

CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

The State Commission of Croatia for the
Investigation of the Crimes of the
Occupation Forces and
their Collaborators

translated by Sinisa Djuric



INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD LARGEST CONCENTRATION camp in World War II, the Jasenovac concentration camp, is also the least known about in the world, and for most of the people in western countries unknown. A suppressed chapter of history indeed. For over fifty years there were only a handful of references for Jasenovac in Western museums and books about the Holocaust and all attempts to introduce this unprecedented torture place to wider number of people have been welcomed by a barrage of denial, deception, deliberate distortion of facts and arbitrary interpretation of parts of documents. Such behavior of revisionist historians has been successful primarily because of the lack of documents and literature about Jasenovac in English. The only way to prevent misinterpretation is to present the available documents in complete form with as faithful a translation as possible.

Certainly one of the most important of such documents is the report of the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators from 1946. The systematic approach, with field research combined with many consistent testimonies of witnesses of three different nationalities (Croats, Jews and Serbs), along with forensic expert opinion provide a comprehensive insight into the most brutal of all Nazi death camps.

Regarding the veracity of the document: The only direct criticism of this document came from mathematician Josip Pecaric, who questioned the number of victims estimated in this document. However, the list of 19,000 victims he mentioned for the Jasenovac-Stara Gradiska camps was found in 1998 and starts with the letter P, and it only lists victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. For whole exterminated families, and in the case of the Roma for the whole nation there was no possibility of listing all victims by name on a census.

Others, like Franjo Tudjman, often used parts of this document to support their claims that the most victims in Jasenovac died of diseases, exhaustion and malnutrition, while at the same time claiming that the Ustase killed only 3,000 to 4,000 people for disobedience. The number could be near the truth if Tudjman was referring to the first five months. However, by paraphrasing parts of this document that speak of the first five months and extending them to the entire four years of Jasenovac's existence, Tudjman deliberately manipulates facts which anyone can see by comparing his writings with this report.

By such an interpretation, Tudjman concluded that it is a lie that Jasenovac was a death camp, that there were no daily massacres there, and that "*The truth is that the camp was organized as a 'labor camp' with many field and factory units. To the camp individually and mostly in small groups of tens or one hundred persons, tens of thousands of unfortunate persons were brought, but also released and shipped to labor camps in Germany.*" Readers will be able to see for themselves how and where Ustase pranksters "shipped" prisoners who signed up for labor in Germany or in other camps (page 24). And how prisoners were "released" is the best illustrated in the case of a Slovenian Catholic priest on the occasion of the visit of the "international commission." (pages 40-41)

In his attempts to minimize the number of victims in Jasenovac Tudjman also resorted to fabrications of monstrous proportions. Such was his intention to bury Pavelic together with other Ustase in Jasenovac among the bones of their victims. To that purpose he invented "the historical truth" that from 1945 to 1947, the Communists "kept Jasenovac open" to kill captured Ustase there. Naturally, as he was the only one to claim that, he did not offer a single piece of evidence to support that claim, not even a single testimony. As it can be read in the state commission report, it is mentioned a number of times that in 1945 and 1946 there was nothing in the place of the Jasenovac camp but piles of ruins.

Tudjman's books, from *War Against War* (early 1960s), which contributed to his prison sentence for reviving Fascism and national intolerance, to *Wastelands of Historical Reality* written to minimize Holocaust and mock innocent victims, could hardly be described as the books of an objective historian. During his official visit to Buenos Aires, Tudjman paid a visit to one of the former commandants of the Jasenovac camp, Dinko Sakic, and paid a tribute to him for everything he did. An historian presenting himself as objective, trying to establish the "historical truth" about a concentration camp, honors a commandant of that concentration camp, and yet there are still people who insist on the reliability and objectivity of his work.

Using a demographic statistical method, engineer Vladimir Zerjavic "calculated" that the number of Jasenovac victims totals about 77,000. Later he raised that

number another 10% (85,000), as he put it because it is more humane to put a higher number than calculated, though he said he is sure that this is the final number. Anyone familiar with statistics knows that using various assumptions and estimates in establishing a growth rate can lead to very serious mistakes. Based on the assumption that from 1931 onwards the population growth rate was decreasing, Zerjavic reduced the overall number of victims of World War II in Yugoslavia a whole 700,000 people! Even if the growth rate Zerjavic “calculated” was right, it wouldn’t be possible to apply that formula on all populations in a multinational country like Yugoslavia, as Zerjavic did. A growth rate would need to be established for all separate populations, as Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Serbs or Albanians had (and still have) very different growth rates.

For instance, if one would apply a growth rate of Yugoslavia on Kosovo Albanians, a much lower number of Albanians would be determined than the actual number, as Kosovo Albanians have the highest growth rate in Europe. Similarly, if one would apply a Yugoslav growth rate on Slovenians, a much higher number of Slovenians would be determined than there actually are, as they have a negative population growth rate. In the same way, the growth rate of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina was always a lot higher than the growth rate of Serbs in Serbia, and at that time it was nearly as high as the growth rate of Kosovo Albanians, which can be seen in the fact that in 31 years from 1879 to 1910 the number of Bosnian Serbs nearly doubled. In the same period the growth rate of Bosnian Serbs was significantly higher even than the growth rate of Bosnian Muslims. Zerjavic’s estimates and assumptions span from 1931 to 1948, but estimating a decreased growth rate on the Yugoslav level, he cannot estimate that for Serbs in Bosnia nor Croatia.

While Zerjavic’s “calculations” can be debated at great length, other examples can easily show the mockery his calculations really are. Zerjavic “calculated” the number of Jews killed in Jasenovac to 13,000, while Yad Vashem sent a list of 25,000 names to Tudjman. By his demographic statistical method, Zerjavic managed to erase 12,000 human lives.

The number of Roma victims especially doesn’t fit in Zerjavic’s account. While he calculated that 10,000 Roma were killed in Jasenovac, he admitted that only in Croatia there were 14,000 Roma registered in 1931. However, in this Jasenovac report, it is mentioned in several places, quite specifically, that all Roma from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia were gathered and killed in Jasenovac, numbering about 40,000 (which includes the territory of modern Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem, and even Backa and Banat, under Hungarian and German control). To support his claim, Zerjavic mentioned that in 1931 only one Roma was registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which to a person unfamiliar with Bosnian

history would imply that there were no Roma in Bosnia ever. The truth is that Roma represented an integral part of Bosnia for several centuries and there were many more Roma in Bosnia than in Croatia. The fact that only one was registered in 1931 can only mean that nobody bothered to register them. But, even if we would assume that Zerjavic is right and that there were no Roma in Bosnia, his calculation is still incorrect because if all Roma weren't killed in Jasenovac, that would mean that according to Zerjavic's calculations, 4,000 of them survived.

The 1948 census in Yugoslavia is very revealing in this regard. Namely, in that year there were 72,651 Roma in the whole of Yugoslavia. Out of that number, 98.57% of Roma lived in Serbia (52,115) and Macedonia (19,500), and the remaining just over 1% lived in Montenegro and about 200 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1948 census proves that all 40,000 Roma from NDH were indeed exterminated in Jasenovac, and that Zerjavic's "calculations" are false and a mockery of victims.

Of course, when faced with facts like these, revisionist historians like Pecaric and Zerjavic—instead of dealing with these facts and history—start with politics and go on at length about the crimes of the Communists towards captured Ustase, and often respond with primitive insults for anyone daring to present facts. Thus renowned Nazi hunters like Simon Wiesenthal and Efraim Zuroff are being called "Zionist Chetniks,"¹ "enemy rabid hyenas with bloody foam on their mouths,"² or even accused of being fond of Fascists.³

The attacks and speculations in various places about The Pavelic Papers website, coming as they do between death threats, can only be understood as disbelief, that they are demanding more proof. Not wanting to disappoint them we can only promise more documents like this one—much, much more to come...

SINISA DJURIC
NOVEMBER 30, 2003

¹ <http://www.hkz.hr/1695.htm>

² <http://www.hkz.hr/1715.htm>

³ <http://www.hkz.hr/1705.htm>

PUBLICATION NOTE

The 1946 report “Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp” originally included a sketched reconstruction of Jasenovac based upon the ruins of Camp No. III, which was thoroughly destroyed by the retreating Ustase. The sketch is not reproduced here.

“Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp” was translated by Sinisa Djuric and published by The Pavelic Papers. Reproduction is permitted, provided that the text is not in any way altered and the document is offered free of charge. The permanent URL for this document is:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/features/jasenovac1946.html>

CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

| | |
|--|----|
| A. Jasenovac: An Ustase and German Instrument for the Destruction of Our Peoples | 8 |
| B. A High Wall Separated Jasenovac from the Rest of the World | 12 |
| <i>Camp No. III</i> | 12 |
| <i>Camp No. IV</i> | 15 |
| C. The Systematic Destruction of Inmates | 16 |
| I. Arrival and Pillage | 16 |
| II. Food and Accommodations | 18 |
| III. Prisoner Labor | 20 |
| <i>Attitude Towards and Treatment of Prisoners by the Ustase</i> | 22 |
| <i>The Main Ustase Criminals</i> | 28 |
| <i>Informers and "Free Prisoners"</i> | 32 |
| <i>How Many Victims Died in Jasenovac?</i> | 33 |
| D. Specific Mass Atrocities | 35 |
| I. The Liquidation of Camps No. I and II in Jasenovac | 35 |
| II. Mass Executions on Catholic Christmas, 1941 | 37 |
| III. Mass Executions in the Winter of 1941/1942, Execution of Ill and Starved Prisoners | 38 |
| IV. The Arrival of the So-Called International Commission and Executions of Prisoners in Preparation of Its Arrival | 40 |
| V. Two New Ustase Atrocities | 41 |
| VI. Incineration of Inmates | 42 |
| VII. Mass Liquidations in 1942 | 43 |
| VIII. Mass Liquidations Outside the Camp | 44 |
| IX. Maiming and Killing of Two Groups in January and March 1942 | 45 |
| X. Mass Slaughter of Jews | 46 |
| XI. "Three Year Prisoners" Subjected to Torture and Killing | 46 |
| XII. The Liquidation of Camp No. III-C | 47 |
| XIII. Redoubled Brutality Against the Jews | 49 |
| XIV. The Slaughter of Children | 49 |
| XV. Changes in Camp Administration in March 1943 | 50 |
| XVI. Atrocities in the Summer of 1943 | 50 |
| XVII. "Forest Groups" | 51 |
| XVIII. Ustase Reprisals in June 1944 | 52 |
| XIX. Liquidation of a Larger Group of Serbs in Jablanac | 53 |
| XX. Activity of the Mobile Court-Martial in Jasenovac in September 1944 | 53 |
| XXI. A Still Bloodier Reign: October 1944 | 56 |
| XXII. The Bombing of Ustase Fortifications in Jasenovac | 57 |
| XXIII. The Final Liquidation of the Inmates | 57 |
| XXIV. Breakthrough from the "Tannery" | 60 |
| XXV. The Liquidation of the Ustase Hospital | 61 |
| XXVI. The Statement of Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, Ustase War Criminal and Commandant of Jasenovac | 61 |
| <i>Evidence of Crimes in Jasenovac</i> | 64 |
| E. Conclusion | 70 |



JASENOVAC: AN USTASE AND GERMAN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR PEOPLES

BEFORE THE WAR, NEAR the confluence of the Una and Sava Rivers there was a large and prosperous town named Jasenovac. Its population was predominantly Serbian. The town was situated on the Zagreb-Belgrade railway, and hosted several prosperous industries; for example, the “Brick Factory,” and a small factory that made iron goods, the “Chain Factory.”

On the eastern side of the Jasenovac plain, the Strug and Lonja Rivers flow into the Sava, and the entire area is exposed to persistent seasonal floods.

The leaders of the Ustase organization knew before entering Yugoslavia that they had no support among the people, and could only preserve their power through the use of terror. They arrived after Yugoslavia’s collapse, following behind Fascist tanks. Even before the war, they were trained in various Italian terrorist camps paid for by Fascist money. From the first days of the occupation, under the protection of German and Italian troops and with their active aid, they performed arrests and mass and individual executions of Serbs, Jews and progressive Croats according to a pre-conceived plan.

By applying the racist theory of the purity of race and nation in Croatia, they were prepared to exterminate all Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, as well as all Croats who in any way expressed an anti-Fascist disposition. Thus, in a short period of time, all of Croatia’s prisons were full.

The Ustase also founded camps in other places—for instance, in Djakovo, Sisak, Stara Gradiska, Lepoglava, Lobor and so on—but these camps were much smaller. Jasenovac became the largest and most extensive concentration camp in the whole of the so-called Independent State of Croatia.

The Ustase killed the entire population of the town, or deported them, and sta-

tioned in the town itself a permanent Ustase garrison.

The first inmates, consisting mostly of Serbs and Jews, were transported to the village of Krapje, twelve kilometers west of Jasenovac, and ordered to construct a camp which became officially known as “Jasenovac Camp No. I.”

As the number of prisoners continued to swell, a second camp was founded between Jasenovac and Krapje which became officially known as “Camp No. II.”

Inmates had to build both these camps alone and in great haste, constructing barracks and dikes which were constantly overwhelmed by floods. The Ustase finally realized that both locations were unsuitable for camps, so they liquidated them and founded alongside the “Brick Factory” in Jasenovac a new camp, which became officially known as “Camp No. III.”

In the town of Jasenovac itself, they turned the leather factory into “Camp No. IV.” The camp in Stara Gradiska, not far from Jasenovac, is sometimes mentioned in Ustase reports as “Camp No. V.”

Together, these camps could receive up to 7,000 prisoners, but there were never more than 3,000 to 4,000 men on labor detail, not even when Camp No. III housed a variety of workshops.

On 25 November 1941, the so-called *Poglavnik* of the NDH issued a “legal decree,” No. CDXXIX-2101-Z-1941, signed by his “Minister” of Justice and Religion, Dr. Mirko Puk.

This “legal decree” speaks of the deportation of disloyal and dangerous people to compulsory detention in labor and concentration camps. The main articles of the decree read:

§ 1.

Disloyal individuals who present a danger to public order and safety, or who could endanger the peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the accomplishments of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustase Movement, may be remanded to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps. The Ustase Secret Service is hereby authorized to establish these camps in various places.

§ 2.

The duration of detention in concentration and labor camps shall not be of a term shorter than three months nor longer than three years.

§ 3.

The right to remand individuals to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps, the right to determine the duration of detention and the degree of caution and surveillance, is bestowed to the Ustase Police Service as a branch of the Ustase Secret Service.

All administrative and autonomous districts, as institutions of the Ustase Movement,

are obligated to report to the Ustase Police Service via district administration all persons mentioned under Article 1 of this legal decree.

For the decisions of the Ustase Police Service regarding deportation and compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps there is no legal remedy, nor recourse to district courts.

§ 6.

The Ustase supervising commander will regulate the organization, labor and degree of caution and surveillance in concentration and labor camps, and the treatment of persons deported to these camps.

Thus began the horrifying régime of the “Ustase Security Service” and its commandant, which murdered hundreds of thousands of patriots and sent their families into mourning.

For an inmate to be sent to Jasenovac meant submitting to the mercy and cruelty of his Ustase tormentors; it meant martyrdom. The dark history of the Jasenovac camp reveals that the Ustase sent all elements that were to be liquidated there; those who were deemed disloyal to the régime “for racial, religious, national or political reasons.”

Today, we can determine that the Ustase sorted prisoners into two categories.

The first category comprised all inmates who were sentenced to detention for a duration of less than three years. It was the intention of the Ustase to exhaust these prisoners by labor to their physical limits, and then remove them to make room for new prisoners.

Only a few prisoners were released after they endured their sentence, and many of them later died from the consequences of their experiences in the camp.

The second category comprises inmates who were sentenced to detention for the maximum duration of three years. Prisoners sentenced by the Ustase Police Service for a duration of three years were, as a rule, liquidated immediately upon their arrival.

Both categories have in common the fact that the prisoners were sent to the camp on basis of individual “sentences” handed down by the Ustase Police Service.

We will see, however, that over the course of four years, the Ustase dispatched large groups of men, women and children to Jasenovac, and either took them inside the camp and liquidated them there, or liquidated them outside of the camp itself.

