? Da li dakle iz toga treba da sledi da su već žrtve (ne-totalitarnih) vojnih diktatura, na primer žrtve druge, i samim tim poginuli u Prvom svetskom ratu žrtve treće klase? U koju kategoriju spadaju žrtve masovnih ubistava u Srebrenici ili Darfuru? Isplati li se uopšte da se još sećamo onih 15.000 žrtava masakra u Setifu, koji se odigrao baš 8.maja 1945, i kog su počinile francuske trupe nad alžirskim stanovništvom?

Naposletku treba postaviti i pitanje u kojoj meri taj master-narativ, *Holocaust education* ili teorija totalitarizma, može da bude transnacionali hermeneutikum? Koji je ulogu odigrala istorija Nemačke, naposletku i neprerađena trauma nakon Prvog svetskog rata, u ekspanzivnoj politici nacionalsocijalizma? I koliko se ona da objasniti iz same totalitarne strukture NS-sistema? Koliko je odgovoran Sovjetski savez, a koliko je ruska politika moći zaslužna za potčinjavanje Istočne i Srednje Evrope posle Drugog svetskog rata? Dobra strana teorije totalitarizma je u tome što objašnjava unutardruštvene procese funkcionisanja diktature, ali obe mi se teorije čine nedostatne za objašnjavanje uzajamnog odnosa između evropskih država u dvadesetom veku.

Jabuka razdora: Centar protiv progona¹⁵

I u Nemačkoj, Poljskoj, Češkoj se žustro diskutuje o planiranom Centru protiv progona koji predstavlja pokušaj nove kontekstualizacije prošlosti kroz njeno uzdizanje na evropski nivo. On sa sobom nosi drugačije, ali ne manje kontroverzne probleme. S liberalne i kritičke strane postavljen zahtev da se ova tema stavi u evropski kontekst, u nadi da će tako poći za rukom da se smire ti izuzetno emotivno nabijeni međudržavni, susetski odnosi, pretili da se okrene u svoju suprotnost. Iz pepela jednog posve drugačijeg diskursa o istorijama progona u Evropi izvire jedan novi model tumačenja po kome najkasnije počev od 19. veka i procesa poznatog kao „*nation building*“ etnička čišćenja bivaju sprovedena sa svih strana. Masovni i brutalni progon miliona Nemaca nakon Drugog svetskog rata u ovom svetlu više nije primarna posledica nacionalsocijalističkih zločina. Ovi zločini su stoga, shodno stanovištu nekih pre svega konzervativnih istoričara, poslužili kao

14 http://www.z-g-v.de/index_noflash.html (translator's note)

15 http://www.z-g-v.de/index_noflash.html (prim. prev.)

ing to some, mainly conservative historians, those crimes served as a welcome justification for ethnic cleansings planned long before with no consideration for those affected and under the most brutal conditions. Of course, this standpoint also includes pointing out the cooperation of totalitarian dictatorships – a fishhook gladly swallowed in many states of Eastern and Central Europe today¹⁵.

Memorial Sites and their Tasks: Nine Principles

Memorial sites have a great responsibility. They must protect the victims' honor from any form of assimilation and remain open for interpretation of the past if they aim to urge critical and independent thought about history as opposed to affirmatively conserve alleged lessons from the past.

Therefore, it is my opinion that it is high time for memorial sites and historical museums to communicate and join forces both nationally and internationally. Only together can they resist the attempts of political instrumentalization in a Europe which attempts to overcome its comprehensive and deeply-rooted crisis of sense and identity by a policy of history which establishes new collective cultures of remembrance, created partially by decree, thus effectively intensifying the battles of interpretation and rivalries between victims, causing great concerns. The organizational framework necessary for international networking already exists. The International Committee of Memorial Sites (IC MEMO) which was established a few years ago, is obligated, according to the its integration in the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the fundamental ethical and political principles of the UN Charter, to observe human and civil rights, as well as to take care of the inherited cultural assets. ICMEMO is an umbrella organization for various memorial sites for victims of state dictatorships from Asia to Europe and from Africa to America. The new possibilities of such international networking of memorial sites, including even the influence on political decisions on the macrolevel, was shown by a German Bundestag discussion on a motion for a resolution on further development of the concept of memorial sites. The motion, which is brought in connection with the name of a then CDU Bundestag deputy, was seen by

