

Local Dimensions of the Second World War in Southeastern Europe

This book deals with the Second World War in Southeastern Europe from the perspective of conditions on the ground during the conflict. The focus is on the reshaping of ethnic and religious groups in wartime, on the “top-down” and “bottom-up” dynamics of mass violence, and on the local dimensions of the Holocaust. The approach breaks with the national narratives and “top-down” political and military histories that continue to be the predominant paradigms for the Second World War in this part of Europe.

Xavier Bougarel is Researcher at the Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques (CETOBaC), CNRS, Paris, France.

Hannes Grandits is Professor of Southeast European History, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany.

Marija Vulesica is Researcher at the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung at the Technical University of Berlin, Germany.

Mass Violence in Modern History

Edited by Alexander Korb and Uğur Ümit Üngör

1 Knowledge and Acknowledgement in the Politics of Memory of the Armenian Genocide

Vahagn Avedian

2 Local Dimensions of the Second World War in Southeastern Europe

Edited by Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits and Marija Vulsica

3 The White Terror: Antisemitic and Political Violence in Hungary, 1919–1921

Béla Bodó

Local Dimensions of the Second World War in Southeastern Europe

**Edited by
Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits and
Marija Vulesica**

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits and Marija Vulesica; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits and Marija Vulesica to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-34365-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-43903-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Taylor & Francis Books

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>List of contributors</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
Local approaches to the Second World War in Southeastern Europe: An introduction	1
XAVIER BOUGAREL, HANNES GRANDITS AND MARIJA VULESICA	
PART I	
Group-making as a process	25
1 Heirs of the Roman Empire? Aromanians and the fascist occupation of Greece (1941–1943)	27
PAOLO FONZI	
2 “The Task of the century”: Local dimensions of the policy of forced conversion in the Independent State of Croatia (1941–1942)	50
DANIELA SIMON	
3 Forced identities: The use of the category “Yugoslav” to classify inmates in the Mauthausen, Buchenwald and Dachau Nazi concentration camps (1941–1945)	66
THOMAS PORENA	
PART II	
Local dynamics of violence	85
4 Controlling space and people: War, territoriality and population engineering in Greece during the 1940s	87
POLYMERIS VOGLIS	

- 5 Spatial and temporal logics of violence: The Independent State of Croatia in the districts of Glina and Vrginmost (April 1941–January 1942) 106
DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ
- 6 Dynamics of unrestrained violence: The massacre of Distomo (10 June 1944) 141
JANIS NALBADIDACIS

PART III

Local perspectives on the Holocaust 159

- 7 The madding clocks of local persecution: Anti-Jewish policies in Bitola under Bulgarian occupation (1941–1943) 161
NADÈGE RAGARU
- 8 Resistance or collaboration? The Greek Christian elites of Thessaloniki facing the Holocaust (1941–1943) 196
LEON SALTIEL
- 9 Being a Jew in Zagreb in 1941: Life and death of Lovoslav Schick 214
MARIJA VULESICA

PART IV

Everyday life under occupation 235

- 10 Escape into normality: Entertainment and propaganda in Belgrade during the occupation (1941–1944) 237
DEJAN ZEC

PART V

Epilogue 261

- 11 (Re-)Scaling the Second World War: Regimes of historicity and the legacies of the Cold War in Europe 263
SABINE RUTAR

Illustrations

Figures

A1	A meeting between a German paratrooper and locals from the Cretan village Kondomari, shortly before the Germans massacred almost all of the village male population on 2 June 1941	xiii
8.1	A scene from the 11 July 1942 gathering of Jewish males at Liberty square, in order to register for forced labor	200
8.2	A scene from the deportation of the Jews of Thessaloniki	205
9.1	Lavoslav Schick (1881–1941)	217
10.1	German soldiers in front of Cvijeta Zuzorić art pavilion in April 1941	238
10.2	Program of the <i>Soldatensender Belgrad</i> for the winter 1943–1944	241
10.3	Concert program of the <i>Wehrmachtsender Belgrad</i> for October 1943	243
10.4	Scene from the movie <i>Nevinost bez zaštite</i> (“Innocence Unprotected”) (1942), written, directed and produced by Dragoljub Aleksić	247

Maps

I.1	The partition of Southeastern Europe in 1941	3
I.2	The partition of Yugoslavia in 1941	5
I.3	The partition of Greece in 1941	7
1.1	Ethnic minorities in Greece in 1940	31
2.1	Slavonia, Sirmia, Bachka and Banat in 1941	51
5.1	Banija and Kordun in 1941	107
5.2	Ethnic composition of “historical Croatia” according to Mladen Lorković (1939)	119
7.1	Vardar Macedonia in 1941	166

Contributors

Xavier Bougarel, Dr. is a researcher at the Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques (CETOBaC) in Paris. He is the author of *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Surviving Empires* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), the co-author of *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History* (London: Hurst, 2017, with Nathalie Clayer) and the co-editor of *Combatants of Muslim Origin in European Armies in the Twentieth Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017, with Raphaëlle Branche and Cloé Drieu), *Investigating Srebrenica: Institutions, Facts, Responsibilities* (New York: Berghahn, 2012, with Isabelle Delpla and Jean-Louis Fournel), *The New Bosnian Mosaic. Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, with Elissa Helms and Ger Duijzings).