This included large groups of Serbs from various towns and villages, groups of Jews from various towns or districts, whole camps sent to Jasenovac for liquidation, all Gypsies from the territory of the NDH, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

The Ustase, quite simply, brought these unfortunate people to Jasenovac to herd them *en masse* into the slaughterhouse.

B

A HIGH WALL SEPARATED JASENOVAC FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD

Camp No. III

AS MENTIONED IN THE introduction, by the end of 1941 the Ustase began to build the true Jasenovac camp in the area of the “Brick Factory” and officially named it “Camp No. III.”

Camps No. I and No. II are described in Section D below. Both these camps existed for only a few months, while Camp No. III remained in operation for nearly four years.

The various workshops and barracks for inmates were encircled by a wall three meters high, so the whole of Camp No. III looked in the Spring of 1945 as it does in the outline attached to this document.

The camp itself was located directly to the east of the town of Jasenovac. The main entrance to the camp was on the western side, on the road which follows the Sava River from Jasenovac to the village Kosutarica and further on to Stara Gradiska. Made from light wood, the entrance gates were built inside the high wall. The wall went first to the north in a length of 420 meters, then in parallel with the railroad to the east in a length of 1350 meters. It continued southward at a 90 degree angle to the Sava for 1300 meters, cutting through the road to Kosutarica. That is where the “Eastern Gate” was located.

The last part of the wall, up against the banks of the Sava in the western direction, was 290 meters long.

The southern border of the camp was created by the Sava River, as a natural obstacle to prevent prisoners from escaping.

The whole of Camp No. III occupied an area of one and a half square kilo-

meters.

At the main (western) gate, sentry boxes were constructed along with the administration building, where prisoners who arrived in the camp were registered and lined up. The building also held a twenty-four meter high watchtower. These buildings were blown-up by the Ustase when they left Jasenovac; today there are only piles of rubble.

North of this building was the refinery, also destroyed, while the petrol tanks located both above and below the earth remained undamaged.

About 150 meters from the wall are the remains of a building that was 150 meters long and 8 meters wide and was pointed in a north-south direction. This was the main warehouse, originally used to store manufactured goods. The Ustase used the warehouse in the Winter of 1944/45 as a room where they herded masses of victims. They were stripped naked in harsh weather, had their hands tied behind their backs, and were bound together in pairs with wire. Then they were taken to the so-called "Granik."

The Granik was a device by which cargoes from boats and rafts had been lifted and unloaded. It was where goods were loaded to be transported out of Jasenovac.

On the Granik, the Ustase killed their victims by blows to the head from a mace or sledgehammer. Then their stomachs were cut open, iron ballasts were hung from their hands, and their bodies were thrown into the Sava.

East of the main warehouse was a large empty lot, filled with scrap iron used as material for the "Chain Factory."

Parallel to the main warehouse was a building housing additional locksmith and tinsmith workshops.

Twenty paces to the east was a whole line of buildings pointed in north-south direction.

The building endmost to the south was the infamous "Bell Warehouse." The Bell Warehouse was two meters long by three meters wide, originally used by the Ustase to store ruined bells from Orthodox churches. Later the bells were taken away, and coal tailings were stored in their place. The Bell Warehouse was later transformed into a torture chamber, housing prisoners who were sentenced to die of starvation. The warehouse had only a single door, made of glass, and no windows.

North of the Bell Warehouse was the "Package Warehouse," where guards censored letters and packages received by "obedient prisoners."

The third in the line of buildings was the "Camp Administration" building and the "Labor Section."

Further to the north was the “Chain Factory,” a large industrial building where various iron products were manufactured, such as chains and wires. There was also a blacksmith’s workshop, a machine factory, a tool factory, a foundry, a rifle factory and car mechanic.

From the sketch of the camp, we can see that at a distance of seven meters, parallel with the Chain Factory, was a circular furnace used for baking bricks for the “Brick Factory,” and behind it a warehouse used for drying them.

In early 1942, near the Brick Factory, the Ustase constructed a special furnace for the incineration of people—the so called “Picilli Furnace”—which they razed after three months in operation.

Also near the Brick Factory on the sketch we see a long, roofed depot without inner walls. Part of the railroad tracks passed through the depot from the Jasenovac train station, and inmates referred to it as the “Tunnel.” Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942 had to wait here for days or weeks in all sorts of weather until they were assigned a place in the barracks, or until they were taken to be liquidated.

In the sketch we can see further to the east another line of buildings, positioned in a north-south direction.

The endmost building to the south was located at the crossroads of an automobile and a pedestrian road. Inside was a sentry box, a dining room for Ustase officers, a kitchen and a barber. To the north was the Ustase Officer’s Quarters and the offices of the camp commandant and unit commanders, as well as a technician’s office.

North of this building was the Ustase kitchen, and the dining room reserved for Ustase who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment.

Near the automobile road to Kosutarica was the “Sawmill” and “Power Plant.” It was thirty-five meters high, twenty meters long and had a chimney fifty-two meters high.

The whole area behind the Sawmill was littered with construction materials, except for the northern part where a quarry was being dug out, since the dirt had been found to be very good for bricks.

Further north we can see a line of buildings where there was an economy, and next to it a belt factory, stables, blacksmiths workshops. Beside them was the so-called “Lake” in the rough shape of a mushroom, over which a wooden bridge had been built on the endmost southern part. Southeast of the Lake were stables, kitchens, dairies, butcheries and the women’s camp.

North of the Lake was the “Cemetery,” and near it a whole line of barracks, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide. In the first barrack was a hospital, a

clinic in the second, and in next six were inmates' quarters, and then the main and secondary kitchens.

The Ustase burned down all these buildings, dug the corpses out of their graves and burned them to mislay evidence of their crimes.

All of the buildings mentioned were enclosed by a fence. On the other side of the fence, in the direction of the southeast, was the "Pantry," butcheries and pigstys, and further the "Ustase Workshops" and "Quarters" and the women's camp with a kitchen.

Around these buildings was another fence, connected to the first near the barracks, where the quarters of the male prisoners were located. On the other side of these fences in the northeastern corner was "Camp III-C."

Camp No. IV

Camp No. IV was located in the town of Jasenovac itself, on Dimitrijeva Street.

The Ustase encircled several industrial buildings where leather was manufactured and dried with rows of barbed wire. The entire complex—the warehouses, workshops, rooms where a dynamo and steam engine were installed, pools for soaking leather, quicklime pits, buildings with offices and quarters of employees—formed a single, enclosed camp where the technical staff was imprisoned.

This entire, small colony was referred to as the "Tannery." Inmates of the Tannery received better food, and the Ustase treated them better than the prisoners from Camp No. III, because it was important that that the army receive well-manufactured leather.

Before their escape, the Ustase blew up and burned down all facilities and buildings in the camp, along with almost all of the houses in Jasenovac itself, so that this once beautiful and prosperous town now looks like the location where the most intensive fighting took place.



THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF INMATES

BEFORE WE MOVE ON to describing the mass atrocities committed against the inmates, we will describe along general lines the system and methods that Ustase applied in the camp. We will describe the life of the prisoners, the type of work they had to do, and all which they had to suffer.

I. Arrival and Pillage

For four years, transports of prisoners arrived in Jasenovac—some in railroad cars, some in trucks, and some by foot. Every week, groups—sometimes smaller and sometimes larger—stopped in front of the building of the Camp Administration, where Ustase guards who followed the transports delivered them to the commandants of the camp or their deputies.

Even while in transit to the camp, prisoners were subject to hunger and abused by different methods of torture.

Witness Kustorin Marijan briefly describes his trip from Stara Gradiska to Jasenovac:

On 23 September 1944 I was relocated from Stara Gradiska camp to Jasenovac with a group of 700 people. For nearly the whole trip, some thirty-eight kilometers, we had to run. Anyone that stopped or staggered was killed on the spot. The road followed alongside the Sava, so many exhausted comrades jumped into the river in desperation, to end their suffering.

Luburic, Milos or Matijevic, the chief commandants and killers in the camp, rarely allowed other high Ustase officers to receive transports of prisoners. They personally performed the inspection of newly-arrived victims, sorting them into groups: Serbs with Serbs, Jews with Jews, and Croats with Croats.

Luburic gave a “speech” to every group, full of insults and the most primitive curses, during which a whip or a truncheon was used to beat the prisoners across their backs or heads. Then they would move on to be robbed. The Ustase took away the belongings of every prisoner, such as a watch, pocket knife, wallet with money, jewelry, books, etc. Every prisoner had to make a statement that he had handed over all of his money, all things of value and letters, and that he didn’t hide or conceal anything.

For even the slightest violation of this rule, no matter whether it was accidental or intentional, the Ustase would punish the “guilty” with an instant death sentence. Witness Steiner Hinko state in his testimony:

I came to the camp on 18 September 1941 with an old man named Poljokan. After he gave them some of his trinkets and said that he didn’t have anything else, the Ustase discovered that he had sewn some money into his coat. Ljubo Milos stepped forward in front of all of us and stabbed him in the chest twice with a big knife. The old man collapsed.

Witness Fabijanec Josip: “When a group of 120 prisoners arrived, the Ustase immediately shot thirteen comrades.”

After the prisoners gave away everything they carried with them, and after signing a statement that they didn’t hide anything, they were obligatorily stripped naked. The Ustase seized the better suits, underwear and footwear and gave them old rags, and some were only left with their underwear. Witnesses were interviewed about these circumstances.

Witness Aleksic Arsa: “When they herded us into Jasenovac, they immediately stripped us naked, taking away our shoes. Instead of our fine clothing they gave us rags. They didn’t give us shoes even though it was the middle of winter.”

Witness Berger Egon: “The Ustase took everything from me and only left me the underwear I was wearing. The whole time they were beating us.”

Witness Lapcevic Stojan: “I was transported to Jasenovac on 12 November 1942. I arrived in a group of nine people. First they smacked us until we were bloody, then stripped us naked. The better clothing they took for themselves and gave us the worst.”

After this procedure, prisoners were sent in groups to the barracks they were assigned to. When there was not enough room for everyone in the barracks, the

remaining prisoners spent the night in other places in the camp.

Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac by the Ustase for the sole purpose of being liquidated were kept naked and barefoot for hours and hours, and sometimes even for several days, either in the building of the “Main Warehouse,” or in the “Tunnel,” or out in the open. Then they would take them to the Granik or to Gradina, the village on the Bosnian side of the Sava, and execute them there.

Until the Summer of 1942, prisoners were not allowed to receive packages and letters, so Ustase opened all packages that were sent to Jasenovac and split the contents among themselves.

As of Summer 1942, prisoners who were—by the Ustase’s evaluation—obedient and diligent were allowed to write home on postcards. They were permitted only to let their families know they were alive. However, on several occasions, the camp’s administration punished the entire population by forbidding them to send or receive mail home.

During the arrival of prisoners to the camp, the Ustase slapped them or beat them with truncheons and rifle butts. Many were shot or slaughtered immediately. In the execution of these crimes several Ustase stood out: Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Filipovic Miroslav, Picilli Hinko, Maricic Jerko, Jusic Mujo, Matkovic Ljubo, Kordic Tihomir, Djulkic Alaga, Gasparovic Dragan, Matijevic Matija and Skocibusic.

The State Commission established the legitimacy of these crimes from interviews with the following witnesses: Pesko Djuro, Zouhar Stjepan, Richter Rudolf, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Steiner Hinko, Stazic Josip, Blumschein Zlatko, Schwarzenberg Adolf and Berger Egon, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija; Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo; Matas Pavle from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar; Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevac; and Lapcevic Stojan and Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija.

II. Food and Accommodations

Food for the inmates in Jasenovac was poor and insufficient. Prisoners received meals two or three times a day. In the morning they would receive warm water with corn flour mixed in. At noon they would receive cabbage, bean or potato soup, in which there were a few vegetables, a potato or a bean, and in the evening they would receive similar fare. The inmates called the soup “hominy.”

Prisoners were given bread very irregularly. Often, they didn't receive bread for several months. The bread they were served was black, with an admixture of bran, and never in a quantity exceeding one eighth of a kilogram per day.

The food the Ustase gave to prisoners contained no fats at all, and very little salt.

The goal of the Ustase was to weaken the health of prisoners with such poor and insufficient food, making them incapable of physical strain and susceptible to illness. This was the practical consequence of such poor nutrition. With the squalor in the camp, every summer brought new epidemics of dysentery, typhus and other diseases of the digestive organs, which in just a single month in 1942 took the lives of 1,800 prisoners.

Nearly every prisoner became ill on account of poor nutrition, so we could quote many witnesses who described these horrible circumstances in the camps.

As an example, we will only mention the testimony of witness Breyer Otto, who stated the following:

Food in the camp was worse than miserable. For breakfast we would usually get this so-called soup. In fact, it was hot muddy water. For lunch we would have beans or potato soup, in which there were few beans or one potato. Supper was the same as lunch. Twelve people would share one kilogram of bread.

During my captivity in Jasenovac I often saw railroad cars full of food and packages for prisoners sent by businessmen or the Jewish religious communities in Osijek and Zagreb. Prisoners would only get beans and potatoes, while everything else—rice, coffee, sugar, canned goods, et cetera—the Ustase would take for themselves.

Similar testimony was given by witness Lapcevic Stojan, who stressed that on that kind of food he was forced to work for ten hours every day.

Living quarters for the prisoners were as unbearable as the food was miserable.

Until barracks were built, prisoners slept in the "Tunnel," in the brick warehouses, the attics of workshops and warehouses or under the open sky.

After the barracks had been erected, the prisoners slept inside of them. Every barrack was a huge wooden room, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide.

A corridor ran through the middle of the barracks. To the left and right were the bunks. Up to six prisoners could sleep in each bunk. When a new group of victims would arrive, and there was no more space left in the bunks, the Ustase would stack the prisoners so they had to lie on top of one another. When even in that way everything was full, others would sleep outside in various parts of the camp.

Sleeping was difficult, and the prisoners covered themselves with blankets. When the prisoners would arrive in the camp, the Ustase would take away the better blankets that prisoners brought themselves, and would later give them old blankets of poor quality. All the bunks were so riddled with parasites—bedbugs, lice and fleas—that the cleaning performed by prisoners was rendered useless.

Since inmates were allowed to wash their dirty clothes only once a month, it is obvious that unsanitary conditions prevailed. Throughout the Winter, epidemics of disease would ravage the camp, especially typhus. Few prisoners who contracted the disease survived. The prisoners' clothing was of very poor quality. Rooms where they had to sleep were cold and dirty.

The doctors and pharmacists who nursed the inmates were prisoners themselves, so they devotedly strived to help their unfortunate comrades. As their resources were very primitive, they couldn't help them much, and were unable to perform any significant surgical procedures.

Thus, every severely ill patient was sentenced to die, and if dying was too slow, Ustase would burst in at night, drive the patients out of their beds and herd them to Gradina or the Granik for liquidation.

All witnesses interviewed by this Commission consistently described the miserable hygienic conditions in which the inmates had to survive. The veracity of the above description was determined particularly by the statements of these witnesses: Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Kovacevic Vojislav, Trbojevic Nemanja, Dominec Ivan, Stazic Josip, Srica Dragan, Steiner Hinko, Skrgatic Dragutin, Orlic Sime, Danon Jakob and Hersak Josip, all from Zagreb.

III. Prison Labor

As mentioned in the introduction, in 1941 the Jasenovac camp at first consisted of Camp No. I near Krapje and Camp No. II near the Strug, while the real Jasenovac, Camp No. III, was built at the end of Autumn, 1941.

To the first two camps, the Ustase imprisoned Jews arrested in Zagreb, Osijek, Sarajevo and other larger cities, but also Serbs and Croats arrested in various parts of the NDH. There were many intellectuals among them. The Ustase treated the intellectuals with particular cruelty, taking away their clothes and footwear. The food they were given, as mentioned, was especially miserable, though the Ustase still forced them to work for long periods at the most difficult physical

labor.

The inmates were forced to build barracks and dikes intended to protect the camp from the floods of the Strug and the Sava. While they were working, the Ustase beat them with truncheons and rifle butts, forced them to dig faster and run at all times. If the individual collapsed from exhaustion, he would be finished off on the spot.

