

# Lamed-E

*A Quarterly Journal of Politics and Culture*  
Selected and Edited by Ivan Ninic

Winter 2019

Number 45

## Dan Reisinger 1934-2019

Dan Reisinger (Hebrew: דן רייזינגר) (born 1934 in Kanjiža, Serbia) is an Israeli graphic designer and artist.

Reisinger was born in Kanjiža, Serbia, into a family of painters and decorators active in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans. Most family members died in the Holocaust, including his father. As a teenager, he became active in the Partisan Pioneer Brigade and, with his mother and stepfather, immigrated to Israel in 1949. Reisinger initially lived in a transit camp and then worked as a house painter in order to earn money from almost any source. In 1950 at age 16, he was accepted as a student—its youngest up to the time—at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem, there to 1954.

During mandatory service in the Israeli Air Force from 1954, he was the art director of its books and other publications. While there, he attended a class on postage-stamp design taught by Abram Games, who became his mentor and friend. Subsequently, he traveled, studied, and worked in Europe: from 1957 in Brussels and then onto London where, 1964–66, studied stage and three-dimensional design at the Central School of Art and Design, designed posters for Britain's Royal Mail, and worked for other clients while making intermittent visits to Israel. Then in 1966, he returned permanently to Israel and established a studio in Tel Aviv and today in Giv'atayim.

His work has been included in numerous international group and one-person exhibitions. A large number of social-, political-, and cultural-theme posters and other graphic design, such as calendars, packaging, and more than 150 logos are superior to much of his fine art. He designed a new logo for El Al airlines (1972), and the 50-meter-long aluminum-cast relief (1978) of a biblical quotation in Hebrew on the exterior of the Yad Vashem, Israel's official museum/memorial to Holocaust victims, in Jerusalem. He has also designed logos for the Tel Aviv Museum of Arts, Tefen Museum of Arts, and Habima Theater ( הבימה -

התיאטרון הלאומי) and the symbol and posters of the 9th-15th Maccabiah Games (מכבייה).

His widely published self-produced “Again?” poster (1993) features a Nazi swastika (which Reisinger incorrectly made to face left) breaks apart to 5 pointed red Star of soviet union in reference to the possible dreaded repeat of the Holocaust. The influences on his work—itself more widely focused than solely on social and political issues—have come from colorists, Minimalists, Constructivists, and humorists. He claims one of his more significant contributions has been to stretch the visual and communicative possibilities of Hebrew letters through his symbols and logos. Reisinger is one of Israel's most-accomplished graphic designers; the others include Franz Kraus (1905–98), Gabriel and Maxim Shamir (1909–92, 1910–90), and David Tartakover (b. 1944). Reisinger designed the three IDF decorations the Medal of Valor, the Medal of Courage and the Medal of Distinguished Service.

### Awards

1954 [Herman Struck Prize](#) for poster design, [Bezalel Academy](#) of Art and Design, Jerusalem

1957 - First prize for the poster of the Palais International de la Science, [Expo 58](#), Brussels

1974 [Nordau Prize](#) for Design

1981 [Herzl Prize](#) for Contribution to Design in Israel

1984 First Alumni Prize, Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem

1998 [Israel Prize](#) for design,<sup>[1]</sup> the first award of such prize to a designer

Knights' Cross of the Order of Merit, Republic of Hungary

### Wikipedia



# The Ubiquitous Gabirol

By Stuart Schoffman

In 1931, Shmuel Yosef Agnon moved with his family to a new house in Talpiot, at the southern edge of Jerusalem. It was there that the great Hebrew writer learned of the Nazi murder of the Jews of his home city of Buczacz in Polish Galicia, today Ukraine. In 1944, he published a story fragment, merely six paragraphs long, in the literary journal *Moznayim*. It was called “*Ha-siman*,” meaning “The Sign.”



Shmuel Yosef Agnon

The first-person narrator sits in the *beit midrash* alone, reciting *Azharot*. He is amazed to see a “holy man of God” standing over him. The holy man has a question: Do Shabbat prayers in this shul include *piyyutim*, liturgical poems? Here it’s not customary, the narrator admits.