Paolo Fonzi, Dr. received his PhD both at the University of Napoli Federico II and at the Humboldt University Berlin in 2008. He was a post-doctoral fellow at the National Institute for the History of the Liberation Movement, Milan, the German Historical Institute in Rome and at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge (MA). Currently, he is a fellow of the Gerda Henkel Foundation. In this position he is supervising a research project—situated at the Humboldt University—that investigates the history of the occupation of Greece during the Second World War with a focus on the interactions between three occupying powers (Italy, Germany, Bulgaria) and on a comparison between their occupation policies.

Hannes Grandits, Prof. Dr. is Professor at the History Department of the Humboldt University in Berlin where he teaches the history of South-eastern and Central Europe, with emphasis on comparative perspectives. His book publications include a.o. *Jugoslawien in den 1960er Jahren. Auf dem Weg zu einem (a)normalen Staat?* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013, with Holm Sundhaussen), *The Ambiguous Nation. Case Studies from Southeastern Europe in the 20th Century* (München: Oldenbourg, 2013, with Ulf Brunnbauer), *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans. The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation Building* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011, with Nathalie Clayer and Robert Pichler), *Herrschaft und Loyalität in der spätosmanischen Gesellschaft. Das Beispiel der multikonfessionellen*

Herzegowina (Wien: Böhlau, 2008), *Birnbaum der Tränen. Lebensgeschichtliche Erzählungen aus dem alten Jugoslawien* (Wien: Böhlau, 2003, with Karl Kaser), *Familie und sozialer Wandel im ländlichen Kroatien – 18.-20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2002).

Janis Nalbadidacis is PhD student at the Humboldt University in Berlin. In 2011, he received his MA in History at the Humboldt University with a thesis about the dynamics of violence during the massacre of Distomo. Currently, he is writing his PhD thesis about two centers of torture and interrogation during the military dictatorships in Greece (1967–1974) and in Argentina (1976–1983). The research project is funded and supported by Elsa-Neumann-Stipendium, Berlin, and Princeton University, where he was research fellow in 2016. His research fields include dynamics and representations of violence, the history of dictatorships in the Balkans and in Latin America during the 20th century and methodological questions regarding comparative approaches.

Thomas Porena is PhD student at the Humboldt University in Berlin. He finished his studies in German and Russian Literature and Modern History of Southeastern Europe in 2005 in Rome, Italy. Since 2008, he has been working both on the deepening and on the dissemination of historical contents about the deportation and forced labor of Italian and Yugoslav citizens in Nazi-Germany during the Second World War. He presented his results in academic networks in Steyr, Athens, Berlin and Rome and participated in educational activities of the Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen, the Jewish Museum in Berlin and the Nazi Forced Labour Documentation Center in Berlin-Schöneweide. In his PhD project, he examines the repatriation of Yugoslav deportees, POWs, and forced laborers from Germany at the end of the Second World War.

Drago Roksandić, Prof. Dr. is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the History Department of the Faculty for Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Zagreb. He is head of the Chair of History of Central and Southeastern Europe and head of the MA module Early Modern History. He is teaching theory and method at the PhD Studies Program of Modern and Contemporary Croatian History. From 1996 to 2014, he was the director of the International Research Project *Triplex Confinium* and, since 2014, he is the director of the Center for Studies in Comparative History and Interculturalism (established in 2001 by the Project *Triplex Confinium*). He was *étudiant libre* at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris in 1980–1981. He was a visiting lecturer at Yale University in 1990 and affiliated in different capacities (from 1991–1992 to 1996–1997) to the Viennese Institute for Human Sciences. From 1995–1996 to 2001–2002, he was a recurrent visiting professor at the History Department of the Central European University in Budapest. As an invited lecturer and/or researcher, he participated in some 200 conferences, research meetings, etc. in some 30 countries and published a large variety of scholarly texts.

Nadège Rugaru, Dr. is tenured researcher at Sciences Po Paris, where she teaches the history and memory of socialism and the Holocaust. She was formerly visiting scholar at Oxford University (Nuffield College, 2017) and Reid Hall Fellow at Columbia University (1999–2000). Her research centers on the history, historiography, and memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Bulgaria and Macedonia. She is currently working on a book project on the trials for anti-Jewish crimes in postwar Bulgaria. Her recent publications include: ‘Nationalization through Internationalization. Writing, Remembering, and Commemorating the Holocaust in Macedonia and Bulgaria after 1989,’ *Südosteuropa*, 65 (2), 2017, pp. 284–315; ‘Nationalizing the Holocaust. “Foreign” Jews and the Making of Indifference in Macedonia under Bulgarian Occupation,’ in: Frank Bajohr and Adrea Löw (eds), *The Holocaust and European Societies. Social Processes and Social Dynamics*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2016, pp. 105–126; ‘Juger les crimes antisémites avant Nuremberg: l’expérience du Tribunal populaire en Bulgarie (1944–1945),’ *Histoire@Politique*, 26, 2015; *La Shoah en Europe du Sud-Est. Les Juifs dans les territoires sous administration bulgare 1941–1944*, Paris: Editions Memorial de la Shoah, 2014.