Prisoner Danon Jakob describes the forced labor in Camps No. I and II:

Every time we went to work, about thirty Ustase guards would turn their rifle butts on anyone who would fall exhausted from faint or old age. We always had to go to work running. On labor detail there even worse sentences than getting beaten by rifle butts. Those who would stop, who couldn't run, were murdered. The Ustase guards were shooting at us prisoners shouting, 'Faster, faster!' They wounded many.

If any prisoner would try to rest and stop even for a second, an Ustase bullet would kill him. I remember hearing Ljubo Milos tell the Ustase guards that they shouldn't shoot, because every single Ustase had a knife, so they should slit the throat of any prisoner who didn't want to work.

Of the several thousand prisoners from Camps No. I and II sent to Camp No. III, only several hundred arrived.

The labor of the prisoners in Camp No. III was divided into interior labor inside the camp and exterior labor around the perimeter.

Interior labor in the camp was performed in the workshops: the Chain Factory, the Brick Factory, the Bakery, the Power Plant, the Sawmill, the Economy, et cetera.

Prisoners had to work at least ten hours a day without rest, because the merchandise they manufactured was necessary for the occupying armies and the Ustase. They also loaded and unloaded railroad cars, trucks and boats on the Sava. There was no rest, not even on Sundays and holidays (in 1943, Sunday rest was permitted for diligent workers). Ustase supervisors patrolled the workshops on the watch for anyone resting, staying too long in the bathroom or working too slowly.

When an Ustase would surmise that a prisoner was "sabotaging" work, he would beat up or kill the prisoner on the spot.

Doctors would often prescribe rest for the ill, old and infirm prisoners, but the Ustase, especially Picilli Hinko, didn't care much for those instructions and relished beating those poor people and forcing them back to work.

Exterior prison labor consisted of building fences made out of barbed wire, small and large dikes, a large wall that lasted until the end of 1942, constructing

bunkers and defensive positions in the area around the camp, cutting trees and chopping wood, working in fields and in “Economy” or in neighboring Jablanac. Ustase guards escorted the prisoners to the work sites and forced them with rifle butts, knives or guns to work faster. Many thousands of prisoners were killed during exterior labor, so it often happened that whole groups or parts of groups didn’t return to the camp. Ustase guards simply stated that they had tried to run, so they had to kill them.

Attitude Towards and Treatment of Prisoners by the Ustase: The Position of Prisoners in General

If they didn’t sense it earlier, every prisoner upon arrival at the camp would understand that a horrible and certain death awaited him. The only uncertainty was how long his suffering would last.

For those who didn’t bear witness to these atrocities—the torture that the inmates were subjected to—it seems unbelievable, impossible that there could exist men who would with such an excess of sadism, with such an excess of perversion, invent and perform such cruel methods and means of torture.

Only the Fascist mentality could create the inhuman monsters who committed these atrocities. Brutality was the only thing that could satisfy their criminal mentality, from the *Poglavnik* down to the last butcher.

Every Ustase, from Luburic down to the lowliest guard, was almighty and all-powerful to the prisoner. He held the power of life and death. At any time, day or night, during work or rest, any Ustase could kill any prisoner and not be held responsible for it by anyone, and wasn’t even required to register the fact.

The following episode is based on the testimony of witness Danon Jakob.

On 23 December 1941, Milos Ljubo, one of the worst Ustase murderers, ordered that all prisoners assemble for muster. He pointed out that one of the inmates tried to kill an Ustase guard. He didn’t mention the name of the prisoner, nor of the Ustase he tried to kill.

Milos Ljubo then separated twenty-five prisoners from the line, grabbed a rifle and shot them all. Then he called for Dr. Gusti Leindorfer to make sure they were all dead, then called for the undertakers to take away their corpses.

Then he added, joking, “Oh, I forgot to ask for their names.”

Even the briefest rest during forced labor, the unsanctioned gathering of prisoners, rummaging through kitchens for food, an appeal from a prisoner to be

spared from labor because of illness or exhaustion, et cetera, represented the worst offense to camp discipline. The Ustase punished such offenses brutally. They would beat the victims with clubs, stakes, whips, or rifle butts; kicked them or stabbed them with bayonets; and quite often would use revolvers or knives and kill them straight away. Sometimes an Ustase would permit a prisoner to do something or take something forbidden. Repercussions were immediate: another Ustase would punish the offender in the most inhuman manner.

Public punishments were often held for petty, trivial or invented offenses, or for no offense at all.

Witness Breyer Otto described the following scene:

Beatings took place when Ljubo Milos or Matijevic were walking through the camp. They would approach a prisoner and without any reason just pick him out and take him to the prison near the Administration building. In the evening all prisoners would be gathered into lines and then the chosen ones—usually two or three comrades—were singled out in front of everyone. Ljubo or Matijevic said that the prisoners had been selected because they didn't want to work and that they would be punished by twenty-five lashes from a whip across their naked backside. A chair was brought, the punished would have to remove his pants and underwear, and lie over the chair. And then one Ustase would hit him twenty-five times as hard as he could with a whip which had a wire inside. It would break the prisoner's skin, blood would flow so much that he wouldn't be able to walk at all for several days.

And then it would be the turn for the second prisoner, the third and so on. They went to supper when they finished with the last. Ustase walking between camp prisoners after labor, whenever they would want, without anyone's orders and without any reason, on a whim, would grab a prisoner and beat him up. I watched once when they beat my friend with a stake and stomped his body until he died.

Other Ustase shot at us with guns. Just from shootings, several people were killed every day.

Aside from these 'performances' for public punishments, there were also 'performances for the reduction of the overall number of prisoners in the camp.' There were also performances for signing up of all those who wanted to go to work in Germany, or who wanted to go to any other camp or hospital for 'treatment.'

Witness Riboli Josip in his statement adds:

Whenever the camp was full, the Ustase would decide to liquidate a certain number of prisoners. All prisoners had to line up in the evening or at night. Once, when Maricic was walking between groups of prisoners, he shoved his lamp in my face and asked where we were from. If Maricic didn't get the necessary number of victims from parts of the country he didn't like, then he would pick the people he personally disliked.

This sort of examination would last for several hours. Maricic would walk around with his escort and returned several times to the same group, sadistically enjoying holding the inmates in suspense, hoping the dice didn't fall on them.

The other public performances—for signing up to go to work in Germany or to a hospital, or any other camp—the Ustase considered a “prank,” laughing at the thought of people voluntarily signing up for death.

Witness Breyer Otto described the fate of prisoners who signed up to go to the Djakovo camp:

I was there when the Ustase loaded prisoners into trucks, then ordered them to sit or kneel. Then they covered them with big awnings, and after that five or six Ustase climbed on and started jumping on the prisoners, kicking them and beating them with rifle butts. That sort of kicking and killing Ustase called 'recovery in Djakovo'...

Ustase would often come at night to the barracks and beat up prisoners, just for fun. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated:

I worked in the concentration camp in the 'Sawmill' as a carpenter. I was also beaten during that period. We all had to get up at night and run in circles by the door of the barrack, where lines of Ustase would beat us with their rifle butts without mercy.

Witness Duzemlic Milan stated:

Upon my arrival at the camp on Christmas of 1943, I was thrown into solitary confinement, where I spent twenty-two days. The Ustase burned my feet, shoved needles under my nails, beat me with a cord wrapped in rubber, they put a board on my chest and stomped on it. They stabbed me, I have visible scars from it on both of my arms. During the entire time I heard screaming and moaning from the other rooms, and I later found out they tortured prisoner Djogas Josip by tying his arms and legs, curling him up into a ball and rolling him over a board of nails. Sertic Djuro, the Ustase cut pieces of flesh from his thighs and salted his wounds.

I remember seeing another incident involving several other prisoners. In December 1944, Luburic, Matkovic, Ljubo Milos, Stojcic and Kordic amused themselves by knocking down a 19-year old girl, Loncarevic Marica from Plesma. She was nude on the ground, they spread her legs and then crucified her on a table and burned her genitals with cigarettes, they shook off the ashes from their cigarettes.

Once, during the liquidation of children in the camp, an Ustase threw a one-year old child in air, and the other Ustase caught the child on a bayonet.

I also saw Ustase Sergeant Bracic Nikola kill prisoner Sulekic Ivan from Kozarica and drink his blood.

There are numerous ways of torture, it's impossible to describe every way the Ustase killed prisoners. They tortured Partizan Tomsic Valent in December 1944 by cutting his testicles off, from which he died.

The Ustase murdered whole groups of prisoners who were sent to Jasenovac by liquidation on the Granik or near the villages of Gradina and Ustica, which lie on the Bosnian side of the Sava River opposite the Granik. Witness Zivkovic Jovan described mass liquidations on the Granik:

Sometimes it lasted all night. Victims would wait in the Main Warehouse or in some other building or out in the open. Before leaving, the Ustase would strip them naked. Then they would tie their hands behind their backs with a wire. Tied like that, they'd herd them one by one to the Granik. A victim would be forced to his knees, and an Ustase would tie a heavy iron weight in the shape of a ring on the victim's arms. After that they would hit the victim with a mallet, a sledgehammer or with the dull side of an axe on the head. They would often cut their stomachs open with a butcher's knife and dump them into the Sava.

Liquidations in Gradina and Ustica were at first performed by Ustase alone, but after 1942 they also used Gypsies. Prisoners would first have to dig long and deep pits. The Ustase would strip them naked, kick the gold fillings out of their heads, and then the victim would have to jump into a pit, where an Ustase or a Gypsy would wait, and hit the victim on the head with a sledgehammer or cut the victim's throat with a knife. Witness Berger Egon described these liquidations:

I worked in Jasenovac as an undertaker starting in December of 1941 and I know that I with other comrades buried about 200 to 300 victims daily. Killings were performed in the following way: pits were three to eight square meters in size. While we were digging graves, Ustase headed by Lieutenant Mujica performed killings of victims that were tied up with wire. The Ustase killed victims by hitting them on their temporal bone. They also killed them by an axe blow across the neck, or by putting wooden stakes into victim's mouths. A stake would be placed into the victim's mouth vertically, and then an Ustase would hit it with an axe and the stake would surface at the top of the head.

Sometimes they asked victims if they had any relatives, and when they established that they did, they would force them to kill each other. There were situations when a brother killed his brother, a father his son, a daughter her mother, and so on. Ustase often cut reins from the backs of many victims. I was there when Mujica cut reins from the back of one vic-

tim and then drove the victim around pulling at them. Younger Ustase cut victims' noses and ears off and told each other that they killed Partizans in combat and cut off their ears and noses. The noses and ears they put in handkerchiefs and kept in their pockets.

They would look over every victim, and when they saw that a victim had gold fillings in his teeth, they would pry them out with their knives.

The same Berger Egon was lying in a hospital in February of 1942 because he was stabbed five times with a bayonet by an Ustase because he didn't dig graves fast enough.

Witness Finzi Jakob stated the following:

I worked as an undertaker in the camp graveyard only for ten days. During that period of time I buried corpses without heads, without arms, with crushed skulls, with missing fingers and toes, with nails driven into their chest, with missing sexual organs, mutilated corpses black and blue from beatings. During those ten days we buried about 3,000 corpses. Among them I recognized the corpses of five undertakers finished off by the Ustase.

Witness Kosina Franjo stated in his testimony:

On a Sunday just before Christmas of 1944, I saw at 11 o'clock about forty naked women and children herded out of the camp to the Granik, where Luburic cut their throats and Prpic cut open their bellies and dumped them into the Sava. On another occasion, I saw thirty-five prisoners hanged and one woman among them who had four little children in the camp. During her hanging her children cried for her and grabbed onto her skirt, but Picilli kicked this six-year old girl so hard that his boot cracked her skull.

We have already mentioned that the Ustase killed prisoners on labor. Related to that we add the statement of witness Katalinic Andrija:

As a barber I often went to the place where the 'New Dike' was being built, and I saw Ustase hitting workers on the dike with knotty truncheons. The ones they finished off they threw into the dike. I heard one Ustase guard, an older man named Jozo, bragging in front of everyone what a real pleasure it is when he slaughters Partizan children and how every evening he slaughters ten to twenty children just for fun.

Camp commandants often ordered executions of groups of prisoners because of a “severe misdemeanor” that happened in the camp. Executions were performed in public in the presence of all inmates. Witness Riboli described one scene:

Majstorovic, Polic and Maricic competed over which of them was a better butcher. Victims had to kneel in front of them until they were touching their foreheads to the ground, and the executioners would fire their revolvers at the backs of their heads. If death wasn't instant, one of them would grab a knife and slit the victim's throat. On one occasion, Ustase Sergeant Major Matijevic licked warm blood off a knife. That was so repulsive, that prisoners either turned their heads away or looked down, not wanting to watch this.

There was also a gallows in the camp, where some prisoners were hanged, their bodies remaining there for several days as a “serious warning” to other prisoners. There was also a crematorium in the camp, designed by Picilli. Ustase incinerated men, women and children here, but we will speak in more details about this so-called Picilli Furnace in Section D.

Witnesses claim that there was a machine in Jasenovac by which the Ustase crushed people, and also a “saw” which was used to saw people alive. The sick and sadistic behavior of the Ustase guards, especially when they were drunk, is illustrated by witness Sulina Mato:

I found out from older prisoners, eyewitnesses, how Ustase had cut open the stomach of a pregnant woman and took out her child, and then cut open the belly of another, non-pregnant woman, and stuck the child into her stomach.

I remember myself an Ustase, Horvat Mate, who would always, when he was drunk, look for a victim and to try a new, original way of torturing them, one never applied in practice before.

I saw with my own two eyes when the Ustase placed one prisoner on an anvil and beat him with hammers, as if they were forging on him, until he succumbed.

This chapter would not be complete if we didn't mention one of the worst methods of torturing and killing prisoners. That was torture and death by starvation.

Later we will describe how the Ustase liquidated the entire population of Camp III-C by subjecting prisoners to death by starvation. We will mention here the “Bell Warehouse,” a special torture chamber set aside explicitly for that purpose. It

was a small barrack without windows, with a glass door, so that from outside it was possible to view everything. The Ustase locked victims inside, keeping them there without food and water for several weeks. Their suffering was awful, and from the barrack desperate screams resounded: “Take us away! Kill us!” The Ustase, especially Matkovic Ivica, reveled in the suffering of their victims, passing in front of the Bell Warehouse and laughing.

As the Bell Warehouse was a small building, not more than thirty prisoners could be locked in at one time. As new victims arrived, the previous inmates had to make room for them. The Ustase would take the previous group to the Granik and execute them there. Even torture by starvation and the knowledge they would kill them later still didn’t satisfy these Ustase's sadism, so they beat and stabbed them with knives before taking them out to their execution.

Witness Devcic Natko relates his observations of the inmates that the Ustase took out alive from the Bell Warehouse:

All of them were to be shot now, after they had spent some time in the torture chamber called the Bell Warehouse. Most of them came out completely black and blue from beating, ears ripped off or cut off and bloody. I remember the names of Dr. Juraj Bocak and Dr. Ozren Novosel, both of them doctors, who were tortured in the Bell Warehouse.

Based on the testimony of many witnesses, of whom only few were quoted here, the State Commission has established the manner in which the Ustase tortured and executed the camp prisoners. When the moment of liberation finally arrived, the Ustase feared that the truth would be revealed. To cover up their numerous atrocities they began in April of 1945 to dig through graveyards in haste, digging out corpses and skeletons of victims and burning them at the stake. For days and weeks the stakes burned, and when their work was finally over, the Ustase killed the inmates who performed the work, and then embraced each other while drinking.

The Main Ustase Criminals

The *Poglavnik* entrusted supreme control over all of Jasenovac’s camps to Luburic Maks. In all of his duties, Luburic was responsible only to him.

Before the war, Luburic was a common criminal and had been sentenced to prison for a variety of criminal offenses. From the original police reports found in

the files of the Zagreb police, we can see that Luburic, by the sentence of 7 September 1929 No. 104.761, was punished with two days in prison for roaming the streets, and by the sentence of the District Court in Mostar of 5 December 1931 No. Kzp. 719/31, with five months hard labor for the embezzlement of 8,305 dinars belonging to the public stock exchange in Mostar. He was arrested again for a second act of embezzlement.