“And where do they recite *piyyutim*?” inquires the man. “I remembered my city, its forests and waters, and our big synagogue,” writes Agnon, and the *hazzan* who knew the poems by heart “because the pages in the old siddur were soaked with tears, illegible.” Says the narrator to the visitor: “There are places where they recite *piyyutim*, they do it in my city.” Visitor: “And what is the name of your city?” “I answered in a whisper: Buczacz is the name of my city.”

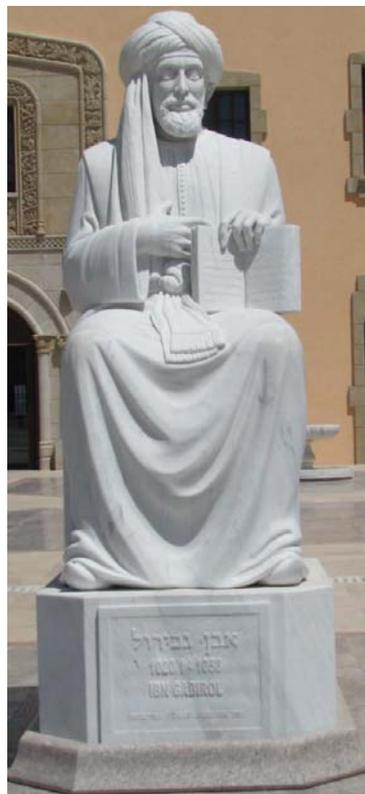
And tears flowed from my eyes over the tragedy that had befallen my city, and I did not know if it still existed. He nodded his head and said, *Buczacz*, *Buczacz*, and his voice was touched with rhyme, and I knew that this was *Rabbeinu* Shlomo ben Yehuda Gabirol of blessed memory, whose *Azharot* I had recited . . .

*Rabbeinu* Shlomo said, I will make myself a sign. So that I will not forget the name of your city. I stood in awe. Was my city so important that he wants to make a *siman* for it?

Shmuel Yosef Agnon, 1945. (The David B. Keidan Collection of Digital Images from the Central Zionist Archives via Harvard University Library.)

Gabirol plunges into poetry, writes Agnon, *medabek atzmo be-charuz*: glued to his craft, beading words with devotion. He composes an acrostic, beginning with “Blessed are you of all cities, Buczacz,” transmuting the remaining letters of the name into a perfect poem. But the mystical visitation ends, and the narrator can’t remember the next six lines.

The towering medieval poet will be on my mind as I search my soul on Yom Kippur. His best-known work, *Keter Malkhut*, a magisterial meld of Jewish theology, Ptolemaic cosmology, and personal confession, is read on Kol Nidre night in various communities. A tiny sample, as translated by Peter Cole: “Who could speak of your wonders, / surrounding the sphere of fire / with a sphere of sky where the moon / draws from the shine of the sun and glows?” As Ismar Elbogen wrote in 1913, in his classic *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*: “No other Hebrew poet knows how to strike so exactly the tone of prayer.”



Shlomo ibn Gabirol statue, Caesarea, Israel

Little is known of his life. Born in Malaga in 1021, 1022, or maybe 1026, Solomon ibn Gabirol lived in Saragossa and died circa 1057 or thereafter, maybe in Valencia. “All that can be said of him with certainty must be gathered from casual utterances scattered

through the multitude of his verses,” wrote Israel Zangwill in his *Selected Religious Poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol*. He was orphaned young and suffered from a painful skin disease. His massive *Azharot* (literally, “Warnings”) is a verse rendition of the 613 Torah commandments, all the dos and don’ts in a dazzling acrostic that Gabirol wrote when he was 16, or so we are told.

He has been ubiquitous for centuries, from *piyyutim* in Orthodox shuls to 11 poems in the supplementary readings of the Reconstructionist *Sabbath Prayer Book* (1945) to the beloved “*Shachar avakeshkha*” (“At Dawn I Seek You”) for Shacharit in the Israeli Reform siddur we use at Kol Haneshama in Jerusalem. Ibn Gabirol was also a prolific secular poet and a neo-Platonic philosopher famed in the Christian world as Avicbron, the author of the treatise *Fons Vitae* (*The Fountain of Life*), known as *Mekor hayim* in its Hebrew translation and *Yanbû’ al-hayâh* in the original Arabic. *Mivchar ha-peninim* (“A Choice of Pearls”), a rich collection of ethical adages adapted from Arabic, has long been attributed to Gabirol, though his authorship has been debated by modern scholars. But I say, when it comes to Gabirol, print the legend.

