

DZAMES KO SEM

Educational materials about
the genocide against
the Roma during World War II
and Antigypsyism

Do
you
know
who I
am?



Impressum

Džanes ko sem? (Do you know who I am?)

Educational materials
about the genocide
against the Roma
during World War II
and antigypsyism
in Serbia

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For the publisher: Nikola Radić

Editor: Milovan Pesarri

Authors: Nada Banjanin Djuričić, Slađana Miladinović,
Božidar Nikolić, Milovan Pesarri

Coordinators: Milica Cimeša, Srđan Hercigonja

Consulting expert: Marijana Stojčić

Translation into English: Irena Žnidaršić - Trbojević

Translation into Romani: Maja Jovanović, Rajko Jovanović

Proofreading and editing: Hristina Piskulidis

Design and illustration: Nikola Radić

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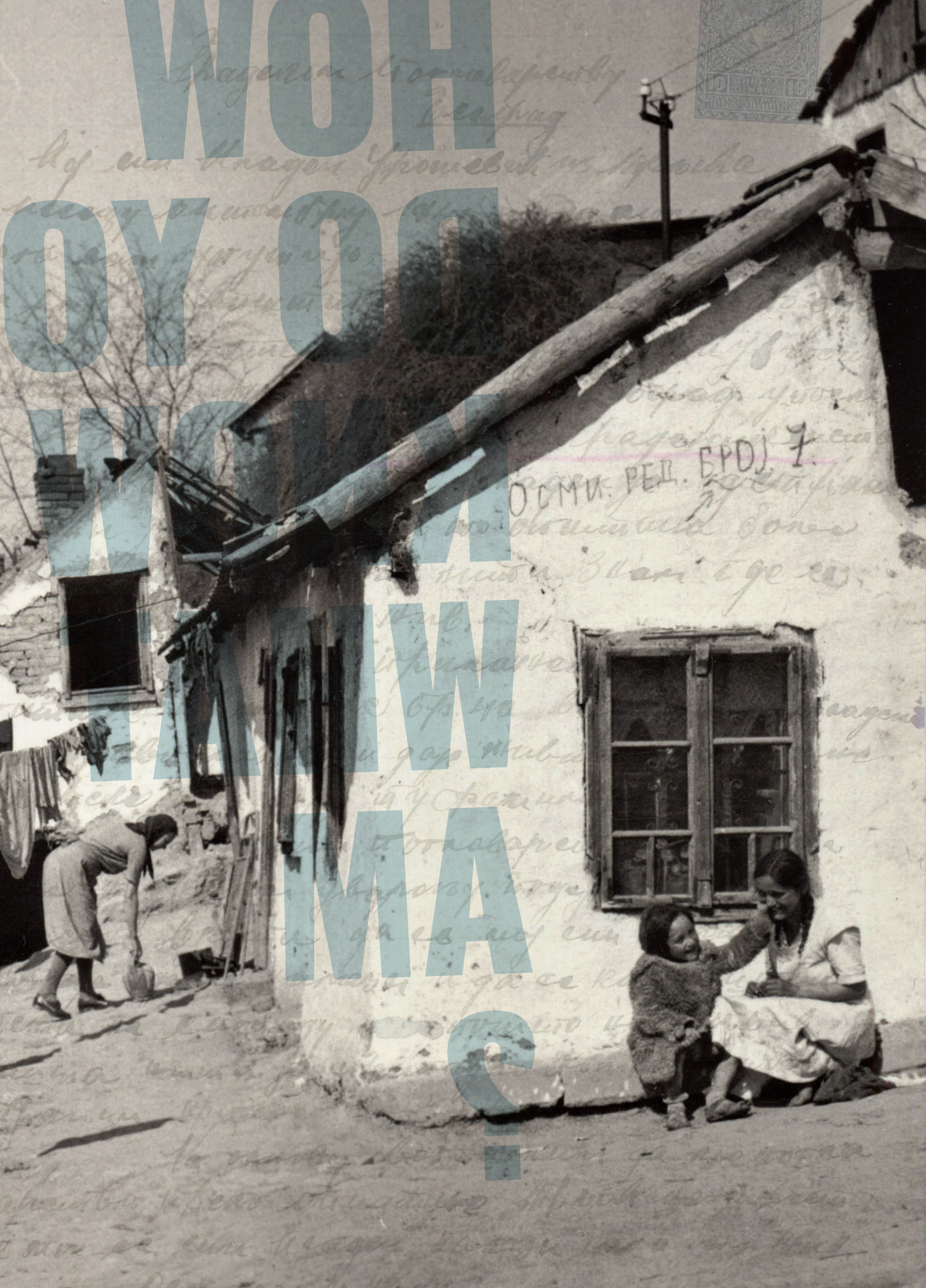
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FOREWORD BY:

Srđan Hercigonja, forumZFD

In 2012, in Berlin's central Tiergarten park a memorial was unveiled in honour of the Roma and Sinti victims of National Socialism, that is, a memorial to the victims of Porajmos, which is the accepted, but also a contested name given to the genocide against the Roma and Sinti before and during World War II. Some forms of public commemoration of such a systematic elimination of Roma have been registered in Western Europe before, while the suffering of Roma in other countries has remained marginalised in collective memory as well as in contemporary historiography.

The aim of the partnership between the Belgrade-based Center for Holocaust Research and Education, ForumZFD in Serbia and Romanipen, which resulted in this publication, is to develop and use the new methodology in broaching the subject of genocide against Roma in the education curricula in Serbia, thus focusing more on history, but also on the present situation of one of the most marginalised groups in our society. Through this publication entitled "Džanes ko sem? - Do You Know Who I Am?" authors and implementers of this project provide support for teachers of humanities in primary and secondary schools in working with their students on issues related to genocide against Roma during World War II and discrimination of Roma in the contemporary society. Fostering critical thinking on the issue of Antigypsyism today, but also the emancipation of Roma in the educational system of Serbia have been identified as the project's indirect objectives.

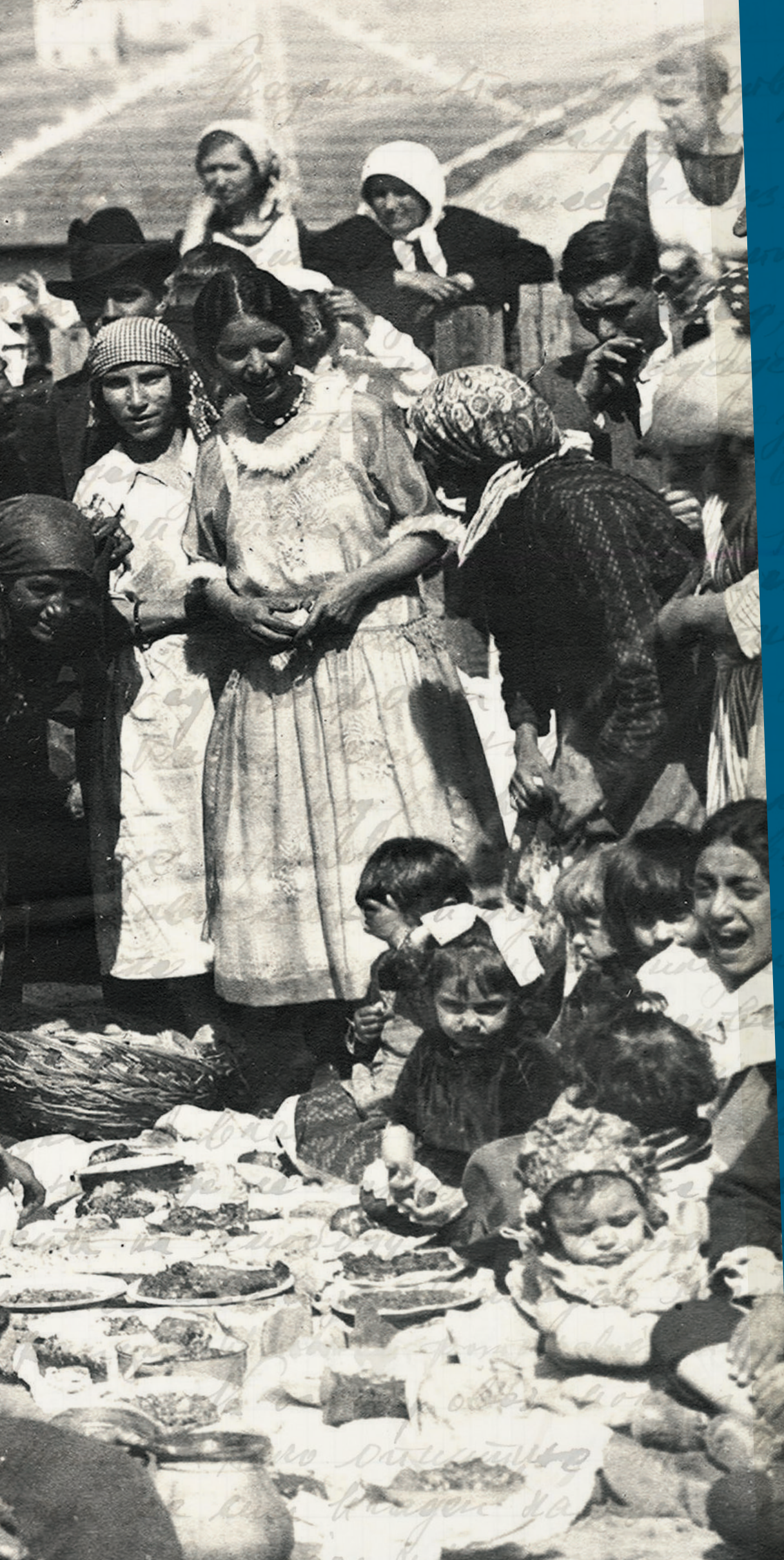
This publication comprises six parts, which constitute the training material for the teachers of humanities related to sensitive topics such as the mass crimes and genocide. The content focuses also on the Roma history and culture. Finally, through the examples of workshops, it further develops the topics of stereotypes and prejudices and their connection with the mass crimes and genocide. The publication is issued in the Roma, Serbian, and English languages.

Milovan Pissarri is the editor and author of the history section. The recommendations for teachers and four workshops proposals have been developed by Nada Banjanin Djuričić, while Slađana Miladinović and Božidar Nikolić are the authors of the text on the language and culture of Roma. Marijana Stojčić worked on this publication as a consulting expert.

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► **PLEASE NOTE:** This publication uses the QR Code technology. Any free QR reader app for a camera equipped phone or tablet will enable you to access all of the additional content.
All links in this publication are active.





Part one

ROMA
LANGUAGE
AND
CULTURE

ROMA CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

The origin and history of Roma can only be explained in the context of the history and culture of other nations, since Roma moved from India as the country from which they originated, through the European countries where their culture certainly adopted new outlines as early as the 15th century, through to the soil of North and South America where the first references to the life of the Roma appear in the 18th century. Today, Roma constitute the largest European minority which, unfortunately, usually witnessed the stifling of human and national freedoms over a long period so that the persecution, starvation and mass destruction have become the key references to understand their cultural and historical specificities.

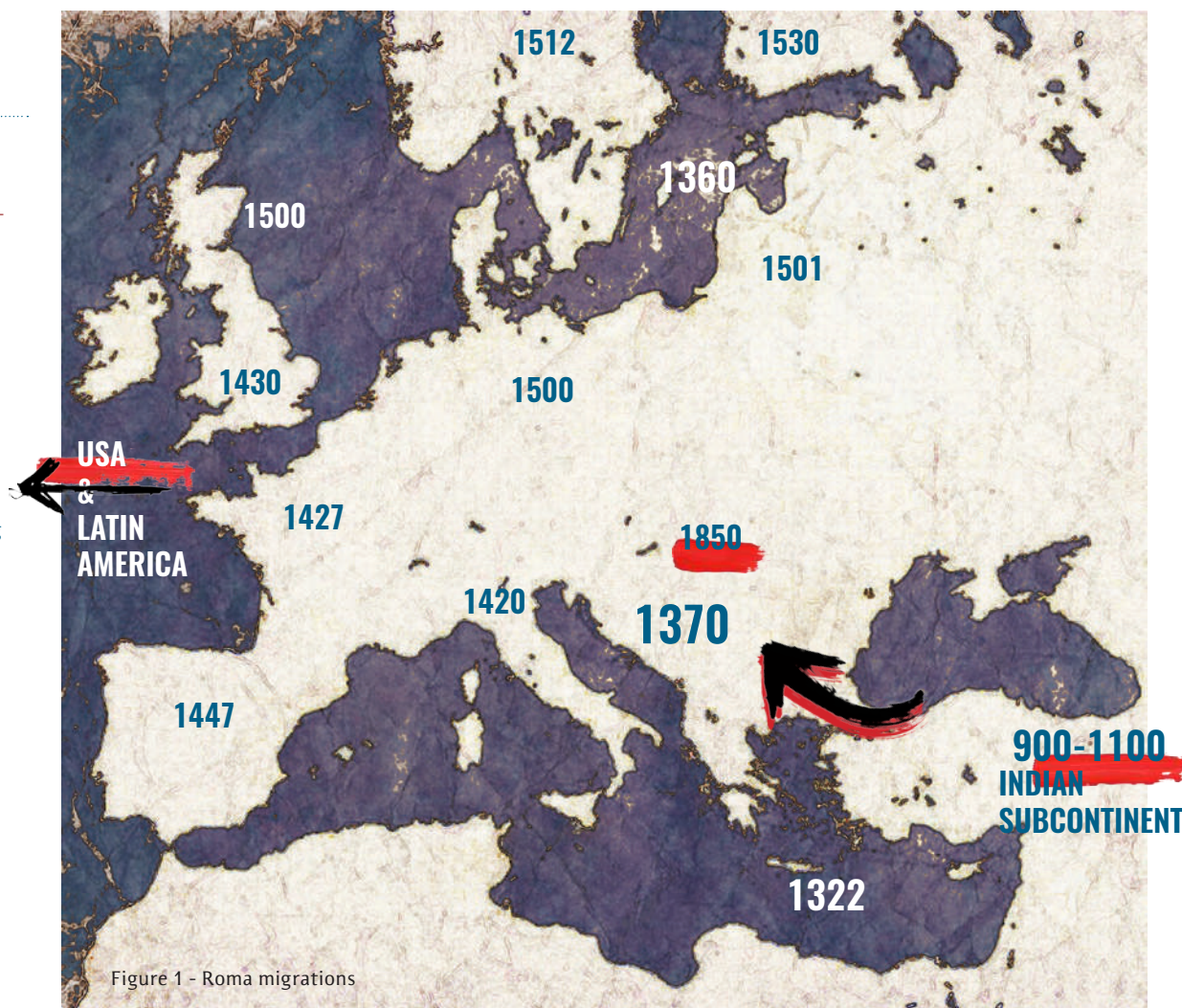
ROMA MIGRATIONS

<https://mathildasanthropologyblog.wordpress.com/2009/01/07/the-romani-dna-language-and-history/>



➤ The most prominent among the many Roma organisations fighting in Europe for greater rights and more equal position in modern society, is certainly ternYe, the international youth network. The following can be read in their mission: "The ternYe European Youth Campaign fights for mutual respect and responsibility of EVERYONE in ONE society. We stand up against extremism, anti-Gypsyism, racism, stigma and discrimination in Europe"

More about ternYe at: www.ternye.eu



A ROM MEANS A MAN



Although the Roma as a nation eventually separated, moving in different directions, making it impossible to talk about Roma history and culture as a homogeneous unit, although they partly underwent the assimilation process irreversibly losing part of the rich cultural heritage that they had brought with them from their homeland in the process, the tendency of Roma throughout the world to find their common roots and to join forces in fighting for more rights and a more equal position in contemporary society grows ever stronger.

When it comes to aspirations of a people to feel worthy of human life and gain recognition of its existence and participation in enriching the global history, cultural heritage and arts, after centuries of wandering on the margins of history, it was only in April 1971, at the First Romani World Congress that they managed to speak out about centuries of deprivation and symbolically call themselves people, because a Rom means a man in the Romani language. Symbols of all the Roma of the world, such as the flag and anthem, adopted on that occasion also speak of the centuries-old quest for freedom, as blue on the flag signifies the sky, the green signifies the grass, or their journey, the road that saw the Roma wandering for centuries while the wheel is the symbol of India, their country of origin and the





Anthem of the Roma people is a traditional song whose original title is Opre Roma which in translation means “Roma, Hold It Out” whose author is Roma composer Zarko Jovanovic Jagdino (1924-1985).

The song was written in 1949, but was later adapted. The adapted version was used in the 1967 film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* (Skupljači perja). The song originated in a Nazi concentration camp and describes the taking away, murder and persecutions-genocide against the Roma by the SS Division that is vividly depicted as the “black Legion” in the song. The song’s author also lost his entire family during World War II.

Figure 2 - Žarko Jovanović, author of the Djelem, Djelem anthem. The Roma flag is in the background

constant movement and the nomadic lifestyle.

By this act, the creation of Global Roma movement, the Roma of the world as members of their ethnic, social, linguistic and cultural communities have shown that by strengthening friendships and unity with all people of the world they wanted to exercise the right to preserve and cultivate their cultural and national identity.

ROMANIPEN (RROMANIPEN IN ROMA SPELLING) AS A LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE, THE INTEGRITY OF THE ROMA SPIRIT, CULTURE AND RIGHTS.

Romanipen as a term is better accepted in the field of culture than in the historical and political perception of the Roma community, particularly in the tendency to define and preserve what is truly Roma, or what represented a spiritual value for Roma regardless of ethnic and national origin. Under all kinds of pressures, Roma were forced to give up their spiritual identity characterized by and based in Romanipen so that the very notion assumed different meanings.

Certain rules constitute an integral part of Romanipenas they are considered to constitute the Roma Code that regulates the relations within the Roma community and that are part of the oral tradition, which is also the most important part of the cultural heritage of the Roma considering that not many written traces have been

THE ANTHEM OF THE ROMA PEOPLE ENTITLED “DJELEM DJELEM” (HERE I GO), ALSO TALKS ABOUT THEIR QUEST FOR FREEDOM

Delem, delem, lungone dromenca

*Delem, delem lungone dromenca ,
maladilem bahtale Rromenca.
A Rromalen,
katartumen aven,
e cahrenca, bokhale čhavorrenca.*

*Sas vi man bari familija,
mudardala e kali legija.
Sa len čhinda, vi rromen vi rromenjen,
maškar lende vi cikne čhavorren.*

*Putar devla će kale vudara,
te šaj dikhav mungri familija.
Palem kam džav lungone dromenca,
thaj kam phirav bahtale Rromenca.*

*Opre Roma situ
troma akana,
aven manca se lumnjače Roma.
Kalo muj thaj e kale jakha,
kamava len sar e kale drakha.*

Aj Rromalen, aj Čhavalen...

*I went, I went on long roads
I met happy Roma
O Roma, where do you come from,
With tents happy on the road?*

O Roma, O Romani youths!

*I once had a great family,
The Black Legion[4] murdered them
Come with me, Roma from all the world
For the Roma, roads have opened
Now is the time, rise up Roma now,
We will rise high if we act
O Roma, O Romani youths!*

*Open, God, White doors
So I can see where are my people.
Come back to tour the roads
And walk with happy Roma*

O Roma, O Romani youths!

*Up, Romani people! Now is the time
Come with me, Roma from all the world
Dark face and dark eyes,
I want them like dark grapes*

O Roma, O Romani youths!

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romani_anthem#Lyrics



► The first Romani World Congress was held on 8 April 1971 in London and, by the decision of the United Nations, 8 April has been declared the World Roma Day

► The Convention included discussions on the problems of the Roma worldwide and the name “Rom” was officially adopted. In addition, the Roma flag and the Roma anthem were recognized. Seven other Romani congresses were held after the first one and the main objectives of these meetings were: standardization of the Roma language, the fight for human rights and so on.

► The first congress was funded by the World Council of Churches and the Government of India, and attended by 23 representatives from Yugoslavia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Norway, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Germany and Ireland, with observers from Belgium, Canada, India and the United States.