krieges erscheint in diesem Lichte daher weniger als primäre Folge der vorangegangenen NS-Verbrechen. Vielmehr boten sie, so die Meinung einiger vor allem konservativer Historiker, nur den willkommenen Anlass um lange geplante ethnische Säuberungen ohne Rücksicht auf die Betroffenen und unter brutalsten Bedingungen durchführen zu können. Natürlich fehlt dabei auch nicht der Hinweis auf das Zusammenspiel der totalitären Diktaturen, ein Angelhaken, von dem man weiß, dass er in vielen Staaten Ostmitteleuropas heute gerne geschluckt wird.¹³

Die Gedenkstätten und ihre Aufgaben: Neun Prinzipien

Die Gedenkstätten haben eine große Verantwortung. Sie müssen die Würde der Opfer gegen jegliche Vereinnahmung schützen und die Deutung der Vergangenheit offen halten, wollen sie mehr zum kritischen, selbständigen Nachdenken über Geschichte anregen als angebliche Lehren aus der Geschichte affirmativ abzusichern.

Es ist daher nach meiner Ansicht höchste Zeit, dass sich die Gedenkstätten und zeithistorischen Museen national ebenso wie international verständigen und zusammenschließen. Nur gemeinsam können sie den Versuchen politischer Instrumentalisierung in einem Europa widerstehen, das seine umfassende und tief gehende Sinn- und Identitätskrise durch die geschichtspolitische Setzung neuer kollektiver, zum Teil per Dekret geschaffener Erinnerungskulturen zu überwinden versucht, was im Effekt vor allem die Deutungskämpfe und Opferkonkurrenzen erheblich und bedenklich verschärft. Der für den internationalen Zusammenschluss erforderliche organisatorische Rahmen wurde dafür bereits geschaffen. Das vor wenigen Jahren gegründete International Committee of Memorial Sites (IC MEMO) ist durch die Einbindung in den International Council of Museums (ICOM) den in der Uno-Charta enthaltenen allgemeinen ethischen und politischen Grundsätzen verpflichtet, den allgemeinen Menschen- und Bürgerrechten ebenso wie der sorgfältigen Bewahrung des überlieferten Kulturgutes. Das ICMEMO spannt seinen Schirm über die unterschiedlichsten Gedenkstätten für die Opfer staatlicher Gewaltherrschaft, die sich in Asien ebenso wie in Europa, in Afrika ebenso wie in Amerika befinden. Welche neuen Möglichkeiten ein solch internationaler Zusammenschluss von Gedenkstätten bietet, um sogar politische Entscheidungen auf den Makroebenen zu beeinflussen, zeigte die Diskussion

dobrodošli povod za sprovođenje već dugo planiranih etničkih čišćenja pod najbrutalnijim uslovima i bez milosti za pogođenje. Naravno da pritom ne nedostaje ni ukazivanja na međusobne igre totalitarnih diktatura, što predstavlja udicu za koju znamo da mnoge države Istočne i Srednje Evrope vrlo rado gutaju.¹⁶

Memorijalni centri i njihovi zadaci: devet principa

Memorijalni centri nose veliku odgovornost. Moraju da čuvaju dostojanstvo žrtava od svakih zloupotreba i da ostanu otvoreni za tumačenje prošlosti, ukoliko žele da podstiču kritičko i samostalno mišljenje o prošlosti, a ne da afirmativno konzerviraju navodna učenja o prošlosti.