For example, how did he die? Nobody knows. In the introduction to his elegant translation of *Keter Malkhut, The Kingly Crown* (1961), the orientalist Bernard Lewis remarked on “the usual encrustation of fact with myth and interpretation” that frustrates the Gabirol scholar. One famous story, wrote Lewis, “tells of how he was murdered by a jealous Moor, who buried his body under a fig-tree, and was later betrayed when the tree bore an incredibly rich harvest of fruit.” Elsewhere, I have read that the fruit miraculously appeared out of season and that the “Ishmaelite” was hanged Haman-style from that very tree. In any event, by most historical accounts, the extraordinary poet was not a likable fellow. Peter Cole, in his justly acclaimed Gabirol volume, titled his clever introduction “An Andalusian Alphabet.” It begins with “Abu Ayyub Suleiman ibn Yahya ibn Jabirul”—*Rabbeinu Shlomo*’s Arabic moniker—and charts an acrostic road to Z for Zygote (i.e., the poet’s creative hybridity). Cole’s J section is titled “Jerk”:

The stench of his boasting and sense of self-worth, his truculence and misanthropy, his inability to sustain friendships or stay in one place for any length of time, even his essential sense of the world and time and fate as hostile—all the evidence points to his having been, as [John] Berryman said of Rilke, a jerk.

This belligerent Gabirol is a far cry from the mystical *maggid* of Agnon’s lachrymose story, but it fits the legend of a violent death. Consider, too, Zangwill’s

translation of “*Sha’ar petach dodi*,” a well-known *piyyut* recorded by the Israeli rocker Berry Sakharof:

Open the gate, my love,  
Arise and open the gate,  
For my soul is dismayed  
And sorely afraid  
And Hagar’s brood mocks my estate.  
The heart of the hand-maid’s sons  
Is hateful and haughty grown,  
And all because of the cry  
Of Ishmael piercing the sky,  
Ascending and reaching the Throne.

Cole’s translation is faithful to the Hebrew: “mother’s maid” (*shifhat immi*) in lieu of Hagar, “her child” and not Ishmael, but the point is still clear. Muslim Spain was a perilous place, no less than Palestine in the 1940s.

My first exposure to the immortal poet came in Flatbush in the pages of *The Great March: Post-Biblical Jewish Stories*, a two-volume set of dramatic tales aimed at third and fourth graders and published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in the 1930s. Thanks to my pluralistic parents, by age 10 I knew all about Rabbi Akiva and Saadia Gaon, Shabbtai Zevi and Captain Alfred Dreyfus. But the yarn I liked best was “The Wondrous Tree,” an exciting adaptation of the murder of Solomon ibn Gabirol, written by Rose G. Lurie.

In the opening scene, a Spanish Jewish shopkeeper chats with an “Arabian poet” who dashes off a doggerel couplet: “*Ibn Gabirol—a great Jewish poet is he, / But Ibn Gabirol a great poet must not be.*” What was that about? asks the shopkeeper’s wife. Her husband replies: “Oh nothing! He’s just jealous of us Jews. They all are. And since he is a poet – he is especially jealous of Gabirol.” Cut to several years later. Gabirol “suddenly disappeared” and a “wonderfully beautiful tree had sprung up” beside the house of the Arab poet. Everyone comes to marvel at the tree, including the curious Caliph. He orders a laborer to dig, and lo, they find the corpse of Ibn Gabirol. The shopkeeper pushes through the crowd, tells the Caliph he knows who killed him. He recounts his chat with the poet: “He sat there a long time and spoke to me about the Jews in Spain. He thought they were getting altogether too great and too rich.” The Arabian protests his innocence. He is whipped with a bamboo stick and confesses. “The Arabian was hanged. And Ibn Gabirol, whom he had slain, lives on forever and ever because of his beautiful poems.” Imagine the indelible impression on a yeshiva boy of the 1950s: it’s all about jealousy.

