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INQUIRIES ON HOMOSEXUALS IN SERBIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Abstract: This paper focuses in the issues regarding homosexuality in Serbia in the period of Second World War and the German occupation, how it was perceived by German occupying forces and their Serbian collaborators and what actions were taken against homosexuals in this period. The goal was to establish to a fair certainty what was the ideological framework of the oppressors, what was general policy towards homosexuals and whether this policy differed from policies in other parts of occupied Europe, but, considering the scarcity of saved sources, this was accomplished only conditionally. Also, the paper gives an account on previous research done on homosexuality and homosexuals in Yugoslavia and Serbia during the war, the legal status of homosexuals before and during the war and gives the account on available resources for further research. The paper is based on relevant literature and archival material.

Key words: homosexuals, Second World War, occupation, Serbia

Introduction

There are not many periods of Serbian history that had been so thoroughly researched and that had been center of attention of Serbian historians and other social researchers as the period of Second World War and the occupation of the country. Countless books, studies, monographs, papers, reviews and collections of documents of all the confronted sides, volumes and volumes of written memoirs and recollections, represent probably the largest bibliographical corpus of Serbian and Yugoslav historiography. However, despite the all published material, some occurrences that

were more or less visible during the war are just recently being discovered. Maybe it is because the small stories and histories of life and survival didn't go hand in hand with major narratives of struggle, sacrifice and revolution, maybe it is because not much material had been preserved that told the stories of little things and maybe it is, finally, because little stories didn't catch our interest so far. Eventually, the liberation of historiography from the conservative shackles that had directed the research solely towards political, diplomatic and military topics opened up space for examination of those occurrences that actually did represent daily life of most of the people. Historiography is finally ready to tackle the hardships of a little man. On the other hand, the expansion of the spectrum of interest on various social processes somehow managed to circumvent the issues of sexuality and the society's reflections on the same, at least in Serbian case. What was the sexual life of our ancestors is something we can find out only indirectly, from different but also scarce historical sources, such as diaries, court papers or collected folk songs and stories of erotic and sexual character. Even the historiographical works that had researched sexuality in the past were mostly of anecdotal character, without the fundamental analysis of processes and social transformations of the modernization of Serbian society.

Some of the most interesting stories of the Serbian past were the stories of minorities – ethnic, religious and political minorities and their status in the society and state, their relationship with the majority of the population and their destiny in the turbulent historical periods. Sexual minorities, men and women whose sexual preferences deviated from the accepted norms of heterosexual behavior, remained invisible in Serbian history. There are many reasons for that and definitely the most important one is that the heterosexual majority condemned such behavior and that homosexuality was punishable by the law, thus forcing vast majority of homosexuals and lesbians to hide their sexual orientation, or to completely suppress it and try to accommodate the generally accepted norms of sexuality. In accordance with such social pressure, every expression of alternative sexuality, every contact of homosexual nature and even every thought about it remained hidden from the eyes of the public, even from the eyes of today's critical and scientific public, which is willing to address the issue without prejudice. According to Jeffrey Weeks, out of all variations of sexual behavior, homosexuality was always under greatest social pressure and, consequently, as a reaction to animosity, homosexuals created toughest resistance to hostile categorizations and long and rich cultural and subcultural history [1]. Historical sources that would help to cast more light on lives of homosexuals and lesbians in Serbia are simply non-existent, or rather very few in numbers. Also, the existing sources are usually the product of persecution and therefore very one-sided. This goes for all the periods of modern Serbian and Yugoslav history, from the mid-19th century to the period of socialism [2].

History of homosexuality in Serbia and status of homosexuals and lesbians in various periods in Serbian history still represent a mystery and will be a tough topic for future researchers. The dynamic processes in the society itself at the very

beginning of the 20th century caused the society to become more aware that there were people who were different and that were still the integral part of it. However, it didn't mean that the society itself became more tolerant. While the issues of political, economic and sexual emancipation of women and issues of more loose heterosexual behavior scandalized the public and caused a conservative reaction, and a general notion among of the large part of the public was that these processes were inevitable and even desirable, the relationship towards homosexuality did not change much since the mid-19th century. Perception of the majority of the public was that homosexuality was moral abomination, which had to remain invisible or be severely punished. For those reasons there wasn't much positive improvement in the status of homosexuals in interwar Yugoslavia, very few people had publically expressed their homosexual preferences, there were no organizations to promote the rights of homosexuals and lesbians (homophile societies), no pressure had been made on the conservative public and no attempts to overturn the discriminatory legislative. On the other hand, probably because of some sort of appreciation by the state that the question of status of homosexuals and lesbians wasn't an actual issue, the very persecution of homosexuals by the state was also non-existent. Despite the fact that homosexuals were legally discriminated, the number of actual court cases in the period of interwar Yugoslavia was minimal. Homosexuals and people who were thought to be homosexuals were left to the mercy of gossip. Quite a few members of the Yugoslav elite – officers, politicians, bankers, university professors and even members of the Yugoslav Royal House – were being labeled as closeted homosexuals.

Previous Research

As mentioned before, issues regarding homosexuality were not a subject of detailed historiographical research, not just for the period of the Second World War, but in general. Up to very recently not a single book, paper or any other kind of historiographical work even mentioned homosexuals and homosexuality regarding the Second World War in Yugoslavia and Serbia. However, things are beginning to change, very slowly, but nevertheless – inquiries on homosexuals and lesbians and their life experiences during the hardships of war and occupation has become a valid topic. The works are still scarce and actually are still stuck in very early stages of research, dealing with the basics – gathering and mapping the sources, asking the basic research questions and simply probing the territory. But, being the pioneer works, they should be mentioned in more detail.