Taken from:

www.nationalgeographic.rs/vesti/5589-na-danasnji-dan-8-april-odrzan-prvi-svetski-kongres-roma.html

recorded on them in history. The most important part of the Romanipen, as the cultural identity of Roma is the collective way of life and brotherhood (pharalipen), respect for and faith in the rules of the community (pakiv), happiness (baht), truth (ciacipen), purity of spirit (ujo), Romani Kriss, as a form of customary law the aim of which is not to punish but to reconcile the opposing parties and ensure compensation, solidarity and care for others (endaj), respect for the elderly family members (o phuro).

ROMA NEVER CALLED THEMSELVES "GYPSIES"

► The use of the term "Gypsy" should always be discouraged. Do not believe that Roma called themselves "Gypsies": It is a form of discrimination adopted by many Roma in order to adapt to the majority population and the general use of the term.

► As defined by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance - ECRI in 2011, **Anti-Gypsyism** is a specific form of racism, an ideology which is based on racial superiority, a form of dehumanizing and institutional racism bred on historic discrimination, which is expressed, among other things, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatization and the most drastic type of discrimination.

Roma are divided by territorial, cultural and dialectal differences, but also according to occupations which are traditionally practiced in four main groups:

► **Kaldereshi** - Sinti who arrived to Central Europe from the Balkans, and then settled part of the North America;

► **Kale** - (Gitanos), who mainly inhabited the Iberian peninsula, North Africa and Southern France;

► **Sinti** - (Manushi) who inhabited central Europe and who reveal the visible impact of the German people;

► **Romnichal** - who inhabit the UK and North America;

► When a majority population **assimilates** a minority one, it imposes its traditions, religion, language and flag.

Roma have been called differently through the centuries and in various historical documents. The most widespread name for Roma is Gypsies, the origin of which dates back to ancient Greece when an Asian tribe was given this name as the word implied bad behavior of individuals and the group and was used to denote all their bad qualities. It later became the measure of all human values of a group of people, it was used as a generalization of bad feelings toward someone or something, a term that was established as an expression of dislike for something that should not be touched.

This concept soon became the basis for the systematic persecution and annihilation of Roma, as it underwent the ideological, scientific, political and philosophic abuse by totalitarian regimes. In this way, the **Anti-Gypsyism** has crept deep into all aspects of all of the previous interpretations of the history and culture of the Roma people and has become perhaps one of the most important and influential components of the Roma identity, because in this way it made Roma one of the most vulnerable nations whose suffering and plight has not been fully elucidated to date. In addition to the mass killings of a large number of Roma, their cultural heritage has also suffered immensely as it has been constrained to hide under the veil of fear of the omnipresent racism, thus losing its clear shape and has largely been forgotten as it underwent assimilation.

ROMANI LANGUAGE THE LANGUAGE OF ROMA, THE KALDERESH, SINTI AND KALE

For Roma, Sinti and Kale, the Romani language has invaluable national, cultural and historic importance as one of the most important cultural assets of the partially preserved cultural heritage. Considering that Roma do not have their own state, language is what gives them a foundation, speaks of their origin and creates a path to their integration as a complete, homogeneous community. The Romani language is divided to dialects that reveal different routes, the nomadic way of life and influences which different migratory groups encountered, the openness of the Roma people to enrich their own cultural heritage as well as frequent forced influence on their integrity.

The tendency to create a standard literary Romani language is a lengthy process and is one of the forms of struggle of the Roma people for equal rights and equal position in society but also a more comprehensive integration of Roma people in the community of European and world nations. Although they may speak in different dialects, the Roma will understand each other wherever in the world they may meet.

ROMA FOLK LITERATURE

Roma folk literature primarily implies verbal creativity which has been passed on among Roma from generation to generation. This type of creation and preservation of cultural heritage is the most typical of the Roma people. Myths, legends, fables, stories and folk poetry form the principal basis of the Roma literature. The most frequent motifs are also the testimony of the life of Roma throughout the centuries, as they reveal all the important elements of the cultural identity of Roma, values and characteristics of their daily life. They include original beliefs about their origin, the memory of their Indian past and origins, the relics that Roma still respect today, happiness which is imperative and which lies in the spiritual rather than the material goods but also the dark side of life in which one can see the life in prison, slavery and close encounters with death, which is why the love of life has prevailed over all other motives for Roma people.

ROMA IN SERBIA

The first signs of Roma life in Serbia can be traced back to the 15th century in the oldest Turkish census which records the families who are usually Christian and live in the area of Branicevo, Golubac, Nis, Leskovac, Vranje, Pec and other communities in Serbia. In the mid-15th century, there were four Roma communities in Belgrade itself.

The number of Roma was significantly reduced in the mid-19th century due to intensive migration of the population. Over just a few years, considerably fewer Roma were observed which many analysts interpreted as a result of a process of **assimilation**, or ethnomimicry, that is still accompanying Roma. The data of the current number of Roma testify to that; according



to the latest population census of 2011, there were 147,600 Roma living in Serbia, while unofficial figures record at least 600,000 Roma.

The ubiquitous **ethnomimicry** has become one of the biggest enemies of preserving traditions and developing the Roma culture, as due to various influences, and, among other things, the deep-rooted social distance towards Roma, all forms of cultural creativity among young people in the Roma population get lost, the language, in spite of the omnipresent tendency for standardization loses its primary role in everyday communication, the art assumes a distorted reflection in the interpretations of non-Roma contemporary artists, thereby increasingly fueling stereotypes about the Roma people as the 21st century savages.

Roma have a religion that is essentially pagan with many variations depending on the area which they inhabited through the centuries. Merged in a whole, Christian and Islamic religion prevailed in Roma but remained grounded in particular pagan beliefs. The Roma's ease in adapting to the religion of the nation on whose soil they live is explained as a centuries-old tendency to get closer and to live in communion with other nations. However, Roma have managed to preserve their religious characteristics woven into certain cults, legends and festivals that have assumed a supra-religious character. The most famous is certainly the Djurdjevdan festival which has no religious roots with Roma people but represents a welcome to the summer which symbolizes prosperity and procreation.

Bibi (Bibijaku) is among the major holidays of Orthodox Roma throughout the world, it was shaped after the famous legend of Auntie Bibi who has a special significance for the Roma people as she is considered to be the protector of children from serious diseases.



There is also Vasilica, probably the most important holiday for all Roma, with its discernible layers of many cultures which have had an impact on the enrichment of the cultural heritage of Roma and the creation of cultural patterns as they are today.

Roma are an example of a nation which has managed to show a certain ability to persist and survive against all the aggravating circumstances imposed on them through centuries of searching, without sovereign territory, using a standardized language that combines the richness of different dialects and sub-groups formed on the basis of different territorial, cultural and dialectal differences. Living on the margins of different societies and on the periphery of the cultural scene and creativity, they have demonstrated that they are able to awaken some degree of responsibility for the preservation of their cultural heritage and traditional values. And, after the mass suffering, struggle with the ubiquitous racism and nationalism, the Roma have risen as a joint movement wanting to wake up the responsibility of others to respect their national, ethnic, cultural and political rights. Aspiring to include all traditional, but also modern milestones in the unique form of their national identity, the Roma see their major strength in the acceptance of their own cultural identity based in Romanipen, that is, life in accordance with the values such as solidarity, fraternity and team spirit.

➤ **Ethnomimicry** - Identification with members of usually majority population which usually happens due to a need to escape negative connotations assigned to one's own nation.

RELIGION

Figure 3 - Celebrating St Bibi Day in Belgrade 1924.

➤ The name of an ideology that believes that "race" is the foundation of human society, or that an individual's affiliation with a particular "race" must be the basis for their social position.

Racism often implies that the certain races are superior or inferior to one another. Racism is sometimes simply defined as racial intolerance. Although it existed before in certain forms, racism was shaped as an ideology as late as the 19th century influenced by progress made in the natural sciences which provided scientific grounds to various race theoreticians with a scientific basis to justify and nurture the racist ideologies.

➤ A doctrine that believes that a nation plays a central role in the life of every man although in its original form it had emancipatory characteristics, **nationalism** became a synonym for hate, racism and war because nationalists believe their nation to be superior to all the others.

WORDS IN ROMA LANGUAGE - A SHORT GLOSSARY

Add questions:

- Where can Romani language be learned, how widespread is it?
- Would it be useful to learn Romani, or know at least some common words?
- What do you know about the language, culture and tradition of your Roma neighbours?

Words in Roma language	Translation
Lačho dives (deş)	Good day
Lačhi detharin	Good morning
Lačhi talejrat	Good evening
Dži ko dičhipe (sastimava)	Goodbye
Nais	Thank you
Sar san?	How are you?
So ćeres (keres)?	What are you doing?
Me akhardijav...	My name is...
Mišto si mande(mange)	Pleased to meet you.
Šaj te ažutin mande(mange)?	Could you help me, please?
Ande savo restorano lačhe halpe?	Which restaurant serves good food?
Si tut šukar jakha	You have beautiful eyes
Kamlipe	Love
Savi muzika kamlis?	What kind of music do you like?

ROMANI SAYINGS

For more details about the Roma see:

<https://blog.romarchive.eu/>

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/gypsies-roma-travellers-animated-history>

For more on the Romani language and Romani dialects, with explanations and maps, see:

http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/classification/dialect_classify.shtml

Roma sayings

Similar English sayings

Kas dukhal o šoro, vo phandela	If the old dog barks, he gives counsel. If you want the core you must break the shell.
Plaine naštik te maladon, o them šaj	A tree leans on a tree, just as man leans on a man.
Naštik e kan te aven opre po šoro	He who has no shame before the world, has no fear before God.
Lačhe alaveja dur areselpe	A good horse kicks up dust. Bad news travels fast
Kana hanpe o lon tho mangro, hanatumen vi tumen duj džene (Bahtaripe e ternende po prandipe)	The more love you return, the more you're going to receive.
Bajato či bijandol e dandenca	Big things have small beginnings. It takes time for a child to become a man.
Ko ćinel kova so či trubule, po agor bićinela vi kova so trubule	Modesty is the best policy.





Part two

**NOTES ON THE
HISTORY AND
THE SUFFERING
OF ROMA**

NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND THE SUFFERING OF ROMA

► See map of Roma migrations, p. 6

History of mankind is a history of migrations, of constant movements of people, often in search of a place where they could live in peace, in the conquest of new territories, or simply because they were forced out of their lands. Between the 1st and 5th century, for example, the Italian peninsula was invaded by numerous tribes from the north and the east, leading eventually to the fall of the Roman Empire, which had until then ruled Europe; between the 7th and the 15th century, Arab tribes were present in the Iberian peninsula. They ruled certain territories, the famous city of Cordoba for example; large and diverse groups of people roamed the Balkan Peninsula for centuries: Slavs arrived, for example, in the 6th and 7th centuries and mixed with the local population. Such displacement of people was usually accompanied by wars, except in rare cases: for example, Roma have never fought wars, have never occupied a territory by force or expelled other nations, have never had their own army. They moved from India to Europe and on to America in peace, or followed other movements such as the Turkish conquest of the Balkan Peninsula.

Unlike other nations, Roma movement would continue even after their arrival to Europe. Firstly, since they had never arrived as conquerors, they had no territorial ambitions and did not establish their rule anywhere, they never imposed borders, language, religion to anyone, they never enslaved other nations. This means that they always remained outside the professions typical of state structures. Also, a traveling way of life that was once characteristic of many Roma, was in fact closely related to the professions they practiced. Occupations such as horse trade, forging metals, mining or art and entertainment, such as music, dance, cabaret, performances with trained animals, acrobatics, require constant movement in search of new clients, markets or audience.

All this would soon create an aversion towards Roma in Europe which would stigmatise their existence and which we are faced with today. From that moment, Roma became the victims of prejudice, hatred and violence. In many European countries, policies were introduced that made it impossible for them to engage in common professional activities like the other inhabitants, or to move freely, resulting in their exclusion from society and in their economic impoverishment.

► See workshops 3 and 4, pp. 46 and 58

Examples abound. In 1492, they were expelled from Spain with the Jews and were often viewed as intruders in the service of an enemy, as dangerous bandits and thieves. Many stereotypes were invented that would become the basis for their persecution. According to a particularly notorious one that has not yet been eradicated, Gypsies steal children; it was often reason enough for Roma to be forcibly expelled from a city or village, persecuted, even killed. In 1500, the Austrian Emperor declared Roma traitors in the service of the Turks, and declared that to murder Roma was not considered a violation of the law.

Between 1540 and 1600, in almost all Italian cities orders against Roma were issued which often prescribed their expulsion; in Spain, in the same period, the language, traditions, and the travelling way of life of the Roma were prohibited, and they were forced to work in agriculture; in 1673, it was ordered that Roma children should be separated from their families and taken to (Christian) children's homes in order to be brought up in the Catholic spirit; in 1749, the Spanish King ordered the arrest of some 10,000 Roma (entire families) and their internment in various prisons in order for them to be "brought up". The whole of Europe introduced similar policies against Roma.

In the period after the French Revolution and during the development of the idea of the nation states as we know it today, all the stereotypes and the wrong, negative image of Roma would be reaffirmed. The key in this process is that the Roma remained excluded from the idea of the nation, which is, by its nature, based on homogenisation, identification with a (national) entity, differentiation compared to others and on setting up a separate state system. They were viewed, more than ever, as foreign elements that did not belong to any other nation (they did not have a state, a territory, an army, a church) and as such they constituted an element to be removed, or a potential hazard that needed to be eradicated from the "healthy" body of a nation. This is why the Roma in the nineteenth century, at the



height of the development of the idea of national and racial identities of European nations, became an important topic of particular racial theories. Racial theories began to denote Roma as the “natural criminals” because of their genes, and considered them a threat because of that. Strong police control over them was introduced: in Munich, for example, in 1899, a special police division was established to promptly implement the registration of all Roma in the city. Special anti-Roma legislation was introduced in Sweden and Switzerland, France, Norway. With the rise of Hitler and the Nazis to power in Germany in 1933, the situation of Roma dramatically deteriorated. It was the start of a period of mass expulsions and the destruction which will last until the end of World War II. Nazism in this sense provided theoretical and practical grounds for the extermination of Roma while the war considerably stepped up its implementation.

In 1936, the Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research Centre was founded in Berlin, a special institution that would be active until 1944 under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the German Research Society. Robert Ritter, a German doctor and psychologist, who had been tasked by the Ministry of Health to carry out “a thorough biological evaluation of all Roma in the Third Reich” the previous year, was appointed its chief. One of the first conclusions of this centre’s work was the claim that Roma are by nature asocial, degenerate and dangerous. As part of the National Socialist ideology, it meant that the Roma and Sinti should be removed from Germany. In 1937, an order was issued for their arrest. The first deportations to concentration camps started, soon to be followed by the process of sterilization of Roma women.

➤ See workshop 2, p. 36
(on race)

➤ In 2015, a book entitled *The Dark Unknown History. White Paper on Abuses and Rights Violations against Roma in the 20th Century* was published in Sweden, publicly admitting all the policies against the Roma which had long been enforced in this Scandinavian country. To read the book in English, please visit:

<http://www.government.se/information-material/2014/03/white-paper-on-abuses-and-rights-violations-of-roma-during-the-1900s/>

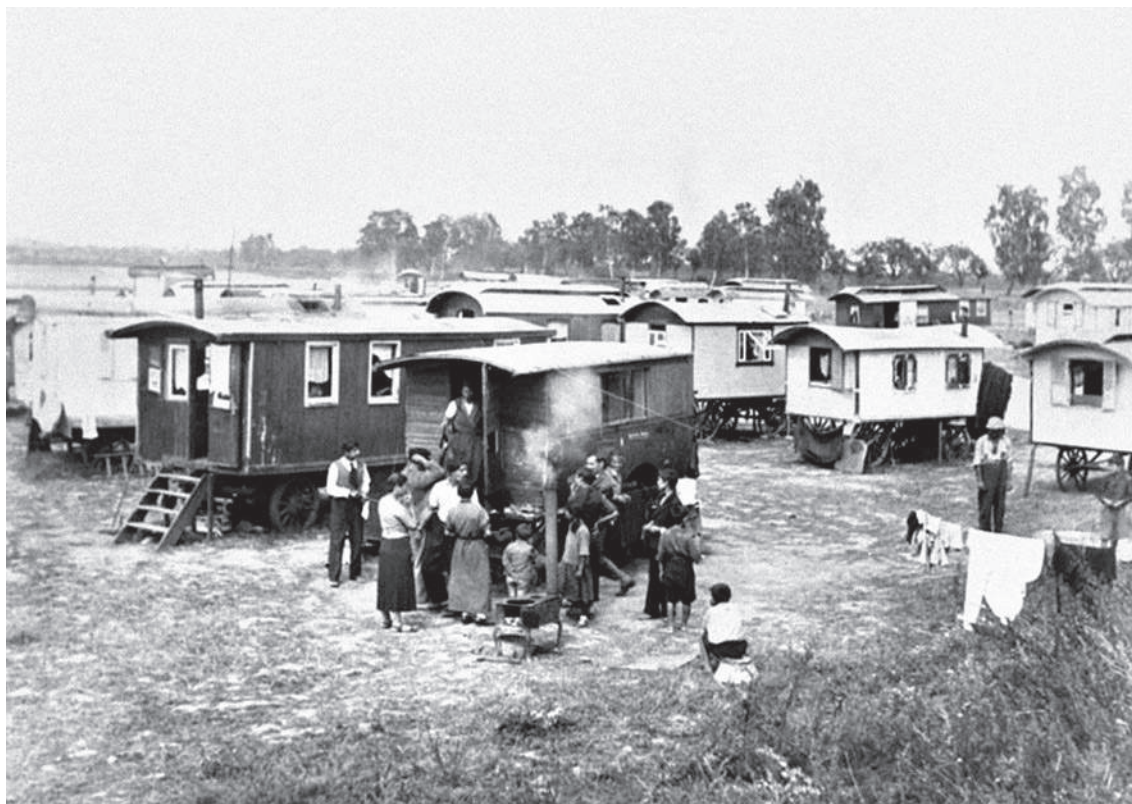


Figure 4 - Roma in the Marzahn camp in 1936, where they were placed just before the Berlin Olympic games

The mass liquidation of Roma started after the outbreak of World War II. In the occupied territory of the Soviet Union, the Nazis killed the Roma together with the Jews in mass executions. In early 1942, they started the executions of Roma and Jewish prisoners in the Chelmno camp, using a special gas van. In the following years, the Roma were interned and murdered in many death camps. Medical experiments were also executed on them. On 16 December 1942, the top Nazi leadership decided that all Roma in the Third Reich be sent to Auschwitz. On 2 August 1944, a decision was made to completely eliminate them in the gas chambers of the camp.

Figure 5 - Map of the persecution of Sinti and Roma in the Third Reich and occupied Europe



In the Independent State of Croatia, Romania and other countries controlled by Nazi Germany, many Roma were killed by the local authorities. The number of Roma and Sinti murdered in Europe is still unknown, but estimates range between 250,000 and 500,000 victims.

There were some 60,000 Roma in Serbia on the eve of World War II. Their number cannot be accurately established primarily because they were not recognized as a minority and therefore they mainly listed themselves as Serbs. They lived in towns and villages, mainly in poverty, like many other residents, and performed a variety of jobs - they were farmers, blacksmiths, petty traders, musicians, etc. Although there are no fundamental studies of their life in that period, and especially of the attitude of others towards them, the existence of special police measures against them in the 19th century has been confirmed; the order to carry out a Roma census for the purpose of tax payments (1853), the prohibition of Roma resettling from one district to another (1880), police checks of Roma defined as "vagrants" and the ban from entering the country for Roma coming from abroad (1890). Fragmentary clues tell us that there was a general discriminatory attitude very similar to that present in other European countries, which probably expanded its impact in the twentieth century, in late thirties, with the emergence of the racial theory in the former Yugoslavia. In his famous book "The Characterology of the Yugoslavs" published in 1939, philosopher Vladimir Dvornikovic, for example, wrote the following on Roma: *"their vagrant nomadic blood, so contrary to any enduring and systematic work has led them, in their Gypsy diaspora to a peculiar life formula that is rotten to the core: live on people but outside human order and work" or, "Our citizens and peasants in Serbia put up with their typically messy and beastly, dirty settlements which have adhered, in the form of the Gypsy mahalas, to the outskirts of many of our towns and villages - even in the capital itself. These Gypsies are an uncomfortable burden in any environment, not only in terms of hygiene but also because of the habits like begging, thieving, and the occasional atrocious crimes. In large part these are all remnants of earlier times. There is evidence that swarms of gypsies followed the Turks in coming here".*

On the other hand, many examples that prove that despite the discrimination that had driven them to the margins of society, both in Serbia and in Europe, Roma continued trying to be equal citizens of a civilized country, remain unknown. For example, the Serbian-Gypsy

➤ Very similar attitudes based on stereotypes and discrimination can still be heard today and are typical of anti-Gypsyism. For more on this, see the In the Jaws of Prejudice workshop.



cooperative to assist in illness and death was established in 1927, at the initiative of prominent Roma in Belgrade; the Association of prominent Belgrade Roma called Bibija-Tetkica was established in 1935; it had its Articles of Association, Assembly and a seat in the Struga restaurant in the Cubura quarter.