His real name isn't "Maks," the nickname he was given by his Ustase colleagues, but Vjekoslav. Luburic was a common rambler, despising all honest labor. When Pavelic left the country, he went after him and refined his brutality in various Ustase camps in Hungary and Italy.

Pavelic so highly appreciated these Ustase abilities that he eventually named him an Ustase general.

This monster, of an almost dwarf-like height and a face bearing strong traces of infantilism and the characteristics of a criminal, represented the supreme and only authority in the camps.

Luburic came to Jasenovac two or three times per month. He stayed only a few days at a time, but even during that short period he committed so many atrocities that the prisoners were terrified when they would hear that he had "stopped by" Jasenovac.

Knowing when new transports of prisoners arrived at Jasenovac, he wanted to hear why individual prisoners had been sentenced. He only heard and understood what his hatred, his base passions, and his most bestial instincts dictated.

His first "reports" were terrible, characterized by his ranting and curses, and followed up by fists, rifle butts, bullets from his revolver and his knife across their throats. He constantly patrolled the camp, looking to discover any violation of "camp discipline," to catch a prisoner slackening from weakness, old age or illness, to catch a hungry prisoner rummaging through the trash for food or not greeting him with a proper Ustase salute. His eyes would glisten, and a revolver or a knife would go into action.

On 9 October 1942, Luburic arranged for a ceremony in Jasenovac and distributed gold and silver medals to his subordinates, sent to them by Pavelic as a reward for "merit."

At the banquet, Luburic, as drunk as the rest, held a speech and according to the testimony of one witness stated, "*And thus in one year here in Jasenovac we have slaughtered more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during the entire stay of the Turks in Europe.*"

Luburic's first deputy was Matkovic Ivica. Matkovic was a common killer, who executed prisoners by his own hand just like Luburic. He was also a pro-

nounced sadist who enjoyed prolonging suffering for as long as possible. The true measure of the man can be seen in the fact that he enjoyed mocking his helpless victims.

Matkovic ordered that all camp prisoners must line up to witness mass executions, singled out victims in order to reduce the overall camp population, et cetera.

Matkovic arranged a great three-day slaughter of Serbs on Catholic Christmas in 1941, and ordered the liquidation of Camp No. III-C by exposing prisoners in the harsh winter to death by starvation.

Third in rank in the camp was Milos Ljubo of Herzegovina. Milos Ljubo was an extremely sanguine fanatic and sadist. While Matkovic Ivica was a refined killer, Milos Ljubo was a brutal butcher.

Witness Flumiani Milan stated about him:

As soon as we arrived, the seventeen of us, to Jasenovac, Ustase beat us with rifle butts and took us to the Brick Factory, where Milos Ljubo had already lined up two groups, while we arrived as a special third group.

Maricic asked Ljubo Milos, 'Who should I aim at first?' And Milos replied, 'Where there's more of them,' and both of them pointed automatic rifles at the forty men from the first two groups and shot them all.

After that he asked the first man from our group why he came here, and when that man replied that he is guilty for being born a Serb, he shot him at the spot.

Then he picked out Laufer, a lawyer from Zagreb, and asked him what he was, and when he replied, he called out him like this—'I like lawyers very much, come closer'—and killed him right away.

Then he found out that a third man was a doctor from Zagreb, and he ordered him to examine the first two men and to establish whether they were dead.

When the doctor confirmed that they were, he turned to the fourth man and when he found out that he too was a doctor, he 'forgave' the whole group.

Ljubo Milos would often go into one of his fits, riding a horse across the camp and shooting at groups of prisoners who didn't manage to hide themselves.

He kept a room in the camp administration building that he arranged as a sort of a "clinic."

He would wear a long white doctor's gown and send an Ustase guard to the Jewish barrack with the message that every Jew who was ill could come in for a doctor's examination.

When a victim would come to his "clinic," Milos would place him against the wall and with a quick swipe from his knife would cut the victim's throat, ribs

and stomach. He called that an “operation,” the “ritual slaughter of Jews,” and as witness Riboli stated, he was very proud of it.

But even Milos was surpassed in sadism by Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, commandant of Camp No. III, but also for a time commandant of the camp in Stara Gradiska.

Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav is a friar, a Franciscan. In the beginning of 1942, he was sent to the prison on Savska Cesta in Zagreb. After Easter of 1942 he was sent for punishment to Jasenovac. There he first became a “Free Prisoner,” and when Ustase commanders noticed that this friar had abilities the Ustase coveted, they accepted him into their ranks and appointed him as an officer among the supervising staff. Thus did Filipovic-Majstorovic by the end of 1942 become an Ustase officer and commandant of Camp No. III.

Witness Krkac Tomo described Majstorovic in his statement with these words:

Very often during my imprisonment in Jasenovac I saw Majstorovic shoot prisoners during so-called ‘public performances.’ Majstorovic kept this short rubber hose, which he sometimes held over his victims wounds, saying, ‘I want to get drunk on Communist (or Jewish) blood.’

I saw when Majstorovic and Stojcic amused themselves by killing three Gypsies, ordering the first Gypsy to kill the second Gypsy with a sledgehammer, the third to kill the first, and then they liquidated the last.

Many other witnesses also stated that they saw Filipovic killing prisoners by his own hand.

The State Commission, through a magistrate of its investigative division, interrogated Filipovic after the liberation of the country when he finally fell into the hands of justice. The main parts of his statement appear in Section D.

The commander of the labor service in Jasenovac was an engineer, Hinko Dominik Picilli. He was the absolute master of camp’s “labor power.” Picilli exploited prisoners ruthlessly, forcing them to work beyond their limits. He inspected prisoners in workshops and at worksites, wherever they worked, and with an iron-wire whip, which he always carried, he beat the workers ruthlessly over their heads and across their torso, arms and legs.

Picilli especially persecuted infirm prisoners prescribed rest by doctors, entering the barracks where they were and forcing them back to work with his whip. He studied blueprints of German “crematoriums” and built a furnace near the “Brick Factory” where men, women and children were incinerated for three months. We

will speak of this furnace in more detail in Section D.

Other members of the Ustase headquarters in Jasenovac were Brkljacic, Polic, Maricic and a few other commanders. It has been established that they all executed prisoners personally; we will emphasize specific atrocities below.

Informers and “Free Prisoners”

These terms sometimes appear in this document, so to avoid confusion we will clarify what is meant by “Informers” and “Free Prisoners.”

Informers were made up of various Ustase members found guilty of some disciplinary lapse or serious criminal offense, and who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment. It should be made clear that by “criminal offense,” only a mutual offense between Ustase is implied, as the worst atrocities committed against the enemies of Fascism didn’t meet with any disciplinary or criminal responsibility.

The Ustase administration housed these convicts in a separate building, gave them good food—the same food the Ustase guards received—and obligated them to supervise camp prisoners while they were working or asleep. These “Informers”—as camp inmates called them—could move about freely and walk about outside the camp. They hovered around the camp prisoners, carrying sticks or bats and beating prisoners to force them to work.

They were very cruel towards inmates; often they beat prisoners to death. Witness Devcic Natko describes them:

Officer Civindini had a prison and a torture chamber in Jasenovac, and his aide was a police agent named Kovacevic. Aside from him he had an entire squadron of informers and thugs, all convicts, imprisoned police agents and Ustase, whom we called the ‘Agency.’ I know they tortured and killed many prisoners in the most savage ways. I once heard the screaming and wailing of one prisoner named Deutch. They burned him with a red hot iron and tortured him until he went insane, and then they slaughtered him.

The Informers criticized the Ustase out loud in front of prisoners and tried to lure them into saying something careless. When the victim would fall for it, they would rush to denounce him.

“Free Prisoners” were prisoners who stood out by their obedience to Ustase supervisors, to the extent that they entrusted them with supervision over other

inmates. Free Prisoners had better accommodations and better food, they could send and receive packages and letters from home, and they could move about freely throughout the camp.

How Many Victims Died in Jasenovac?

During their hurried escape from Jasenovac at the end of April of 1945, the Ustase burned or destroyed all material which could be used as the basis of a statistical analysis to determine how many victims died in Jasenovac.

Thus all registries, directories, ledgers, economy books, and all official documents and orders which could have related certain information about the camp were destroyed, even though record keeping was—according to statements of witnesses—erroneous, sloppy and unsystematic.

Therefore, it isn't possible to answer the question of precisely how many victims died in Jasenovac. Few prisoners who spent some time in the camp were released, and less than a hundred managed to break out of the camp in the final moments.

It was pointed out earlier that the Ustase sent prisoners to Jasenovac for labor, but it has also been stated that many transports of men, women and children arrived at Jasenovac only to be taken inside and liquidated by the Ustase, or killed nearby without being seeing the inside of the camp at all.

The most intense years of the Ustase terror and mass crimes were 1941 and 1942. The whole of 1943 and half of 1944 were marked by relative moderation, which means that mass executions of inmates were not performed as often and in such a scale as they had before. From August of 1944 until April of 1945, large transports began to arrive and liquidations were repeated again *en masse*.

Prisoners who were in the camp in the first or fourth year mention very high numbers of victims, while the statements of those who were imprisoned in the third year of the Ustase terror in Jasenovac give a much smaller number of victims.

We will mention below some fifty mass crimes carried out by the Ustase in Jasenovac, and if we add the number of prisoners who were killed individually to the number of victims killed in mass executions, we arrive at the figure of approximately 500,000 to 600,000.

As we have pointed out, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of victims swallowed up by Jasenovac. However, based on the research conducted by this State Commission, we can conclude that the above figure approach-

es reality.

Not one criminal in history managed to slaughter one tenth of a nation, the way Pavelic did his own people. And yet he had the nerve to declare in public that *“Jasenovac is not a resting place, but it is not a torture place either.”*



SPECIFIC MASS ATROCITIES

WE WILL NOW DESCRIBE atrocities committed *en masse* which the State Commission has established based on the interviews and consistent testimony of many witnesses. We will list these crimes in chronological order from the middle of 1941 to the end of April 1945.

However, these represent only a fraction of the crimes which were actually committed.

The Ustase committed most mass crimes in Jasenovac at night, and secretly, so in most cases, surviving witnesses do not have direct knowledge of the number of victims nor of the exact time and means of execution.

In addition, the number of those who survived imprisonment is so small that we do not have direct evidence for most of the atrocities performed in Jasenovac.

I. The Liquidation of Camps No. I and II

As mentioned in the introduction, the first Jasenovac camp was located twelve kilometers away from the town of Jasenovac, near the village Krapje. After several weeks, Camp No. II was founded on the Strug River, near the road leading to Jasenovac in the direction of Novska. The Ustase brought the initial prisoners to two large fields and ordered them to encircle the area with barbed wire and construct sentry boxes. Prisoners then had to build barracks, kitchens and other auxiliary rooms for their living quarters and construct dikes around both camps, as both the Strug and the Sava often flooded the entire area around Jasenovac.

In the Summer and Autumn of 1941, the Ustase brought thousands of Serbs, Jews and Croats to the camps. These were workers, peasants, journalists, lawyers, engineers, industrialists, merchants and clerks.

Inmates were forced to work without respite from morning until dark, in water up to their knees, pulling up dirt with their hands and sometimes shovels to drag to the dike. The Ustase treated them brutally, beating and kicking anyone who would stumble or faint. Often they would simply shoot him or slit his throat and throw his body into the dike.

They carried out punishments using what they referred to as the “Wire.” Witness Breyer describes it:

For any sort of ‘offense’—for instance, if an inmate would dare ask for more food, or to spare the old and ill inmates—he would be placed in a cage the Ustase called the ‘Wire.’ It was a square five meters long, five meters wide, and one meter high, fenced from the sides and from above with barbed wire, open from beneath. It was located in a swamp. The Ustase would throw in a prisoner and keep him there for several days and nights, in all kinds of weather, without food or drink.

As prisoners were barefoot and could only crouch inside of the Wire, their legs were submerged beneath the water. Many acquired respiratory infections or other severe illnesses. Dr. Oton Gavranic from Zagreb, among others, was martyred inside the Wire.

As the food was miserable in both camps, and labor exhausting, prisoners died in great numbers every day.

In November 1941, autumnal rains flooded the entire area into a great lake. Provisional dikes faltered, and the Ustase feared that the floodwater would carry away their sentry boxes. They decided to liquidate both camps, disassemble the barracks and order the prisoners to move to the area around the “Brick Factory” near Jasenovac, to build a new camp there.

Around 15 November, Luburic ordered that all prisoners who were physically unable to move to the new camp were to be executed. On that occasion, 600 to 700 prisoners were murdered.

The same day, Luburic ordered another eighty-five prisoners to be killed, because they had dared to appeal to him to improve the quality of the food received by the inmates.

Milos Ljubo and other Ustase at the same time slaughtered about fifty Jews in Camp No. II, to sew fear in those who “don’t want to work fast.”

After these executions, only about 700 prisoners remained, who through rain and mud had to carry blocks, battens, tools and other materials to Jasenovac itself. By the time the move to the new camp was complete, it was established that only 250 prisoners remained alive. They became the first prisoners of Camp No. III.

The State Commission has established that in the first five months in Camps No. I and II, about 8,000 prisoners died from illness or exhaustion, or by Ustase knives and rifles.

These facts were established based on the testimony of witnesses Filipcic Ivan from Zagreb, Auferber Mijo from Osijek, Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Ilic Branko from Zivinice and Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb.

II. Mass Executions on Catholic Christmas, 1941

The first 250 prisoners were housed in the open sheds of the “Brick Factory.” By segregating Serbs, Jews and Croats, the Ustase thus created Sections 3A, 3B and 3D.

New transports of prisoners arrived daily. As there wasn’t enough space for such a large number of people, new prisoners had to sleep in the attics of the Brick Factory and the Chain Factory or under the open sky.

Kvaternik Eugen and Luburic Maks planned to gradually build various industrial workshops and barracks for prison labor in Camp No. III. They calculated that they would have to make room for 3,500 to 4,000 prisoners, who would represent Jasenovac’s “permanent labor force.”

They ordered that the camp be encircled by barbed wire with a broad wall, three meters high, to prevent prisoners from escaping. Thus was the camp separated from the rest of the world. A railroad passed nearby, and behind it the main road, so travelers might be able see everything that went on inside the camp. That was to be prevented. The Ustase took pains to evacuate the population of Jasenovac and the nearby villages, to isolate the camp totally from the outside world.

In 1942 the Ustase ordered the construction of new industrial buildings and living quarters, turning Camp No. III into a small industrial base important for supplying their army with various materials.

Mass atrocities had already begun in the Autumn of 1941. On Catholic Christmas Eve, 24 December 1941, the Ustase herded about 500 Serbian peasants from around Jasenovac into the camp. Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic

Joso planned to kill the whole group of innocents and in that way “celebrate” the Christmas holiday.

Witness Milisa Djordje described the atrocity in his statement:

A day before Christmas in 1941, I saw a group of about 500 prisoners taken to a field. They were first forced to dig a deep pit. After that, the Ustase hit them one by one over the head with sledgehammers, threw them into the pit, filled it back up and threw quicklime over it. This happened several hundred meters away from me and the other prisoners, so I couldn't tell who exactly was doing the killing. I know that this was a group of Serbs. At that time the commandant of Jasenovac was Ljubo Milos.

The next day—on Christmas itself—another group of fifty Serbs arrived in Jasenovac. This group too was slaughtered by Milos Ljubo and Matijevic Joso, which is described by witness Danon Jakob:

Matijevic Joso pushed the prisoners towards Ljubo Milos with a bayonet. Their hands were tied behind their backs. Each and every one of them Milos stabbed with a strong swing of a large butcher knife and slit their throats.

III. Mass Executions in the Winter of 1941/42: Executions of Ill and Starved Prisoners

Throughout the entire period from 1941 until the end of February 1942, the Ustase brought large numbers of men and women from Srem, Slavonia and Bosnia for liquidation in Jasenovac. They were mainly Serbs, but there were also Jews and some Croats.

Inmates Steiner Hinko and Berger Egon gave consistent testimony that the Ustase brought these groups, numbering sometimes a hundred and sometimes as many as 3,000 victims, to a large field near Velika Kosutarica and killed them there.