Sabine Rutar, Dr. is Senior Research Associate at the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg. She is Editor-in-Chief of the quarterly *Südosteuropa. Journal of Politics and Society*; author of *Kultur – Nation – Milieu. Sozialdemokratie in Triest vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Essen: Klartext, 2004), and editor of several academic collections, including ‘Violence in Late Socialist Public Spheres’ (special issue of *European History Quarterly*, 2015) and *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Münster: LIT, 2014). Recently, she co-edited with Katrin Boeckh *The Balkan Wars from Contemporary Perception to Historic Memory* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2017). She is currently working on a monograph on labor deployment in German-occupied mining regions in Slovenia, Serbia and Kosovo during the Second World War.

Leon Saltiel, Dr. holds a PhD in contemporary Greek history from the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, with a focus on the Holocaust of the Jews of Thessaloniki. Leon was a Fulbright Scholar at Georgetown University, earning a master’s degree in Foreign Service. He has received fellowships from, among others, the German Marshall Fund, Yad Vashem and the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. He has published several articles in important historical journals. During 2013–2014, he curated the exhibit entitled “Salonika: Epicenter of the Destruction of the Jews of Greece” at the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris.

Daniela Simon, Dr. studied history, political science and German studies at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Between 2012 and 2015, she graduated from Eberhard Karls University in Tübingen with her PhD thesis ‘Religion

and Violence in Eastern Croatia and Northern Bosnia, 1941–1945.’ Among other topics, she examined the relations between the religious institutions and the Ustasha state, with a special focus on forced conversions. Since October 2015 she is a postdoctoral researcher at the Collaborative Research Centre (CRC) 923 “Threatened Order—Societies under Stress” where she is researching the project on cultural hybridity in Istria from the late 19th into the 20th century.

Polymeris Voglis, Dr. studied at the University of Athens (BA, MA) and at the European University Institute in Florence (PhD). He published the books *Becoming a Subject. Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn, 2002) and *The Greek Society in the Occupation 1941–1944* (in Greek, Athens: Alexandria, 2010), *The Impossible Revolution. The Social Dynamics of the Greek Civil War* (in Greek, Athens: Alexandria, 2014). His interests concern the social history of the Resistance and the Greek civil war, and he is Associate Professor in the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly.

Marija Vulesica, Dr. is a researcher at the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung at the Technical University in Berlin. She studied history and political science in Berlin. In her dissertation, she dealt with the history of antisemitism in Habsburg Croatia. In 2012, her book, *Die Formierung des politischen Antisemitismus in den Kronländern Kroatien-Slawonien 1879–1906*, was published by Metropol (Berlin). She is currently working on a project—founded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)—which examines the transnational networks established by the Yugoslav Zionists in order to help the Central European Jews fleeing the Nazi persecution. Her most recent publications are: ‘Holocaust Research in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. An Inventory,’ in: *Südosteuropa*, 67 (2), 2017, pp. 260–283; ‘Formen des Widerstandes jugoslawischer Zionistinnen und Zionisten gegen die NS-Judenpolitik und den Antisemitismus,’ in Julius H. Schoeps, Dieter Bingen and Gideon Botsch (eds), *Jüdischer Widerstand in Europa 1933–1941*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, pp. 89–105.

Dejan Zec graduated and acquired his master’s degree at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, and is currently working on his PhD thesis about the everyday life in occupied Serbia during the Second World War. At the beginning of his career he worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Belgrade and as an archivist at the Archives of Serbia. Currently he is engaged as research associate at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade. Widely interested in social history and history of everyday life in the Balkans and Europe, modernization processes in the 20th century and history and sociology of sports, he has presented his work at numerous conferences and workshops organized by distinguished universities and institutes. He has also published more than 20 book chapters and articles in peer-reviewed journals, in Serbian, English, German and French.

Acknowledgements

This book has been published as part of a Training and Research Program (Programme formation recherche—PFR) of the Centre interdisciplinaire d'études et de recherches sur l'Allemagne (CIERA, Paris). Funding has also been provided by these institutions: the Chair for Southeast European History at the Humboldt University (Berlin), the Centre Marc Bloch (Berlin), the Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques (CETOBaC, Paris), the Ecole française d'Athènes, the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Berlin) and the Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (Regensburg). We are grateful for the technical assistance of Lucie Kuhls and Juliane Hübner at the Centre Marc Bloch, and that of Julian Sandhagen and Martin Gontermann at the Chair for Southeast European History at the Humboldt University.



Figure A1 This picture shows a meeting between a German paratrooper and locals from the Cretan village Kondomari, shortly before the Germans massacred almost all of the village male population on 2 June 1941
Bundesarchiv, Bild 101I-166-0525-12 / Fotograf: Franz Peter Weixler