Stoga je, prema mom mišljenju, krajnje vreme da se memorijalni centri i istorijski muzeji umreže i međusobno komuniciraju kako nacionalno tako i međunarodno. Samo udruženo mogu da se odupru pokušajima političke instrumentalizacije u jedinstvenoj Evropi, koja svoju sveobuhvatnu i dalekosežnu krizu smisla i identiteta pokušava da prenebregne kroz povesnu politiku jedne nove, i delom naredbom odozgo stvorene kulture sećanja, što umnogome i na zabrinjavajući način pooštava već postojeće borbe tumačenja i konkurenciju između grupa žrtava. Međunarodni organizacioni okvir koji bi to omogućio već postoji. Pre nekoliko godina osnovan je Međunarodni odbor za memorijalna mesta (*International Committee of Memorial Sites* – IC MEMO) koji je svojom integracijom u Međunarodni Savet Muzeja (*International Council of Museums* ICOM/IKOM), i na osnovu opštih etičkih i političkih načela koja su definisana u povelji Ujedinjenih nacija, obavezan da poštuje ljudska i građanska prava kao i da se brine o nasleđenim kulturnim dobrima. IC MEMO služi kao nadorganizacija koja okuplja različita memorijalna mesta za žrtve državnog nasilnog režima, koja se nalaze širom sveta od Azije, preko Evrope, do Afrike i Amerike. Diskusija u nemačkom Bundestagu povodom jednog zahteva za odobrenje proširenja koncepta memorijalnih centara pokazala je kojih devet mogućnosti bi fuzija memorijalnih mesta u okviru ovakve organizacije nudila, čak i kako bi udruženo mogli uticati na političke odluke na makro nivou. Intervencija,

15 Manfred Kittel, Horst Möller, Die „Benes-Dekrete und die Vertreibung der Deutschen“, in: Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 4/2006, pp. 541-582.

13 Manfred Kittel, Horst Möller, Die „Benes-Dekrete und die Vertreibung der Deutschen“, in: Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 4/2006, S. 541-582.

16 Manfred Kittel, Horst Möller, Die „Benes-Dekrete und die Vertreibung der Deutschen“, in: Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 4/2006, str. 541-582.

most organizations of Nazi victims and experts on memorial sites as attempt of blending different persecution complexes. It was successfully blocked through international help, mainly initiated by IC MEMO.

However, memorial sites need more than a joint organization and better international network. Moreover, they should communicate about basic principles of commemoration and remembrance. At the same time, it cannot be a matter of prescribing a form of "DIN-standard of remembrance", as ironically formulated by Timothy Garton Ash, but rather of setting in motion a European or international process of self-commitment regarding memorial sites. A form of international memorial sites-charter, oriented towards principles of the UN Declaration, as well as ethical principles of ICOM, could be helpful in the process. I will try to word a few general principles which seem sensible to me, as an attempt of stimulating a collective discussion among international memorial sites:

1. A common European culture of remembrance cannot and must not be prescribed by decree. In view of different historical experiences, memorial sites commit to a coexistence of different memorial imperatives within a pluralized culture of remembrance which is pursued in a mutual dialogue, rather than for the purpose of a battle over interpretation or suppression. A collective European culture of remembrance, should it prove worthwhile, could slowly emerge from the bottom up from the multitude of decentral initiatives.
2. The pluralist culture of remembrance also needs a common positive value framework. It already exists in the Universal Declaration of Human and Civil Rights. Additional deductions or other forms of creating meaning are not required.
3. Memorial sites and historical museums primarily memorialize state crimes which were committed predominantly against minorities. Therefore, states and governments bear particular responsibility for memorial sites, they must guarantee for their contents as well as for their ongoing independence of political directives. At the same time, memorial sites need to be as

eines Entschließungsantrages im Deutschen Bundestag zur Weiterentwicklung der Gedenkstättenkonzeption. Der mit dem Namen eines damaligen CDU-Bundestagsabgeordneten verbundene Vorstoß, der von den meisten NS-Opferorganisationen und Gedenkstättenexperten als ein Versuch zur Vermischung unterschiedlicher Verfolgungskomplexe empfunden wurde, konnte mit internationaler Hilfe, die vom IC MEMO maßgeblich initiiert worden war, erfolgreich abgewehrt werden.