The victims were killed from axe blows or sledgehammers to the head. Throughout the winter, eighty prisoners from the camp were obligated to work, to dig pits and bury corpses. These executions were organized by Milos Ljubo, Polic Marinko, Pudic Dragutin, Kojic Ante, Sudar Joco, Maricic Jerko, Modric Ante,

Gasparovic Dragan, Music Mujo and one Covicic.

The witnesses mentioned above claim that about 50,000 people were killed in Kosutarica that winter. The undertakers in the camp told other prisoners how many victims they buried each day. Of the eighty undertakers, only witness Berger Egon survived.

These innocent victims were arrested and herded into Jasenovac for the specific purpose of liquidation. Their arrest and execution wasn't preceded by any sort of legal procedure, not from the Ustase, nor the police, nor the judicial authorities.

The Winter of 1941-1942 was exceptionally harsh. Due to poor nutrition and clothing and shoddy and cold barracks, a large number of prisoners became ill, mostly the elderly. As the elderly didn't represent a part of the labor force, the Ustase decided to liquidate them. Witness Steiner Hinko stated:

In January of 1942 in the so-called hospital there were about 300 sick prisoners. As prisoners then had to sleep even in the attics or out in the open, and the winter was harsh, many of them died from disease. So the hospital was always full of sick prisoners.

Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic Joso roused all patients from their beds one night, put them on sleighs and took them to the fields, where they finished them off with sledgehammers and knives.

The same sort of liquidation also occurred later. The statement of witness Steiner is corroborated by witnesses Setinc Marijan and Kamhi Sabetaj.

As a constant hunger overwhelmed the inmates, in the absence of their guards they searched for leftovers around the camp, especially around the kitchen and the dump.

Five prisoners tried one day in February of 1942 to root out several raw potatoes that were buried near a repository.

Ustase guards spotted them and took them to commander Matkovic Ivica, who decided to mete out their punishment immediately. Witnesses Steiner Hinko and Danon Jakob described their punishment:

Matkovic ordered all prisoners to line up in groups for the public punishment of these five men. Even though it was extremely cold, all five of them had to strip naked. The Ustase tied their hands behind their backs and hanged them by their arms. They were hanged in this position for an hour, shivering from the cold. Their bodies turned blue. After an hour, Matkovic had them untied and shot all five of them in the back of their heads. He held a speech for the prisoners, in which he threatened an even harsher punishment if such a 'crime' happened again.

IV. The Arrival of the So-Called International Commission and Executions of Prisoners in Preparation of Its Arrival

By the beginning of 1942, the whole civilized world knew the sort of crimes the Ustase had committed in Jasenovac. Something had to be done to hide the truth.

To that end, the Ustase brought to Jasenovac an “international commission” consisting of a German, an Italian and an Hungarian, while its other members were all Ustase. This was in fact an international Fascist commission.

Luburic was notified of when the commission was due to arrive, so he had built in haste seemingly decent central kitchens and two solid barracks for prisoners’ quarters. Even bunks were built for people to sleep on.

Food for the prisoners also improved somewhat.

Witness Steiner Hinko stated that prisoners had to work fast; some carried bricks and building material, while others worked on the construction. Every ten paces an Ustase stood, beating prisoners and forcing them to work faster. During construction, seventy-two prisoners were beaten to death.

Witnesses Breyer, Danon, Riboli and Steiner described how every prisoner was given a rag on which a high number was written. The rag was to be sewn on their sleeves. The Ustase intended to trick the members of the commission by showing the number of prisoners in the camp in the register. By assigning such high numbers, they intended to give the commission the impression that each registered prisoner was indeed alive.

Prisoners were made to reply to every question of the commission by answering, “I am prisoner number so-and-so.”

Several similar commissions visited in 1942. In November, when Aleksandar Seitz, an Ustase member of a commission, asked a Slovenian Catholic priest who he was, the prisoner replied as he was told: “I am prisoner number X.”

When asked his profession, he replied in the same way. And when questioned why he was in the camp, Seitz heard again the same answer: “I am prisoner number X.”

The Ustase “minister” thought it too stupid to hear such a reply repeated to different questions. He demanded the prisoner answer with a human voice and speech.

The priest finally gave in, and stated that he was a Slovene, that he was a vicar in a Croatian parish on the border, and that he didn’t know why he was in the camp.

Luburic couldn’t let such a severe “violation of camp discipline” go unpunished. The next day, the old priest was summoned to his office. He was told that he

could go home, and was even given some sort of a release certificate. He was happy, he packed his rags and said goodbye to the other prisoners. Guards escorted him out. Shortly thereafter, his possessions were returned, giving silent testimony to the other prisoners, his comrades, of his death.

V. Two New Ustase Atrocities

Prisoner Zouhar Stjepan described two crimes the Ustase committed in the beginning of January 1942:

On 6 January 1942 Matkovic Ivica, Milos Ljubo and Jusic Mujo ordered all prisoners to gather in a 'public performance' to hear some important announcements. When the prisoners mustered, these criminals held speeches during which they yelled, cursed and insulted the inmates, saying they were saboteurs and slackers, and that they would need to apply Ustase methods to bring them back to their senses.

The real reason—or, to be correct, the motive—for the raving of these criminals and for what would soon happen wasn't known, but everyone concluded that Matkovic, Milos and Jusic weren't happy with the prisoners' work.

They then picked out 50 prisoners, took them to a barrack, and finished them off with shovels. About ten Ustase helped them.

On 1 February 1942, again, all inmates had to line up. The camp gate opened, and Lieutenant Jusic Mujo rode in on a horse, and after him a group of Serbs from Mlaka near Glina entered, about 500 of them. All of them were bound with wire. Two by two, they were chained together. A larger group of Ustase followed them. Jusic had captured these innocent Serbian peasants from Mlaka and brought them to Jasenovac, to slaughter them all in front of the other prisoners.

When Jusic came to where the prisoners stood, he turned around to face the Ustase and shouted: 'Here comes the Red Army, finish them off!'

A terrible scene, a shudder of horror went through the ones who had to watch that, a company of Ustase charging at the victims with their knives drawn. The slaughter began, slitting throats, until the entire road turned into a pile of corpses with streams of warm blood flowing from it.

The inmates were ordered to dig out pits and bury the corpses.

VI. Incineration of Inmates

The Ustase recognized that their methods of execution were slow and overly complicated. A lot of time was lost digging pits and burying corpses, which also left evidence behind.

Following the example of their Nazi masters, the Ustase too decided to build crematoriums in Jasenovac where they would incinerate their victims.

The work concerning construction of the crematoriums was entrusted to engineer Picilli, supervisor of the labor service in the camp. They built two crematoriums, two furnaces—one near the “Brick Factory,” and the other in Gradina.

Picilli gathered together the material and masons he needed, and the furnace near the “Brick Factory” was finished in short period of time. The prisoners called it the “Picilli Furnace.”

When the construction of the furnace was over, Picilli had all the masons who worked on its construction executed.

Witnesses Duzemlic Milan, Breyer Otto and Berger Egon testified that the first victims were sent into the furnace in February 1942. It remained in operation until May of the same year—approximately three months—when the Ustase had it demolished for reasons unknown. Not a trace of it was left.

At first, the Ustase incinerated women and children brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska as well as from other camps. During its three months of operation, trucks full of victims arrived in front of the “Brick Warehouse.” The Ustase unloaded their victims there, and then took them one by one to a room near the crematorium, where they would strip victims naked, stun them with a blow to the head and throw them into the furnace.

Clothes, shoes and other items were collected, sorted, and carried off to a warehouse. Prisoner Berger Egon described in more detail the execution itself:

For some time I eavesdropped from a workshop that was near the crematorium, hearing what went on in there. I would hear wailing, crying and screaming, and then a dull sound as if an iron door had been shut. After that there was silence. A flame would appear from the chimney. Then the screaming and wailing of a new victim could be heard.

The Ustase also incinerated prisoners from the camp itself—mostly old, infirm and ill men. Their numbers weren’t large, but according to witness statements, about 5,000 women and children were brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska, and an additional 10,000 from other camps and places.

At the end of May, the Ustase demolished the furnace near the Brick Factory. For the furnace built in Gradina, there is no information that it ever went into operation.

All witnesses interviewed by this commission believed that the Ustase first stunned victims by blows to their heads, and then threw them into fire unconscious. Only witness Baliija Branko claimed that he heard Ustase discussing throwing conscious people into the furnace.

With Picilli, the incineration was overseen by Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Zrnusic Ante and Mandic Ante.

The State Commission gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes by interviewing many witnesses. Particularly comprehensive testimony was given by Kovacevic Vojislav, Hebner Marijan, Hersak Josip, Berger Otto, Danon Jakob, Slovenec Rudolf, Baliija Branko and Breyer Otto.

VII. Mass Liquidations in 1942

From March 1942 until the end of the year, Camp No. III was constantly full of men, women and children brought there by the Ustase in large groups to be liquidated.

To begin with, the Ustase gathered *all* Gypsy men and women from across the so-called Independent State of Croatia, numbering about 40,000 people, and transported them to Jasenovac.

All Gypsies were gathered in the field located between the “old wire” (see outline) and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp. The area was enclosed by a special wire and guarded by several sentries. The Ustase named it “Camp No. III-C,” because at first only Gypsies lived there, in their tents or out in the open, hungry and barefoot, in the heat of the sun and without shelter during storms. Their food was even worse than that received by the other inmates, and the Ustase beat and whipped them with particular delight and forced them to beat and kill one another.

At night they took them in groups to Gradina, forced them to dig their own graves, and then finished them off with sledgehammers or hammers. Thus, the Ustase liquidated within a few months every Gypsy man and woman, young and old alike. Only a few Gypsies saved themselves, primarily those who stood out by diligent work building the dike and the wall around the camp. The Ustase spared

them, and took them to the villages of Gradina and Ustice, where they assigned them work as undertakers and executioners.

This group of Gypsies survived for a long time. They lived in village houses, received good food, and drank to excess. It is significant that none of them tried to flee. Their duty was to dig graves in Gradina for the victims who now arrived in Jasenovac for the sole purpose of being liquidated, to execute victims with sledgehammers or hammers and to bury them afterward. Although they fulfilled their duty as slaves, in the end they, too, learned how little the Ustase's promises were worth. In early 1945, the Ustase killed them all, in order to eliminate all witnesses to their crimes.

When the Gypsies from Camp III-C vanished, the Ustase sent large numbers of Serbs, Jews and Croats there to be liquidated.

Prisoners often saw large groups of men and women departing from Camp III-C, numbering 500 to 800 people. Witnesses specifically mentioned groups sent to their death in Gradina on 17 August 1942, 29 August 1942 and 18 October 1942.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based upon statements given by witnesses Peska Duro, Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Pejnovic Djuro, Tot Ljudevit, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jasenica and Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

VIII. Mass Liquidations Outside the Camp

In the previous chapter, we spoke of the liquidations of victims inside Jasenovac.

However, during the entire year of 1942 large numbers of men, women and children arrived by railroad, trucks or on foot. These captives weren't taken inside the Jasenovac camp at all, but immediately dispatched over the Sava and liquidated in Gradina and Ustice and other locations. Witnesses Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Bednjanec Slavko, and Danon Jakob, all from Zagreb; Matas Pavao from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar and Tot Ljudevit from Garesnica testified about the following mass crimes during 1942:

- a.) that, on an undetermined date, the Ustase killed a large group of approximately 8,000 peasants from Slavonia in Gradina;
- b.) that shortly after, they killed a group of approximately 7,000 people captured from villages around Mount Kozara;

- c.) that shortly after, they killed a large group that arrived at the Jasenovac railroad station in fifty-six railroad cars, packed with living skeletons;
- d.) that they killed in Gradina a large group of Jewish women and children who had arrived from the women's camp in Djakovo.

Witnesses state that the Gypsies in Gradina were so exhausted from digging graves day and night that they grabbed truncheons and forced the victims to dig long and deep graves for themselves. The Gypsies competed with the Ustase over who could more quickly and with better skill slit the throats of their victims, or beat them with sledgehammers to the head.

When the pits were covered, both the Ustase and the participating Gypsies drank until they were unconscious.

IX. Maiming and Killing of Two Groups in January and March 1942

Witness Blumschein Zlatko gave the following statement:

Around 20 January 1942, the Ustase gathered around 200 Serbian peasants from different Slavonian towns, and beat them inside of the camp itself with blunt objects for a whole hour. Peasants wailed, curling up in pain. Many died. The Ustase then brought several carts, threw both the dead and the living together, and took them to the graveyards outside of the camp.

The bodies were dumped from the cart and the Ustase stomped on them with their boots. When they finished the last of them off, they removed the victims' shoes and clothes, and threw the corpses into a large pit.

I know that this slaughter was organized by Milos Ljubo himself, and was aided by Matijevic Joso and Sabljic Ilija.

Witness Finzi Jakob described a mass atrocity committed in March of 1942:

In the first half of March 1942, some Ustase, whose identity I could not determine, killed some 3,000 prisoners in Jasenovac. It was also impossible to determine whether this slaughter was

performed for the purpose of reducing of overall number of prisoners in the camp, or for the purpose of inducing terror.

The slaughter lasted for ten days. They smashed the heads of their victims with blunt objects. They beat them with stakes and iron rods to such extent that their bodies were black and totally mutilated. They drove nails into their bodies, dismembered them, et cetera. For ten days about fifty undertakers had to bury corpses in the graveyards outside the camp, which is where these mass atrocities occurred.

X. Mass Slaughter of Jews

In early Winter 1942, more transports were scheduled to arrive in Jasenovac. As the camp was already crowded with inmates, the Ustase decided to reduce their number and liquidate some of them, first of all the Jews.

For three nights, Ustase supervisors walked through the barracks, singling out old, ill and infirm Jews. On 17, 18, and 19, November 1942, they collected 800 Jews from the labor service of Jasenovac. First they kept them in a concentration room, and then one night took them by boat over the Sava River to Gradina, where they had to dig their own graves. The Gypsies slaughtered them and buried them.

The State Commission has gathered evidence this crime based on the statement of witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

XI. "Three Year Prisoners" Subjected to Torture and Execution

In the introduction, we stated that the Ustase intended to sentence every disloyal subject to a concentration camp, and that the term of imprisonment varied from three months to three years.

Prisoners noticed that the Ustase commandants, when receiving new prisoners, treated some more strictly than others, and separated them immediately from the other inmates.

At first, the prisoners didn't know what criteria the Ustase used to separate certain persons and why those singled out were never taken inside the camp. They

eventually discovered that those singled out were “Three Year Prisoners”—that is, individuals sentenced by Ustase police to a term of three years in prison.

In June of 1942, a large transport arrived in Jasenovac with only “three-year-prisoners,” approximately 300 in number.

Witnesses Habijanec Josip and Danon Jakob stated that they watched as Maricic Jerko ordered that the prisoners be taken immediately to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed them. From that time on, the inmates understood that the Ustase would kill all “Three Year Prisoners” outright upon their arrival at the camp, as confirmed by the aforementioned witnesses.

XII. The Liquidation of Camp No. III-C

From the attached outline, one can ascertain that between the so-called “old wire” and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp was a large field. In the Spring of 1942, the Ustase built a common camp under the open sky, enclosed it by barbed wire and interned approximately 40,000 Gypsies there.

The Gypsies were killed in a matter of a few weeks. As the number of Gypsies gradually declined, other prisoners were brought in, so Camp III-C became a concentration camp of numerous men, women and children who waited here during 1942 for their turn to go to their death.

By the end of November 1942 only about 160 prisoners, mostly intellectuals, remained in Camp III-C.

The commandant of the camp, Matkovic Ivica, decided to execute them in the most macabre way imaginable: to deprive them of all food and water and see how long they could survive. To that end, he reinforced the guard around the camp and strengthened the wire. Guards were ordered to shoot any prisoner attempting to escape, and to kill any prisoner who tried to sneak food into the camp.

He ordered the construction of a large sign outside the camp which read “typhus.” This was to intimidate the other prisoners, but also was a warning to the Ustase themselves from approaching too close to the barbed wire.