First work ever to address the issues of homosexuality in Yugoslavia during the Second World War was an essay written by Dean Vuletić, published in 2002 [2]. Contemplating about how homosexuals were hidden from history in Yugoslavia and how this very much differs from rest of Europe, Vuletić made parallels on how little is known of LGBT histories of the Second World War in Yugoslavia comparing it to Europe. In this essay Vuletić outlined many useful sources and introduced a selec-

tion of different interesting issues worth examining, such as homosexuality in death camps or homosexual behavior in partisan army. It would be fair to say that Vuletić's work unlocked the entire topic. Another research very much worth mentioning is the work of Franko Dota, who was researching the status of homosexuals in post-war Yugoslavia and Croatia for his PhD thesis, but whose inquiries covered the Second World War as well, especially the homosexuals in the Yugoslav communist partisan movement and army [3]. His findings had proved that Yugoslav communists weren't at all tolerant towards homosexuals and homosexual behavior, and that it was not just regarded as an issue of discipline, but also as an issue of moral corruption and ideological antagonism, as homosexuality was seen as a product of bourgeois system. Another interesting work that in a way deals with homosexuality in occupied Serbia is outstanding PhD thesis on status of women in occupied Serbia by Ljubinka Škodrić [4]. Having the opportunity to examine in detail archival materials on education in the period of occupation, Škodrić had allocated several interesting cases concerning female teachers suspected of having lesbian affairs. Her research only just scratched the surface but definitely is the right way to proceed. Finally, during my own research on everyday life in Belgrade during the period of German occupation in the Second World War, especially the research on leisure practices and ways people of Belgrade were entertaining themselves and spending their free time, I got curious about the sexual practices of city's inhabitants, but also eventually asked myself a question what was the destiny of Belgrade's homosexuals and was there a way to find this out. My initial thoughts, gathered sources and analyses were published in 2014 [5].

Legal Status before the War and During Occupation

In order to fully understand the position of homosexuals in Serbia in the period of Second World War and the German occupation, it is necessary to analyze the legal framework which set the standards of dealing with homosexual individuals. Criminal Code for the Kingdom SHS/Yugoslavia from 1929 actually represented the legal framework, along with accompanying legislative and executive acts, which enabled the Criminal Code to be implemented. During the German occupation, this Criminal Code remained in use for most of its sections, with some parts being changed, usually the parts dealing with political offences, for the purpose of more efficient persecution of the members of the resistance to the occupiers. The Criminal Code for the Kingdom of SHS, passed on 16th February 1929, begun its implementation on 1st January 1930 throughout the country, except in Serbia and Montenegro, where implementation was delayed for a full year. Effectively, the new Criminal Code replaced old and obsolete Serbian legislative, adopted way back in 1860 [6].

The Criminal Code contained two stipulations dealing with homosexual behavior – two paragraphs that enabled the efficient persecution of homosexuals - §285 and §287. Those two paragraphs should be fully cited. §285 states: "For the crime of unnatural fornication between the two persons the perpetrator will be punished by

rigorous imprisonment, unless the act exceeds to more serious offence“ [6]. §287 states: “Who publically conducts an act of fornication shall be punished by imprisonment or fined with 50.000 dinars“ [6]. It is interesting that §285 does not specifically punish the intercourse between the two persons of the same sex, but the intercourse that is seen as being *unnatural* by the legislator, which meant that this paragraph could have been used for persecution of people who indulged heterosexual intercourse, if the authorities saw it as *unnatural*. Mihailo Čubinski,¹ prominent Serbian lawyer and professor of the Belgrade University, commented on the Criminal Code of 1929, and gave interesting accounts on the very nature of *unnatural fornication*: “The unnatural fornication, mentioned in the §285, does not include the very acts of fornication, but just the unnatural conduct of the sexual act, namely physical contact between two persons, similar to forceful sexual act. In these boundaries, the subject and the object of the act could be both males and females (*coitus per annum* between man and a woman or between two men, *coitus* between two women, if one of them has abnormally developed uterus and can act as a man in sexual intercourse, and other similar forms similar to sexual act). Everything that is beyond these boundaries (mutual masturbation of the persons of different or same sex, lesbian love and all other excesses and perverted affinities) are defined by the term of acts of fornication and can only be sanctioned as such” [7].

The legal term of *act of fornication*, which intertwined with the legal term of *unnatural fornication*, was defined by the §289: “By the act of fornication the Code understands any kind of act which is used by the perpetrator to indulge its physical lust“. [6] This paragraph couldn't have been broader and more confusing, which opened up a space for arbitrary persecution of all the people who seemed suspicious to the authorities. Professor Čubinski attempted to delineate the two terms, *unnatural fornication* and *act of fornication*, defining the *unnatural fornication* predominantly as an act of anal intercourse between two persons regardless of their sex, but still remaining quite indistinctive, mentioning also “the other possible forms similar to sexual act“. On the other hand, despite explicitly including lesbian sex, the notion of *act of fornication* remained very blurry and susceptible to widest interpretation to what actually leads to the gratification of physical lust in the contact between two persons. One of the main characteristics of the §285 of the Criminal Code is that the act had to be conducted with intent, respectively with the knowledge of the *unnatural* character of the act. If this knowledge existed with both the active and the passive subjects of the act, both of them were responsible in front of the law. However, if one of the subjects was not able to understand the nature and significance of the act, due to young age, inexperience or any other circumstance, he or she would be exonerated from responsibility [7].

Punishment for the crime of *unnatural fornication* was the punishment of rigorous imprisonment. §285 did not specify the length of sentence, but the law stated

1 Mihailo Čubinski (1871–1943) was prominent Serbian jurist of Russian origin, specialist in criminal law and law professor in Belgrade and Subotica.

that rigorous imprisonment in general can last between seven days and five years [7]. If the sentence of rigorous imprisonment lasted for more than one year, the convicted person would have to serve it in special imprisonment units, and if it lasted less than a year, the convicted person would serve it in courthouse prison. The same went for punishment sanctioned in the §287, with the difference that the court could pass a fine instead of imprisonment. People incarcerated for §285 and §287 were separated from the general population and they served their sentences with consideration to the specific nature of their crime, their sex and age, which is important to stress out, because the legislator had in mind the possibility that because of the nature of the crimes they were convicted of, they would possibly be targeted by other prisoners [7]. We still don't know much about the ordeals of those who were convicted for unnatural fornication, as the testimonies do not exist, or still haven't been found.

Criminal Code for the Kingdom SHS/Yugoslavia, more specifically the legislature concerning the persecution of the crimes against public morality, caused quite a stir in the public – not as much in the general public, as it triggered arguments among lawyers and jurists. Even in a very conservative society, which was ready to accept the persecution of those who perceived their sexuality differently, voices of discontent and non-acceptance had emerged. One of the most active opponents of the public morality legislature was Mihailo Čubinski, who gave the detailed analysis of the Criminal Code and who attacked some of its paragraphs from the stand point of modern rationalism, progressivism and necessity to protect one's privacy. Professor Čubinski, who thought that laws concerning public morality were in fact laws concerning sexuality, advocated for great caution and carefulness, as the area was one of the most difficult and complicated legislative tasks of the age [7]. Čubinski wrote: "On one hand, it is said that sexual life of an individual is his own personal and intimate matter and therefore the state should avoid interfering in the matter with its penal apparatus. The mankind had long suffered by the interference of religious and moral notions to judicial matters, producing the crimes of the inquisition and Savonarola, forcing monastic and ascetic ideals and suffocating human freedoms, etc. People should not be forced to Heaven with by force, and should be allowed to follow their beliefs and their conscience in the matters of sexual morality" [7].