In 1962, four years before his Nobel Prize, Shmuel Yosef Agnon published a new version of “*Ha-siman*”

("The Sign"). It was later included in a hefty posthumous collection of Agnon's Buczacz stories, *Ir u-melo 'ah*, edited by his daughter, Emuna Yaron. (Published in English as *A City in Its Fullness*, it was edited by Alan Mintz and Jeffrey Saks; the excellent translation of "The Sign" was done by Arthur Green. The book was reviewed in our pages by Ruby Namdar.) The author in his seventies, pondering the Holocaust in his Bauhaus home in Talpiot, expands six paragraphs into the full complexity of his life. The Hebrew speaks volumes in the first sentence:

In the year when we heard that all the Jews in my city had been killed, I was living in a neighborhood of Jerusalem, in a house I had built after the riots of *tarpa* "t [5629], equal in gematria to *Netzach Yisrael*. Shoah, Jerusalem, and God are the DNA of the longer story. The date of the 1929 Hebron pogrom corresponds ironically in Hebrew numerology to the name of the Almighty. The Orthodox Israeli narrator, celebrating Shavuot in a fragrant, vulnerable garden suburb, revisits his Buczacz boyhood. "*Ha-siman*" redux, composed of 42 short, lyrical chapters, is lush with *simanim*.

I will focus on a fleeting reference in chapter 32 (equivalent in gematria to the word "*lev*": the heart of the matter). Agnon's autofictional narrator imagines himself in the little shul in his home city. There he sees Hayim the beadle, scrolling through a Torah to the next day's portion, and Shalom the shoemaker, sitting and reading the book *Shevet Yehudah*, "just like he did when I was a boy, reading *Shevet Yehudah* with a pipe in his mouth." Shalom puffs on his pipe, but it's empty. Hayim and Shalom (meaning "life" and "peace") confirm the liquidation of the Jews of Buczacz: Not even a minyan was left. *Shevet Yehudah* ("Scepter of Judah"), the popular 16<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle of calamities from Titus to Torquemada, is a perfect prop for the chilling scene, as Agnon converses with the dead.

The author of *Shevet Yehudah* was Solomon ibn Verga, another Spanish Jew with a murky life story. Expelled from Spain in 1492, forcibly baptized in Portugal, he apparently wrote his book in Turkey, attributing its content to his "wise master, Don Judah ibn Verga." It was edited and published posthumously by Solomon's son Joseph in 1554 in Adrianople; it was translated into Yiddish to broaden the readership (Krakow, 1591). The author, whoever he was, seeks to know: Why the Jews? "*Lo asah chen le-khol goy*," he laments, turning Psalm 147 on its head: God did not treat any other people as harshly, "though they were more sinful than the Jews!" But *Shevet Yehudah* is a tricky, postmodern hybrid, way ahead of its time. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, in his modern classic *Zakhor*, described the book as "a precociously

sociological analysis of Jewish historical suffering generally, and of the Spanish Expulsion, in particular, expressed through a series of imaginary dialogues set within the framework of a history of persecution." Ibn Verga floats a theory in a fictional episode starring a "great and gracious" Spanish king called Alfonso and his confessor-adviser, a churchman named Thomas, as in Aquinas:

I have never seen an intelligent person who hates the Jews. They are hated only by the common people, for good reason. First, the Jews are haughty and always seeking to lord it over others . . . The Sage has said that the hatred which is caused by jealousy can never be overcome . . . so long as they gave no cause for jealousy, they were well-liked. But now the Jew is ostentatious. If he has two hundred pieces of gold, he immediately dresses himself in silk and his children in embroidered clothing. This is something that not even nobles who possess an annual income of a thousand doubloons would do.

Are we hearing right? A survivor of the Spanish catastrophe, hiding behind veils of voice and authorship, blaming Jews for antisemitism? *Ashamnu, bagadnu*, we confess on the Day of Atonement, but Ibn Verga goes the extra mile. And who is this "Sage" quoted by the wise Thomas? I turn to a footnote in my battered copy of *Shevet Yehudah*, the 1947 critical edition, inherited from my father: The Sage is the author of *Mivchar ha-peninim*, the ubiquitous Gabirol. The pearl of wisdom, suitable for memorization: "*Kol sin'a yesh tikva l'refuatah, chutz mi-sin'at mi she-sinato kin'a*." "There is hope for healing all hatred except the hatred that is rooted in jealousy." Does the Sage mean to signal that if Jews acted differently, others might hate us less?