One of the most important moments was the launch of the first newspaper in the Romani language, with translation into Serbian. The newspaper was called Romano Lil and unfortunately had only three issues (March, April, May 1935). It was founded by Svetozar Simic, a young journalist and lawyer, who later became a defence attorney. He severely criticized all stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination against his people and saw a newspaper in Romani and Serbian as a good opportunity for the emancipation of Roma, as well as a way for Roma and non-Roma to get to know each other better and become closer to each other.

In April 1941, shortly after the capitulation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and their entry in Belgrade, the German occupying forces introduced anti-Jewish and anti-Roma legislation.



Figure 6 – Struga, a restaurant in Čuburska street No 3 in Belgrade, the informal hub for Roma organizations.

First, they registered all Jews and Roma. They were marked (they had to wear a yellow band on their left arm), after which they were forbidden free movement (they were not allowed to use public transportation, visit restaurants, theatres and other places, go to markets before ten o'clock in the morning, and so on), and they had all their civil rights revoked. Forced labour was also introduced for them: men, for example, had to work cutting trees in forests around the capital.

The process of systematic destruction of Roma started in October 1941. Roma men were being arrested throughout the occupied Serbia and held hostage for shooting. In Belgrade, about 1,500 Roma were interned in the Topovske šupe concentration camp and were subsequently all executed in Jabuka, near Pancevo; in Sabac about 200 Roma were executed, in Leskovac, around 300 Roma were killed on 11 December, a large number of Roma were killed in Kragujevac in the notorious massacre that took place between 19 and 21 October 1941. Soon after, the Nazis began the mass internment of Roma women and children in the camp located at the Belgrade fairgrounds in just the same way as they did with the Jewish population. However, for them, unlike the Jews, the process was suspended in early 1942. The reason is probably pragmatic in nature: on the one hand, there were other priorities at the time - the war against the resistance movement throughout Yugoslavia, the war on the eastern front, and, on the other hand, the Nazi ideology, which changed its attitudes to Roma several times, considered it a top priority to "clean" the German territories of all Roma, while they could act differently in the occupied territories.

Serbian collaborationist authorities played a special role in the suffering of the Roma in Serbia as they provided logistical, administrative and organizational support to the Nazi forces. In other parts of today's Serbia which were under German occupation, the Roma had

► On Roma in Belgrade, see: Dragoljub Acković, *Roma in Belgrade, The History, Culture and Tradition of Roma in Belgrade from the time of their Settlement, Until the End of the 20th Century*. Rominterpress, Belgrade, 2009



► About the camp on Sajmište, see: <http://www.starosajmiste.info/sr/> <http://www.semlin.info/>

a different fate. In Srem, then under the control of the Independent State of Croatia, Roma were massively deported and killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp. Roma who lived in Backa under Hungarian occupation were separately taken to forced labour, although there areas yet no historical studies as to their exact fate.

Today, the genocide against the Roma, after a long struggle waged primarily by Roma organizations in Germany to have the genocide recognized, has become the subject of research in many countries. The European Parliament has declared **2 August** the **Roma Holocaust Memorial Day**. In many texts, but also within international institutions, different terms are used to denote the suffering and killing of Roma. Porajmos is the word most frequently used in addition to the Holocaust; however, due to a conflicting meaning which the root of the word has in certain Roma dialects (related to the word "rape"), some tend to use a third definition, that is, Samudaripen. Still, the recommendations of the key institutions dealing with the suffering of Roma, remain to simply use the word genocide.

► See workshop 2, p. 41

► On the Suffering of Roma in Serbia see: *The Suffering of the Roma in Serbia during the Holocaust* - Milovan Pissari Forum for Applied History, Belgrade 2014

The book in digital format:
<http://www.rosalux.rs/bhs/stradanje-roma-u-srbiji-za-vreme-holokausta>



► For more information about the history and suffering of Roma please visit:

<http://www.romasintigenocide.eu/en/home>

<http://romasinti.eu/#home>

https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/ann_bib_long.pdf





Part three

**NOTES FOR
TEACHERS**

**THE
WORKSHOPS**

NOTES FOR TEACHERS

How to broach the subject of the Roma suffering during the Second World War when teaching students?

Examples of 4 different topics/workshops are provided in this part of the manual. With minor corrections, they can be implemented within any humanities subject in senior grades of primary school and in all grades of secondary school. The teacher should see how extensively they should intervene in the offered teaching material in order to adapt it to their subject. The teacher should also assess how mature their students are to be able to understand and accept the offered content and basic concepts and adjust the complexity of the content and terms to the age of their students. The proposed methods to cover the topic include: the text method, content analysis, dialogue method. The duration of each topic/workshop can be one or two school classes, i.e. it may be shortened or extended, depending on the assessment of the teacher themselves, on their background, skills and abilities, but also on the capacity of students and their needs and willingness to deal with this sensitive topic.

How to organize a lesson in a classroom, as part of which school subject, and using which teaching materials?

In addition to strengthening the students' cross-curricular competencies (particularly the competence of responsible participation in a democratic society), the holding of these classes will contribute to the achievement of many of the planned goals under the history, sociology, psychology, constitution and civil rights, civic education or mother tongue and literature curricula. Correlation can also be established with other general education subjects such as psychology, religious education, music, arts, philosophy, geography, foreign language... Every teacher has the right to amend their curriculum to a certain extent and include this topic. With some good will and effort, the topic can be included within a convenient calendar framework, for example, on 8 April, The International Roma Day, or 22 April, the Genocide Victims Remembrance Day, 10 December, the International Human Rights Day or 16 December, the National Roma WWII Genocide Victims Remembrance Day. All forms of project curricula, thematic blocks which include an interdisciplinary approach, as well as organizing visits to the killing sites and memorials, along with the preparation of solemn commemorations are welcome.

Covering these topics and holding these classes will contribute to the fostering of tolerance, intercultural development in the context of education for peace, the development of civic responsibility and learning about human rights. Discussing the most painful social tragedies and crimes in modern history will, seemingly paradoxically, contribute to the creation of a tolerant and non-discriminatory environment for every individual to learn and develop in, as well as to the protection from violence, abuse, neglect and discrimination.

To this end, it is worth noting some of the key pedagogical recommendations that the most important international institutions and organizations give teachers about teaching about the Holocaust, and which we consider valid for teaching about the Roma genocide and other mass crimes. Below please find their customized version for these educational materials:

- Do not be afraid to tackle this topic;
- Start with the life of the Roma before the war, not immediately with their suffering;
- Do not recount the stories of death, but the stories of survival and life in a chaos. You should focus on life (the process) rather than death (the result);
- Do not show horrific photographs of dead bodies. Show the students pictures of people's faces, pictures of their lives;
- Do not ask students to invent a story based on documentary photographs. Ask them simple questions: how is this woman dressed, what symbol does she have on her sleeve, what is the expression on her face, how does she feel, how would you feel?
- Do not talk of victims as of numbers. Give them names and faces. Introduce the victims, briefly, as human beings. This is an important point for empathy;





- Do not start the class by talking about world history and World War II. Change the order: individual - family - community - history. Start with a name, with a personal story, follow what happened to that family, then what was happening in the country and, finally, move on to the bigger picture, the world history;
- Avoid using the expressions used by the perpetrators, because they reflect their views.
- Do not judge, but ask the students important, crucial questions. Teach them values. Teach for empathy, not judging people.
- Do not make up events, stories and testimonies. Tell true stories. You have plenty of documents, testimonies and letters at your disposal - use the abundant existing documentation.
- Emphasize that the Holocaust could have been avoided. The Holocaust happened because individuals, groups and nations decided to act or not to act in a certain way.
- Do not encourage the stereotypes about "inhumanity" nor describe the perpetrators as "inhuman monsters". "Evil" can no longer suffice to explain the crime. The more difficult question is: how is it possible that ordinary men and women could engage in killing the innocent, ordinary men, women and children?
- Do not use simulations in which students will identify with the victims or the perpetrators;
- Encourage your students to think about the national and local traditions for marking anniversaries and commemorations. Discuss how memories are shaped under the influence of culture; how different groups single themselves out of the common history and create their own stories; if their people addresses the difficult aspects of their national history;
- Do not compare the suffering of any group of people with that of another group. There is no hierarchy of suffering, neither within the history of Nazism, nor between the Holocaust and other genocides.



The recommendations have been developed in line with the *Educational Philosophy of the International School for Holocaust Studies*, YadVashem (<http://www.yadvashem.org>) and the lecture by Shulamit Imber, Pedagogical Director, held in 2010 at Yad Vashem for a group of educators from Serbia. See: Banjanin Đuričić, N. "How to teach on the Holocaust", *Tekstura* (The Texture), school literary magazine, Group 484, Belgrade, January 2014, Issue No. 6, year 3.

For more information about education on the suffering of Roma and anti-Gypsyism in Europe visit:

www.osce.org/odihr/196806

<http://roma-genocide.org/>

INSTEAD OF OBLIVION

➤ All historic sources for this workshop have been collected by CHRE and it is the first time they are published.

STEP ONE

➤ Step One is inspired by the "Rights and Needs" scenario from the first grade Civic Education Manual and the "Anti-Jewish Laws workshop implemented by the Haver Serbia organisation.

➤ The term "Gypsy" should only be used with a note that this is allowed only when they appear in historical sources

Objective: The aim of this class is to help acquire elementary knowledge and reflect on the different fates that befell Roma during World War II in Serbia; develop empathy for the victims; encourage reflection on the suffering, resistance, the life of the survivors, post-war remembrance and effort to get the recognition for the genocide against Roma; cultivate the culture of remembrance of the genocide committed against Roma during World War II as a way of combating discrimination; build positive identities; promote tolerance and understanding diversity.

Context: Immediately after the occupation in 1941, the Jews and the Roma living in Serbia were faced with specific racial legislation introduced by the Nazi occupying forces. Similar laws were introduced in other occupied territories of present-day Serbia; in Srem, for example, it was introduced by the Ustasha regime. They were soon followed by mass arrests, internment, shootings. In this situation, their life changed dramatically. It will be possible to understand the fate of the Roma community by listening to personal stories.

Material: 5 personal stories with historical sources and links.

The teacher asks students to reflect and list the conditions they would need to be able to lead a normal life. Students list them, the teacher writes on the board: food, shelter, money, work, transport, school, health, love, friends...

Then the teacher asks a student to read out the rights denied to the Roma with the introduction of anti-Jewish and anti-Roma (racial) Nazi legislation and regulations. As the student reads, the teacher crosses out, one by one, the conditions necessary to lead a normal life that are listed on the board. Finally, he/she crosses them all.

- Prohibition of possession of identity documents
- Prohibition of attending public schools
- Prohibition of going to the market before 10 am
- Prohibition of the use of public transport
- Dismissals from jobs in the public sector
- Prohibition of healthcare provided in public hospitals and clinics

In May 1941, the Military Commander in Serbia issued several orders. Among other things, they include as follows:

- Gypsies are made equal to Jews.
- A Gypsy is considered to be a person who is descended from at least three Gypsy ancestors. Gypsy half-breeds, those who are descended from one or two gypsy ancestors and those who are married or who marry a Gypsy woman.
- Gypsies are to be marked by wearing armbands that must be yellow and bear the inscription "Gypsy". Gypsies are included in Gypsy lists based on reports.
- Serbian authorities are responsible for the enforcement of the orders contained in this Regulation.
- Those who oppose the provisions of this Order shall be punished by imprisonment and a fine. In severe cases, they shall be punished by hard labour or death.

During World War II, on the territory of occupied Europe, in numerous camps or places of execution, the Nazis and their collaborators killed between 220,000 and 900,000 Roma. About 12,000 Roma were killed in Serbia out of a total of 60,000 of them.

STEP TWO

The teacher introduces students to the main topic - dealing with historical sources and life stories of Roma who have had different fates. He/she divides the students into five groups, each group gets printed sources with texts for one personal story. Their task is to study their story and discuss it in their group:

- What has left the most powerful impression on you;
- Were you familiar with some elements of your story;
- Has something surprised you, what and why;
- Have you found that something bothered you;
- Have you learned something you didn't know?

Each group briefly recounts their story and presents the results of group discussions in front of the whole class.

Note: focus on the individuals and personal stories, not on the dimensions of suffering, numbers, crimes; bring the human destinies of the Roma victims closer to students, by viewing them primarily as human beings and not as numbers or victims.

MILKA FROM KRAGUJEVAC

*"God forbid that this
should ever happen to
anyone..."*

*"Hold on to your freedom,
hold on to it as hard as
you can!"*

Figure 7 - Milka Đorđević in
Kragujevac, July 2017



On the eve of World War II, Milka, a young girl at the time, lived with her father, mother and brother. Shortly before the war, she lost her mother. At the time the war broke out, she, her father and brother were living in difficult economic conditions. In mid-October 1941, Milka's father and younger brother were evicted from their home and taken away with other Roma men. In those days the German forces, with the help of local collaborators, gathered civilians in Kragujevac and the surrounding area and took them to be shot. Milka's brother was singled out from the column along with a few boys of his age and was told by a German soldier to flee.

**"I remember my father looking at me, taking his coat and climbing onto the truck.
...I never saw him again."**



Figure 8 - Milka's brother

Milka remained alone with her father's new wife, her stepmother. Her brother returned after over a month, but their stepmother could not support them. She sent Milka to her daughter and her brother reported for work in Germany. At that time it was possible to volunteer for work there as the German Reich was in constant need of labour force. In addition to prisoners of war and civilians in forced labour, as well as detainees in the camps who were often forced to work to death, there was a possibility for workers from countries allied with Germany, as well as from the occupied territories to apply for work in Germany. Although the workers had contracts, many were working in adverse conditions and subsequently died. That is where Milka's brother died too.

What was the situation like in Serbia? Life in Kragujevac was very difficult, people often feared for their lives:

**"So many times we ran straight out of our beds that were still warm..."
"The bearded men [Chetniks] made us go and sleep with pigs."**

In October 1944, fighting was underway for the liberation of Kragujevac between the Germans and their allies on the one side and partisans and the Soviet Union's Red Army on the other. There was fighting in town:

"I am among them, they [the Germans] are fleeing, leaving everything, candy, food, I take everything to the people in the basement [partisans], bullets keep flying over my head, but I have no fear."

Milka was unable to attend school during the war. She enrolled only after the liberation, in Yugoslavia, and completed two grades. Then her cousin Mihailo Jovanovic returned from captivity.

► **Forced labour** is a form of slavery in which persons are forced to work against their will and often without any payment. It peaked under Nazi rule. Forced labour meant total exploitation of labourers, to death.

More on this:
www.forcedlabourinserbia.org





Figure 9 - Mihailo Jovanovic, first from right, as prisoner of war in Austria

Milka got a job at a factory in Kragujevac and worked there until her retirement. At first she performed physically strenuous work, but when the director realized this, he intervened and moved her to physically less demanding tasks. She worked hard and well. She received the best worker recognition (udarnicka karta) for her work.



Figure 10 - Mihailo Jovanovic (third from right) and Dragan (the child who has climbed the fence)

In the period immediately after the war, the government of socialist Yugoslavia used to reward, following the Soviet Union model, workers who excelled in performing their duties (the so-called udarnici).

Milka soon gave birth to a son and a daughter.

Milka now lives in Kragujevac, she is retired and has a daughter, a son and two grandchildren. Milka still remembers those difficult times and is willing to discuss it with anyone, even though she finds it all very strenuous and sad.



Figure 11 - Milka Djordjevic in the Sixties with her daughter

Milka was interviewed in June 2017 by CHRE.
The interview is available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Th5vR_RMwFw&t=



MILORAD FROM MIRIJEVO

“We started running, overcome with fear, when we heard shooting behind us and someone shouting: “Stop!”

Milorad Dekic used to live in Mirijevo with his family. It was a village a few kilometres from Belgrade. Today it is a Belgrade quarter. At the time of the introduction of the anti-Roma laws, Milorad was 14 years old.

The government was collaborationist; they collaborated with the occupying forces. One day the gendarmes blocked Mirijevo intending to take all Roma women and children to the camp. With a group of about 50 people, Milorad managed to avoid this pursuit. They wandered for several days, hiding. From Mirijevo they headed to Lestane, but local authorities would not accept them. They continued towards the village of Drazanj near Grocka, and there they stayed with their Roma friends and relatives. A few days later, the president of the municipality ordered them to return to Belgrade. Village guards surrounded the house where they had found refuge. The fact that Milorad's father was a World War I hero and wore medals didn't help them. Not even later, when one of his fellow combatants tried to save him and his family, the president of the municipality would not allow an exception to be made.

The guards marched them to Begaljica and Grocka. There they boarded a boat, along with other Roma. When they arrived to Belgrade, at the pontoon bridge (near the present Branko's Bridge) adult men were separated and taken to a camp in Banjica, while children, women and the elderly were interned in the Sajmiste (the fairgrounds) camp. Many of their family members had similar experiences. Many died in the camp or as a consequence of starvation and torture. Still, most of them survived the war after being released from the Sajmiste camp together with Milorad, in March 1942.

Milorad was hired in 1947 to work in the Belgrade public transport company. He later worked at the Radio industrija company. In 1965, he moved to Austria. At the time when he gave his statement in 1986, he was retired.

"After five or six days, they blocked Mirijevo. The police, the gendarmerie came, they blocked the area and captured those who remained, men between 14 and 60 years, whoever was able to move, while the women and small children under 12-13 years remained at home. They picked up the men and took them away. When the women asked them where they were taking them, they replied that they were taking them for logging. There were no further answers, nor could anyone explain why they were driven away, we still don't know it today. When this storm passed, none of them came back, there was misery and crying in every home, in every family."

They put us in an empty hangar that resembled a shed, you could see the sky as you looked up, everything was smashed up. There were four or five bunk levels, I can't remember, I just remember that we were on the third level. Wooden planks in a circle and nothing more. Next to us were the Jews in a large pavilion, but it was all open. There was neither a furnace nor a stove. The hangar was filled only with Roma... I think around 700 to 800 of them, with children and women. There were only those from around Belgrade, from Žarkovo, Mirijevo, Resnik and Višnjica, as far as I remember (...) Some came 10 to 20 days before, we spent almost a month on the run (...). They brought food to our pavilion and distributed it. If you happened to be out and could not make it back, they would beat you on the head with a stick, they would hit you, smash your head, you would be bleeding and there were no doctors, nothing ... During the day, we searched the garbage for potato peel (...) After this there we had typhus, lice, 10 to 15 people died every night...

Sajmište

One of the largest camps on the territory of the former Yugoslavia was in operation from 1941 to 1944. It is situated right across from the centre of Belgrade, on the left bank of the Sava River. Initially, that is, between December 1941 and May 1942, the Judenlager Semlin as it was called, served for the internment of the Jewish women and children from occupied Serbia, as well as of Roma (women and children), mainly from Belgrade but most of them were released after several weeks. Due to terrible conditions, many prisoners died of hunger, frost or disease. All the others were killed by means of a special gas vans (known as the Dushegupkas). According to available data, around 6,300 Jews and several hundreds of Roma were killed there. From May 1942 to June 1944, the camp was called the Zemun Reception Camp (Anhaltelager Semlin). More than 30,000 prisoners, mostly Serb civilians from the Independent State of Croatia (ISC), occupied Serbia, members of the resistance movement and prisoners of war, passed through this camp. About 10,000 of them died there. while the others were sent to forced labour in the Third Reich or Norway. Although the camp was formally located on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, it was exclusively controlled by the Belgrade Gestapo until 1944 when it was handed over to the Ustashi officials and was closed down soon afterwards.