Respectable jurist noted that personal liberties of the individual, including the freedom of sexual orientation, are under attack by the conservative forces in the society, especially the religious organizations. The role of the state, according to him, is primarily to protect the right of privacy of the individual, even in cases when someone's morality or sexuality contradicted the generally accepted notions of normalcy. Čubinski was very clear on the issue: "By the very clear text of our code, the act described in §285 exists regardless to whether it was done publically or not, whether it has been conducted with or without the consent of the passive subject and whether the subjects were adults or not. We had already stated why we thought that it would be more appropriate and more useful for society if our code would be, like many other codes around the world, focused on pursuing more drastic forms of the

act, and acts done under special circumstances. Respectively, if the act was conducted publically or under duress, or by exploitation of the victim's young age, ignorance or misfortune, or by imposing authority, we would then have a classic example of the violation of the right of an individual. Personal moral corruption is then linked with the violation of the interests of others and it must be punished severely. Pursuing the acts that go beyond these boundaries drastically widens the pursuit of immorality, and also, pursuing the acts which are not public causes unhealthy curiosity with others, opens room for extortion, false accusations and other unwanted reactions. However, our code is on a different standpoint. *Dura est lex, sed lex* and the courts have to implement it, but they have to be very careful about the mentioned circumstances when passing a sentence." [7]

Mihailo Čubinski was supporter of what we would today call "a policy of your own four walls", where a state wasn't to interfere in the relations of sexual nature if they were stealthy, voluntary and if they didn't escalate to some more serious criminal offense. Čubinski did not abandon the notion of heterosexual moral superiority and sense of righteousness and he was truly appalled of the idea and nature of homosexual act, but, as a true old-school liberal, he considered protection of one's privacy was more important than his or hers *moral corruption*. Seeing from today's perspective, this attitude would certainly be considered as homophobic, but in its own time it was rather liberal, especially for the conservative Yugoslav environment at the beginning of the 20th century. Čubinski was sharing values of many of contemporary prominent western liberal jurists, philosophers and social theorists. Furthermore, Čubinski backed his arguments with popular notions that homosexuality was a result of inflicted trauma in the formative years of one's life or being the result of inherent attributes. An interesting passage from his commentaries stated: "The complications can also occur because the recent advances in psychiatry (especially in psychopathology) had shed new light on the variety of phenomena concerning the sexual life of humans. These new findings are challenging the norms and beliefs and showing that many acts and excesses in the sphere of sex are not the result of moral corruption but the result of inborn characteristics or simple misfortune. The example of the first notion can be hatred expressed towards the persons of the opposite sex some people show from the youngest age and growing desire towards bonding and eventual sexual intercourse with the persons of the same sex. The example for the second notion can be young men, who had been victims of forceful unnatural sexual act inflicted by a grown man, who had lost the ability to function as normal men and who had developed the urge, sometimes irresistible, towards the passive pederasty" [7].

The legal framework which enabled the persecution of homosexuals was introduced in 1929 and it replaced the old Serbian law that had been in effect for almost seventy years. The Criminal Code of 1929 was operational and unchanged through the entire period of German occupation of Serbia. Some critical opinions expressed by professionals, mostly jurists, had been raised but they were not sufficient to change the law and to create new legislative that would promote the elementary tolerance.

Homosexuals were, in the eyes of the state and society, sexual offenders, immoral and deviant individuals, who corrupted the society and from whom the society had to be protected. In the atmosphere of intolerance, homosexual community, if we can even talk about a “community”, stayed passive and invisible. It is a fact that the police and the courts had processed very few cases of the violation of §285 of the Criminal Code, at least according to the records of the Belgrade’s courts, but this fact does not tell that the number of homosexuals in the city was small, but rather tells us that the repressive legislature had achieved its purpose – homosexuals remained invisible, hiding in deep underground, so the heterosexual majority could feel free to enjoy its “moral superiority”.²

Ideological and Propagandist Approach to Homosexuality

The relationship between the totalitarian political movements that were on the rise in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, especially Fascism and Nazism, and homosexuality is not the main topic of this paper but it had to be mentioned, because the doings of the German occupying authorities and Serbian collaborating regime had its roots in the fascist ideology and the domestic interpretations of the same. Many studies, books, chapters and papers dealing with the position of homosexuals in 1930s and during the Second World War had been written [9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14]. All of them agree on one thing – totalitarian ideologies tend to exclude sexuality from the sphere of privacy and to exploit it to their own convenience [10]. State-supported sexuality was reduced to reproductive sexuality, which was socially beneficial, while all the other sexual expressions were considered useless, thus deviant and socially unacceptable. The Nazis, after seizing power, radicalized the question of position of homosexuals and lesbians in society, toughened the anti-homosexual laws and ended the practice of relative tolerance which existed in German society during the Weimer period. The persecution started with layoffs and public stigmatization and escalated after 1935 and adoption of very tough anti-homosexual legislature (§175). Homosexuals and lesbians were declared to be enemies of the state and the new order and their sexuality had become a political crime. They were imprisoned in concentration camps, tortured and killed. The persecution was ideological, systematic and ruthless [9].