Die Gedenkstätten brauchen aber nicht nur eine gemeinsame Organisation und eine bessere internationale Vernetzung. Sie sollten sich darüber hinaus über allgemeine Prinzipien des Gedenkens und des Erinnerns verständigen. Dabei kann es nicht darum gehen, eine Art „DIN-Norm des Gedenkens“ festzuschreiben, wie Timothy Garton Ash ironisch formuliert hat, sondern eher darum, einen europäischen oder internationalen Prozess der Selbstverpflichtung von Gedenkstätten in Gang zu setzen. Eine Art internationaler Gedenkstätten-Charta, die sich sowohl an der UNO-Deklaration als auch an den ethischen Prinzipien des ICOM orientiert, könnte dabei hilfreich sein. Im Folgenden will ich versuchen, einige allgemeine Grundsätze, die mir sinnvoll erscheinen, zu formulieren, um zu versuchen, eine gemeinsame Diskussion unter den internationalen Gedenkstätten anzuregen:

1. Eine gemeinsame europäische Erinnerungskultur kann und darf nicht per Dekret verordnet werden. Angesichts der unterschiedlichen historischen Erfahrungen bekennen sich die Gedenkstätten zu einem Nebeneinander unterschiedlicher Erinnerungsimperative, die in der anzustrebenden pluralen Gedächtniskultur miteinander in einem Dialog und nicht in einen Deutungs- oder gar Verdrängungskampf gestellt werden dürfen. Eine gemeinsame europäische Erinnerungskultur, so sie denn überhaupt sinnvoll ist, könnte aus einer Vielzahl dezentraler Initiativen von unten heraus langsam erwachsen.
2. Auch die plurale Erinnerungskultur braucht einen gemeinsamen positiven Werterahmen. Dieser besteht bereits in der allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte. Weitere Deduktionen daraus oder gar andere Sinnstiftungen sind nicht erforderlich.
3. Gedenkstätten und zeithistorische Museen erinnern vor allem an staatliche Verbrechen, die vorwiegend an Minderheiten begangen wurden. Staaten und Regierungen haben daher eine besondere Verantwortung für die Gedenkstätten, deren Bestand sie ebenso garantieren müssen wie ihre weitestgehende

koja se vezuje za ime jednog tadašnjeg CDU-odbornika, koju su tada većina organizacija žrtava nacionasocijalizma i stručnjaci za memorijalne centre shvatili kao pokušaj da se pomešaju različiti kompleksi progona uspešno je sprečena uz pomoć međunarodne podrške, koju je presudno inicirala IC MEMO.

Memorijalnima centrima potrebna je ne samo jedna zajednička organizacija i bolja međunarodna umreženost. Povrh toga oni moraju da komuniciraju o opštim principima sećanja i komemoracije. Ali, to ujedno ne znači da treba sastaviti izvesnu DIN-normu komemoracije, kako je to Timoti Gordon Eš (Timothy Garton Ash) ironično formulisao, već se radi o tome da se otpočne jedan evropski i međunarodni proces koji će kao rezultat imati da se sami centri obavežu na određene standarde. Neka vrsta međunarodne povelje o memorijalnim centrima koja bi se s jedne strane oslanjala na Povelju UN-a kao i na etičke principe ICOM-a bi u tom slučaju bila od pomoći. Nadalje ću pokušati da formulišem nekoliko osnovnih načela koja mi se čine smislenim, čime bih pokušao da otvorim diskusiju o standardima memorijalnih centara:

1. Zajednička evropska kultura sećanja ne može, ali i ne sme, da bude propisana nekom naredbom odozgo. S obzirom na različita istorijska iskustva memorijalni centri se obavezuju za naporednost različitih imperativa sećanja koji su u okviru pluralizovane kulture sećanja kojoj se nastoji u međusobnom dijaloškom odnosu, a ne u službi borbe za tumačenjem ili potiskivanjem. Zajednička evropska kultura sećanja, ukoliko se uopšte pokaže smislenom, može postojati samo u vidu mnoštva decentralizovanih inicijativa koje se odozdo na gore lagano razvijaju.
2. U pluralizovanoj kulturi sećanja potreban je zajednički pozitivan vrednosni okvir. On je već definisan u opštoj Povelji ljudskih i građanskih prava. Dalje dedukcije ili čak iznalaženja smisla nisu potrebna.
3. Memorijalni centri i istorijsku muzeji pre svega sećaju na državne zločine koji su izvršeni nad manjinskim grupama. Stoga je odgovornost država i vlasti da snose posebnu odgovornost za memorijalne centre, čiji opstanak moraju da garantuju kao i njihovu što je moguće veću samostalnost od političkih