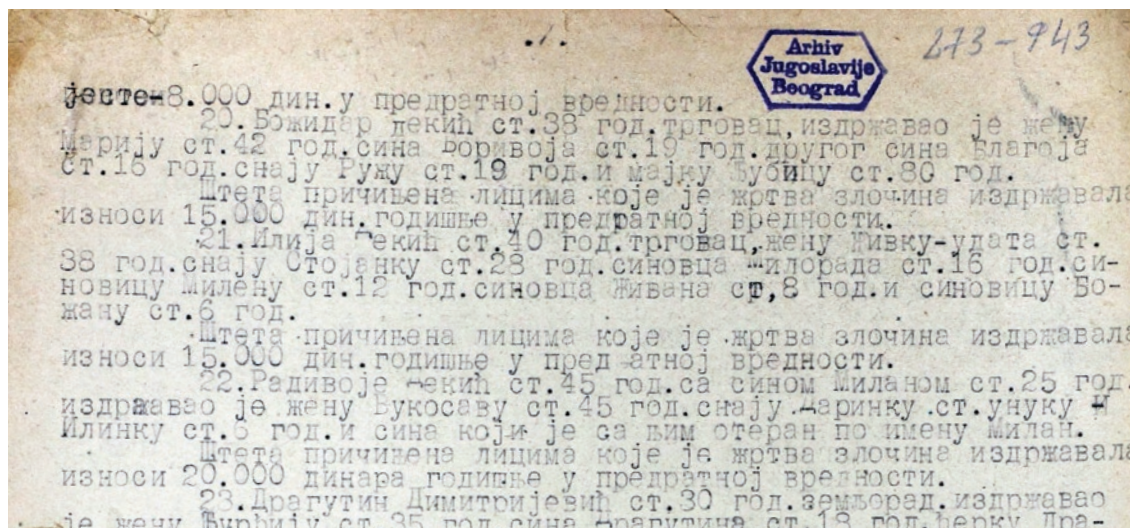


Figure 12 Members of the Dekić family who were deported or killed.



Figure 13 The tower at the Sajmište Camp, detail

STEVAN THE HERO



Stevan Đorđević Novak

Figure 14 Photos of Yugoslav national heroes

Although the government in Yugoslavia at the time was collaborationist, the resistance to occupation was among the biggest in Europe. For some, this resistance was an attempt to liberate the country from invaders, but it soon turned into a fight against the communists. For others, it was a struggle against the occupiers and against the Nazi ideology, and for a world that would be more just, without making distinctions among people.

A four-year continuous struggle led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began in July 1941 with the organization of the armed units in the country. Most of the fighters volunteered for the National Liberation War. The fighters were of different nationalities, including Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Slovenes and others. Among them were also Roma who fought in the ranks of the Serbian army (just like during World War I). Some Roma joined the fight as a way to escape persecution, some wanted to liberate their country and some saw it as a possibility of emancipation of their own people. Fighters who distinguished themselves on the battlefield were awarded medals and recognitions already during the war. The Order of the National Hero medal was awarded to a total of 1,323 participants in the National Liberation War. Stevan Djordjevic Novak, a Rom, was one of them.

Stevan was born in 1919 in the village of Radicevci, near Knjazevac, in a poor family. After primary school, he engaged in various, mostly strenuous manual jobs. During his military service, he was often the target of racist attacks. Shortly before the outbreak of war he learned about the ideals of equality and was attracted by the idea of social justice.

After the occupation, he managed to avoid being captured, and, immediately after the April War, he joined the illegal groups that had begun the preparations for the uprising in his home village. After the formation of the Zaglavsko-Timok partisan detachment, in October 1941, he joined the partisans. In the Sokobanja campaign, Stevan bore the brunt of the task of capturing 37 Chetniks. In July 1942 he became commander of the Timok partisan troops. In late October, he was wounded in the arm. He died on 10 July 1943, near the village of Donja Bela Reka, near Bor. He was declared a national hero on 23 September 1953.



Figure 15 - „Prevodni potok“, event comemorating the antifascist struggle in Donja Bela Reka village.

The memory of his name is preserved in the municipality of Donja Bela Reka. Every year an event entitled Prevodski potok, is organised next to the partisan memorial house. There is also a monument to partisan fighters killed in the war. Among them is the name of Stevan Djordjevic Novak.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS:

- Did you know that the most important medal was the medal of the Order of the National Hero?
- Do you know any of these national heroes?
- Did you learn about them in history classes?
- Do you know what nationality they are?



Vera Blagojević



Ivo Lola Ribar



Anđelija Anđić Ranković



Đuro Strugar



Isidor Baruh

THE BOYS SAVA AND CVETKO



Figure 16 - Sava Aksentijević
Figure 17 - Cvetko Aksentijević

► Ministry of Education, the Curriculum Department:

"Pending the adoption of the new regulation on the education of children of Jews and Gypsies in the territory of the military commander of Serbia at the beginning of school year 1941/42, the admission of students who are of Jewish or Gypsy origin in schools under the remit of the Ministry of Education shall be suspended(...)"

(Archives of Yugoslavia, 110-908-554)

Why were they executed?

"CVETKO WORE AN ASHEN COLOURED COAT."

"WHEN HE WAS TAKEN OUT TO BE SHOT, SAVA WORE A GREEN JACKET."

"There was a number of primary and secondary schools in Kragujevac before World War II. Two brothers, Sava and Cvetko Aksentijevic attended one of them. In the vocational school they attended, they were taught, in addition to general subjects, also special ones to help them get a job immediately after school. But after the introduction of racial laws, the Roma education was prohibited. Sava and Cvetko, like many others of their generation, were no longer able to attend school. It was difficult to find a job, because the Roma were also prohibited from getting work. They were also no longer issued identity cards.

Sava and Cvetko have been living with a family in Mišarska street, in the neighbourhood known as "Licika". One day they were taken with all other Roma men from that neighbourhood. Where were they taken?

After the war, Kosara Aksentijevic, Sava's and Cvetko's mother, gave the following statement to the Yugoslav Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes:

"The Germans, that is, their punitive expedition, took my two sons, Cvetko and Sava Aksentijevic, on 20 October 1941 from our home and into the sheds of the Third Artillery Regiment. They spent the night there and the Germans shot them the following day. Cvetko was wearing an ashen-coloured short coat and matching trousers, all second-hand, a blue hat that I brought home, black shoes and a white shirt. When he was taken out to be shot, Sava wore a green jacket, new brown cloth trousers, black boots and a cream-coloured shirt."

The officers of the German army were enforcing the already established, retaliation measures against civilians. This time, it was done in retaliation for the killing of 10 and wounding of 26 German soldiers a few days earlier. Such reprisals were carried out wherever an insurrection or armed struggle broke out, especially in October 1941. On the orders of their commanders, they shot 100 hostages for each German soldier or officer killed, and 50 for each one wounded. In collecting hostages, they usually first arrested communists, Jews and Roma, or those people who, according to the Nazi ideology, had to be eliminated. Many Serbian civilians were shot together with them in Draginac, Kraljevo, Nis, Kragujevac ...

The first day, on 19 October, the German army shot about 800 people, mostly communists and sympathizers of the communist party, Jews, prisoners, peasants from the nearby



Figure 18 - The Crystal Flower monument at the Šumarice memorial park in Kragujevac

villages. The following day, the city was blocked and the mass arrests started in Kragujevac. On the morning of 20 October, the German soldiers along with the Serbian volunteers" (the so-called Ljoticevci), arrested more than 200 Roma men, mostly in their homes.

КАРТОН ЕВИДЕНЦИЈЕ СТРЕЉАНОГ		
1.	Презиме, име оца и име	Aksentijević Koste Cvetko
2.	Датум рођења	1922
3.	Место рођења	Kragujevac
4.	Занимање и школска спрема	učenik занатлијске ш
5.	Место запослења и врата посла	šegrt
6.	Место становања	Kragujevac
7.	Где је ухапшен?	kod куће
8.	Када је стрељан?	21.10.41
9.	Где је сахрањен?	
10.	Број у немачком списку	9
11.	Број пописнице жртава рата	10
12.	Број списка Спомен-парка	18

Figure 20 - The execution record for Cvetko Aksentijević

The Serbian volunteers used the opportunity to exchange hostages. To save their acquaintances, friends, and others, they gave the Germans in exchange for each of them two, three, and up to ten Roma. Sava and Cvetko were executed along with other Roma. Some of them were children.

Today, as part of the Šumarice memorial park in Kragujevac, there is a monument known as the Crystal Flower (designed by architect Nebojsa Delja).

It is located next to the grave where the executed shoe cleaners, Roma boys aged 12 to 15 years had been buried. The white monument is made of concrete, it symbolizes a newly developed bud, cut into two parts.



Figure 19 - Testimony of Kosara Aksentijević, mother of Savo and Cvetko Aksentijević

► Kristina Jorgić, curator of the "21st October" Museum in Kragujevac, (<https://www.spomen-park.rs/en/>) has researched the social structure of Roma victims. Thanks to her work, it is possible to reconstruct in detail where Roma lived, what they did for a living as well as the family relations of the victims.

NEIGHBOURS JULKA AND CVETA

"They took my nephews, Mladen Mirkovic, 22, and Milan Mirkovic, 13."

Cveta Stefanovic

Jatagan mala was a predominantly poor quarter of Belgrade. Poverty in the capital was so widespread that, according to some estimates, 80% of the population of Belgrade was poor. Many of them were farmers who had moved there immediately after World War I, hoping for a better life than they had in their villages, devastated during the three-year occupation. Among them were many Roma from Bukovik, Ub, Obrenovac or Garas.

Julka Radosavljevic lived in Jatagan mala. She was 35 years old. She was employed. Her house was in the "eighth row" at number 7. There are very few photos and documents preserved from this period. This photo shows the house in which Julka Radosavljevic lived. Her nephews Mladen and Milan were taken away from this house in late October 1941. Julka gave a statement about this in 1945 before the War Crimes Commission.



► Figure 21 - Front, right, the house where Julka Radosavljević and her family lived.

"At about 4 o'clock in the morning on 28 October 1941, four gendarmes came to my flat, I do not know whether they were members of the Nedic, or Ljotic units or from the neighbourhood and they took my nephews: Mladen Mirkovic, 22 years old, born in Sremcica, Orthodox, Gypsy, single; and Milan Mirkovic, 13 years old, born in Sremcica, the Umka district, Orthodox, Gypsy, single, worker. The gendarmes behaved arrogantly as they were taking them away and told Mladen: "Hurry up and say goodbye to your family, you will never see them again" (...).

Mladen, Milan and several hundred other men were forcibly taken to the local gendarmerie station. On that occasion, some were told they would be released soon, and others that they were taking them for logging. However, around 10 AM, they were already transferred to the Topovske supe camp. Three days later they were taken out to be shot.

Julka's neighbour, Cveta Stefanovic, witnessed the arrest. On that occasion, the gendarmes took her son Marinko (28) and son-in-law Dragutin Ibisevic (30), and, a month later, her daughter Mileva (30) and grandson Desanka (4). The Ibisevic family then disappeared without a trace.

Cveta, as well as Julka, made a statement about this before the War Crimes Commission.

... "Nedic's soldiers came to our home and took my daughter Mileva Ibisevic, 30 years old, married, born in Mladenovac Orthodox, Gypsy, a housewife, and her daughter and my granddaughter Desanka, 4 years old, a child, to Sajmiste. I know nothing of their fate to this day, I just heard from those who were at the Sajmiste concentration camp at that time that they were tortured and beaten." (AJ,110-273-434)

Пристипу овој комисији Јулка Радосављевић, из Београда Јатаган Мала VIII ред бр.7 стара 39 год., домаћица, вере православне Циганка, упозорена на казивање истине као оштећена изјави:

28 октобра 1941 год. око 4 сата изјутра дошли су у мој стан 4 жандарма не знам да ли су били Недићевци, Љотићевци или из кварта и одвели моје сестрице Младену Мирковића, старог 22 год, рођен у Сремчици, вере православне, Циганин, неожењен; и Милан а Мирковића, старог 13 год., рођен у Сремчици срез Умка, вере православне, Циганин, неожењен, радник. Приликом одвођења жандарми су били дрски и обратили се Младену следећим речима: "ајде брзо се спреми, поздрави се са својима јер их никада више нећеш видети". На што му је овај одговорио: нека ништа не мари само ти буди жив". Од куће су их одвели у IX квартал а истог дана око 10 час. предали их у логор у топовске шупе Немцима. 15 дана после доласка у логор одвели су их камионима у непознатом правцу о чијој судбини ни до данас ништа не знам.

Пристипу овој комисији Цвета Стефановић из Београда, Јатаган Мала X ред бр.1, стара 65 год., домаћица, Циганка, вере православне, удова, сиромашног стана.

Пошто је оштећена упозорена да говори само истину под претњом кривичне одговорности изјави:

28 октобра 1941 год. рано ујутру ушли су у мој стан два жандарма из IX кварта и одвели мога сина Маринка Стефановића, старог 28 год., рођен у Младеновцу, вере православне, Циганин, свирач, неожењен и мога зета Драгутина Ибисевића, старог 30 год., рођ. у Пуковцу код Лесковца, вере Православне, ожењен радник, ожењен, Циганин, Приликом одвођења рекли су да их воде у сечу дрва и да ће их за 5 дана вратити. Еђутим они су их пре ли Немцима у логор у топовске шупе и ни до данас о њиховој судбини не знамо ништа. Ко су били жандарми који су их одвели, које издао наредбу за њихово одвођење мени је непознато.

После 15 дана од одвођења мога сина и зета дошли су код куће Недићевци војници и одвели моју кћерку Милеву Ибисевић, стара 30 год., удата, рођ. у Младеновцу, вере православне, Циганка, домаћица и њену кћерку а моју унуку Десанку, стара 4 год., дете, на Сајмисте и о њиховој судбини ни до данас ништа не знам само сам чула од оних који су били у то време у логору на Сајмисту да су их мучили и батинали. Извршиоци злочина нису ми познати.

► Figure 22, 23 - Statements of Julka Radosavljević and Cveta Stefanović given to the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission in 1945.

Topovske šupe

The Topovske Šupe camp for Jews and Roma operated close to the very centre of Belgrade between August and November 1941. The buildings in which the prisoners were kept were an integral part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's extensive army barracks called "Kraljević Andrej" (Prince Andrei).

Its first prisoners were Jewish men from Banat who had been banished from that region to Belgrade with their families by the local Germans (the Volksdeutsche); after them, all Jewish men from Belgrade, and, in the end, Roma men, also from Belgrade were interned there. All of them, with rare exceptions, were killed in mass shootings in the autumn of 1941, mainly at the site of Jabuka near Pančevo. According to the available estimates, about 5,000 Jews and 1,500 Roma passed through it. Unfortunately, very little is known today about the Topovske Šupe camp.



► Figure 24 - The Topovske Šupe camp for Jews and Roma operated close to the very centre of Belgrade between August and November 1941. The buildings in which the prisoners were kept were an integral part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's extensive army barracks called "Kraljević Andrej" (Prince Andrei).

STEP THREE

The proposed personal stories about the suffering of Roma during World War II were chosen because they offer examples of different situations, behaviours, reactions, feelings and fates - from which it is possible to realize that there are differences between the Roma and others who found themselves in similar situations: some are survivors of terrible traumas etched in their memory, some fled and saved themselves after a horrible experience at the camp, some put up heroic resistance, some were killed, some of them were important witnesses in establishing the crimes after the war. Everyone had their families, their jobs, their lives.

The teacher summarizes the students' responses directing them toward conclusions and then sums up:

- That human suffering is part of every persecution;
- That suffering is often preceded by segregation and dehumanization;
- That the wars of the twentieth century were characterised by a much larger number of civilian than military casualties;
- That there is a continuum of violence and persecution against some groups.



SEGREGATION (lat. *segregare* - to distinguish, to separate) the separation of people based on different criteria: race, ethnicity, nation, religion, sex. This separation is, as a rule, contrary to the principles of human rights and freedoms. Segregation is not necessarily associated with discrimination.

GENOCIDE (gr. *genos* - gender, people; lat. *occidere* - to kill) indicates a planned, organized action aimed at complete or partial extermination of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. The most famous example of genocide is the Holocaust. For the Serbian people, the most tragic was the concurrent genocide of Serbs during World War II.

The term was created after World War II, because of the criminal practices of the fascist forces. The term genocide was first used in 1946 when the United Nations General Assembly formulated the Nuremberg principles and declared genocide an international crime. This is one of the gravest forms of crimes against humanity.

Throughout history, ever since the time of the original community, mutual exterminations of the nations in conflict happened frequently, but they cannot be considered to constitute genocide. This term started to be used only in the 20th century. Motives for the crime of genocide are: the desire for plundering and enslavement, racial, national and religious hatred and prejudice.

PORAJMOS (destruction) or **SAMUDARIPEN** (mass murder) is the name given to the crimes against the Roma, carried out by the fascist and Nazi organizations, movements and the army of the Third Reich during World War II, killing between 220,000 and 900,000 Roma.

COLLABORATION (lat. *co* - with; *laborare* - work) means the collaboration of individuals or groups in order to achieve a particular objective. After World War II, it is used to denote the collaboration of individuals or government authorities with the occupying Nazi Germany.

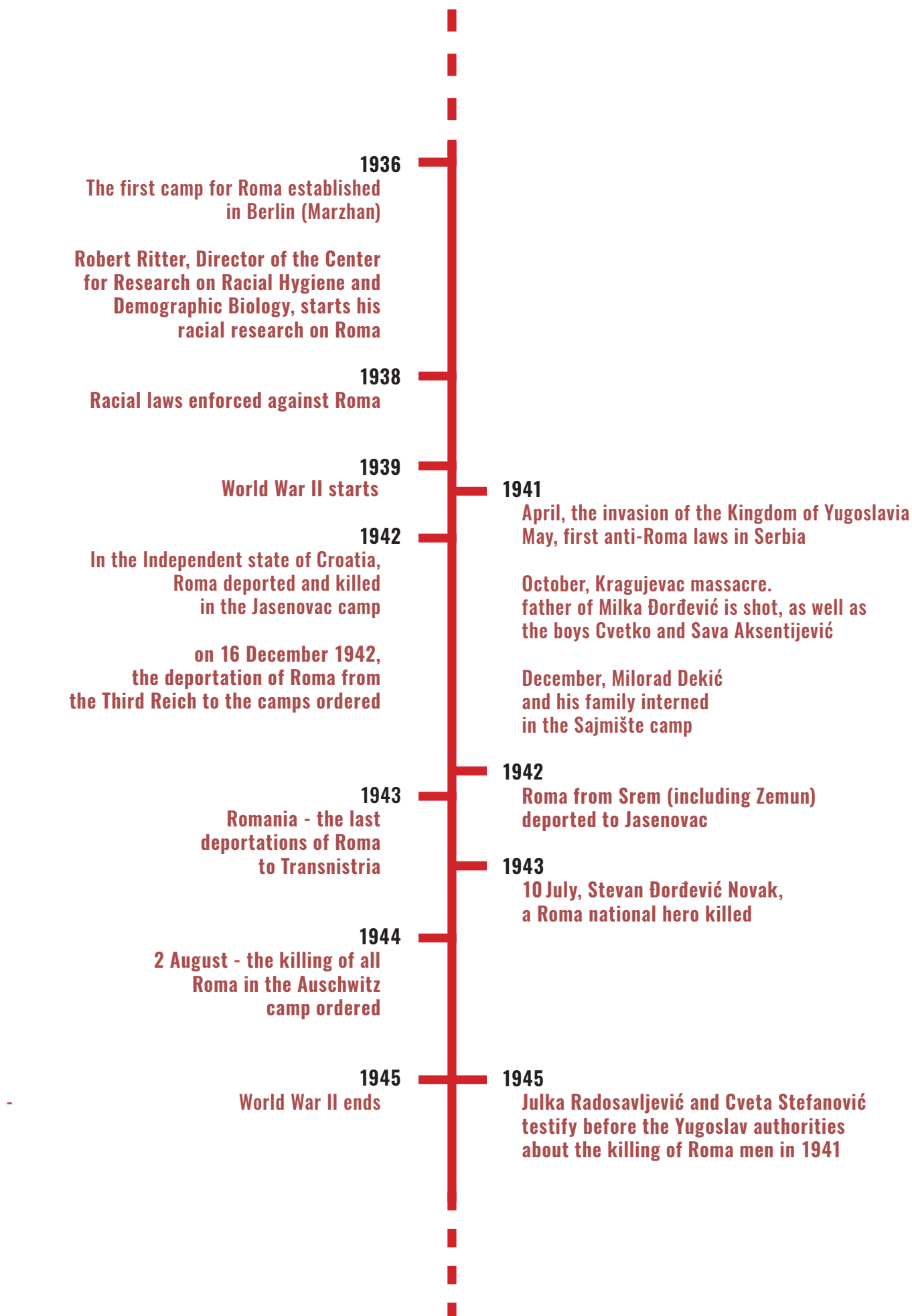
LJOTICEVCI (LJOTIC'S MEN) took on the name of their ideological leader Dimitrije Ljotic, who offered the services of his followers to the Germans for the purpose of destruction of communism and Jews. Serbian Volunteer Corps (Srpski dobrovoljacki korpus - SDK) was the party army of the Zbor (Rally) Yugoslav National Movement. On the territory of occupied Serbia during World War II, this army collaborated with the German occupying forces in the fight against the partisans. Members of the SDK were known as volunteers or Ljotic's men. The SDK received weapons, ammunition, uniforms and food from the German military authorities, and it was financed by Milan Nedic's National Salvation Government. It was formally under the command of the Nedic gendarmerie, but was actually subordinated to the German military authorities.