Weak and infirm prisoners succumbed only after a few days, but about forty managed to survive even after a few weeks. Out of despair, they ate every blade of grass in the camp. Driven mad by hunger they even started eating human flesh. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated the following:

Toward the end of 1942, I was disinfecting the bunks in a barrack, four meters away from Camp III-C. I was in the attic of the building and out of curiosity I lifted a couple of tiles on the roof. I saw what the inmates in Camp III-C were doing. Nobody was allowed to enter anymore—a board had been erected with a sign on it reading ‘typhus.’

I saw how some prisoners ripped flesh from the corpses of their dead comrades and ate it raw. For 17 days they didn’t receive any food.

Some witnesses observed the camp at night from a distance. Witnesses Breyer and Riboli stated that they observed prisoners in Camp III-C baking the flesh of their dead comrades and eating it. The flames illuminated the whole camp.

When one prisoner reported to Matkovic Ivica what he saw in the Camp III-C, Matkovic started to laugh and told him, “You are an intelligent man, and should know that a corpse is poisonous, from which death comes quickly. Let them bake and eat, the sooner they will all drop dead. It seems this has been going on too long already.”

But the prisoners still wouldn’t die. They tried to squeeze through the wire and jump into the Sava. Ustase guards saw them and reported it to Matkovic, who made the decision to load the remaining thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C into carts by night and move them across the Sava to Gradina, to a house inside the village.

The Ustase imprisoned several other inmates in the same house. They had previously been incarcerated in the “Bell Warehouse,” where they had been tortured by starvation.

The thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C were brought to the house, stripped naked and barricaded behind boarded-up windows and doors. After a few days they passed away from exposure and starvation.

The location of Camp III-C was plowed over to erase every trace of the camp where several hundreds of thousands of men, women and children waited for days and weeks, in the heat of the sun and in the snow, hungry, naked and barefoot, for the moment of a death in which they saw their salvation, to be relieved from the horror and despair which they had to experience every day.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based on the statements of Srca Dragan, Danon Jakob, Riboli Josip, Breyer Otto and Kuhada Nikola, who named Matkovic Ivica, Sliskovic Ivan, Maricic Jerko and Polic Marinko as the Ustase who exhibited the most extreme cruelty during the execution of this crime.

XIII. Redoubled Brutality Against the Jews

Prisoner Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated:

On one night in December 1942, the Ustase entered the barracks and grabbed the Jews from their bunks. They threw them out of the barracks and beat them with bats and kicked them, fracturing their legs and ribs. Many Jews were beaten to death, and many died later that night.

Later we found out that the reason for all of it was because guards found the corpse of an Ustase guard in the camp, and two Jewish prisoners had escaped from the camp. The Ustase suspected the Jews had killed the guard.

XIV. The Slaughter of Children

Throughout 1942, Camp III-C was swarming with children brought to Jasenovac together with their parents.

During liquidations, many children lost track of their parents, and other prisoners took them in. Many prisoners thus hid the orphans whose mothers and fathers had been killed, sharing their meals and depriving themselves of food to their benefit. Inmates permitted to receive packages with food from home gave all of it to the children.

Near the end of the Summer of 1942, Luburic noticed the children in the attics of workshops and in the barracks, and he ordered the Ustase to search the whole camp.

Thus it was discovered that there were over four hundred boys and girls in the camp, ranging from four to fourteen years of age. Luburic consulted with his officers and—to the inmates' surprise—had the children registered and placed in special rooms. He identified several male and female teachers among the inmates, and ordered them to teach the children to read, write and sing.

This little “kindergarten” became the sole joy of the inmates in the camp. Their happiness didn't last long. Matkovic Ivica, Kapetanovic and Sliskovic Ivan weren't satisfied with the results; it seemed to them that the children's upbringing didn't emphasize enough the Ustase spirit. Aside from that, they had established that these children were mostly Serbian and Jewish.

When Luburic returned to Jasenovac, they reported their findings to him. He ordered that they be killed, particularly as they had become a burden to the supply

budget.

The Ustase took the children in groups of sixty to eighty each to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed and buried them.

This commission has gathered evidence for these crimes against innocent children based on statements from several prisoners, particularly Stazic Josip from Zagreb and Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek.

XV. Changes in Camp Administration in March 1943

The years 1941 and 1942 saw the bloodiest of the Ustase atrocities in Jasenovac, killing several hundred thousand prisoners.

However, important events in the world had a decisive influence even on the Ustase régime in Jasenovac: the defeat at Stalingrad. This was the reason why camp's administration became more tolerable.

Eugen Kvaternik was removed from his duty of supreme supervisor of all camps in the so-called NDH during 1943. Matkovic Ivica was also removed from his duty as administrator of Camp No. III.

Ustase Brkljacic Ivica, a Catholic priest, was appointed in his place. Matkovic received word of his dismissal on 19 March 1943, but Brkljacic wasn't due to arrive until 25 March 1943. Over the next four days, Matkovic "celebrated" his departure. He got drunk with his fellow officers, non-commissioned officers and other Ustase, and went on a rampage through the prisoners' barracks at night, herding inmates around like cattle and beating them with lathes, rifle butts, fists and boots. Many prisoners were beaten during those four nights, their bodies black and blue from the abuse, and one prisoner was beaten to death. Witness Danon Jakob from Zagreb emphasizes that during this orgy of violence, Stojcic Jozo, Brzica Petar and Hirschberger Nikola were especially frenetic.

XVI. Atrocities in the Summer of 1943

Though no mass slaughters were committed in Jasenovac in 1943, the year still didn't pass without bloodshed.

Witnesses Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Skrgatic Dragutin from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb and Gregurovic Vera from Zagreb testified to the following:

In the Summer of 1943, several prisoners managed to escape while they were on exterior labor detail. The commander of “Ustase hour,” Pavlovic Marko, had decided, and Brkljadic Ivica so ordered, that prisoners were to wear chains on their legs for the next month of exterior labor. He forbade other prisoners from receiving packages and letters, and also reduced the daily food ration. Ustase officers divided the packages among themselves.

Ustase guards began to abuse the prisoners again, particularly while they were on labor detail outside the camp. Very often, fewer number of prisoners returned in the evening than had left for work in the morning. Ustase guards stated that they shot inmates who had tried to escape. Thus in August of 1943, fifty prisoners were killed.

Witness Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated that just before Autumn of 1943, fifteen Serb Partizans were brought to Jasenovac after being captured in Bosnia. All of them looked like living skeletons, and their bodies bore evidence of torture. When they entered the camp, ten Ustase from the First Company beat them with stakes. The beating lasted for half an hour. Three of them were finished off immediately, while others died shortly thereafter. Responsibility for the crime was attributed to the commanding officer of First Company, Sankovic Ante-Matesa, non-commissioned officers Alilovic Frane and Brkljadic Jurica and several other Ustase, identities unknown.

XVII. “Forest Groups”

Toward the end of 1943, camp administrators created the so-called “forest groups.” Every group consisted of thirty to eighty prisoners who were given tools to cut down trees and chop wood. Returning at night to the camp, they realized that several of their comrades had disappeared. Witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar stated:

From September 1943 until January 1944, forest groups were formed daily. They were sent to Gradina to cut down trees. I know that during three weeks about eighty people went to work, but each day ten of them didn't return.

Witness Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste stated:

On 29 December of 1943, eighty-four or eighty-five prisoners were called out from a list. They were given saws and axes and were told that they were going to work in the forest. We thought that was suspicious, because there were very few permanent workers from a forest group among them. They were loaded onto a boat, but even before they went ashore, the saws and axes were taken away from them. At noon, the food that was supposed to be taken to them was stopped from being taken to them. We all knew right away that they had been killed. Afterwards their clothes were returned to the camp, and we were now sure that they had been killed.

There were rumors in the camp that they were killed by the First Company of the First Ustase Defense Group, commanded by Ante Vrbanić.

Two weeks after that, in the Gradina forest across the Sava, about 120 prisoners were killed from among three or four groups. They too were sent on forest labor to Gradina, but they never returned. At that time Domobran Senior Lieutenant Nibler was appointed supervisor of the labor section. An inmate in the camp, Vlah Romeo, went to see him and told him that this was the third or fourth group that didn't return from the forest. Until now he had signed documents that these men had tried to escape and were killed, but that from then on he wouldn't sign that anymore.

Other witnesses, including Grun Walter, Breyer Otto, Danon Jakob and Novak Perjanec Mate, also stated that the Ustase killed many prisoners on forest labor during the autumn and winter, and that they noticed how Ustase brought to the camp at night various clothes, footwear and tools. All these witnesses assign blame for these crimes to Luburic Maks, Pavlovic Marko, Brkljacic Ivica, Milos Ljubo, and engineer Picilli Hinko as organizers, and Zrnusic Ante, Mihaljevic Marko, Primorac Silvestar, Bracic Nikola, Frkovic Mile, Djulkic Alaga, Cop Luka and Hirschberger Nikola as executors of these crimes. The number of prisoners killed in the forests during this time has not been established.

XVIII. Ustase Reprisals in June 1944

In June 1944, inmate Wollner Ivan, a student from Zagreb, escaped from the camp. The Ustase captured him near Dubica and beat him up so badly that he passed away, and his dead body was brought back to the camp. All prisoners had to come to the public performance, and Ustase Senior Lieutenant Sakic Dinko demanded to

know the persons with whom Wollner socialized and who had helped him escape. When not one prisoner answered, Sakic ordered that an Ustase bring him the “Directory” in which the name of every Jew in Jasenovac was listed. Out of the Directory he called out 100 names. When they stood in front of him, he singled out twenty-five Jews and sentenced them to imprisonment in the “Bell Warehouse,” which meant that they were sentenced to die of starvation. During the reading of the sentence, two Jews laughed. An Ustase guard noticed and reported it to Sakic. He ordered the two Jews to kneel and shot them in the back of their heads. Among the twenty-five Jews sent to the Bell Warehouse, there were several respectable people from Sarajevo: professors, lawyers, engineers, et cetera.

The State Commission gathered evidence for this crime from interviews with witnesses Ilic Branko, Kamhi Sabetaj, Danon Jakob, Aleksic Arsa and Zivkovic Jovan.

XIX. Liquidation of a Large Group of Serbs in Jablanac

Witness Breyer Otto testified that at the end of August, approximately 700 to 800 Serbs from near Okucani arrived in Jasenovac.

The witness saw the Ustase load these Serbs onto boats and transport them down the Sava to the forest located between Mlaka and Jablanac. As the camp’s Economy was the custodian of land in Jablanac, the witness originally believed that these Serbs were being taken there to work. However, he learned from other prisoners that Ustase killed the Serbs on the Sava riverbank. The witness saw the Ustase guards who followed the prisoners return to the camp that night but the prisoners were never seen again.

XX. Activity of the Mobile Court-Martial in Jasenovac in September 1944

In September of 1944, the camp administration discovered through their informers that certain groups of prisoners maintained contacts outside the camp. According

to the informers, these groups were connected to the Partizans and were crafting a plan for an uprising and escape.

The camp administration then convened a mobile court-martial to conduct an investigation and trial.

Luburic entrusted the investigation to Ustase judge Dr. Prpic Mihovil. Prpic was very cruel, and together with his agents Sudar Mile, Primorac Silvestar, Pavicic Petar, Neovic Lajco, Kvesic Stipo and Pehar Nikola, conducted an “investigation” using every means of torture, including beating victims with truncheons, crushing their fingers, driving needles under their fingernails, burning their naked bodies with a blowtorch used for welding by tinsmiths, blinding them, et cetera. The investigation lasted for several weeks, during which Prpic and his comrades mutilated several prisoners.

The exact purpose of this “court”—which ignored the established facts that the Ustase had killed several hundred thousands of people, in the most heinous ways, without any justified reason, without any procedure and without any, even an Ustase “trial”—isn’t clear.

The nature of the “court” can be better determined from the statements of friar and Ustase Majstorovic-Filipovic, who was a member of the “court” and who was interrogated by this commission on 29 June 1945 in Record No. 2006. Among other things, Filipovic stated:

In 1944, in September, I was a member of a mobile court-martial in Jasenovac, with the other members, Mataja Josip, Ustase captain, Milkovic Martin, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Lika, and Dinko Sakic, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Bosanski Brod. We didn’t investigate anything, we only signed the verdicts. The verdicts we signed were given to us by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, chief of the judiciary for the area of Jasenovac. I signed death warrants for civilians from Dubica, I think seventeen of them, who were accused of collaborating with the Partizans. These seventeen men were hanged in Dubica. Finally, I signed as a member of the court-martial eight death warrants in Novska for railway workers, and they were also hanged. All the sentences were carried out the same day, and all verdicts were made by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, and the executions were performed in the various places I mentioned.

Therefore there was no inquiry, and the “court” didn’t come to any verdicts on their own, but the camp administration simply passed on their decisions to be signed by members of the “court.” With a few slight differences in procedure, other Ustase mobile courts-martial functioned in the same manner, fomenting terror in various parts of the state and murdering on the territory of the so-called NDH thou-

sands of innocent victims.

Filipovic-Majstorovic didn't reveal the entire scope of the Jasenovac "trial" in September 1944 in his quoted statement. By interviewing witnesses Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Magric Misko from Vrapca and Danon Jakob from Zagreb, it was established that based on the verdicts handed down from this "court," a total of thirty-one individuals were hanged.

Witness Danon Jakob was present during the execution of the inmates. He stated:

That these prisoners were tortured, I know, because I saw them going into the administration building. When the Ustase brought them from the interrogation, I saw they were dragging them behind from being beaten up. The undertaker who buried the victims told me that he could identify the body of Rebac Remzija when he undressed him. His body was burned from a flame of a blow torch. Sakic Dinko, a member of the 'court,' referred to that torture instrument as 'V-1' and bragged in front of me in the barbershop that 'V-1' was a success.

On the second day I had to watch the hanging. I heard Primorac Silvestar ask Hadzija, the inmate about to be hanged, if he forgave him for beating him. And he replied that he would never forgive him for that. Primorac then told Hadzija, when the rope was already around his neck, 'Until we meet again in the other world.'

As mentioned in the introduction, in the town of Jasenovac itself there was a factory where leather was being produced. Prisoners were employed as workers, engineers and technicians, and Ustase guards used great caution in preventing them from escaping. The official name of the factory was the "Tannery," or Camp No. IV.

In October of 1944, the Ustase discovered that even in the Tannery there were two organizations keeping in contact with the Partizans. An "investigation" was conducted by Ustase Lisac Slavko, Djerek Bozo, Svagusa Andrija, Zivanovic Mato and Grubisic Jerko. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb and Auferber Miro from Osijek, who both worked in the Tannery, stated that the investigation was marked by extreme cruelty, that the mobile court-martial sentenced to death twenty-five prisoners from the Tannery and had them shot.

XXI. A Still Bloodier Reign: October 1944

By October 1944, the period of moderation by the Ustase had ended.

By that time, the territory of Macedonia and Serbia had already been liberated. Belgrade had been resurrected as the capital of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, and in Vojvodina, Croatia and Bosnia, battles were being fought between the National Liberation Army and the German-Ustase armies that were fleeing toward the northwestern border.

The Ustase realized that the end of their reign of terror was near, so Luburic, Boban and other “knights” suggested slaughtering everyone who was not a part of the Ustase. Thus the Ustase from October 1944 until the last days of the war committed mass liquidations of all hostile elements.

Again, transports began to arrive to Jasenovac from unliberated parts of the country. Whole prisons and camps were evacuated and their inmates transferred to Jasenovac. Throughout the Winter of 1944 and '45 blood flowed from the “Granik” and from Gradina. Witness Rozman Ivan stated:

In December 1944, the Ustase lined-up prisoners during the public ‘performances’ before supper, 150 to 200 people a day. They were locked in the barracks in front of the ‘Administration.’ At night they were taken naked and bound with wire to the ‘Granik,’ where the Ustase killed them and dumped their bodies into the Sava.

I observed this during the whole month of December from my quarters in the ‘Brick Factory.’ There were glass windows there and I arrived around 10 p.m. from working at the ‘Sawmill.’ From my quarters I saw clearly how that butcher Frkovic killed people on the ‘Granik’ by cutting their throats with a knife and dumping them into the Sava. I could see that pretty well because there was a powerful electric light behind that spot.