broadly as possible embedded in civil society and integrate minorities in their work.

4. Modern memorial sites are historical museums with specific tasks in terms of humanitarianism and educational policy. Only if a particular, internationally recognized level of qualitative work and personal organization is reached, can memorial sites stand up to political representatives and interest groups.
5. Content-related, pedagogic and creative fundamental decisions regarding memorial sites should be reached mostly on the basis of an open, power-free and pluralistic discussion with survivors, scientists, representatives of interest groups and involved social groups. State institutions or private sponsors should influence those opinion-forming and coordination processes as little as possible.
6. Conveying of historical events through exhibitions, publications and pedagogic programs should awaken empathy for the victims, without simultaneously activating the "malign potential of memories in the shape of revenge, hatred and resentment".¹⁶
7. Historical experiences must be categorized in historical contexts, without relativizing the personal suffering of an individual. The classification of historical events takes place on the level of modern historical research, owing to scientific principles of discursivity and multiperspectivity. This includes showing the perspective of the culprits without demonizing them, but rather explaining their methods through their respective ideologies, goals and motives. The ability to challenge one's own point of view also includes the willingness to take into account what was described by Reinhard Koselleck as "negative history", i.e. one's own crimes, as well as self-image in the representation of the "other".
8. Memorial sites at authentic historical places of crimes open great possibilities for political and historical education, but also great risks. That is why memorial sites should aim their educational work less at consensual contents, but at common principles as formulated, for example, in the so-called Beutelsbach

Unabhängigkeit von politischen Weisungen. Zugleich müssen sich die Gedenkstätten möglichst breit in der Zivilgesellschaft verankern und gerade auch Minderheiten integrieren.

4. Moderne Gedenkstätten sind zeithistorische Museen mit besonderen humanitären und bildungspolitischen Aufgaben. Nur wenn ein bestimmtes, international anerkanntes Niveau qualitativer Arbeit und personeller Organisation erreicht ist, können sich Gedenkstätten gegenüber Politik- und Interessenvertretern überhaupt behaupten.
5. Inhaltliche, pädagogische und gestalterische Grundsatzentscheidungen sollten in den Gedenkstätten in erster Linie auf der Grundlage einer offenen, herrschaftsfreien und pluralistischen Diskussion mit Überlebenden, Wissenschaftlern, Interessenvertretern und engagierten gesellschaftlichen Gruppen getroffen werden. Staatliche Einrichtungen oder private Sponsoren sollten diese Meinungsbildungs- und Abstimmungsprozesse möglichst nicht beeinflussen.
6. Bei der Vermittlung der historischen Ereignisse in Ausstellungen, Publikationen und pädagogischen Projekten sollte Empathie mit den Opfern geweckt werden, ohne gleichzeitig das „maligne Potential von Erinnerungen in Form von Rache, Hass, Ressentiment zu aktivieren“.¹⁴
7. Historische Erfahrungen müssen in historische Kontexte eingeordnet werden, ohne das persönliche Leiden der einzelnen Person zu relativieren. Die Einordnung historischen Geschehens geschieht auf dem Niveau moderner zeithistorischer Forschung und ist den wissenschaftlichen Prinzipien von Diskursivität und Multiperspektivität verpflichtet. Das schließt auch die Sicht auf die Täter der Verbrechen mit ein, die nicht diabolisiert, sondern deren Handlungsweisen aus ihren Ideologien, Zielen und Motiven heraus erklärt werden sollen. Zur Fähigkeit, die eigene Sichtweise zu hinterfragen, gehört auch die Bereitschaft, die von Reinhard Koselleck so bezeichnete „negative Geschichte“ in die Betrachtung mit einzubeziehen, d. h. sowohl eigene Verbrechen als auch Selbstbilder in der Darstellung des „Anderen“ zu berücksichtigen.
8. Gedenkstätten an den historisch-authentischen Ort der Verbrechen eröffnen für die historisch politische Bildung sowohl große Chancen als auch große Risiken. Gedenkstätten sollten ihre Bildungsarbeit daher weniger an konsensualen Inhalten