In other European countries the situation varied from case to case. The worst situation was in those countries where political movements similar to Nazis grabbed power and in those territories that had become the integral part of the Third Reich after the military operations had ended. In those territories the German legislature was implemented and the persecution of homosexuals was very much similar to one in Germany. In the rest of Europe and in those territories that had been occupied by German troops or had some sort of domestic administration loyal to the Germans,

² This could relate to the larger parts of Europe and world as well in the first half of the 20th century. See [8]

the persecution was far less intense and, in some cases, even non-existent. Of course, it does not mean that in those territories homosexuals and homosexual behavior were tolerated, but rather that the systematic terror hadn't been conducted. It is easy to imply that the level of persecution of homosexuals actually depended on German plans for certain territory in the post-war period. If the territory was to be annexed by Germany or if the local population had its place in the *New order* of races and nations – the German interest for the questions of homosexuals was greater. On the other hand, if the local population was to face extinction, eviction or some kind of slave labor, the Germans showed less or even no interest. The seen role of Serbia in the post-war German-centric world was certainly closer to the second example.³

After the aggression of the Axis powers on Yugoslavia, destruction of Yugoslav state and dismemberment of its territory, what was left of Serbia was put under strict control of the German army. During spring, summer and early autumn of 1941, the German occupational apparatus was created, made of military, police, intelligence and diplomatic agencies, all formally subordinated to the German military commander in Serbia [16]. The Germans had delegated many prerogatives of power to the domestic administration, which consisted partially of old Yugoslav civil servants and partially of people who were ideologically close to the occupiers. With the creation of the “Government of National Salvation” of Milan Nedić, the statehood of Serbia was falsely restored and the occupiers acquired a faithful ally in their fight against the insurgents and in implementation of their occupational policies. When looking at the ideological profile of the people who were the part of the collaborating system, one can see a very heterogeneous group of people. Some of them were pre-war politicians, focused on their careers; some were highly-ranked army officers and some were prominent members of the far-right, gathered around Dimitrije Ljotić and the “Zbor” movement. Members of “Zbor” and extreme right-wingers were the ones who had the biggest say in the collaborating apparatus, at least concerning ideology and influencing the Serbian public towards supporting the Germans.

Despite the fact that Serbian collaborators were very close to German Nazis and Italian Fascists, their ideologies were quite heterogeneous, usually closely connected with Orthodox Christian mysticism, idea of collectivity and the old Serbian economic institute of *zadruga* (cooperative). Because their closeness to Nazism and because of the political ideals they shared with German occupiers, the domestic Serbian collaborators, alone and under instruction, focused their attacks on those social and political groups already being under scrutiny in Germany and across the enslaved Europe – Jews, Roma, freemasons, communists and other left-wing supporters, democrats and anglophiles. Jewish question was the absolute priority in Serbia and it was the German occupying authorities who took upon themselves to resolve it. The majority of Yugoslav Jews was already annihilated by the end of 1942 [17, 18, 19]. Apart from Jews and Roma, who represented the racial enemy to the occupiers,

3 For more information on the German views of the future of the Balkans, see [15]

communists were seen as the biggest threat to the newly established order, especially after the uprising of the summer of 1941. Beside them, the Chetniks, nationalist resistance fighters, who had been organizing resistance in early 1941, were targeted as well, alongside members of different democratic, pro-Allied and anglophile organizations.⁴ Members of freemason's lodges were being fiercely persecuted, who were blamed for all the evils and hardships of the Serbian people and who were labeled as spiritual and ideological leaders of both international Jewry and communism [21]

Because the list of the real and imaginary enemies of the *New order* was so long, homosexuals were definitely not the top priority of the occupying forces. Main goals of the German occupiers were to restore peace and order in the heartland of Serbia, to seek, find and eliminate the communist cells in Belgrade and other Serbian cities, to disperse the intelligence network of the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland (Chetniks), to locate and destroy all the members of the Jewish community and to stabilize the entire system, so the power could be safely handed to Serbian collaborators. Homosexuals, extremely marginalized in Kingdom of Yugoslavia, almost invisible and certainly politically and socially non-existent, did not pose a question of much concern to the German occupying authorities. In fact, the attitude towards the homosexuals in occupied Serbia could be viewed from two different perspectives – the perspective of ideology and propaganda and the practical perspective. The ideology of Serbian collaborators was a mixture of various different ideas and values: fascism, nationalism, anti-modernism, irrationalism, Orthodox Christian mysticism, class-based corporatism and utopian agrarian romanticism. What is characteristic and easily noticeable in all the manifestos of the collaborationist extreme right-wing is extremely negative view on democracy, liberalism, parliamentarianism, towards the West and all the values seen as western – tolerance, understanding and ethnic and religious intermingling [22]. The West had, according to them, degenerated and perverted the Serbian youth, destroyed traditional Serbian culture, thus enabling communism to take roots in the country. *Degeneration* and *perversion* were the attributes quite often used in the pasquinades of the Serbian collaborators and they were usually linked with communism, Jewry and freemasonry. The attributes were usually used to describe the moral downfall, deviance of character or political aberrations, but on several occasions they were used to describe the *sexual deviancy*, naturally, closely linked with left-wing ideas, western values or freemasonry. The notion of *deviant sexuality* was not only used by the Serbian collaborators as a tool of propaganda, attributing it to the enemies of the Serbian people, but it was in many cases their genuine belief. There is an interesting report to the Special Police of Belgrade, sent by the members of the Serbian Volunteers Corps, a pro-Nazi militia, in autumn of 1941, claiming that: "A certain female communist sympathizer was a member of

4 The best overview of the war on Serbian territory is [20]. For more information on the persecution of both communists and Chetniks see the works of Branislav Božović, Jovan Marjanović, Milan Koljanin, Milan Ristović and Milan Borković.

the secret communist society called 'Free Love', a society that had their own premises, where the members would indulge in filthy fornication. The said female communist continued her immoral communist work to this day" [23]. *Filthy fornication* in this case included sexual orgies, with participation of both men and women. Dimitrije Najdanović, a prominent official of Ljotić's "Zbor", wrote in the movement's newspapers *Naša borba* (*Our Struggle*) that the Serbian society "had slipped into immorality and lechery because of ruinous influence of Jews, freemasons and communists" [24]. Milosav Vasiljević, one of the most active and industrious storm troopers of Dimitrije Ljotić, wrote that "freemasons were proud of their tolerance and that, free from respect of any norm, political or religious, they addressed social issues unscrupulously" [25]. Ratko Parežanin referred to the opponents of the German occupation as "domestic degenerates and punks", implying, among other things, that they were sexually deviant [26].