Witnesses Zadavec Vinko from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo and Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo gave statements to this State Commission, based on which it determined the following crimes:

- a.) that, during the Winter, the Ustase killed about 3,500 prisoners who were part of the Jasenovac labor force;
- b.) that drunken Ustase raped in turn about 20 young women who worked in the Economy, then slaughtered them and dumped their bodies into the Sava;

c.) that, in December 1944, the Ustase liquidated by the “Granik” two groups of prisoners, who applied—believing, in their naïvete, that they would save themselves—to work in Germany. In the first group about 200 prisoners were liquidated, of different nationalities and religions, while in the other group there were only Serbs;

d.) that, on an undetermined date, an enormous transport arrived to the camp with about 15,000 workers and peasants. The Ustase interned them in the “Main Warehouse” and the fields around it, and gradually, within a few weeks, liquidated them all on the “Granik.”

XXII. The Bombing of Ustase Fortifications in Jasenovac

On 30 and 31 March 1945, Allied planes bombed Ustase fortifications in Jasenovac.

During the bombing about 40 prisoners were killed and many wounded. Fires broke out and set off several explosions.

The Ustase forced prisoners with truncheons and gunshots to put out the fires, save various items from burning workshops and otherwise expose their lives to mortal danger. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan, Danon Jakob and Kamhi Sabetaj state that Ustase officers Zrinusic Ante and Zovko Stanko killed many prisoners, while Mihaljevic Marko and Perkovic Marko beat and slaughtered any prisoner they wanted. These witnesses claim that at the end of March there were 5,000 prisoners on labor in Jasenovac.

XXIII. The Final Liquidation of the Inmates

In the beginning of April 1945, an offensive by the National Liberation Army commenced with the goal of driving the German occupiers and their Ustase servants from the country.

The Ustase administration in Jasenovac prepared for their escape. Luburic

decided to kill the surviving prisoners, and to turn the camp and the town of Jasenovac into a pile of ashes.

Simultaneously, great transports arrived at Jasenovac with inmates from Lepoglava, Stara Gradiska and other camps and places. The Ustase killed all of these prisoners on the “Granik” or in Gradina. Witness Skrgatic Dragutin stated:

I remember that eleven railroad cars of prisoners from Lepoglava arrived in Jasenovac. I saw when all of those people were taken away by night to Gradina and killed there.

Altogether, about 700 prisoners arrived from Lepoglava, and an even greater number from Stara Gradiska.

In April, as stated by witness Breyer Otto, the Ustase took the prisoners on “exterior labor” and executed them outside of Jasenovac.

They feared that sooner or later the new cemeteries would be discovered in and around the camp and would be used to establish how and how many victims died.

This is why they formed teams of inmates to act as undertakers who were ordered to dig out the graves in and outside the camp, in Gradina and Ustice, and exhume the corpses of the murdered victims. Other prisoners were ordered to build enormous stakes. Coke was strewn at their bases, corpses and skeletons were thrown on it, doused with oil and burned. Prisoners observed the fires burning over the next three weeks. Witness Duzemlic Milan stated that a peasant woman, Marinic Marija, told him that she observed these fires from the roof of her house in Kosutarica. She also claims to have seen the Ustase killing prisoners. When they burned the last skeleton and corpse, they began drinking and celebrating.

Prisoners and witnesses Abinum Yeshua, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan and Lapcevic Stojan, who survived the last days of Jasenovac, claim:

- a.) that, on 20 April 1945, a large group of approximately 470 persons was liquidated;
- b.) that, at the same time, a group which numbered approximately 400 people from Sarajevo arrived in Jasenovac, and that they too were finished off in Gradina;
- c.) that, on 21 April 1945, in the women’s section of the camp, approximately 760 women and girls remained, working in the Economy, in the

kitchens and dairies. On 21 April, a long line of these women went to their death singing songs, parting with their comrades and saying good-bye by shouting, "You are staying, and we are going to die."

The women were finished off that day and thrown into the Sava or burned at the stake. A month later, the Commission of Inquiry found many items of female clothing strewn across the fields and roads between the Economy and the Sava;

d.) that, on 21 April, panic broke out among prisoners, and about a hundred of them hanged themselves out of despair in barracks and workshops.

Thus on 22 April, about 1,060 prisoners remained in Camp No. III.

The Ustase brought these prisoners into a large factory building near the "Brick Warehouse." They barricaded the doors and windows and placed guards around the building to prevent anyone from escaping.

That whole day and night, the Ustase were busy mining one factory building after another, workshop after workshop, warehouse after warehouse, barrack after barrack. Their intention was to start a multitude of fires, turning the entire camp turned into a torch with explosions resounding throughout it.

The inmates in the factory building knew that certain death awaited them, and they assumed that Ustase would burn their building too and kill them all.

Therefore they decided to mount a breakthrough from the building the next day in an unarmed battle for life and death. They chose Bakotic Ante as their leader. Each prisoner ripped out boards from the walls and doors, and at exactly 10 a.m. on 22 April 1945 they broke down the doors and windows and rushed out of the building.

At the last moment, about 460 prisoners hesitated. Many were ill, old or so infirm that they couldn't think of engaging in unarmed combat.

Though physically weak and exhausted from their suffering in the camp, the six hundred prisoners who didn't lose their nerve gathered their last strength and attacked the Ustase guards, strangling several of them with their bare hands and taking their rifles. Other prisoners grabbed iron rods or bricks. Beating the Ustase with whatever they had, they began running in the direction of the eastern gate on the road to Kosutarica.

They had to cross the area alongside the Sava, between the southern part of the great wall and the river. The Ustase had several bunkers concentrated there, and

several machine guns in every bunker. They were, however, surprised. They didn't expect that unarmed prisoners would dare attack them, and had neglected to close the eastern gate.

Thus the final part of the battle occurred at the gate. Prisoner Ristic Mile strangled the Ustase with a machine gun guarding the gate with his bare hands, grabbed his weapon and began firing.

Eighty prisoners were able to run through the gate and save themselves by running to the nearby forests. The other 520 died in the fighting.

The Ustase massacred the prisoners who remained behind, approximately 460 of them. Only Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste saved himself by hiding in the ruins of one building, crouching for five days and nights without food or water, watching the Ustase demolish the camp and the town of Jasenovac.

When the last Ustase disappeared from Jasenovac, Zivkovic pulled himself from his hole, ran to the Sava and swam across. The National Liberation Army had already arrived in Jasenovac and saved him and the other eighty prisoners who managed the breakthrough from the camp.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has gathered evidence for these crimes by the Ustase by interviewing witnesses Solenicki Stjepan, Lapcevic Stojan, Skrgatic Dragutin, Filipic Ivan, Kamhi Sabetaj, Abinum Yeshua, Ilic Branko, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan, Aleksic Arsa and Maric Mihajlo, who gave consistent testimony on which and what type of atrocities the Ustase committed before their escape from Camp No. III.

XXIV. Breakthrough from the "Tannery"

In the town Jasenovac itself there were still 147 prisoners working in the "Tannery" on 23 April 1945.

All of them saw the fires and heard the explosions resounding from Camp No. III. They also saw the panic among the Ustase, and that they were moving from house to house planting explosives. They too were afraid that the Ustase monsters would mine and blow up the Tannery with the worker's buildings, so they decided to try to save themselves from the destruction of Camp No. IV.

They divided themselves into fifteen groups of ten and agreed to what each group had to do. Doctors among the prisoners distributed poisonous chemicals,

since all prisoners would rather poison themselves than fall into the Ustase's hands.

The first group was supposed to break down the door of the quarters, the second to attack the guards; the third to cut the barbed wire, the fourth to break down the door leading into factory yard, the fifth to beat and disarm the Ustase who were there, the sixth and the seventh to bring clothes and food, the eighth to perform medical service, and the others to acquire weapons in the battle for life and death.

The plan was well thought-out. The prisoners fought bravely and broke through from the camp, but there the greatest difficulties awaited them. They had to run across Jasenovac's streets, through the fields, cut through the circles of barbed wire, and then cross the dike, roads and railroad that were swarming with bunkers and machine guns.

Prisoners Lapcevic Stojan and Berger Egon, who gave us information about this heroic feat, claim only ten prisoners survived from the Tannery and within a few days met with units of the National Liberation Army.

XXV. The Liquidation of the Ustase Hospital

As mentioned earlier, the Ustase maintained a hospital in Jasenovac for the ill and wounded soldiers of the Jasenovac garrison. Many prisoners were obligated to work in the hospital as doctors, pharmacists, nurses, maids, cooks, orderlies, chauffeurs and undertakers. According to the testimony of Danon Jakob, on 23 April Milos Ljubo and Tomic Jure ordered thirteen prisoners to be killed. The Ustase took them to the fields and executed them.

The hospital and several prisoners was relocated to Sunja.

XXVI. The Statement of Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, Ustase War Criminal and Commandant of Jasenovac

In Record No. 2006 of 29 June 1945, the State Commission interrogated as a witness the aforementioned war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, who was captured and put on trial after the liberation. We have already mentioned part of his statement—that regarding the “trial” of the so-called mobile court-martial in

Jasenovac.

Here we append the most important parts of his statement. Though his statement considering the number of victims doesn't match the truth—all witnesses interviewed, who were prisoners themselves, speak with complete consistency and certainty of a far greater number, especially in regards to the number of victims killed by Majstorovic himself—it is still crucial in that he admitted to killing approximately 100 victims by his own hand, and only “attended” mass executions. According to his confession, just during the short period of time of his command over the camp—from the end of June until the end of October 1942, therefore during four months—20,000 to 30,000 innocent victims were liquidated. Before and after his time as commandant of the camp, he performed various duties in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. His statement reads:

It is true, since I was confronted with the statement of Vjekoslav Servatzi regarding the massacres in the villages surrounding Banja Luka, that I was chaplain of the II Poglavnik's Bodyguard Battalion. As such, one night I went with the brigade II PBB into action and allegedly only to search surrounding Orthodox villages, that we suspected were hosting Chetniks.

I emphasize that I was a priest in that area before the NDH. I saw how Ustase soldiers returned bloody from the slaughter, later I heard stories that on that occasion, 2,000 people were killed.

In Jasenovac I was an Ustase officer and administrator of the camp from the end of June 1942 until the end of October 1942. I admit that during public executions, I personally killed about 100 prisoners from the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska camps. I also admit that during my administration of the camp, mass executions were performed in Gradina, but I didn't participate in that, even though I knew about the killings. I correct myself—I attended these mass executions, but I didn't take part in them. As administrator, I permitted these mass executions, because I had oral orders from Ljubo Milos, and also from Matkovic Ivica, and sometimes even from Maks Luburic. In Gradina, executions were performed by sledgehammers, and in such way that a victim had to climb down into a pit that had already been dug out, which was followed by a blow from the sledgehammer to the back of the head. Besides that, killings were also performed by shooting and slitting throats. During liquidations of women and girls in Gradina, I know that rapes of the younger ones were performed too. Matkovic Ivica permitted that, and rape was, as far as I know, performed by Gypsies, the Gypsy undertakers. I never committed rape.

During my administration, according to my calculations, twenty to thirty thousand prisoners were liquidated in Jasenovac. I especially emphasize that in the beginning of Summer, the liquidation of the Djakovo camp was performed in Jasenovac. The liquidation was organized by Matijevic Joso, an Ustase lieutenant. During the liquidation of the Djakovo camp, I reckon that two to three thousand Jewish women and their children were killed.

From Jasenovac, I went to Stara Gradiska at the end of October 1942 until 27 March 1943. During that time in Stara Gradiska, mass liquidations were performed, usually outside the camp, for instance in Mlaka, Jablanac, but some were sent off to Jasenovac too. Such

large transports for liquidations were carried out by the order of Matkovic Ivica, and in this way two to three thousand people were sent away.

On 16 April 1945 I returned to Jasenovac, where I stayed until the end. I know that at the time corpses of prisoners from Gradina were being exhumed and burned, in order to cover up traces of what had been done. I didn't participate in the liquidation of the last prisoners, but only in exhumation.

* * *

We have presented a fraction of the mass crimes committed by the Ustase in Jasenovac over a period of four years. We repeat that the litany of mass atrocities is not exhausted, and that numerous instances of torture and executions performed by the Ustase on individuals or groups of prisoners were not mentioned. We would again underline that these crimes were committed on a routine, daily basis.

We also mentioned that the number of victims from Jasenovac ranges around the figure of a half million, which means that one out of every ten inhabitants of the so-called NDH left his bones in Jasenovac.

The crimes committed in Jasenovac do not in the least lag behind the crimes committed by the Nazis in Belsen, Auschwitz or Majdanek.

As with all other Fascist organizations, the Ustase terrorist organization also created a criminal mentality among its members, who thus killed out of “conviction.”

It is an unfortunate fact that all members joined the Ustase terrorist organization voluntarily, that they knew in advance the criminal goals of the organization, that the organization was operating by criminal means, that its activity consisted, precisely, of committing criminal acts. Therefore, when they joined this organization, every one of them knew—they knew and they had to know—that they would commit crimes, organized, mass crimes. They knew the consequences of becoming members of such organization. Therefore, they cannot use the excuse that they were ordered to commit a criminal act, and thus shift the responsibility to their commanders.

Evidence of Crimes in Jasenovac

The State Commission didn't find written documentation relating to the atrocities committed in Jasenovac. To erase all traces of this unprecedented torture chamber, which by severity and cruelty was undoubtedly one of the bloodiest of all Nazi camps in Europe, the Ustase destroyed all of their documents. However, even if all the documents written by the camp's administration were preserved, these alone couldn't be counted on for reliable information, at least in regard to the number of victims. From statements given by witnesses it was established that victims who were killed weren't always registered.

During this investigation of the atrocities committed, their timing and circumstances, the State Commission gathered evidence by interviewing witnesses, conducting an investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac and by a photographic survey of the camp and its vicinity.

Sixty-two witnesses were interrogated:

Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Sarac Izmailova street 23,
Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevci,
Aufferber Mijo from Osijek,
Balija Branko from Zagreb, Zagorska street 44,
Berger Egon, command of the city of Zagreb, employee of Propodjelo,
Bing Julio from Virovitica,
Breyer Otto from Bjelovar,
Bzik Stjepan from Kupljanova street 12,
Blumschein Zlatko from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 60,
Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Barutanski jarak 25,
Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 32a,
Devic Natke from Zagreb, secretary of the Conservatory,
Duzemlic Milan from Drenov Bok,
Dobaj Kario from Sarajevo,
Dominec Ivan from Zagreb, Ilica street 224,
Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija No. 23,
Fajdetic Grgur from Kompolje,
Filipic Ivan from Zagreb, Sava station,
Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo,
Flumiani Milan from Zagreb, Kuslanova street 34,
Gelb Makso from Zagreb,
Grgurovic Vera from Zagreb, Gajeva street 2b,

Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska,
Habijanec Josip from Zagreb, Nova Cesta 38,
Hala Dragutin from Zagreb, Radisina street 8,
Hebner Marijan from Zagreb, Lorkoviceva street 8,
Hersak Josip from Zagreb, Cvjetna Cesta 41,
Ilic Branko from Zivinice 28,
Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek, Mobil. Department,
Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo,
Katalinic Andreja from Ludbreg,
Kosina Franjo from Zagreb, Jarun No. 82,
Kovacevic Vojislav from Zagreb, Vinogradska street 21,
Krkac Tomo from Jakovlje,
Kuhada Nikola from Pusca,
Kutnjak Srecko from Zagreb, Livadiceva street 22,
Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb, Ukrinska street 12a,
Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Mosorska street 1,
Magdic Misko from Vrapca, Perjavica street 26,
Maric Mihajlo from Obrovica,
Matas Pavao from Trstenik near Pusca,
Milisa Djordje from Zagreb, Zelengaj,
Novak-Perjarec Mato from Kobiljak near Sesvete,
Orlic Sime from Zagreb, Ilica street 180a,
Pejnovic Djuro from Zagreb, Brigada V. Cetkovic,
Richter Rudolf from Zagreb, Visegradska street 5a,
Rozman Ivan from Zagreb, Rojiceva street 3,
Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb, Seljina brig. IV divizija,
Solenicki Stjepan from Novaci No. 66 near Donja Bistra,
Srica Dragan from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 2,
Stajzic Josip from Zagreb, Padovceva street 3,
Steiner Hinko from Zagreb, Nova Ves 83,
Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jesenica 7,
Skrgetic Dragutin from Zagreb, Rudes, Trebinjska street,
Schleifer Filip from Zagreb, Marticeva street 47,
Sulina Mato from Crikvenica,
Schwarzenberg Adolf from Zagreb, Ilica street 15,
Tot Ljudevit from Zagreb, now in Garesnica,
Trbojevic Nemanja from Zagreb, Omiska street 2,
Zadravec Vinko from Zagreb, Vranovina 22,

Zauhar Stjepan from Zagreb, Skrlceva street 39,
Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste.