interesa. Istovremeno memorijalni centri treba da budu duboko ukorenjeni u civilnom društvu i da angažuju upravo manjine u svom rad.

4. Moderni memorijalni centri su istorijski muzeji sa posebnim humanitarnim i obrazovno-političkim zadatkom. Jedino ako se dosegne određeni, međunarodno priznat nivo kvaliteta rada kao i lične organizacije, memorijalni centri mogu biti u mogućnosti da se suprotstave političkim zastupnicima određenih interesa.
5. Sadržinske, pedagoške i načelne formalne odluke treba donositi pre svega na osnovu otvorenog, neupravljanog i pluralističkog dijaloga sa preživelim, naučnicima, raznim interesnim grupama i angažovanim društvenim grupama. Državne institucije ili privatni sponzori ne bi trebalo da utiču na procese donošenja odluka.
6. Pri prikazivanju istorijskih događaja u okviru izložbi, publikacija i pedagoških projekata treba raditi na buđenju empatije sa žrtvama a da se pritom vodi računa „da se ne aktiviraju maligni potencijali sećanja u vidu osvete, mržnje i resantimana.“¹⁷
7. Istorijska iskustva moraju da se stavljaju u istorijski kontekst a da se pritom ne relativizuje lična patnja svakog pojedinca. Kontekstualizacija istorijskog događaja vrši se na osnovu savremenih istorijskih istraživanja i podleže naučnim principima diskurzivnosti i multiperspektivizmu. To se odnosi i na predstavljanje perspektive počinioča koji ne smeju biti demonizovani, već njihovi postupci moraju biti prikazani s obzirom na ideologiju, ciljeve i motive koji su ih uslovljavali. U sposobnost da sopstvenu perspektivu preispitamo spada i spremnost da se, kako je Reinhard Kozelek (Reinhard Koselleck) to nazvao, „negativna istorija“ takođe uzme u obzir, tj. da se tematizuju kako sopstveni zločini kao i „slika nas samih“ u očim „drugih“.
8. Memorijalni centri na autentičnim istorijskim mestima zločina otvaraju za istorijsko-političko obrazovanje kako velike mogućnosti tako i velike rizike. Memorijalna mesta bi stoga trebalo svoj obrazovni rad da orijentišu na konsenzusne

16 A. Assmann, *Der lange Schatten*, p. 267.

14 A. Assmann, *Der lange Schatten*, S. 267.

17 A. Assmann, *Der lange Schatten*, str. 267.

Consensus¹⁷ in 1976. Those are mainly the bans on overpowering and indoctrination, protection of the individual's subjective position, as well as the command of controversy.

9. Memorial sites and historical museum face the jeopardy of reflecting temporary trends of the current *Zeitgeist*, thus providing a current interpretation of the past instead of narrating concrete historical events. Therefore, they should always self-critically reflect their own respective history, which is part of a history of the specific culture of remembrance.