SOLUNAC A Solunac is a warrior who fought on the Thessaloniki front during World War I.

INTERN (lat. *internatio*, *internare*) people enclosed; imprisonment or confinement, restriction of freedom of movement of certain citizens. It can also mean to condemn suspicious foreigners, political or war refugees, the subjects of enemy states during the war, as well as domestic political suspects or politically improper people to living under police or military surveillance, often in concentration camps or other isolated camps.

ROMA KILLING SITES





FROM SEGREGATION TO MASS MURDER

► All historical sources for this workshop have been collected by CHRE and they are published now for the first time.

STEP ONE

► Milovan Pisarri, *Genocid nad Romima u Beogradu (Genocide Against the Roma in Belgrade)*, <http://www.protivzaborava.com/wallpaper/genocid-nad-romima-u-beogradu/>



► This was the reply of an old French doctor, prisoner of the Dachau camp, asked by the writer: "Why did they choose Gypsies for experiments?", adapted Christian Bernadac, *Zaboravljeni holokaust (orig. L'Holocaust oublié)*, Globus, Zagreb 1981, p. 367

Objective: The aim of this lesson is for the students to acquire elementary knowledge about the escalation of Antigypsism into a developed legal system against the Roma and about the consequences of this process; for them to develop critical thinking about the suffering of Roma, the criminals, commanders and perpetrators; to deal with the past through the analysis of the role of Serbian collaboration in the genocide against the Roma; to raise awareness among students that preserving the memory of the Roma genocide victims during the World War II is of crucial importance in fostering empathy and combating discrimination; to build positive identities; to promote tolerance and understanding of diversity.

Background: After working on personal stories in the previous workshop, the students learned about the victims and survivors, the ordinary people who have had to cope with discriminatory policies and persecution. In this workshop the focus is on the perpetrators, those who have created these policies, imposed and enforced them. We will analyse anti-Roma legislation that was in force in Serbia under German occupation, the role of Serbian collaborators, as well as the camps and killing sites of Roma in Serbia in which there exists (or doesn't exist) some sort of a commemoration or memorialisation.

Materials: Photos, quotes, decrees and documents that students will use in teamwork and in preparing presentations on the topics they choose.

Note: The interested students are first given their tasks. Three teams (2-3 students each) with the help of teachers and using the offered material, can prepare speeches and/or presentations on three topics: Harald Turner, legalisation of dehumanisation and collaborators. These three segments may be presented to other students in the form of peer education.

The teacher reminds students about the conditions in which Roma in Serbia lived at the beginning of World War II, deprived of almost all human rights. He/she introduces students to the main topic - dealing with ideology, laws and criminals who enabled the genocide against the Roma. The teacher recalls that in occupied Serbia at the time there were specific laws against Roma that had to be complied with by all citizens, and that, there were also death camps. In this way, he/she facilitates and directs the discussion towards the suffering of the Roma, and particularly to the political and ideological context that produced the genocide. (One student can read the introductory text by historian M. Pisarri:

It all started in late May 1941. Roma, who live in the poorest neighbourhoods, were equated with the Jews on the principle of racial laws that were in force in the Third Reich. A well-organised quisling apparatus known as UGB - (Uprava grada Beograda - the Administration of the City of Belgrade), which remained unchanged in relation to the period before the collapse of Yugoslavia, diligently pursued all orders. The few Roma who had been employed by the municipality of Belgrade, were dismissed. The gendarmes took care that all Roma wore yellow ribbons with the word "Gypsy", that they did not enter cafes, cinemas and any public places; nor use the tram, or go to the market before ten o'clock, or mingle with the Aryan population. At the same time, the Special Police had registered all Roma in Belgrade and other cities in Serbia and made an inventory of their assets. 3,044 Roma were registered in Belgrade.

The teacher explains: What did the Nazis want to achieve using propaganda and discriminatory measures? What sort of attitude towards the Roma they wanted to impose on the population in the occupied countries? Perhaps the following chapter can best illustrate their view of the Roma, which would, if universally accepted, best suit the Nazis. (Another student can read an excerpt from the book "[The Forgotten Holocaust](#)"):

The whole world despises Gypsies, Gypsies in general, be they pure breed or mixed race, even those the SS have deported. Why hold back then? Who will avenge them? Who's going to complain? Who will testify? The Gypsies were lower than the Jews. The Gypsies did not have their representatives in various countries. They did not exist at the national or international level. We thus witnessed perfect crimes, crimes without corpses. So what do you want - even today - who needs a Gypsy?



HARALD TURNER IN THE SERVICE OF NAZI IDEOLOGY

A team of students has prepared a lecture and/or presentation on Harald Turner and the key ideas proposed by the Nazi racial ideology. After analysing selected quotations, photographs and documents, students draw conclusions about the legalisation of Roma dehumanisation.

**"Gypsies cannot be productive members of the community."
"I order that all Jews and Gypsies be arrested and taken hostages."**

Roma genocide, just as the Holocaust or the killing of people with physical and mental disabilities, homosexuals and members of other groups identified as unsuitable, were a product of the National Socialist ideology. World War II and the German occupation system facilitated mass killings.

The German occupational system in Serbia is divided into various structures. Some had a purely military character, others had the task of economically exploiting the country, some organised forced labour... Those structures whose task was to "politically educate" the people in Serbia so they could find their place in the future world controlled by the Nazis played a particularly important role. That is why much attention was paid to the propaganda through the press, radio, cinema repertoires or speaking in public. In that respect, Serbian collaborators had a very important role in the spread of Nazism, as they often organised propaganda events or published their own newspapers.

In complex genocidal processes such as the genocide against the Roma, mass murder is the last phase of extermination of an ethnic, religious, political or other group. They are primarily an object of an ideology that identifies them as unfit, dangerous, responsible for everything bad that happens in society. When this ideology comes to power, as the nationalist ideology came to power in Germany in 1933, mass propaganda is being developed to convince all the other inhabitants of the truthfulness and accuracy of that ideology; this is followed by policies against that group; violence becomes legitimate and this group is completely separated from the others; the last step is, in certain circumstances, persecution, mass murder, establishment of death camps and an attempt to eliminate this group forever. In Serbia, this whole process happened very quickly: by the end of 1941 (less than nine months from the start of the German occupation) Roma were victims of mass deportations and executions.

For some officers, shooting was a kind of routine thing; soldiers, however, showed signs of distress after executing their orders: **"During the shooting, according to my personal observation, they do not feel any mental disturbance. They do, however, a few days later, when they start reflecting on it."** (From the report of Lieutenant Walter on a shooting carried out in Jabuka, Zbornik NOR (Collection of stories from the National Liberation War), volume 1, book 1, doc. 245).

Members of the SS units were the Nazi ideological stronghold. In occupied Serbia, by mid-February 1942, i.e. as the persecution of Roma was in full bloom, the main representative of the SS units was General Dr. Harald Turner.

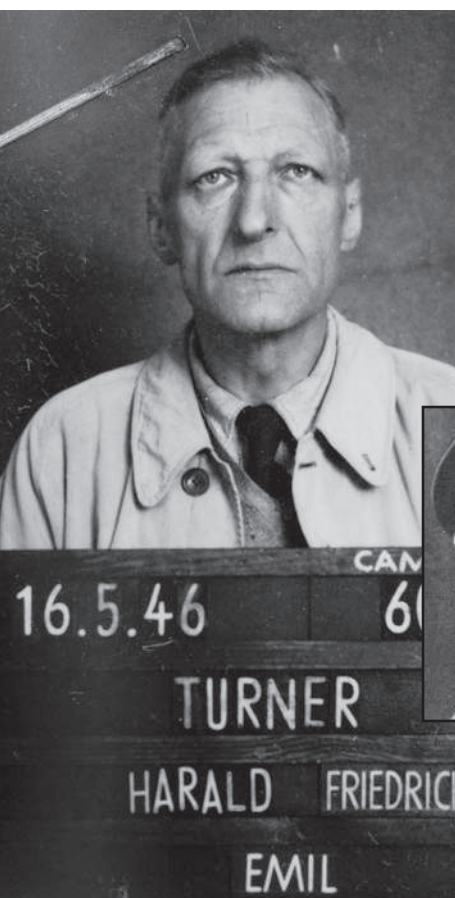


Figure 25 - Harald Turner



Figure 26 - Harald Turner after the arrest by the allied forces. He was extradited to the Yugoslav military authorities who tried him in Belgrade and sentenced him to death.

► The text taken from: R. Radle, M. Pisarri, *Mesta stradanja i antifašističke borbe u Beogradu 1941-1944. Priručnik za čitanje grada (Places of Suffering and Antifascist Struggle in Belgrade 1941-1944 A Belgrade Reading Companion)* Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Beograd, web site <http://www.starosajmiste.info/sr/multimedijalna-dokumentacija/prirucnik>



Figure 27 - Translation of Turner's order for the arrest of Jewish and Roma hostages.

Harald Turner, Biography: Born in 1891 in the German town of Leun, member of the Nazi Party since 1930, member of the SS since 1932. In 1936, he became a senior official in the Prussian Ministry in Finance under the auspices of Herman Göring. At the beginning of World War II, he served in Poland and France. In April 1941, according to Hitler's wishes, he was appointed Headquarters Chief of the Serbia Military Commander.

Turner's policy was based on two fundamental pillars: on the one hand, he insisted from the beginning on building a Serbian quisling administrative and police apparatus, unlike other high-ranking officers in the occupational system who did not trust the loyalty of the Serbian collaborators; while, on the other hand, he carried out a policy of destruction of all unreliable elements, Jews in particular. In August and September 1941, he had three unsuccessful attempts to force Felix Benzler, the German plenipotentiary at the Foreign Ministry in Belgrade, to carry out the deportation of Serbian Jews to Romania, Poland and Russia. During the mass shootings of Belgrade's Jewish and Roma men in the fall of 1941, Turner worked closely with General Böhmeby placing at his disposal the victims earmarked for shooting. His role was to be reconsidered following the arrival of a senior SS leader General August Meyszner in January 1942. He was tried in Belgrade on 9 March 1947 and was sentenced to death by firing squad.

Turner's statements about Jews and Roma (statements in line with Nazi ideology):

"We should start from the fundamental premise that Jews and Gypsies are, in general, an unreliable element and, therefore, pose a threat to public order and security. Jewish intellect is what started this war; it must be destroyed. Gypsies cannot be productive members of the community of nations in view of their spiritual and physical structure. It has been established that the Jewish element played an important role in the leadership of the gangs and that it was the Gypsies who were responsible for particular atrocities and carrying out of intelligence activities. Therefore, in principle, in any case, all male Jews and Gypsies are to be put at the disposal of the unit, as hostages. After all, there is intention that the wives and children of Jews and Gypsies be gathered in a concentration camp shortly and that this element of unrest thus be removed from the Serbian territory. " (Zbornik NOR, Collection from the NLW, volume I, book 1, doc. 234)

In addition to Turner, there was a whole chain of senior German officers, mostly members of SS units or the army, who committed genocide against the Roma. Among them were General Franz Böhme, Bruno Zatlner, Head of the Gestapo, commanders Schäfer and Fuchs, all through to Brosch and Herbert Andorfer, commanders of the Topovske šupe and Sajmište camps. Most of them were arrested by the Yugoslav authorities after 1945 and sentenced to death.

Confidential	
Commander plenipotentiary in Serbia Belgrade, (Serbian Command – Headquarters) Ref. no. 47/41, confidential	3 November 1941 20 copies 15th copy
Re: Arresting hostages	
TO ALL AREA COMMANDS	
With regard to my orders of 10 October 1941, No. 2848/41, conf. 2	
I hereby order that all Jews and Gypsies be immediately arrested and taken hostages. Should the enforcement of this order be impeded due to technical reasons, a report is to be submitted of it with exact number and place of residence Furthermore, a considerable number of Jewish and Roma women and children with residence are to be submitted and preparations are to be made for them to be transferred to a concentration camp near Belgrade. ³ The exact date is to follow.	
Deadline for their internment: 15 November 1941	
Responsible for accuracy Pötzke Military command secretary	Signed by Turner

The indictments almost never mentioned their responsibility for the genocide of the Roma. The same thing happened at the famous Nuremberg trials: no one was indicted for the mass murder of Roma. There is no explanation for this. No one felt the need to defend the Roma people, or to advocate that the terror committed against Roma be recognised or that the culprits be brought to justice.

THE ENACTMENT OF DEHUMANIZATION-INTRODUCTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF ANTI-ROMA LAWS

A team of students has prepared a lecture and/or presentation on the introduction of anti-Roma laws and their enforcement. After analysing selected quotations, photographs and documents, students draw conclusions about the legalisation of Roma dehumanisation.

"Gypsies shall be marked by wearing armbands which must also be yellow and bear the word "Ciganin" ("Gypsy"). Based on applications, Gypsies are to be registered into Gypsy lists".

"I hereby report that the culture department does not have any employees of Gypsy origin."

Dehumanisation is one of the key steps in the process that leads to the extermination of an entire nation. Permanent and persistently repeated claims that Roma are elements which were "naturally antisocial, dangerous, dirty", police control, forced displacement from the cities, comparison of the Roma (or other national, political, religious, sexual groups) with insects, produced a feeling of repulsion in other inhabitants. They began to look at Roma as "pests" that one should, at least, keep away from. Propaganda in this regard has an important role. However, systematic dehumanisation started with the legislation on the position of Roma, creating special orders for them separating them from other inhabitants. That is how their social isolation started.

"Permit for performing the editorial profession may be issued solely if the person is not a Jew or a Gypsy or if he is not married to a Jewish or Gypsy woman."
(Regulation on the press in Serbia, 20 May 1941)

"Jews and Gypsies, as well as persons married to Jews and Gypsies, cannot obtain a permit for managing an enterprise." (Regulation on the operation of the cinemas and renting movies, 22 May 1941)

"The order that refers to the Jews and the Gypsies" was published on 30 May 1941. This legal act prohibited that they be treated in hospitals, that they use public transport, they were expelled from public services. The obligation was introduced for them to wear a yellow armband with the word "Gypsy" on it and to engage in forced labour.

"Union of musicians for Serbia, joined as the "Jugorasa" section, hereby informs, this 19th of June, the Jewish and the Gypsy musicians that their music business is in contravention of the existing regulations, and that they will therefore no longer be allowed to work, so it is pointless that they address the Union". (From Jugorasa - Jewish and Gypsy musicians, "Novo vreme" (The New Times), 19 June 1941, p. 3)

All administrative structures, municipalities, post offices, schools, sports organisations, libraries, hospitals, immediately enforced these orders. The first step was to check and dismiss all employees of Roma origin. Each department of the municipality of the city of Belgrade, for example, sent an official letter to confirm that "there are no officials of Gypsy origin".

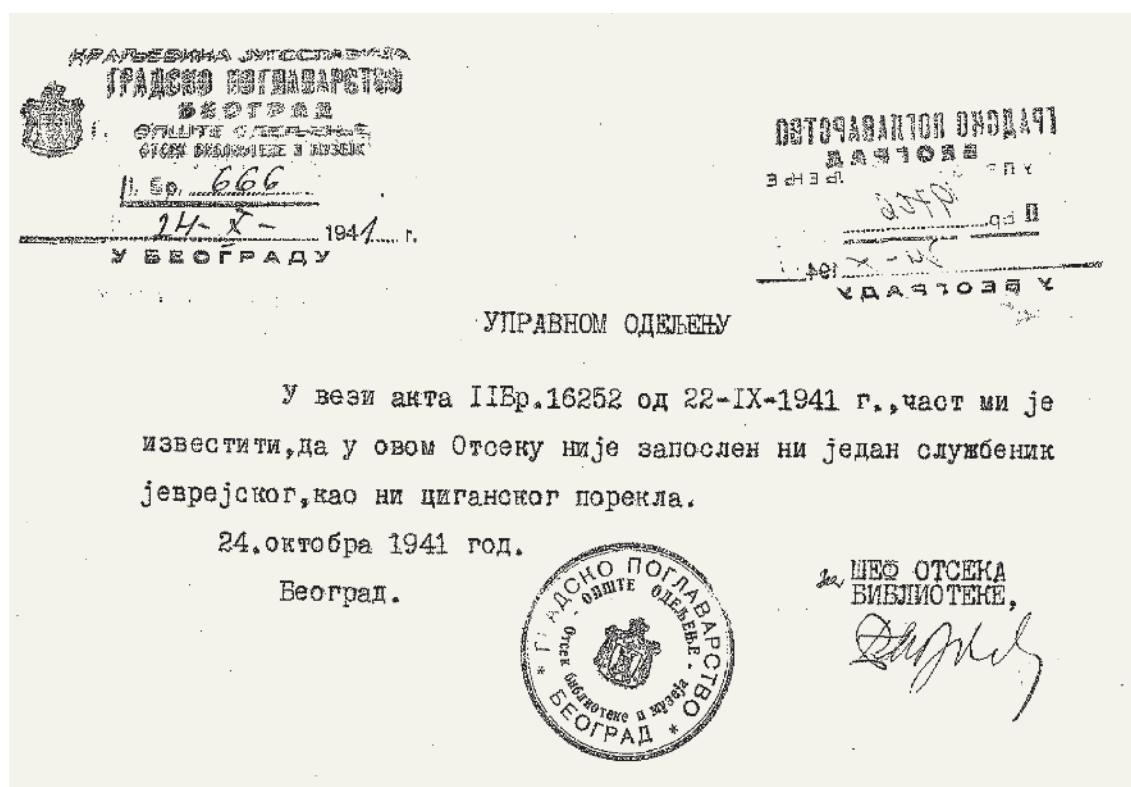
Following the introduction of these laws, the Roma remained completely separated from the others. They had no documents, they were not allowed to work or to move freely, to receive healthcare, to be supplied with food and other things like everyone else. They were no longer citizens, they had all their rights revoked. They were sentenced to isolation and marked with a yellow armband, making other people stop socialising with them and addressing them. In a word, they were dehumanised.

All those who wanted to get a job (any job), had to prove they had no Jewish or Roma origin (a written statement sufficed). In October 1941, Djuro Banjac, for example, Head of the Press department in the municipality of Belgrade, was appointed Chief Editor of the "Municipal Gazette", official gazette of the municipality of Belgrade. On that occasion, in the spirit of the new law, he had to declare that neither he nor his wife, nor their ancestors, had any Jewish or Roma origin:

A team of students has prepared a lecture and/or presentation on collaborators. For them, photographs and documents, students draw conclusions about the role of collaborators in the crimes against Roma.

Serbian organised collaborationist system worked at the service of the German authorities. There was a government with all the ministries (except the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence); there were local authorities (districts, municipalities); there were police forces (special police, gendarmerie, village guards). The collaborationist forces' task was to maintain order and stability in the country. Meanwhile, they promoted national socialism and organised the life of the population following the ideological principles of the Third Reich. Collaborators played a decisive role in the implementation of anti-Semitic policies that resulted in the mass murder of Jews in the fighting and reprisals against resistance fighters, in the organisation of forced labour, but also of the Roma genocide.