These former inmates who spent considerable time—some even a full four years—in Jasenovac itself gave their statements based on their personal experiences and direct observations. The arrested war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav gave a short statement. The most important parts from his statement we appended to this report.

The investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac was conducted by the State Commission with a team of experts. Three investigations were conducted.

The first investigation was conducted by the District Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945.

The second investigation was conducted by a special inquiry commission, sent by the State Commission to Jasenovac on 18 May 1945 to investigate the surviving evidence. That commission consisted of one official of this State Commission, three judges of higher courts, and two doctors of forensics.

The third investigation was conducted by this State Commission with the participation of doctors of forensics and two photographic experts.

All these three commissions inspected the town of Jasenovac, Camp IV, and Camp No. III near Jasenovac, and recorded the results of their work.

The first commission conducted an investigation in both Gradina and Ustice.

The commissions inspected the entire terrain and buildings and many corpses of prisoners, which lie on the banks of the Sava River or in the Sava itself, or which were buried shallow in the ground.

According to consistent forensic findings and opinion, all corpses found in the Sava and on the banks of the Sava show the common characteristics of advanced post-mortem decay, which obstructed attempts at identification. Clothing and found objects couldn't be considered as factors for identification.

Attached to nearly every corpse was an iron weight tied by wire, and their hands were tied in front or behind them, or they had fractured bones in the extremities or skull, et cetera. There was a routine occurrence of evidence of some violent act. The cause of death could not be precisely determined in every case, but each had one thing in common: that every cause of death was of a violent nature, such as severe fracture of the skull, drowning, strangulation, et cetera.

...Almost all corpses show the condition of a very pronounced thinness, which isn't concealed even by the bloating of hypodermic tissue, which occurs from gas created during post-mortem decay. Thus, for some corpses which have been discovered a possibility is allowed that the cause of death was due to a very pronounced physical weakness, exhaustion and malnutrition as consequences of severe, chronic starvation.

University professor and court doctor of forensics Dr. Premru substantiates his above opinion by the fact that during his imprisonment in Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942, he personally saw, clearly and well, all manner of torture and killings of a large number of prisoners—from bullet shots to knife stabs, decapitation from an axe, blows from sledgehammers and mallets to the head, drowning in the Sava, incineration of living people, et cetera...

* * *

In the demolished quarters for male prisoners there is the corpse of a man, whose identity could not be determined. The corpse is in a severe state of decay. Near the women's quarters there are many parts of female clothes and underwear, and in the camp area many male and female clothes, male ties and suitcases filled with children's clothing. In one building demolished by explosives which had been used as a barn, four completely charred corpses were found of people who had either been burned alive or killed and then set aflame.

Near the burned down prisoners' quarters there are three electrical posts, on which curved axle-pins could be seen. On each post there are three such pins. According to statements given by witnesses, prisoners were hanged from the axle-pins. Near the posts is one complete device, a gallows, where according to statements from the same witnesses prisoners were hanged.

In an area of the camp right next to the mentioned posts is a larger space that was dug up and which according to statements of witnesses was used as prisoner's graveyard. On 21 April this year, the corpses were exhumed and burned, apparently for the purpose of concealing evidence of the crime—according to statements of witnesses—in a nearby ditch, where even today some ashes can be seen, while rocks in the ditch show signs of combustion. A large pile of coke was found nearby. In many places in the camp area lengths of chains were found, which by their shape clearly show that they were used as shackles for the arms and legs of prisoners.

These were the most important parts of the findings and opinions from the record of 18 May 1945 regarding the investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac, conducted by the special inquiry commission.

The investigation at the scene of the crime by this commission on 18 June 1945 was performed as a result of a significant drop of the the water level of the river in June, revealing several boats that appeared to be filled with corpses. The entire northern bank of the Sava was full of mud in which numerous corpses could be identified.

The commission found corpses of men and women, some naked and some dressed, some with skulls or the forehead or temporal bone crushed, while others had been decapitated or had the hands cut off, while others were complete. All corpses or skeletons had their arms tied behind their backs, upon which iron weights were hanged in the shape of rings or a line of trundles. The weights were approximately three to five kilograms. The court doctor of forensics issued the following finding and opinion:

I believe the corpses are one and a half to three months old and in certain cases even several months. A more accurate determination of age of the corpses isn't possible for several reasons: subsequent decay outside of the water, mechanical activity disrupting the water current, but also because they were being eaten by fish.

It is possible to conclude that the corpses were thrown into water after they had been killed by a dull, hard blow to the temporal region, crushing the skull or were killed in another manner which cannot be correctly determined due to decay of corpses, or that they were thrown alive into water shortly after they were knocked out by a blow to the head, which could be concluded from the fact that corpses were tied and fixed with iron weights.

By an investigation conducted by the district commission in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945 at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac without doctors of forensics present, the following was established:

Near the burned down clinic, the skeletons of some nine corpses were found. According to the statement of witness Zivkovic (who was present during the investigation), these were the corpses of prisoners who hanged themselves on 21 April 1945 out of fear of the Ustase, because on the night of 20 April 1945 they had killed with dull, hard objects about 400 prisoners whose bodies were subsequently dumped into the Sava.

On the banks of the River Sava corpses can be seen in many places. It is noted that most of the corpses had their hands tied behind their backs. According to the statement of Zivkovic, these corpses are of prisoners. Corpses floating on the Sava can also be seen.

The same commission went to Gradina and Ustice, which are located on the Bosnian side of the Sava. The following was established:

In the middle of a plum orchard belonging to Mile Bozicic is a space six steps long and thirteen steps wide, covered with ashes and bone fragments which didn't burn out completely. Nearby are shovels and wheelbarrows. Leaves throughout the orchard are completely burned; only here and there at the end of the orchard are there some plum trees with green leaves.

The earth has been plowed to either side. In one corner there are nine empty barrels of

oil, and in several places in the orchard there are traces of spilled oil. Even in areas which have been plowed, sporadic traces of oil, ashes and fragments of human bones that didn't burn out can be seen. Here and there a few whole bones can be seen, a few shoulder blades were found, and from one deep pit the lower part of a human jaw was discovered. Human hair was found in the same place.

In the plowed area, ashes and remains of human bones can be seen, especially in the parts which the plow passed over. Next to the orchard is a field belonging to Lazo Jandric, freshly plowed. Judging by the evidence, it appears that from there, too, corpses had been exhumed and burned in the orchard. We conclude this from a bone that was found, partially caked in dirt, and some bones which were found in pieces. Fragments of human teeth were also found there with three whole teeth, and beside that a few more bones. Pieces of coke were strewn about sporadically.

Behind the orchard is another plowed field, about the same size as the orchard. Four meter wide trails of ashes and bones are spread across. Judging by the trails it can be concluded that the ashes were moved by wheelbarrows and scattered about. A couple of large branches were thrown about, cut off from plum trees in the orchard. The branches are burned out.

Comrade Spanovic, who was here on 6 May 1945, mentioned that in several places in the plum orchard he even saw traces of blood. This was also reported by Mato Jugovic, Stipe Jugovic and Franjo Slafer, all from Ustice.

In the plowed field a box used for carrying things was found. The box was full of ashes and pieces of human bone which didn't burn completely. By following the trail further we reached the Sava, which is 315 steps away. A trail two meters wide leads into the Sava itself. The trail consists of ashes and human bones, but hair was also found. Judging by these trails it is obvious that the ashes and remains of bones were being moved in carrying boxes and in wheelbarrows to the Sava and dumped into the river.

Photographs were made of the corpses and skeletons of prisoners found in the River Sava, on the banks of the Sava, inside the camp, in various buildings of the camp, or that were exhumed. The ruins of the camp, which the Ustase blew up and burned before their escape, were also photographed.



CONCLUSION

SUCH A MANNER OF preconceived and inhumane torture and slaughter of a people has never been recorded in history. The Ustase criminals followed precisely the model of their German masters, most consciously executed all their orders, and did so in pursuit of a single goal: to exterminate as many of our people as possible, and to create a living space as large as possible for them.

The total dependence by the Ustase on their German masters, the foundation of the camp itself, the dispatch of the “disloyal,” the brutal implementation of Hitler’s racist Nazi theories and the deportation to the camps and extermination of the racially and nationally “impure,” the same methods of torture and atrocities with minor varieties of Ustase cruelty, the building of furnaces and incineration of victims in furnaces (the Picilli furnace)—all of the evidence points to the conclusion that both Jasenovac and the crimes committed in it were fashioned from a German recipe, owing to a German Hitlerite order as implemented by their servants, the Ustase.

Subsequently, responsibility for the crimes of Jasenovac falls equally on their German masters and the Ustase executioners.

I.

Aside from the members of the German government and German commanders, first of all the so-called *Poglavnik*, Ante Pavelic, is held responsible.

II.

Secondly, his “deputies” and “state counselors” and all “ministers” who were in office during the era in question are responsible, especially his Ministers of the Interior: Dr. Artukovic Andrija, Dr. Lorkovic Mladen, Dr. Niksic Ante and Frkovic Mato.

III.

The third ones responsible are the heads of the “Main Directorate for Public Order and Security” and chiefs of the “Ustase Secret Service”: Kvaternik Eugen, Jurcic Milutin, Cerovski Bozidar, Tomic Viktor, Lisak Erich, Herencic Ivo, Dr. Zimpermann Ljudevit, Dr. Crvenkovic Filip, Tomasevic Ivan, Dr. Vragovic Josip, Wagner Karlo, Rukavina Joso, Lucic Franjo, Dr. Benak Aleksandar, Dr. Bozinovic Zvonimir, Kirin Ico, Dr. Majic Josip, Vasko Tibor, Fario Fabjan, Paver Vjekoslav, Grzeta Nikola, Rados Franjo, Tomljenovic Stjepan, Turkalj Branko, Mak Miroslav, Ceko Ivan, Fulanovic Miroslav.

IV.

All higher and lower commandants in the Jasenovac camp are also responsible: Luburic Vjekoslav aka Maks, Sarac Ante, Milos Ljubo, Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, Brkljacic Ivica, Sakic Dinko, Picilli Hinko, Matkovic Ivica, Pavlovic Mirko and Dzal Jakob.

V.

Finally, all Ustase officers, non-commissioned officers, Ustase guards and informers and camp prisoners who tortured and killed are responsible, namely:

Alilovic Ivan and Fran, sergeants major; Andricevic Ivica, sergeant, Altarac Ante,

lieutenant;

Bagaric Karlo, Balic Pasko, Basic Stevo Pindzo, Ustase non-commissioned officers; engineer Beretin, technician; Boras Ante, Drago and Ivan, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Bracic Nikola, sergeant; Brkljacic Jurica, sergeant major; Budimir brothers, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Brzica Petar, lieutenant; Buric Brusic Milan and Buntic Stepi and Simun, non-commissioned officers;

Ciprijanovic Jakob, lieutenant;

Cacic Ivan, Ustase officer; Cop Luka, sergeant; Colak Petar, non-commissioned officer; Cotic Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Covicic, Crcek Joza and Cupic Jozo, senior lieutenants;

Cenan Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Dangubic Milan, sergeant; Delac Petar, official; Diamantstein Bruno, "Free Prisoner"; Cerek Bozo, manager of the "Tannery"; Djulkic Alaga, sergeant; Dimac Luka, officer; Dosen Mato and Dukaric Franjo, sergeants;

Elez Ante, senior lieutenant;

Falcini Vjekoslav, non-commissioned officer; Forentic Stjepan, official; Friganovic Ante, sergeant; and Frkovic Mile, sergeant;

Galic, camp prisoner; Galic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Gasparovic Dragan, sergeant major; Grgosevic Jozo, sergeant major; Glamuzina Marko, lieutenant; Grbavac Ivan, official; Grubisic Jerko and Grgic Jure, sergeants major;

Hadzic Osman, "Free Prisoner"; Hirschberger Nikola, sergeant major; Hodzic Latif, official; Horvat Ivan, major and Horvat Mato, sergeant;

Ivanovic Joso junior, official; Ille, lieutenant from Sibenik;

Jandic Ante, sergeant; Jankovic, "Free Prisoner"; Jarak Petar, sergeant major; Jurcevic Ivan, sergeant; Juricic Jerko, sergeant major; Jusic Mujo, lieutenant; and Jusic Saban, non-commissioned officer;

Kapetanovic Ahmet, senior lieutenant; Kardun Nikica, Senior Lieutenant; Kojic Ante, lieutenant; Kojic Zarko, lieutenant; Keza Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Kolobaric Josip, sergeant major; Kolak Petar, sergeant; Kolaric Zlatko, senior lieutenant; Kordic Tihomir, lieutenant; Kosic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Kresic Tvrtko, captain; Kvesic Stipo, sergeant and Kujundzic Stipe, non-commissioned officer;

Lipovac Zvonimir, military chaplain; Lisac Slavko, sergeant major; Luzic Stjepan, sergeant;

Mackovic Josip, official; Mandusic Ante, captain; Majetic Dane, sergeant; Markotic Stanko, sergeant; Maricic Jerko, senior lieutenant; Markic Ivan, sergeant; Martinovic Slavko, sergeant; Martinovic Stojan, sergeant major; Mataja Josip, major; Matijevic Miro, major; Matijevic Joco, senior lieutenant; Matek Milan, sergeant major; Mihic Pajo, captain; Matkovic Ljubo, officer; Matijevic Matija, camp prisoner; Medvedovic Mato, major; Mihaljevic Marko, sergeant major; Miljkovic Martin, senior lieutenant; Modric Ante, sergeant major; and Musa Mato, non-commissioned officer;

Nekic Ivan, Neorcic Vlado and Novosel Stjepan, sergeants;

Ostojic Mate, non-commissioned officer;

Pavicic Petar, sergeant; Pehar Nikola, non-commissioned officer; Pehar Petar, sergeant; Perkovic Marko, sergeant major; Penaric Mate, second lieutenant; Petek Franjo, captain; Polic Marin, lieutenant; Poldrugi Stjepan, sergeant major; Polic Drago, non-commissioned officer; Dr. Prpic Mihovil, captain, military judge; Prpic Stipe, second lieutenant; Primorac Silvestar, Pudic Dragutin and Prgesa Ante, sergeants major;

Radic Miroslav, major; Remenar Antun, captain; Rendjec, senior lieutenant, and Ruzic Blago, sergeant major;

Sabljić Ilija, sergeant major; Stojčić Jozo, Senior Lieutenant; Spiller Herman, “Free Prisoner”; Skocibusic, officer; Sliskovic Ivan, lieutenant; Stankovic Marko, sergeant major; Sudar Josip, captain; Sudar Mile junior and senior, sergeants;

Sepovic Miro, sergeant; Stimac Dane, sergeant; Svagusa Andrija, officer;

Tomas Josip, sergeant major; Tomic Jure, lieutenant and Tralic Mirko, sergeant major;

Uzicanin Rasid, official.

Vasilj Ilija, lieutenant; Vasilj Mate and Luka, non-commissioned officers; Vidovic Mile, sergeant; Visakovic Nikola, major; Vlaho Vinko, sergeant major; Vrban Mate, sergeant major; and Vucic Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Zokic Ante, camp prisoner; Zrinusic Ante, sergeant major; and Zivanovic Mato, lieutenant, and all other Ustase whose identity was not determined.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has determined the above individuals as the worst war criminals, traitors of the people and enemies of the people, and deems that they must be most severely punished for the atrocities and misdeeds they committed.

In Zagreb, on 15 November 1945
Number: 4547/45.

State Commission for the Investigation
of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces
and their Collaborators

President: Dr. Venceslav Celigoj
[by his own hand]

Secretary: Dr. Ante Stokic
[by his own hand]