“Legacy“ of Survivors

On this year's Day of Remembrance for the Victims of National Socialism, January 27, presidents of international prisoners' committees of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Mittelbau-Dora, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen handed a joint declaration to the President of the Bundesta The “legacy“ of concentration camp survivors, as they named the declaration, contained not only memories of the terrible years of their imprisonment in various concentration camps, but also the often bitter experiences with the European remembrance of the unparalleled crimes of the Nazi regime. This document includes very precisely stated future tasks and requirements of an European culture of remembrance, from the perspective of the survivors: “But Europe has its task, as well. Instead of carrying through our ideals of democracy, peace, tolerance, self-determination and human rights, history is frequently used as a tool for sowing discord between humans, groups and peoples. We oppose mutual accusations, introduction of hierarchized suffering, creating rivalries between victims and blending historical phases together. That is why we reaffirm the appeal of former President of the European Parliament Simone Veil before the German Bundestag in 2004 for the passing on of memories: „Europe should be completely familiar with its collective past and stand behind

als an gemeinsamen Prinzipien ausrichten, wie sie z. B. 1976 im so genannten Beutelsbacher Konsens formuliert wurden. Diese sind vor allem das Überwältigungs- und Indoktrinierungsverbot, die Wahrung der Subjektposition des Einzelnen sowie das Kontroversitätsgebot.

9. Gedenkstätten und zeithistorische Museen sind in der Gefahr, temporäre Strömungen des jeweils herrschenden Zeitgeistes widerzuspiegeln und damit weniger das historische Geschehen als die präsentistische Interpretationen der Vergangenheit fest zuschreiben. Sie sollten daher immer auch ihre eigene Geschichte, eingebettet in eine Geschichte der jeweiligen Erinnerungskultur, selbstkritisch mitreflektieren.

Das “Vermächtnis“ der Überlebenden

Am Tag der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, dem 27. Januar dieses Jahres, haben die Präsidenten der Internationalen Häftlingskomitees von Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Mittelbau-Dora, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück und Sachsenhausen dem deutschen Bundestagspräsidenten eine gemeinsame Erklärung übergeben. In „Vermächtnis“ der KZ-Überlebenden, wie sie die Erklärung selbst nannten, flossen nicht nur die Erinnerungen an die schrecklichen Jahre ihrer Inhaftierung in den verschiedenen Konzentrationslagern ein, sondern auch ihre nicht selten bitteren Erfahrungen mit dem Gedächtnis Europas an die unvergleichlichen Verbrechen des Nazi-Regimes. Dort werden aus der Sicht der Überlebenden die zukünftigen Aufgaben und Anforderungen einer europäischen Erinnerungskultur sehr präzise benannt werden: “Aber auch Europa hat seine Aufgabe: Anstatt unsere Ideale für Demokratie, Frieden Toleranz, Selbstbestimmung und Menschenrechte durchzusetzen, wird Geschichte nicht selten benutzt, um zwischen Menschen, Gruppen und Völkern Zwietracht zu säen. Wir wenden uns dagegen, dass Schuld gegeneinander aufgerechnet, Erfahrungen von Leid hierarchisiert, Opfer miteinander in Konkurrenz gebracht und historische Phasen miteinander vermischt werden. Daher bekräftigen wir den von der ehemaligen Präsidentin des Europäischen Parlaments Simone Veil vor dem deutschen Bundestag 2004 ausgesprochenen Appell zur Weitergabe der Erinnerungen: „Europa sollte seine gemeinsame Vergangenheit als Ganzes kennen und zu ihr stehen, mit allen Licht- und Schattenseiten; jeder Mitgliedsstaat sollte um seine Fehler und sein Versagen wissen und sich dazu bekennen, mit seiner eigenen Vergangenheit im

sadržaje a manje na zajedničke principe, kao što je to na primer 1976. formulirano u Sporazumu iz Bojtelsbaha¹⁸. Ti principi su pre svega zabrana nametanja mišljenja i indoktrinacije, očuvanje pozicije subjekta svakog pojedinca kao i zapovest kontroverznosti.

9. Memorijalni centri i istorijski muzeji izloženi su opasnosti da odslikavaju trenutne pravce vladajućeg duha vremena i da time više odražavaju trenutno viđenje određenog istorijskog trenutka nego što pripovedaju o konkretnom istorijskom događaju. Stoga uvek moraju da samokritično analiziraju i sopstvenu istoriju koja je deo istorije te određene kulture sećanja.