In Belgrade, members of the gendarmerie and special police arrested Roma in their homes and took them to camps (recall the story about neighbours Julka and Cveta and about Milorad from Mirijevo from the previous workshops). Many Roma personally knew the people who were arrested. In Kragujevac, Ljotić's men arrested Roma and exchanged them for Serbs (recall the story of the Aksentijević brothers from the previous workshop). After the war, like in the case of numerous German and other criminals, in Europe and in Yugoslavia, legal prosecution of those who had committed crimes against the Roma was dropped.



STUDENT PRESENTATION

COLLABORATORS - THEIR ROLE IN CRIMES AGAINST ROMA

Figure 29 - The Belgrade Municipality reports that it has no Jewish nor Gypsy employees left.

"... Preparations are being made to set up a special institute for racial-biological tests and to protect our people from all the bad influences of heritage and irregular cross-breeding." (Dr. Stevan Ivanić, Commissioner of the Ministry of Social Welfare, *Novo vreme* (The New Times), 19 August 1941.)

"In the context of new opportunities that you provide for us to autonomously manage the affairs of the Serbian people, we will advocate that the future of the Serbian people be built on the loyal and friendly cooperation with the German Reich, as well as its representatives in Serbia." (from the speech given by Milan Nedić on the occasion of the audience given to the new Serbian government with the German military commander in Serbia, 29 August 1941 *Zbornik NOR*, volume XIII, book 1, doc. 118 - Collection of the NLW, doc. 118)

"The Serbian nation is called upon to be the guardian of the Balkans and the gendarme for Central Europe, i.e. the Reich and its European plans. *"Nemačka obaveštajna služba* - (German Intelligence Service, volume VIII, the State Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the FNRY, The State Security Service, Belgrade 1956, doc. no. 145,) Nedić's understanding of the role of Serbia (note made by Hansa Rexeisen, SS captain, after a meeting with Nedić on 17 June 1943)

p. 40 image 28 - „Order relating to Jews and Gypsies“

Figure 30 - Head of the Press and and Tourism Department and editor-in-chief of the Belgrade Municipal Gazette statement that he is neither a Jew nor a Gypsy.

Изјава

У вези са. 2 шатке 1 Уредбе о шатки
у Рубији изјављујем да ни ја ни
моја жена нисмо Јевреји ни Гитани
ниш је ико од наших ђедака
био Јеврејин или Гитанин.
Ову изјаву дајем ипуну
на себе иују законску одговорност.

Београд
20 октобра 1941

Ђуро Р. Бањан
мед
Одсека за штампу
и књижевност Београдске
општине

Обећава потпис:

ДИРЕКТОР
УПРАВОГ ОДЕЛА
Ј. Р. Бањан

SHOOTING ROMA BECAUSE OF THE PARTISAN ATTACK ON THE VALJEVO GENDARMERIE COMPANY

Roma often helped the resistance movement. For example, in the villages, they used to hide or supply partisans with food. Because of their active role, the Nazis, especially collaborators, committed numerous crimes in retaliation.

On 12 September, in the village of Meljak, partisans carried out an attack against the Valjevo gendarmerie squadron. During the clash, as thoroughly reported by its commander, one communist was killed, while many were wounded, whereas one gendarme from the squadron was missing, and another wounded; according to the same commander, "roughly 40 bandits participated in the battle, assisted by villagers (Gypsies) of Meljak". (Zbornik NOR, volume I, Collection NLW, vol I, book 21, doc. 3) The following day, following orders by the City of Belgrade Administration, fifteen male Roma from the same village were interned at the Banjica camp. All were executed three days later.

THE SLAUGHTER OF ROMA NEAR ARANDELOVAC

Nikola Kalabić, in a the dispatch of 29 December 1943 informs Draža Mihailović about the massacre that was committed in the village of Kopljare. The largest number of victims were Roma who lived in the village. Kalabić wrote: "In Kopljare, 24 active communists were captured while sleeping and were slaughtered, 20 of them were Gypsies, who admitted they were the so-called 'jarugaši' ('ravine dwellers'), minding their household chores by day, staging action by night. I slaughtered them all."

(Zbornik NOR, volume XIV, book 3, doc. 52 Collection of documents and data on the NLW of the Yugoslav peoples XIV/3, Belgrade, 1983, p. 213)

EXCHANGE OF ARRESTED CITIZENS FOR ROMA

In Leskovac and Kragujevac, the Serbs were exchanged for Roma, following intervention from the local government: "After a few days of the death of a German major, the Germans, with the help of troops from the city guards captured a large number of citizens, over five hundred of them, in the streets and the houses in Leskovac. (...) I know also that the mayor, the said Mihajlo, along with the police clerk Tomović and some councillors, protested with the Kreiskommandant at least to exchange the captured citizens with

the Gypsies. This proposal was agreed upon by the Kreiskommandantand, instead of the citizens, the Germans, along with our soldiers, captured Gypsies in Leskovac, Vinarce and Pećenjeve, and they let our citizens go free."

(Statement by Stevan Cekić, former head of the city police in Leskovac. A), 110-582-37)



Figure 31 - Serbian collaborationists escorting a column of Roma.

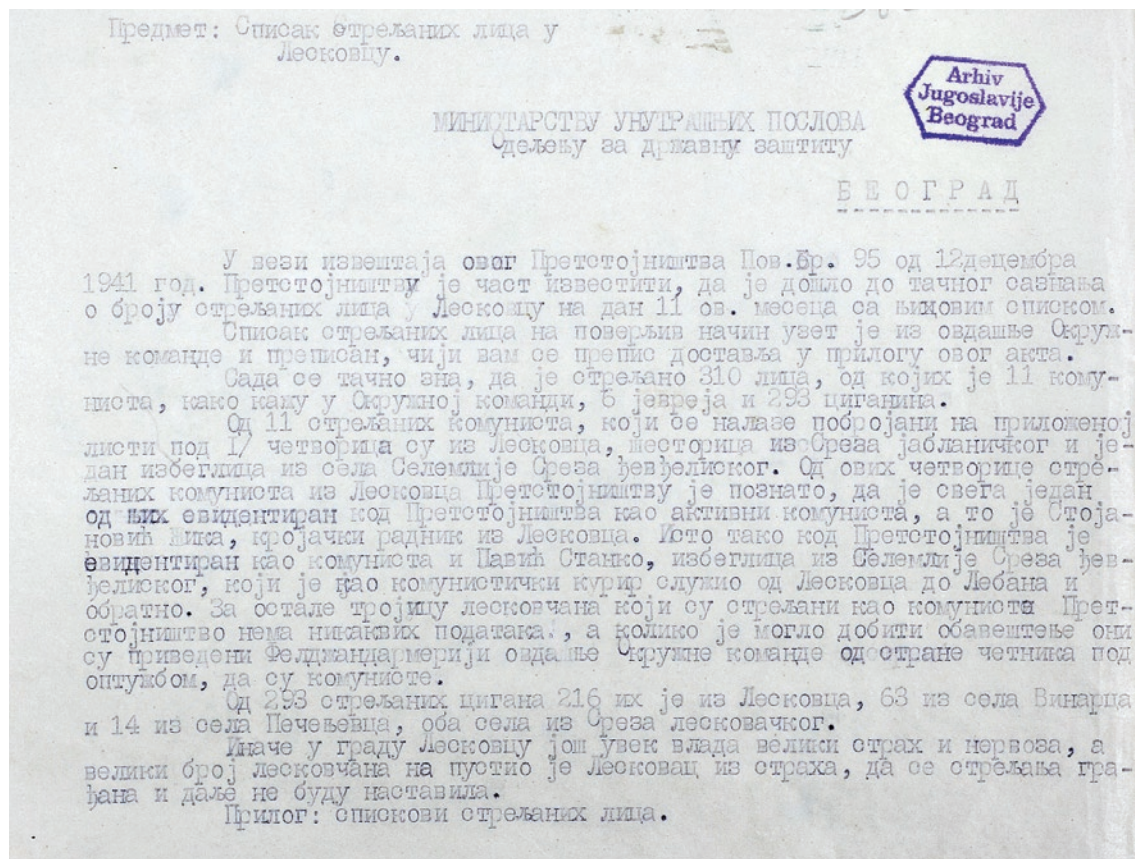


Figure 32 - Report of the Yugoslav Commission on War Crimes about the mass execution of Roma and others in Leskovac, on December 11th 1941.

CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE?

We research, along with students using the Internet: We determine the Roma killing sites in Serbia; which places of remembrance of the killing of Roma have been properly labelled? After research, if a killing site and memorial is located near a school, we will organise a visit.

The mass executions of Roma were carried out in Kragujevac, Leskovac, Šabac, Kruševac, Niš. In Belgrade, the Roma men who were arrested en masse in late October 1941 (recall the stories of neighbours Julka and Cveta from the previous workshop) were the first to be taken to the Topovske šupe camp, where they stayed for three days, after which they were taken to be executed in Jabuka, near Pančevo. This was the location of one of the largest execution sites, that is, a town which the German authorities chose to for the shooting. Women and children were interned in the camp at the Belgrade Fair. Most were released after several weeks or months, but many of them died from hunger, disease and cold. Roma who lived in Srem, then part of the Independent State of Croatia, were deported in 1942 to the Jasenovac death camp and killed there. None of them survived.

Questions for research on the internet in class:

- What is the date that Serbia marks as the Day of Remembrance of the Roma victims of World War II? (answer: 16 December)
- How was that date chosen? (The date was chosen because on that day in 1942 Himmler, one of the Nazi leaders, ordered the deportation of all remaining Roma who lived in the Third Reich to the death camp in Auschwitz)
- What is there now in Jabuka near Pančevo? (answer: the memorial complex of the killing site and the monument designed by architect Nebojša Delja; see link: <http://cieh-chre.org/jabuka/#/ms-16/1>)
- What monument exists in Kragujevac? (answer: Šumarice memorial park, and within it, the Stone Flower monument; see link: <http://cieh-chre.org/kragujevac/#/ms-16/1>)
- What is celebrated every 11 December in Leskovac? Local authorities, Roma associations and others lay wreaths at the killing site. There is also a monument, by architect Bogdan Bogdanović (answer: that is the date of commemoration of shooting of the innocent people. That day they killed 293 Roma, along with 11 Serbs and 6 Jews)
- Why is it important to commemorate the shooting in Leskovac important? (answer: the shooting in Leskovac is one of the many cases of responsibility of collaborators in the committed crimes. There is a short documentary filmed a few years ago; link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=36&v=69g1v87QkpQ)

At the end of the lesson, the teacher asks questions, directs the discussion, summarises, explains:

Culture of Remembrance is a complex term; it implies overall public use of the past. But in the narrow sense, the culture of remembrance, as a scientific discipline that studies the ways of social dissemination, shaping, maintaining, and processing history. Is only the state responsible for creating the culture of remembrance? Is genocide against the Roma sufficiently taught? Is it taught adequately? Are memorials decently marked? Can we contribute to the development of a culture of remembrance by learning and doing?

Why is it important to remember these tragic events? Why is it important to remember the victims - people against whom other people decided to apply discrimination, segregation, dehumanisation, violence, persecution and genocide? We remember so that we do not forget the victims; that we do not forget that their suffering was produced intentionally, that it is the result of certain politics, in this case, one that arose from the Nazi ideology; we remember that in certain historical circumstances, such as World War II, it



was quite possible to carry out the mass extermination of people, in a word - genocide.

We remember in order we understand that every person - that all people - are potentially exposed to genocide. The only way to avoid the repetition of a crime is to learn from the past. In our time, it means recognising the similarities with the first signs of discrimination, developing a culture of peace and solidarity, especially with those who are still victims of discrimination and violence. 11 million innocent people were killed during World War II just because of their diversity. It did not start with the killing. It started with the spreading of prejudices and hate speech.

KEY TERMS

SS - Members of the SS units. "SS" stands for "Schutzstaffel" (Germ. *Schutzstaffel* - \ *Defence Forces*). This is a large paramilitary organization, the spearhead of the National Socialist Party. The Germans believed that the SS was an elite unit because all its members were selected according to racial and ideological criteria. At the height of its power, SS numbered around 950,000 people, and its leader was Heinrich Himmler. SS played a key role in mass executions during the Holocaust. In addition to liquidations, they transferred the Jews to ghettos and concentration camps, burned and confiscated their property... SS is responsible for the deaths of more than 12 million people, mostly Jews, Poles, other Slavs and other racial or ethnic groups, such as Roma. They carried out the liquidation of the disabled people, mental patients, homosexuals, members of different religious groups and political opponents. Many branches of the SS were later indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity. After the war, the Nuremberg tribunal declared the SS a criminal organization due to the implementation of racial laws and genocide during the Holocaust.

DEHUMANISATION - loss of human qualities, inhumanity, savagery, lack of humanity (lat.)

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WHO PROTECTS THE RIGHTS

Objective: The purpose of this class is to identify discrimination and recognize various forms of discrimination against the Roma; identify links between discrimination and violence; introduce the idea of human rights and the development of human rights, sensitize students towards recognizing cases of violation of rights; introduce the institutional and non-institutional forms of human rights protection.

Context: The Roma are often victims of prejudice and discrimination and they were victims of genocide. Nazism has been discredited as a doctrine and as a policy, Nazi crimes have been convicted both morally and before the court of law. However, neo-Nazi and neo-fascist ideas and ideologies still emerge. Discrimination against the Roma based on ethnic and racial origin still exists today. In Serbia, as well as in Europe, there are still cases of individual or collective violation of the Roma rights. Each case of discrimination against the Roma is a precedent leading to new violations of the rights of all citizens. These criminal acts are sometimes sanctioned, sometimes not. Sometimes the perpetrators go unpunished. The public reaction is a matter of concern: there is usually indifference, lack of interest and often tacit approval.

Material: 6 texts (for groups of students) and "Key Concepts" (for each student)

STEP ONE

To start with, there is a focussed discussion with the students; students are first made aware of what rights they have and how free they are in exercising them; the teacher uses questions to guide the students towards understanding the concept of discrimination as denial of rights.

- What are all the citizens of Serbia, as a democratic country, entitled to? What, for example, are you entitled to do?
- Has someone ever prevented you to from doing something to which you were entitled, when, where and why?
- Has someone ever denied any one of your rights because of your ethnic, religious or racial origin?

STEP TWO

TASK

Print 6 short texts in several copies. Fold the texts along the dotted line and distribute them to pairs of students (or small groups).

Read the first part of the text (above the dotted line) and exchange views in a small group:

- Which Roma rights have been violated?
- How did this event happen?
- What were the motives of those who have violated the rights of Roma?
- What was the aim that guided them? Which attitudes guided their actions, what do we call such attitudes?
- Who should react in this situation?
- What could you do about it?
- What could your class do about it?

After a brief discussion, read the second part of the text. Observe the following: what was the reaction of the responsible authorities, government authorities, non-governmental organizations, how did the public react (did it react at all?)

Figure 33- Eviction of Roma population from Belville neighbourhood, Belgrade, 2012, detail.



[illegible]



NOVI SAD

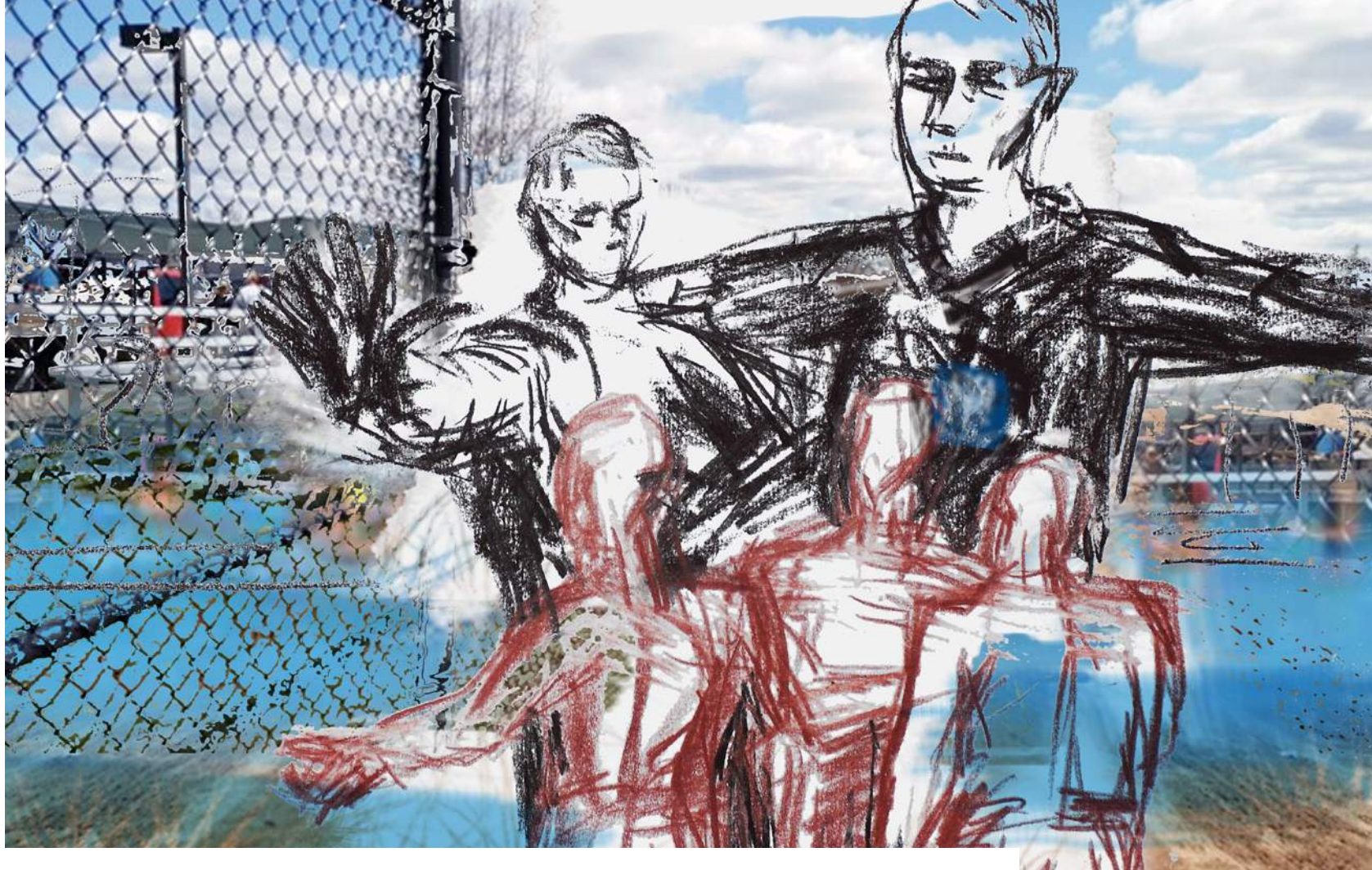
10 July 2012: Maja Rogic (32) told Beta news agency that she had approached children who had been playing at the Freedom Square, close to the McDonald's restaurant and asked them if they were hungry, to which they replied that they were.

"A boy (8 years old) and two girls (7 and 5 years old) were jumping for joy in front of me all the way to McDonald's where the restaurant security guard stopped them and told them that they could not enter. I walked up to him and said that I was with them and that I would pay for what they ordered, to which he said, "You can come in, they cannot," she said. She added that she decided to enter the restaurant after all because she did not want the children to suffer, as they were looking forward to the meal and even showed her what they would like to eat on the poster. "I walked in, bought them food, we sat in the McDonald's garden where they ate the meals," said Maja Rogic and showed a RSD 1,440 fiscal receipt that shows what the children were eating.

The Roma Minority National Council of Serbia condemned the act of banning Roma children from entering the McDonald's restaurant in Novi Sad and called on the authorities to investigate the case. "This act takes us back to the time of outspoken hatred and discrimination against the Roma," the statement read, noting that such an action must be condemned by all citizens of Serbia.

The Vojvodanski građanski centar (Vojvodina Civic Centre) strongly condemned the actions of the security guard of the McDonald's restaurant in Novi Sad: "This is just another in a series of similar cases and reveals an alarmingly high level of discrimination." It urged the authorities to investigate the case and called upon the McDonald's management to display a responsible attitude towards the event.