Most interesting case of relating "sexual perversion, debauchery and homosexuality" with political and ideological opponents of the occupation was the case of the alleged diary of an anonymous communist fighter from eastern Serbia, captured by the Serbian collaborationist forces and published in newspapers in sequels. The diary was published as a feuilleton in several issues of pro-government newspapers *Naša borba* during autumn and winter of 1941. At the beginning the name of the author was not disclosed but soon he was identified as one Vukajlo Kukalj, school-teacher who came to Serbia from Montenegro. Authenticity of this diary is more than questionable but it was much more important what the aims of publishing of such a material by the collaborators were. The introductory sentence of the first volume of the diary was: "Robbery, murder and debauchery are the main components of the armed bandits from the woods and their so called struggle" [27]. Among the many crimes attributed to communist partisans, described in detail by the alleged author Vukajlo Kukalj, following passage draws attention: "Around 5 p.m. I lied down to rest for a while on a bench in the room we used for sorting, typing and multiplying the news. This room was equipped with two beds. Malicious rumors were spread that last night the commander and the commissar had slept there. Anyway, I was just about to fall asleep when the commissar stormed in and asked me to leave the room. Along with him was the young man with large teeth, cheerful face of a child and small pug nose with short dark hairs above his mouth. That was the courier" [27]. It is interesting that Kukalj in this short passage had twice managed to imply that the political commissar of their unit expressed homosexual tendencies and that he was not trying to hide them (the commissar was allegedly called Sima Simić and in Kukalj's diary he was portrayed almost as a typical character from literature – prodigal and debauched son of a millionaire who became communist out of pure boredom). Even if the authenticity of this diary is questionable, it is clear that the ones who had published it wanted to highlight the connection between communist partisans and debauchery and homosexuality, in order to scandalize the readers and cause them to fear the communists, creating the negative stereotype and indulging the sense of

moral probity of “decent” Serbs. Portraying themselves as fighters against communism, the Serbian collaborators also represented themselves as champions in struggle against “debauchery, degeneration and pederasty”.

Practical activities of Serbian collaborationist authorities in the field of persecuting homosexuals and fighting the homosexual behavior, was far less intense than the propaganda stunts used. Department of the Special police of the Belgrade City Administration, which was the striking fist of the regime in persecuting all of its opponents, was not particularly interested in homosexuals and did not perceived them as political or security threat. Therefore, all the potential cases of homosexual behavior were transferred under the jurisdiction of the Criminal police, just as it was before the war and the occupation. The Criminal police acted in accordance to the Criminal Code of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which remained effective throughout the period of occupation. The Special police did however, just like in the pre-war period, keep records on various suspicious individuals, including homosexuals and possible homosexuals. A document is saved which confirms that in the records of the pre-war Danube Banovina existed a file with information on “offenders of the public morality”. It is very likely that the Special police records were arranged in similar fashion. The file consisted of following categories – homosexuals, bestialists, lesbians, various other perverts, child abusers and rapists [28]. Unfortunately, the documentation of the Belgrade Special police was destroyed at the end of the war so we cannot know what kind of information the files contained. Gathering information about various individuals and social groups was one of the main tasks of the Special police, not just as a mean of guarding the law and order, but also for the purpose of expanding the basis of confidants and associates. In the journal of the security forces of the Nedić’s government, *Glasnik Srpske državne straže*, an article was published which focused on the necessity of following and monitoring suspicious elements, especially “...individuals who were dangerous for the safety of the citizens, various criminal types: murderers, blackmarketeers, robbers, thieves, brigands, cheaters and also various perverse types, who, in perverted search for sexual pleasure, commit crimes against nature (rapists, pederasts etc.)” [29]. When everything mentioned is considered, it is quite clear that the German forces did not show interest in resolving the question of homosexuals in Serbia, while the Serbian collaborating authorities considered the issue to be of some importance and thought there was a need to take severe action against homosexuals, thus organizing monitoring, spying and keeping detailed files, but due to the overload of the system, the final strike had never happened. Only few cases of investigation and persecution of homosexuals were recorded during the period of occupation and those cases were processed by the Criminal police and regular courts.

The Case of D. Ž.

It is a fair assumption that, formally and judicially, homosexual behavior and the very homosexual act were not considered to be political acts by the occupying forces nor were they persecuted as such by the occupying forces and Serbian Special police. It is therefore important to determine who was actually in charge for conducting inquiries and judicial action. Assumption upon which the judicial persecution of homosexuals was linked with §285 of the Criminal Code of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*unnatural fornication*), which remained in power in the period of occupation, was proven correct after the meticulous review of the archival material. According to the Law on Criminal and Judicial Procedure, persecution on §285 of the Criminal Code was in the domain of the Criminal police, if they would find out about the criminal act or if they were informed about the act by a witness or by the injured party. Unfortunately, due to various circumstances, the archival material where the documents of the Belgrade Criminal police were kept for the period between 1941 and 1944 is not preserved.⁵ The same pretty much goes for other Serbian cities and their Criminal police departments. On the other hand, it is very fortunate circumstance that the archival material of the Belgrade County Court is saved, especially the entry registers, which contain the description of all criminal cases that ever reached the court.

Reviewing the Belgrade County Court registers for 1942, 1943 and 1944 (the registers for 1941 are not preserved); total of 18 processed criminal cases could be found that concerned breach of law regarding the public morality. This number is surprisingly low, especially when the total number of processed criminal cases is regarded (about 1500 per year), and also regarding the fact that crime of rape was also included in the *public morality* group of crimes (§269). One can only guess what the reasons were for such low number of criminal cases concerning sexual offenses in Belgrade area during the war. Without a doubt one of the reasons was general insecurity and the possibility to be brutally punished and even killed for any offense, even the minor ones, or to be sent to forced labor camps in Germany or in some of the Serbian mines. It is fairly reasonable to assume that people wanted to minimize their contacts with the authorities. Also, from the court entry books, one can see that the number of property related crimes were very high, which paints a very vivid picture of the poverty and destitution of the occupation years. It is very possible that a large proportion of sex related crimes wasn't even reported to the police, because of fear of the victims, as the perpetrators were people from the occupational or collaborating apparatus, and it is highly likely that many of the reported crimes simply wasn't

5 Some of the criminal cases could be found in the archival fund of the Belgrade City Administration (BCA), in the Historical Archives of Belgrade (HAB), in the documents of the Special police, but the number of those is rather small. Only few boxes of material are saved, containing about 50 criminal cases, usually petty crimes. None of those cases is linked with crimes against public morality, and thus no cases involving sexual minorities.

processed by the police. The question remains opened and hopefully future research will give more complete picture.