„Zaveštanje“ preživelih

Na dan sećanja na žrtve nacionalsocijalizma, 27. januara ove godine, predsednici međunarodnih komiteta zatočenika Aušvica, Bergen-Belzena, Buhenvalda, Dahaua, Flossenbirga, Mittelbau-Dore, Nojengamea, Ravensbrika i Zaksenhauzena predali su predsedniku Nemačke zajedničku izjavu. U tom „Zaveštanju“ preživelih koncentracionih logora, kako su sami nazvali tu izjavu, nisu navedena samo lična iskustva i sećanja na godine zatočeništva po raznim logorima, već i njihovo, ne tako retko, gorko iskustvo sa sećanjem Evrope na zločine nacionalsocijalističkog režima koji se ne mogu uporediti ni sa čim. U tom spisu preživeli jasno formulišu svoje viđenje budućih zadataka jedne zajedničke evropske kulture sećanja: Umesto da se koriste u službu za sporovođenje naših ideala, poput demokratije, mira, tolerancije, samoodređivanja, i ljudskih prava, prošlost vrlo često biva iskorišćena ne bi li se uzrokovali i probudili razdori među ljudima, grupama i narodima. Stoga se okrećemo protiv nametnutog nam nadmetanja u tome čija je krivica veća, protiv toga da uvodimo hijerarhiju u patnje, da teramo grupe žrtava da se međusobno takmiče, i da se istorijske faze međusobno mešaju. Stoga iznova pocttavamo apel nekadašnje predsednice Evropskog parlamenta, Simone Vej (Simone Veil), koju je izgovorila pred nemačkim Bundestagom 2004: da se sećanje mora prenositi dalje. „Evropa bi trebalo da

17 This agreement created a theoretical framework for political education in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is based on three postulates: 1. Ban on indoctrination; 2. Whatever is controversial in science and politics must be thematized as such in the educational process, as well; 3. The student must be stimulated to understand a certain historical situation in its context and analyze his/her attitude towards it. (translator's note)

18 Ovaj sporazum, postignut 1976. u Bojtelsbahu, stvorio je teoretski okvir za politički obrazovni rad u Saveznoj Republici Nemačkoj. Temelji se na tri postulata: 1. Zabrana indoktrinacije; 2. Ono što je kontroverzno u nauci i politici mora kao takvo biti tematizovano i u nastavi; 3. Učenik mora biti navođen da određenu istorijsku situaciju razume u njenom kontekstu i da analizira svoj odnos prema njoj. (prim. prev.)

it, with all its bright and dark sides; every member state should know about its own mistakes and failures, recognize them and be at peace with its own past, in order to be able to be at peace with its neighbors, as well.”¹⁸

Reinen zu sein, um auch mit seinen Nachbarn im Reinen sein zu können.”¹⁵

poznaje svoju prošlost u celini, i da stoji iza nje, sa svim njenim svetlim i tamnim stranama; svaka zemlja članica treba da zna za svoje greške i propuste, i da ih prizna, da se suoči sa svojom prošlošću, i da rasčisti sa njom, kako bi i sa svojim susedima mogla da bude u čistim odnosima.”¹⁹

18 Legacy (“Vermächtnis”) was frequently published and is also included on many concentration camp memorials’ websites. The text was printed in, e.g.: Gegen Vergessen. Für Demokratie, May 2009, pp. 14-19, specifically p. 18.

15 Das „Vermächtnis“ ist vielfach publiziert worden und befindet sich auch auf den Internet-Seiten der meisten Kz-Gedenkstätten. Der Text ist abgedruckt z. B. in: Gegen Vergessen. Für Demokratie, Mai 2009, S. 14-19, hier S. 18.

19 Zaveštanje (nem. „Vermächtnis“ – prim. prev) je višestruko objavljivao i može se naći na Internet-prezentacijama većine memorijalnih centara nekadašnjih koncentracijskih logora. Tekst je objavljen na primer i u: „Gegen Vergessen. Für Demokratie“, maj 2009., str. 14-19, ovde str. 18.

Grafitto at a Sajmište wall



Door to the former German Pavilion



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