A lawsuit was filed against the "Najsfuds restaurants" company from Belgrade, the owner of the McDonald's restaurants in Serbia. Nevena Petrusic, Commissioner for Equality said: "We take up charges when we deem that there is a strategically important case. There should be no discrimination in the provision of services," said Petrusic.



At 13:15 hours on 8 July 2000, three Serbs and three Roma tried to buy tickets and to enter the swimming pool of the Krsmanovaca sports centre. The centre's staff, however, first asked the Roma whether they were Roma. When they said that they were, the staff said to them, apologetically, that, according to the centre's rules, Roma were not allowed access. The three Serbs asked for an explanation, but were also told that such were the rules of the Krsmanovaca sports centre.

Following the appeal lodged by the Roma with regard to the ban to use of the Krsmanovaca sports centre's swimming pool, this access testing of 8 July was carried out by the Humanitarian Law Centre in cooperation with the Roma Democratic Association and Oasis, Roma NGOs. They came to the conclusion that it was an extreme case of racial discrimination.

ŠABAC

The Humanitarian Law Centre vehemently condemns the practice of the Krsmanovaca sports centre and warns that banning entry to the pool to members of the Roma ethnic community violated the right to equality and human dignity, guaranteed by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia. This practice violated the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which stipulate the obligation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, party to the said Convention, to prohibit and eliminate racial discrimination and to provide equal conditions to enable all citizens the right of access to all places and services intended for public use.

In February 2004, the Sabac Municipal Court issued a judgment obliging the Jugent Company, owner of Krsmanovaca Sports and Recreation Centre to issue a public apology to the Roma who had been prevented from entering the pool.

It should be noted that the judgment of 6 February 2006 is the first sentence for this offense imposed before a domestic court. On 6 February 2006, the Sabac Municipal Court passed a judgment sentencing Bogdan Vasiljevic to a suspended prison sentence for the crime of violation of the equality of citizens, because he, as an employee working at the entrance to the Krsmanovaca Sports and Recreation Centre in Sabac, had not permitted the entry of three Roma to the swimming pool just because they were Roma.

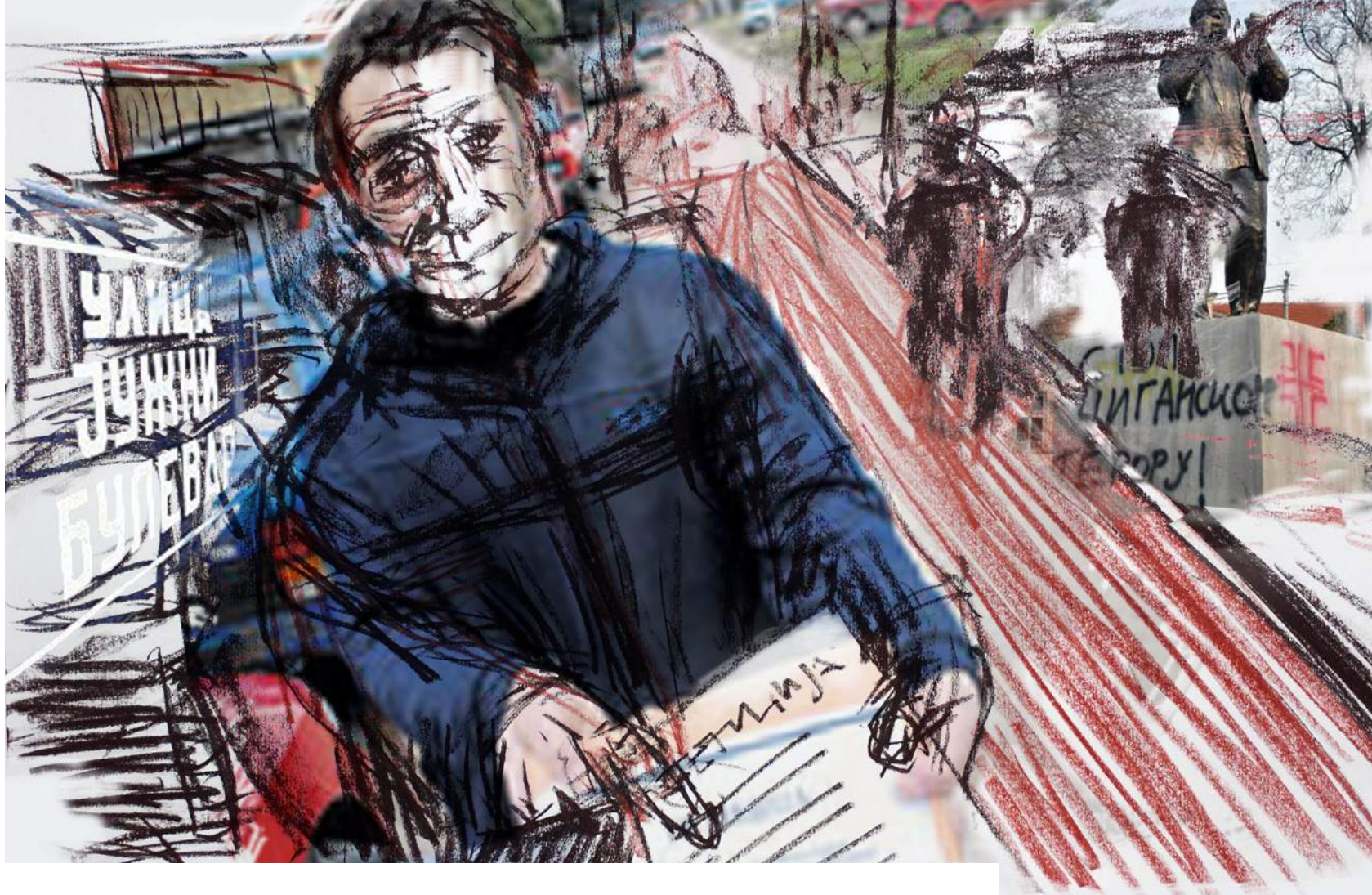


The Novi Sad City Administration for General Affairs rejected requests for subsequent registration of three “legally invisible” Roma, referring to the “current situation in Novi Sad, with an ever increasing influx of Roma people who claim that they and their children were born in Novi Sad”. Representatives of the city administration also pointed out the fear that the “hasty, irresponsible and reckless” acting on their demands would “cause a mass emergence of similar requests from Roma”.

NOVI SAD

Because of this, the PraxisNGO filed a lawsuit against the city of Novi Sad in October 2010 requesting the establishment of a discriminatory treatment of Roma. The Basic Court delivered a judgment which read that the city administration unjustifiably differentiating against these persons based on their ethnicity. “In this way, the city administration put them at a disadvantage in relation to other applicants who are not Roma, thereby committing an act of direct discrimination,” read the verdict’s statement of reasons.

The City of Novi Sad was found guilty of cases of discrimination against Roma in the procedures of subsequent registration in the birth register, according to the Praxis NGO from Belgrade. According to the press release, the Novi Sad Court of Appeal upheld the judgment of the Basic Court against the City Administration for General Affairs.



Saban Bajramovic is a singer once ranked among the top ten blues singers on the planet by the Time magazine, officially proclaimed king of the Roma music in India, composer of over 700 songs, a man whose rendition of the Djelem Djelem song was proclaimed anthem of all the Roma in the world. He was born in Nis and died in Nis, the town from which he did not want to leave.

In May 2009, the Nis City Assembly adopted the decision that the Juzni bulevar street were to carry the name of the legendary singer. And it all ended there. The Saban Bajramovic Boulevard exists, but only in the virtual world. It can be found on Google maps. In real life, in this street, there is still a sign with the name of Juzni bulevar. In March 2009, a citizens' protest was organized by Srdjan Ognjanovic: "It's not really a protest, more of a collection of signatures for a petition stating that the citizens do not want to change the name of their street. Changing the name will only entail new costs for all of us, starting from the change of address in personal documents, ID cards and passports."

NIŠ

The petitions and resistance of the residents were unsuccessful, so the address has already been changed in many personal documents, but they will not allow the street signs on their houses to be changed. This provoked complains from representatives of Roma associations and the civil society.

"Most of the Roma are used to that, it's part of our everyday lives. I think we should make the right diagnosis. The problem is in the majority population," said Osman Balic, the Jurom centre Director. "We should call a spade a spade. The fact is that some of our fellow citizens do not want to see a Roma name on the facades of their houses," said Dragan Djordjevic from the Nis Human Rights Committee.

Clubs, streets, some institutions are named after important people from Nis. Only the sign with the name of Saban Bajramovic is still missing. A dilemma remains of whether the problem is the administration or discrimination.



13 June 2017: A group of eighth graders in the Karadjordje elementary school in Belgrade beat a seventh grade boy and the reason for this violence, as witnesses claim, is his being member of the Roma minority. The boy was holding a Serbian flag in the courtyard and several eighth graders came up to him and said that he had no right to carry that flag because he was a "Gypsy". Then they started hitting and kicking him and even used a metal bar to try and choke him.

His class master Vladanka Jaksic said the injuries were not as bad as the motive for the incident. It's terrible that he was beaten for being a Roma - says Jaksic, adding that her student is a good and quiet child and that there were certainly no provocations on his part.

BELGRADE

The school psychologist Marina Buncic says: "The boy was holding a Serbian flag and felt like a citizen of Serbia, someone who cheers for this country, which is why he was attacked. This is a case of pure discrimination. They would not act in this way toward someone who is not a Roma. Roma are faced with discrimination in school and everywhere else. That is why they are timid and often go in groups in order to feel safer and more secure. Many do not continue further education, just because they feel threatened if they are the only Roma in their class. Imagine how many Roma children are terrified just because they heard that something like this had happened.

President of the Council for the Advancement of the Position of Roma, Nenad Ivanisevic condemned juvenile violence. He said that his peers should be ashamed and apologize for their shameful behaviour, stating that being a Roma does not mean "being from another planet" and that it was not his fault that he has a different colour skin and that he usually lives a harder life than others.

"We are not a nation that is racially bigoted. We have proven this throughout history. Serbia has always been a humane and hospitable country. These individual cases are reprehensible. They are also a warning that we need to teach our children on a daily basis to be human, because it is equally important as it is to betop students," stated Ivanisevic, and it was announced by the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs, in which he is State Secretary. He added that violence had never done anyone any good and that the boy was holding a Serbian flag as was done by anyone who loved and respected their country.

Brankica Jankovic, Commissioner for Equality strongly condemned this incident. "The fact that the violence happened in the school is a matter of concern, because that is exactly the place where children should be taught the values of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. The schools must work intensively on raising the awareness of young people about respecting the human rights of every individual. Every citizen who considered that they had suffered discrimination, on any basis, may lodge a complaint to the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality.



In August 2009, the transfer of Roma from the unhygienic settlement under the Gazela bridge was completed. Around 900 people were moved out of over 210 cardboard shacks. This allowed the reconstruction of the busiest bridge in Belgrade the works on which had been repeatedly postponed in the past. As the Belgrade Mayor Dragan Djilas, who visited this location recalled, this problem in the city has persisted for several decades.

A total of 114 families have residence in Belgrade and they remained in the capital, while 64 families were moved to the cities from which they came, mostly in southern Serbia.

26 vehicles of the Lasta transport company and 16 of the Belgrade public transport company were engaged for transportation of inhabitants from the settlement, and the remains of the landfill were rapidly cleared up by 38 public utility companies and one crane.

BELGRADE

Moving the Roma from the settlement by the Gazela bridge was carried out forcibly and illegally, said Sian Jones Amnesty International researcher for the Balkans. She said that the rights of the Roma residing around the Gazela had been violated because they were forcibly relocated and an alternative and adequate housing was not provided for them. She appealed to the authorities to stop forced evictions from Roma settlements in Serbia.

The national and Belgrade authorities have violated international conventions on the protection of human rights that they signed, believes Jones and announces that she will demand from the EU institutions to exert pressure to get this problem solved. She recalls that contracts have been signed with the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to provide adequate housing for Roma as a condition for obtaining the loan for the reconstruction of the Gazela bridge and city roads, but considers that it has not been respected. She points out that, in less than three hours, 114 families were displaced from under the Gazela bridge into metal containers, while the remaining 64 families were relocated to southern Serbia.

STEP THREE

The student groups debrief on each text they read, so that now the whole class has learned about all 6 cases.

Discussion:

- Have you ever heard of these cases?
- Has something about them surprised you?
- Have you noticed different levels of discrimination?
- In which cases did the individuals commit discrimination and in which cases was it done by an organizations and can you identify institutional discrimination?

The text entitled “**A Crime out of Hate**” is proposed. One student reads the text aloud in front of the whole class. Other students have the task to listen carefully and to consider how this case is related to the previous six, what is different about them and what connects them.





HATE CRIME

Dusan Jovanovic, a thirteen-year-old Roma boy was beaten to death on 18 October 1997 in the centre of Belgrade, at No. 30 Beogradska street, next to the house where he lived with his family. He was killed by two skinheads, Milan Cujic and Istvan Fendrik from Zemun, minors at the time. On his last evening, Dusan Jovanovic went to a drugstore to buy juice, and was beaten on his way back by four of angry thugs with shaven heads. They used fists and a dismantled gutter and then kept kicking him as he lay on the ground. The judicial epilogue included maximum prison sentences for older juveniles Cujic and Fendrik of ten years in prison, of which they served six. Their sentence was reduced by a special decision of the District Court in Belgrade. The two other thugs were not prosecuted.

The tragic murder of Dusan Jovanovic pointed to the connection between the neonazi ideology and the skinheads' practices. This is also the subject of the book entitled *"They Killed his Eyes"* by Rajko Djuric. *"We haven't had a racially motivated murder for fifty years in this area, someone said in the past month that shook the Roma community. It is true, the only thing is that the person who said it forgot (probably intentionally) to add the word publicly to this assertion. For there have definitely been racially motivated murders in this area, meaning in Belgrade and Serbia. They have happened but they have all been classified in all other ways, rather than on racial grounds"*.

On the tenth anniversary of the crime, a memorial plaque was placed on the site where the boy was killed. The people have gradually stopped talking about the anniversary of the murder and about one of many important reasons why the society should deal with the deep problems of racism, hatred and violence, especially among young people. Most of the media ceremoniously marked the murder anniversary in 2013 and it has since then rarely been mentioned.

In an interview in November 2010, **Vojin Dimitrijevic** (the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights Director), noted: *"Members of minority groups are victims of the culture of violence that was enthroned in the nineties. Let me recall young Dusan Jovanovic, who was killed in 1997 just for being Roma, the famous actor Dragan Maksimovic, who was beaten to death in 2000 because they thought that he was a Roma, Dejan Nebragic, who died in 1999 in Pancevo, following a series of threats he received as a gay and peace activist, Zivorad Siskovic, a sixty-year old boxing coach, who lost his life in 2002 while trying to protect a Chinese fan from the mob which found him to be a nuisance just for being racially different."*

Figures 34, 35 - Site of the killing of Dusan Jovanovic, Beogradska street, Belgrade.

Summing up and discussion with students:

- What could you do about it?
- Can we, as a class, do something?
- What does the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia say?

Students read Articles 21 and 22 of the Constitution; the teacher explains.

- The prohibition of discrimination (**Article 21**): "All are equal before the Constitution and law. Everyone shall have the right to equal legal protection, without discrimination. All direct or indirect discrimination based on any grounds, particularly on race, sex, national origin, social origin, birth, religion, political or other opinion, property status, culture, language, age, mental or physical disability shall be prohibited. Special measures which the Republic of Serbia may introduce to achieve full equality of individuals or group of individuals in a substantially unequal position compared to other citizens shall not be deemed discrimination."
- Protection of human and minority rights and freedoms (**Article 22**): "Everyone shall have the right to judicial protection when any of their human or minority rights guaranteed by the Constitution have been violated or denied, they shall also have the right to elimination of consequences arising from the violation. The citizens shall have the right to address international institutions in order to protect their freedoms and rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

CONCLUSION

Summing up, discussion with students about the question: who (should) protect human rights? The answer is: **Everyone!** Throughout guided and focussed discussion, the teacher summarizes and jots down important notes.

WHO (should) PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR COUNTRY

- courts
- constitution
- law
- police
- ombudsperson
- media
- NGOs
- citizens themselves

WHO PROTECTS HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

- the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg
- the UN Committee Against Torture
- the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- the UN Committee for Human Rights

THE TERM	THE TERM DESCRIPTION
Human rights	Human rights are rights of a natural, moral origin. This means that they exist regardless of whether the country in which one lives has recognized and prescribed them. They are equally recognized for all human beings, regardless of their origin, gender, religion or any other affiliation or characteristic. Ideally, human rights are recognized by laws and other legal documents, and their exercising is carried out within the framework of the law. The state is obliged to refrain from violations of human rights, to prevent and punish the violations of the law and to create conditions for their enjoyment.
Key international instruments protecting human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 ➤ The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 ➤ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 ➤ These documents are collectively referred to as the International Bill of Human Rights
Other international documents that protect human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Conventions of the International Labour Organization ➤ Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women ➤ Convention against torture and other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment ➤ Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, ➤ the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms ➤ UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education ➤ Convention on the Rights of the Child
International institutions that protect human rights	<p>Existence of any convention or pact entails the existence of an international institution (a court or a committee):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (founded in 1959) ➤ the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (established in 1960) ➤ the UN Committee for Human Rights (established in 1966) ➤ the UN Committee against Torture (founded in 1984)
The development of human rights	Despite the many existing international agreements and national laws, the development of human rights has not been completed. This is a dynamic process, linked to the development of civilization. That is why new human rights keep emerging. The new human rights cannot and should not eliminate the already recognized rights. Also, certain human rights should not be developed at the expense of others, nor can they be placed in a hierarchical order. Human rights are indivisible. Mechanisms of human rights protection are being developed along with the development of human rights.

IN THE JAWS OF PREJUDICE

Objective: The purpose of this lesson is confronting personal stereotypes and prejudices; deconstructing stereotypes and prejudices, detecting their connection with discrimination and violence; understanding the "pyramid of hate"; sensitizing students towards recognizing violence and discrimination in the media; recognizing the links between discrimination in real life and discrimination in the media; understanding that the media reflect an image of reality, but that they also contribute to the creation of that image; encouraging tolerance and acceptance of diversity, encouraging activism in students towards acceptance of diversity and human rights.

Context: All people are prone to prejudices. They are difficult to shake off because they are rooted in irrational opinions and because they are adopted on an unconscious level, at an early age. If we can't get rid of prejudices, what then can we do? We can try to understand where they come from, accept them as prejudices, i.e. reject them as the "truth", reveal them for what they are. Victims of prejudice are always "the others", "those who differ", those who we actually do not know, to whom we do not belong, from whom we differ. Although the international law and the constitutions of democratic societies prohibit discrimination and protect the right to equality, deep-seated prejudices against the Roma are viciously resilient and still exist. These are the same prejudices based on which Nazism once developed its ideology.

Material: "Quotations" (several copies), "Pyramid of hate" and "Key Concepts" (for each student)

STEP ONE

The questions for students have been adapted from the USC Shoah Foundation, The Institute for Visual History and Education.

A discussion with the students, instruction: by writing "yes" or "no" on the paper in front of you, please give your answers to the following questions (it is important to be completely honest, and no one will see your note):

QUESTIONS

- Have you ever told a joke that makes fun of people of different ethnicity, race, religious belief, gender or sexual orientation?
- Have you ever earned a nickname because of your different ethnicity, race, religious belief, gender or sexual orientation?
- Have you ever mocked someone who is different from you?
- Have you ever uttered a stereotype that generalizes all the people of a particular race, religion or sexual orientation (e.g. Black people are ..., Muslims are...)?
- Have you ever left someone out of some group activities because they were different from you, from the majority?
- Have you ever been left out of an activity because it involved a lot of people who were different from you?
- Have you ever been threatened by someone who was different from you, because of your differences?
- Have you ever been violent towards a person who was different from you?

STEP TWO

Print out the following quotations (left column) and hand them out to the students. Instruction for students: reflect on these poem excerpts, sayings, jokes, and comments from social media networks - have you ever heard or read them? Recount them in your own words, reconstruct their meaning, discover what kind of message they convey; which of them contribute to the creation of stereotypes or prejudices, and which contain hate speech, and thus constitute a criminal offense.