In the papers of the court, respectively the entry registers for the Belgrade County Court, only two crimes related to §285 could be found – KZP 782/42 from 1942 and KZP 600/43 from 1943. Full records of the KZP 600/43 are lost and only information we have are from the entry registers. The name of the accused was A. S., male person from Belgrade, but the register does not imply what was the nature of his crime, because §285 did not only foresaw persecution of homosexual acts, but all acts of *unnatural sex* [7]. It is very likely that case KZP 600/43 wasn't an act of homosexual intercourse but an act of anal sex between a man and a woman that somehow found its way to the court. Because the name of the injured party wasn't noted in the entry registration book, it is impossible to determine its sex, thus making this case worthless for analysis. On the other hand, the KZP 782/42 case papers are completely preserved in the Historical Archives of Belgrade [30].

The criminal case KZP 782/42 is not voluminous – only about a dozen of documents are saved. From the first glance it is quite clear that the case itself is not complete, and that either some of the documents are missing or the case wasn't closed. Furthermore, according to the saved documents, there never was an actual trial – in chronological terms, the final document of the case was instruction to the State Prosecutor to instigate an enquiry on the case. The state of the archival material suggests two possible scenarios: either the State Prosecutor decided not to proceed with indictment after the conducted investigation, or the trial did happen but the trial proceedings were not saved. The first assumption would be more reasonable but in that case a formal notification of the withdrawal of the indictment by the State Prosecutor should exist within the file. In any case, whatever the final outcome was, it is the only saved file on criminal case regarding homosexual behavior in Belgrade in the period of German occupation in the Second World War. For that reason it is very precious and should be presented in detail. However, one should be very careful, because single case cannot be a source of generalization regarding the position of homosexuals in occupied Serbia. The documents can certainly be indicative but all the laws of historiographical methodology and common sense really require us not to see as an absolute truth something that is based on a single historical source.

The KZP 782/42 case was opened on 26th of February 1942, when 45-year old Đ. R., a railway clerk from Belgrade, gave a statement in the Headquarters of the 10th Quarter of the Belgrade City Administration,⁶ in which he accused one D. Ž. for sexually assaulting his underage son M. R. The police officer took notes and dispatched the statement to the quarter Superintendent. Here is the full statement of Đ. R: "My son, M. R, 3rd grade student of grammar school, was invited by some guy D.

6 During the German occupation in the Second World War, Belgrade City Administration was re-organized to better suit the needs of the occupying forces. In May 1941 the city was divided into 10 quarters, administrative units very similar to *arrondissements* in Paris. For more information see [31].

Ž. to be *položajnik*⁷ at his house for Christmas holidays. And indeed, he went there on the first day of Christmas, where D. Ž. got him drunk. On January 13th my son went from home and allegedly he spent that night at the Labor Exchange, where D. Ž. saw him the following day and took him to his place. He spent three or four nights there. I found my son in apartment of D. Ž. on 17th or 18th of January and took him home, where he stayed until 16th of February, when he went missing once again. With the help of a police agent I managed to find him on the 24th of this month in the apartment of D. Ž, in Sarajevska Street no. 14. I noticed that my son was covered with scabs all over his body and immediately I took him to be examined by our regional physician, who had advised me to take him to the specialist for skin diseases Dr. Zdravko Poštić, which I did. Dr. Poštić instructed me to the Dermatology Department of the General Hospital, where the doctors examined my son's skin and blood and determined he was suffering from some severe venereal disease. I asked my son who did this to him and he told me, in front of the physicians, that D. Ž. forced him to have intercourse, in the apartment at Sarajevska Street no. 14, and also in the apartment in Durmitorska Street, where D. Ž. used to live before. I am pressing charges against D. Ž. and I beg the authorities to pursue him according to the law. That is all I have to say. The statement was read to me and all the word were noted correctly" [30].

Father of the injured party, in his statement to the authorities, wanted to present the case as a case of abduction of his son and as an act of violent and forceful sexual intercourse by D. Ž. but some parts of his statement was very contradictory. Analyzing carefully, one can notice certain illogicalities, which point out to the fact that either Đ. R. did not know exactly what was going on with his son in the first two months of 1942 or that he didn't want to disclose the full truth to the police officer of the 10th Quarter. The following segments of the statement were very dubious: Đ. R. claimed that he didn't know D. Ž, despite the fact that they lived very close to each other (Đ. R. lived in Sarajevska Street no. 8 and D. Ž. in Sarajevska Street no. 14, basically in the same block); Đ. R. stated that his son was invited to be *položajnik* for Christmas holidays at D. Ž, which would be quite unusual if Đ. R. and D. Ž. didn't know each other, because it is tradition to invite a familiar child, a child from the neighborhood or a young cousin; It sounds quite strange that Đ. R. didn't insist to find out what was happening with his son when he stayed with D. Ž. for the first time, from 13th to 18th of January; Finally, the statement that M. R. had his body covered with scabs in the period of seven days he was absent from his house is also controversial, because, whatever was the venereal disease M. R. had picked up, to get to the acute condition which implies that scabs and lesions were visible, would take much more time. Anyway, the statement of Đ. R. was convincing enough for the police and D. Ž. was arrested the same day. During his apprehension and search of his apartment, nothing

7 *Položajnik* is in Serbian tradition a person who would be the first to arrive as a guest in someone's home on Christmas Day. This was usually pre-arranged and it would usually be a familiar younger person.

was found that would incriminate him further, nor was he resisting arrest [30]. On the following day M. R. was brought to the Headquarters of the 10th Quarter and he was asked for a statement. What he said to the police differed a lot from the words of his father. His testimony is too long to be given in full but the highlights are the following – Few days before the new year of 1942 M. R. ran away from home because he had a dispute with his father and then stumbled upon D. Ž. who he had known from before. D. Ž. had invited him to dine together at the “Bukurešt” restaurant, and his invitation was accepted. During dinner, D. Ž. was trying to get M. R. drunk. After the dinner D. Ž. offered M. R. to sleep at his place and M. R. accepted, because there were no vacancies at the Labor Exchange and at his brother’s place. In the room D. Ž. was renting at Durmitorska Street there was only one bed and both D. Ž. and M. R. went to sleep in the same bed. During the night D. Ž. started to touch M. R. and tried to persuade him to have sex, which M. R. refused. When M. R. fell asleep, D. Ž. grabbed him forcefully and placed his penis into his rectum. M. R. witnessed he couldn’t move or resist. Soon D. Ž. ejaculated and then both of them fell asleep. In the morning M. R. left the apartment and wandered around the city but D. Ž. soon managed to find him, apologizing for what he did the previous night and offering M. R. to stay at his place again. M. R. refused. About a week later D. Ž. and M. R. met once again and D. Ž. offered M. R. to come to sleep at his new apartment at Sarajevska Street, promising he wouldn’t try to force him into a sexual intercourse. M. R. accepted and he spent few nights at D. Ž. without them having sex. But around the same time M. R. started to notice blisters on his behind and he confided about it to his mother. When the physicians established it was a venereal disease, he told his father and the physicians what had happened [30].