QUOTATIONS - FOR STUDENTS	RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MEANING – FOR TEACHERS
“When old Gypsy sweet cakes would eat all, off his wife he sends with a crystal ball...”	This nursery rhyme tells us that Roma women do fortune telling. In fact, it spreads the stereotype that Roma people have unconventional and disreputable occupations.
“A Gypsy goes to visit his brother in Germany. There is no room at his place so the brother books him a room in a luxurious hotel. Gazing at the shiny bathroom and a Jacuzzi, the Gypsy mutters: – Ah, too bad it’s not Sunday so I could wash myself...”	This seemingly harmless joke spreads the stereotype that Roma people do not maintain personal hygiene.
“A Gypsy asks his son, “You know the difference between ‘free’ and ‘for nothing’?” “I don’t,” replies the son. “How come? You, for example, you are getting an education free of charge, but for nothing.”	This seemingly harmless joke spreads the stereotype that Roma are uneducated people who avoid school.
“If Gipsy nomads take you away...”	In only 6 words of one verse, the popular song of Zdravko Čolic “You’re in my blood,” which has been sung by many singers, spreads the stereotype that all Roma people live as nomads, i.e. they have no place of residence, and also that Roma people kidnap children and young girls.
“As black as a black Gypsy”	This phrase may indicate the darker skin color of Roma people, but it certainly emphasizes the stereotype of the misery and poverty of the Roma.
“If you’re naughty, a Gypsy woman will come steal you away.”	This proverb suggests the “criminal nature” of the Roma. It is particularly dangerous that such a threat is used with small children, who unconsciously, at an early age, adopt a prejudice that all Roma steal.
“A Gypsy says to his sweetheart: First you were my sister, then my wife, and now my mother-in-law.”	This joke implies that Roma are promiscuous and incestuous. Spreading the prejudice of the wild sexuality of the Roma and their tendency to marry close relatives. It sends a message that Roma are immoral.
“I’m not racist, even Gypsies can come into my house.”	Although the speaker explicitly denies a racist attitude, he implicitly expresses it in the same sentence (“even Gypsies can come into my house” - which means that they should not, because they don’t deserve it, but I welcome them, and thus prove that I am tolerant”).
Zemun Polje: A Roma Ghetto - an Eyesore to Neighbours «626 families have moved to the Kamendin neighbourhood, in the municipality of Zemun, the city of Belgrade since 2007. There’s theft and disease, and a paedophile recently tried to rape a girl; (Vecernje Novosti, November 07, 2013)	A newspaper article, the title already reveals a prejudice being disseminated: the a Zemun Polje neighbourhood is called “a Roma ghetto” plagued by “disease, crime and paedophilia”.
“Gypsies are good for nothing but a bullet and being thrown in quicklime. They serve no other purpose. They are outrageous pests and parasites, they are worse than the dirtiest rats. Not only are they polluting our country, but also our Serbian nation through racial mixing.”	Hate speech; blatant racism, comparison with parasites (just like under Nazism) and a call for their annihilation (disguised as “Serbian patriotism”). This is hate speech and is classified as a criminal offense.

Suggested questions for discussion about the read texts

- What is the subject of these texts? Choose the words and phrases that are offensive.
- What is explicitly stated in the text, and what is implicit in the attitude of the author?
- What are the common stereotypes about the Roma, and what are the most common prejudices?
- What is the link between stereotypes, prejudices - discrimination and violence?
- What do you think, why people tell ethnic jokes about others, offend others or socially exclude them?
- Where do people learn not to respect people who are different from them?
- Can you give an example of a prejudice that you have learned through the media?
- Recall the 6 examples of Roma discrimination mentioned in the previous lesson. Do you think that something similar could happen in our school or in our midst?
- How would such a situation potentially affect the whole school?
- What could be done to prevent this situation from escalating? Who could stop it?

Suggested questions for discussion about the relationship between the media and prejudice

- Do such texts reflect social reality? Do such texts contribute to the spreading of stereotypes and prejudices?
- Do such texts contribute to the creation of social reality?
- How much do the media contribute to perpetuating and creating stereotypes, prejudices and thereby discrimination, or violence?
- Who is commonly the victim of discrimination?
- Can someone discriminate against members of a group, or commit violence against them, without being already prejudiced against this group?
- Have you heard of the Journalists' Code of Ethics and what is it?
- Look it up online, study it. Did the authors of these texts violate someone's rights?
- Can violence be verbal (swearing, insults, humiliation)?
- Do these texts inflict violence?
- How to recognize hate speech?
- Do these texts encourage violence against the Roma?
- Can you imagine reading such articles in the newspaper, would you react?



Suggestions for further activities

- Talk in small groups, formulate a complaint you would send to the newsroom, editor, author.
- Draft a complaint (an appeal against hate speech) that you would send to the Press Council:
<http://www.mc.rs/govor-mrznje-na-internetu.3542.html#373324>.
- Draft a complaint, or an appeal which you would address to the Office for Human and Minority Rights of Serbia: <http://www.ljudskaprava.gov.rs/sh/o-kancelariji/kontakt>.
- Draft a submission which you would address to the ombudsperson:
<http://www.ombudsman.rs/index.php/kontakt>.
- Send your complaints.



Resume

After analysing the offered texts and keywords, we noticed a link between real life discrimination and discrimination in the media. We have analysed the following terms: stereotype, prejudice, discrimination, anti-Gypsyism, racism, marginal groups, hate speech and public opinion. We asked ourselves, who is most commonly the victim of discrimination - marginal groups, such as Roma, ethnic minorities, religious minorities, sexual minorities; often the individuals who represent those groups, or take on their symbolic role, or groups, professions which protect and defend them, and are thus "siding with them". We investigated the role of the media - the media reflect the our everyday situation - if there is discrimination, the media reflect it. But the media can contribute to the appearance of new discriminatory practices, by influencing the shaping of attitudes and stereotypes, the spreading of hate speech and the shaping of public opinion. How does an attitude, an ordinary prejudice, lead to an act of violence?



VIOLENCE (a crime) - a criminal offense, and a "hate crime" is a an aggravated criminal offence against members of a particular group, precisely and solely because of their affiliation with that group.

DISCRIMINATION (act) - the highest level, the act of degradation, of insulting or denying of rights - it is preceded by prejudices.

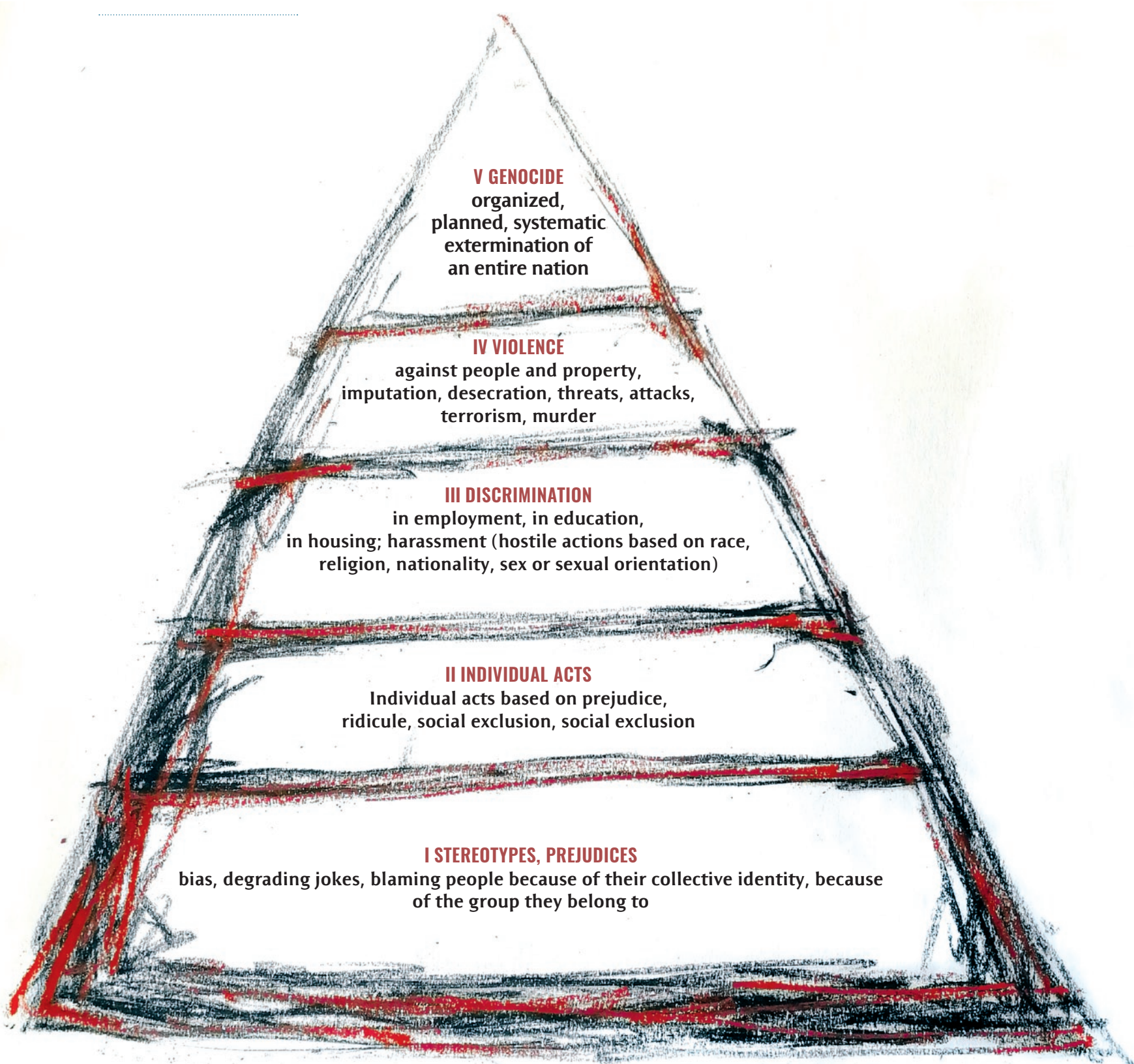
PREJUDICES (attitude, opinion) - are extremely negative attitudes, fuelled by hatred, opinions on certain groups; they always precede the act of discrimination.

STEREOTYPES (attitude, opinion) - are also simplified and over-generalized opinions, which are always contained in prejudice.

Following page

We will try and explain that through the example of the Pyramid of Hate: The Pyramid of Hate shows that when people accept a level of behaviour, it becomes easier to accept the forms of behaviour of the next level as "normal". This process of normalization has the potential to continue the progress through the Pyramid to the most aggressive and most horrible expression of prejudices at the very top of the Pyramid. Their inception was in the patterns of thinking that are described at the lower levels of the Pyramid.

PYRAMID OF HATE



The pyramid of hate and questions for discussion have been adapted from USC Shoah Foundation, The Institute for Visual History and Education.



Questions for discussion with students:

- Where did you place "gossip and ridicule" on the Pyramid of Hate?
- Why do you think something that initially seems quite naive and harmless, turns into violence?
- If it seemed harmless to the perpetrators and bystanders, do you think that is also what it seemed like to the victims? What do you think, how does the victim feel?
- What do you think, on which level of the Pyramid of Hate would it be easiest to intervene?
- What would be some possible ways of intervention?

STEP THREE

- Analyse and comment with students on Articles 48 and 49 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia:

Encouraging the respect of differences (Article 48): "The Republic of Serbia shall promote understanding, recognition and respect of diversity arising from specific ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity of its citizens through measures applied in education, culture and public information."

Prohibition of incitement of racial, ethnic and religious hatred (Article 49): "Any inciting of racial, ethnic, religious or other inequality or hatred shall be prohibited and punishable."

- With students, analyze and comment on the first article of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights:

"All human beings are born equal in dignity and rights."

- Analyse and comment with students on the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human rights: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."
- Analyse and comment with students on the excerpt from the book "Reflections on the Jewish Question," by Jean-Paul Sartre:

"Richard Wright, the Negro writer, said recently: 'There is no Negro problem in the United States, there is only a white problem. In the same way, we must say that anti-Semitism is not a Jewish problem: it's our problem. Since we are not guilty, and we are in danger of also becoming its victim, we really must be blind not to see how this is primarily our job. It is not, first of all, the obligation of Jews to form a league to fight against anti-Semitism, but ours (...) No Frenchman will be free as long as the Jews are not fully enjoying their rights. No Frenchman will be safe as long as even a single Jew in France and throughout the world, has to fear for his life.'"

- Analyse and comment with students on the verse of the poem by Miroslav Antic:

"We don't all dream the same dreams and that doesn't bother anyone.
Why then does it bother everyone when we are differently awake?"

KEY TERMS FOR CLASS WORK

(PRINT FOR
EACH STUDENT)

STEREOTYPES - An overly simplified, often inaccurate image we have of the members of a group which is difficult to change. They are an integral part of prejudices, because the convictions we hold about a group are always in accordance with the feelings that we have towards the group.

PREJUDICE - An unjustified negative attitude towards someone or something. Prejudices are usually difficult to change and based on wrong convictions. It is coupled with strong negative feelings (aversion, hostility, hatred, contempt ...).

DISCRIMINATION - (lat. *discriminare*) discriminate, distinguish. Indicates the behaviour that follows prejudice (a form of practical action under the influence of or on the basis of prejudice). It is a public display of negative feelings towards members of a group or treatment of people in an unfair or degrading way, just because they belong to a group (gender, racial, ethnic, religious discrimination or discrimination based on political opinions). This is a denial of the rights of individuals and groups because of something that makes them different from us. However, in spite of legal regulations, i.e. prohibition of open discrimination, diverse forms of covert, non-institutionalized discrimination often occur. Discrimination can be prompted by prejudice.

MARGINAL GROUPS - Social groups pushed from the centre of social life to its margins and to whom access to important social positions and various forms of power (economic, political, symbolic) is denied. They are most often minority groups, however size is not crucial (for example, women are the most numerous marginal group). They can be formed on economic, racial/ethnic, cultural or any other grounds, and it often comes to the accumulation of different characteristics (e.g., Roma). They are often the target of stigmatization.

ANTI-GYPSYISM - A relatively new term for an old social phenomenon, for hatred, marginalization and persecution of the Roma in the world. The history of this people is full of violent migrations, exile and resettlement in new territories. They have always been seen as foreigners, vagabonds, criminals, and in European countries we can find legal provisions, dating back to as early as the 14th century, that allowed discrimination against the Roma.

According to the definition of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) from 2011, anti-Gypsyism is a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination.

RACISM - The name for an ideology that considers that "race" is the foundation of human society, and that the affiliation of a person to a particular "race" must be the basis of his/her social position. Racism often implies that some races are considered superior over others, considered inferior. Racism is sometimes simply defined as racial intolerance. Although it existed earlier in certain forms, racism as an ideology came to the fore in the 19th century under the influence of scientific advances that gave the various authors of racism theory a scientific basis. The most famous example is Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution which racists applied to the relations among different races. Additional incentive for racism was imperialism, thanks to which the "white countries" in Europe and the United States gained control of a large number of subjects of the black and yellow races whose enslavement was ideologically justified by racism. Racism sometimes assumed its institutional form, especially in mixed environments where racial segregation and racial discrimination were enforced. The most famous examples are the southern states of the United States until the 1960s, and South Africa under the apartheid regime. Racial theory was used in America to explain why some, contrary to universal equality, are not equal to everyone else. People were not enslaved because of their race, race was invented to justify slavery. The theory of Aryan racial superiority was part of the Nazi Germany's official ideology from 1933 to 1945. The Nazis used it to justify the policy of extermination of Jews, Roma and other "non-Aryan races."



RACE - The International Conference “Against Racism, violence and discrimination” was held in 1995 in Stadtschlaining. The revolution in our understanding of population genetics and molecular biology has led to an explosion of knowledge about living beings. Among the ideas that were fundamentally altered are concepts of human variation. The concept of “race”, which was uncritically transferred from the past to the twentieth century, is completely outdated. Despite this fact, the concept of “race” has been used to justify human rights violations. An important step in the prevention of misuse of genetic arguments is the replacement of the outdated concept of “race” by ideas and conclusions based on the contemporary understanding of genetic variation and applied to human populations. Racism is the belief that human populations differ in hereditary traits of social importance, thus making certain groups superior or inferior to others. There is no convincing scientific evidence that this belief is valid. This document argues that there is no scientifically substantiated way of characterizing human diversity by using rigid terms of “racial” categories or the traditional concept of “race”. So there is no scientifically valid reason to continue using the term “race”. The term “race” is disappearing from scientific, cultural, and even political discourse. It is only racism that remains.

PUBLIC OPINION - An important factor in social and political relations in contemporary society; it is of contradictory and complex character. As a rule, it is formed as a response to a specific event or phenomenon. The passive attitude of public opinion is amplified by the effect of mass propaganda and incitement, by which it is modelled, whereby all means available are used. The means of mass communication have a decisive role here.

HATE SPEECH - Any form of expression that encourages, promotes or justifies intolerance, discrimination and hostility towards a member of another race, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, origin and other personal characteristics of an individual or group. Hate speech can be recognized by its aim to cause negative consequences in the form of marginalization of an individual or group, depending on their personal characteristics or background. Hate speech is manifested by:

- creating contempt for a person or group;
- creating negative stereotypes towards a particular individual or group;
- incitement of discrimination and hostility;
- condemnation of a person or group by society;
- causing feelings of insecurity and fear in a certain individual or members of certain groups;
- causing physical and psychological pain to a certain person or member of a certain group;
- issuing threats to a particular individual or group;
- incitement and induction of violence towards a person or group;
- creating an impression among a large group of citizens that such behaviour towards a certain person or group is socially desirable and justified;
- creating an impression among a large group of citizens that such behaviour will be tolerated, and not be subject to liability.

➤ Personal characteristics of an individual or affiliation to a particular vulnerable group is essential in determining the term **hate speech**. The message expressed in hate speech is always directed towards personal characteristics or a specific aspect of a vulnerable group.



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Figure 1 – Map adapted from:
(<https://mathildasanthropologyblog.wordpress.com/2009/01/07/the-romani-dna-language-and-history/>)

Figure 2 - <https://www.discogs.com/artist/2398960-Jarko-Jovanovi%C4%87-Jagdino>

Figure 3 - Historical Archives of Belgrade (HAB), a-V-126

Figure 4- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/photo/camp-for-roma-gypsies-at-marzahn>



Figure 5 - Map adapted from United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_nm.php?ModuleId=0&MediaId=353

Figure 6- Musum of the City of Belgrade (MGB), Yp 11342

Figure 7 - photo: Nikola Radić Lucati

Figures 8, 9, 10, 11 - Dragan Đorđević family album



Figure 12 - Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ), 110-273-943

Figure 13 - photo: Nikola Radić Lucati

Figure 14 - photos taken from Wikipedia

Figure 15 - <http://www.mc.kcbor.net/2011/07/12/donja-bela-reka-danas-slavi-prevodski-potok/>



Figure 16, 17 - Memorial Museum 21st of October, Kragujevac, photography collection

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Figure 19 - Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ), 110-575-469

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Figure 27 - *Zbornik NOR*, Collection of NLW, vol I, book.1, doc. 262

Figure 28 - „Novo Vreme“, 1. June 1941

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Illustrations: Nikola Radić Lucati



Milovan Pissari,
PhD historian and director of the Centre for Public History

Slađana Miladinović,
pedagogic assistant, activist at the „Romanipen“ NGO

Božidar Nikolić,
pedagogic assistant, executive director of the „Romanipen“ NGO

Nada Banjanin Đuričić,
sociology professor at the Railways Technical School in Belgrade

Nikola Radić Lucati,
visual artist, founder of the Center for Holocaust Research and Education

Maja Jovanović,
author, pedagogic assistant, Roma language teacher

Rajko Jovanović,
author, and journalist, court interpreter for Roma language

Irena Žnidaršić-Trbojević,
conference interpreter, literary translator and editor

Hristina Piskulidis,
philologist and proofreader for Serbian language and literature, feminist and LGBT activist

Srđan Hercigonja,
political sciences MA, project manager at forumZfD Serbia

Milica Cimeša,
History MA at University of Vienna with focus on East-Europea and theory of the culture of remembrance

Marijana Stojčić,
sociologist, researcher, human and minority rights coach

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For use outside the scope of the licence, please contact:

Center for Holocaust Research and Education:

www.cieh-chre.org

cieh1chre@gmail.com

+38163247856

Frageron Thomas

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