The same day M. R. gave his testimony, D. Ž. was interrogated by the police. The Superintendent of the 10th Quarter Živorad Rajević questioned D. Ž. himself [31]. In his statement, D. Ž. denied having sex with M. R, accusing him of engaging in prostitution and trying to blackmail him: “All the statements given by D. R. and his son M. R. that I had forced him to the act of unnatural fornication are false. M. R. had told me that another man, R. Z, had had sexual intercourse with him for 300 dinars, at the toilet of the “Niš” pub near the railway station, but that in the end R. Z. refused to pay. That this is true and that M. R. told this story can be confirmed by B. K. so I urge you to question him on the issue. I admit that M. R. had spent the night at my place on two occasions, once at Durmitorska Street no. 3 and the other time at Sarajevska Street no. 14. On both the occasions I informed his parents he was staying at my place and once his father came and took him with him. I offered him accommodation out of pity, because he told me his parents were treating him badly. The same M. R. offered his body for 300 dinars, but, from what I have heard, no one would dare to have sex with him because the rumor was he was infected. I suggest the authorities to order me to be examined by the physicians and if I am sick with any venereal disease, do with me what you want. That is all I have to say in my defense. My testimony was read to me and it is written exactly as I gave it [30].

As it is foreseen by the Code of Criminal and Judicial Proceedings, the officers of the 10th Quarter of the Belgrade City Administration confronted the injured party and the accused. According to the confrontation protocol, the both basically stuck to their stories – M. R. confirmed that D. Ž. had sexually assaulted him while he was sleeping at his place, and D. Ž. told M. R. that he was lying, that he was a prostitute and that he had taken him overnight just because he felt sorry for him. Before the Command of the 10th Quarter decided what to do with the charge made by D. R., a witness was also interrogated. Witness by the name of B. K. was suggested by the accused D. Ž. B. K. lived nearby, was acquainted with both M. R. and D. Ž. and he circulated in the same crowd as both the injured party and the accused. Basically, the witness had confirmed that M. R. was a prostitute, giving his body in exchange for money or groceries, working usually around Belgrade main railway station and the nearby pubs and restaurants, such as “Niš” [30]. Other notes on possible further inquiries or hearings are non-existent. Following all the gathered material, the Command of the 10th Quarter officially charged D. Ž. for the act of unnatural fornication (§285 of the Criminal Code of Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and forwarded the case to the Criminal police, which effectively meant that the case was raised to a higher level. The Superintendent of the Quarter in the indictment stated that the existence of the criminal act was undoubtedly determined and that the act was committed by D. Ž. Indictment stated that the guilt was determined by the testimonies of the victim and his father and by the partial confession of the accused, who stated that the victim had spent the night at his place on several occasions. The indictment was, without much hesitation, forwarded to the State Prosecutor’s Office, with the suggestion to instigate a case according to §285 and §256 of the Criminal Code [30].⁸ Chief of the Criminal police ordered the Prosecutor’s Office to send M. R. to the official physical examination and testing for venereal diseases and also to release D. Ž. from custody, according to the §130 of the Code of Criminal and Judicial Proceedings. When the exact nature of the injured party’s infection was established, the accused would be sent for testing [30]. The accused, D. Ž., was once again interrogated by the prosecutor and he did not change his earlier statement – he denied having done anything wrong to M. R. and that he only took him overnight because he felt sorry for him. He told the prosecutor that M. R. had told him he had sexual intercourses with men and that was how he caught gonorrhea [30]. D. Ž. remained persistent in denying his guilt and he asked the prosecutor to advise the court to release him from custody.

Proceedings from the interrogation are the last saved document in the case KZP 782/42. It is not known whether D. Ž. was further persecuted or the charges were dropped. Common sense suggests that the charges were dropped but nevertheless the physician’s report on what venereal disease was M. R. infected with and the ordered testing of D. Ž. are missing from the file. Also, if the charges were dropped,

8 The §256 of the Criminal Code deals with intentional spread of diseases, which meant that D. Ž. was also accused of deliberately infecting M. R. with venereal disease.

official recommendation of dismissal and order for D. Ž. to be released from custody are missing as well.

This case is not providing enough material for us to exactly determine what had actually happened, and was it the case of rape or the case of prostitution and attempted blackmail and extortion. Both of the depositions – given by the injured party and the accused – are full of logical inconsistencies and attempts to transfer the responsibility to the other party. If we assume that it was a case of prostitution, or soliciting sex for money, which would be more in accordance to the presented evidence, certain conclusions could be made on how did the life of Belgrade's homosexuals looked like under the German occupation, with dissociation that it was only one case and quite an atypical one. It is obvious that most of the homosexuals did not pay for sex, but still a large number of boys and men offered sex for money. During the war and occupation, prostitution was flourishing [32]. Just like in the most of the countries not tolerant to homosexuality, certain places and locations, usually railway stations and bus stops, certain pubs and restaurants, parks and public toilets, were used as places where homosexuals could meet.⁹ The court proceedings give us insight on such places in Belgrade during the war – Main railway station and few local pubs and restaurants, most notably “Niš” and “Bukurešt”.

Most important conclusion one can get from this case – with the already acknowledged note that it was only one case and thus could be treated only as an indication and not a fact, at least until all the police and judicial material from the period of occupation in Serbia is examined – is that homosexuals in occupied Serbia were not persecuted ideologically, that they were not aligned with other groups dangerous to the general order, whose isolation and elimination was top priority to the occupiers. The case of M. R. and D. Ž. was not pursued by German authorities, military, security or intelligence, it was not even pursued by the Serbian Special police, usually engaged to deal with the elements dangerous to the social and political order. The procedure regarding the KZP 782/42 was no different to the procedure that would have been applied before the war – the alleged criminal case was reported to the police authorities, police had conducted the investigation, the injured parties, the accused and the witnesses were interrogated and the case was forwarded to the Belgrade County Court, or to be more precise, to the State Prosecutor's Office, with the order to release the defendant from custody until the indictment was raised. Every step of the case was stipulated in the Code of Criminal and Judicial Proceedings of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929. Evidence that would falter the claim that situation concerning homosexuals in occupied Serbia differed from the situation in the pre-war period is simply missing.

9 This so-called “homosexual underground” in Belgrade during the period of 1970's, 1980's and early 1990's is very vividly described in [33].

Conclusion

Homosexuals were invisible throughout the larger part of Serbian history. Their status, their fears, hopes, attempts to break away from the pressure of the conservative public and repressive state apparatus and to survive in the difficult times of wars and destruction, remained buried under the heavy weight of political and military history. Situation in which the free expression of one's sexual orientation was severely punished and mimicry, hiding and adopting were prerequisites for survival, had hidden one rich and beautiful history from the eyes of the public. Dealing with very poor source basis, mostly police reports, judicial codes, court proceedings and newspaper articles, makes it hard to reconstruct a single life story, let alone the activities of a subcultural group. However, it seems that this paper might push things a bit more forward.

The status of homosexuals in Serbian society didn't change much during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, and one can see this comparing the judicial explanation of the term *unnatural fornication* in the Criminal Codes of 1860 and 1929, despite the protests from liberal jurists who argued that right for the protection of privacy was more important than *moral correctness*. Very strict judicial framework and the real threat that someone could end up in jail for his or hers sexual orientation, resulted in a fact that homosexuals in Serbia were not organized as a social group or community before the Second World War, fighting for their rights, but they were passive, avoided contact with public and withdrew deeper in the underground. This behavior resulted in the fact that the number of homosexuals persecuted for *unnatural fornication* was very small and that the general public was almost completely unaware of their existence, apart from occasional spread of urban legends and juicy gossips, targeting certain individuals and aiming for their discrediting. This kind of social invisibility, although not good *per se*, in a way helped the homosexuals in Serbia to survive the Second World War. Not being in the spotlight of the authorities, made the Germans blind to them and consider them not to be a relevant political factor and a threat, thus not insisting on their persecution and destruction, as it was done in Germany and some parts of Europe. On the other hand, the domestic Nazi collaborators did consider investigation homosexuals, first using them as a propaganda tool and later organizing monitoring and gathering information. The circumstances were such that the domestic Serbian authorities, especially the Special police of the Belgrade City Administration, had their hands tied with the sheer amount of work helping Nazis, that the supervision of the homosexuals was delegated to the lower-ranked police units, the department of Criminal police and the courts. Very small number of the processed cases of *unnatural fornication* during the years of occupation and lack of other evidence on major actions against homosexuals, point out to the fact that their very difficult position – made more difficult by the hardships of war – was in a way far better than in other parts of Europe, especially in Nazi Germany.

Summary

History of homosexuality in Serbia and Yugoslavia is poorly researched topic, partially because up to very recent it was completely of the focus of researchers, and partially because the fact that sources that would help the topic to be thoroughly investigated were very scarce. The same goes for the period of Second World War. Still, certain positive steps can be seen in the last decade and research made by Dean Vuletić, Ljubinka Škodrić, Franko Dota and Dejan Zec opened up the subject, if nothing else. In the process of researching the status of homosexuals and lesbians in Serbia during the German occupation one should always consider the fact what was their status in the pre-war period and how they were treated by the previous authorities, because the mechanisms of oppression practically remained the same – especially the Criminal Code of 1929, which foresaw the persecution of *unnatural fornication*. The status of homosexuals and lesbians in occupied Serbia should be seen from two different perspectives. The first is ideological and propagandistic, because the Serbian Nazi sympathizers used the label of homosexuality to discredit their ideological opponents, especially through mass media. The second is the one that tells us the story of their true status, best seen when examining the processes conducted against them. Analyzing the scarce documents, conclusion can be made, though not with utmost certainty, that the processes against homosexuals did not differ much from the pre-war period. The criminal proceedings were conducted to the procedures from 1929, without interference from the German authorities. It is fair to say that both the German occupiers and their Serbian collaborators were fairly indifferent to the status of homosexuals, which meant that Serbia didn't witness mass persecution and destruction, unlike some other countries and occupied territories in Europe.

Rezime

Istorija homoseksualnosti u Srbiji i Jugoslaviji je slabo istražena tema, kako zbog toga što je do skoro ta tema bila potpuno van fokusa istraživača, tako i zbog činjenice da je izvorna građa koja bi pomogla da se ta tematika podrobno istraži veoma oskudna. To važi i za period Drugog sveskog rata. Ipak, određeni pomaci su vidljivi u poslednjoj deceniji i istraživanja Deana Vuletića, Ljubinke Škodrić, Franka Dote i Dejana Zeca su, ako ništa drugo, otvorila tu temu. U procesu istraživanja položaja homoseksualaca i lezbejki u Srbiji u periodu nemačke okupacije treba uzeti u obzir činjenicu kakav je bio njihov položaj u predratnom periodu i kako su se prema njima odnosile prethodne vlasti, jer su u najvećoj meri mehanizmi represije ostali isti – posebno Krivični zakonik iz 1929. godine, koji je predviđao progon po osnovu protivprirodnog bluda. Položaj homoseksualaca i lezbejki u okupiranoj Srbiji treba posmatrati iz dve različite perspektive. Prva je ideološko-propagandna, jer su se srpski kolaboracionisti služili potencijalnom homoseksualnošću da diskredituju svoje političke protivnike, posebno putem masovnih medija. Druga perspektiva je ona koja nam govori o njihovom stvarnom položaju, što se može sagledati kroz analizu procesa koji su protiv homoseksualaca vođeni. Uvidom u malobrojne dokumente, može se zaključiti, ne sa potpunom sigurnošću, da se samo procesuiranje homoseksualaca nije puno razlikovalo u periodu pre i za vreme okupacije. Postupak je vođen prema propisima iz 1929. godine, bez uplitanja nemačkih vlasti. Može se izvesti zaključak da su i nemačke okupacione vlasti i njihovi srpski pomagači bili uglavnom nezainteresovani za položaj homoseksualaca, što je u stvari značilo da u Srbiji nije bilo intenzivnog progona i uništenja, za razliku od nekih drugih evropskih država i okupiranih teritorija.

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