Agnon ends "*Ha-siman*" in the local shul in Talpiot, a humble wooden shack, where the narrator recites Gabirol's *Azharot*. The doors of the Holy Ark open, and he sees the kingly figure of a man. Gradually he realizes this is Gabirol himself, and weeps. As in 1944, the mystical visitor weaves a memorial acrostic that the narrator cannot remember, but "the poem sings itself in the heavens above." If Rabbeinu Shlomo shows up on Yom Kippur at my shul in Jerusalem—and why wouldn't he?—I have a question or two to ask him.

#### **About the Author**

Stuart Schoffman, a journalist and screenwriter, moved to Jerusalem in 1988. His latest translations of Israeli fiction are *To the Edge of Sorrow* (Schocken) by Aharon Appelfeld and *The Tunnel* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt) by A.B. Yehoshua.

*Tablet*

# Why Anti-Zionism Is Worse Than Antisemitism

By Benjamin Kerstein

There is currently a noisy and often bitter debate over the issue of anti-Zionism and antisemitism. The vast majority of the Jewish community, which remains resolutely Zionist despite rumors to the contrary, sees anti-Zionism as either a mask for traditional antisemitism or inherently antisemitic in and of itself, as it denies to the Jews the right to self-determination granted to every other people, and proposes the destruction of an existing Jewish nation.

Anti-Zionists of one stripe or another counter-claim that they are simply defending the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, who have been done a grave injustice, or that they are merely criticizing current Israeli policies, whose detrimental nature is an inherent expression of Zionism's immorality. Invoking all the current names for evil that still exist in an irreligious age, they hold that Zionism is racist, colonialist, oppressive and inimical to the revered gods of human rights.

What cannot be denied is that, to a great extent, anti-Zionism has become an ideology of hate. To the extent that it demonizes Israel using classic antisemitic themes and stereotypes, and that it openly employs intimidation and violence against Jews, it is without doubt *objectively* antisemitic. The question, then, is whether it is also *subjectively* antisemitic — that is, whether it is *inherently*, in and of itself, antisemitic.

In this context, it seems worthwhile to examine what may not be anti-Zionism's primary document, but what is perhaps its most potent and politically successful expression: the Palestinian National Charter. Adopted in 1964, the charter amounts to the founding document of Palestinian national ideology and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the most militant anti-Zionist group short of Hamas that has ever existed.

At the signing of the notorious Hitler-Stalin Pact, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov was asked to justify partnering with the Nazis...

The Palestinian National Charter has never been officially abrogated, and there is no question that the vast majority of Palestinians and their supporters, and indeed anti-Zionists worldwide, continue to hold to its ostensible principles.

Most of the charter deals with the nature of the nascent Palestinian national identity and its political expression, as well as specific grievances against the official Zionist movement and the State of Israel. Only a few times does it actually refer to the Jews themselves outside of a political context. Its most explicit — and, it must be said, convenient — claim regarding the Jews is “Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.”

Putting aside the question of antisemitism, it is worth asking what the nature of this claim means in and of itself. What, in other words, is it actually *saying* about the Jews?

The answer is quite apparent: The Jews are not a people, and therefore have no national rights whatsoever. And it is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of anti-Zionists around the world agree with this.

Leave aside the most essential problem with this, which is that it seeks to define the *essence* of being Jewish — and, being an Arab document, abrogates to non-Jews the right to do so, and to impose this definition upon us, as is codified in another clause: “The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.” Even without this, it is quite clear that it is a remarkable statement, because placed in the context of gentile views of the Jews, antisemitic or otherwise, it is quite unprecedented.

This is because, throughout the long history of philo- and antisemitism, non-Jews never claimed that the Jews were not a people. Christianity and Islam never much loved the Jews, but always acknowledged that they constituted a nation. In the modern era, an official of the French revolutionaries once famously said, “For the Jews as a people, nothing; for the Jew as a citizen, everything” — something that could not possibly have been said if the Jews had not been a people in the first place.

The very foundation of anti-Zionism, however, is the claim that the Jews are not a people. Where traditional antisemitism held that the Jews should not exist, anti-Zionism holds that the Jews *do not exist*. Neither Haman nor Hitler ever went so far. If antisemitism has an essence, it is that it, in one form or another, negates the Jews — but nowhere is this negation taken further than in anti-Zionism.

That may well be why, if nothing else, anti-Zionism shares with antisemitism the same outcome of its terrible logic: genocide. It is a short leap from saying the Jews do not exist to doing what is necessary to

prove yourself right. And indeed, anti-Zionism's Achilles' heel has always been the paradoxical question: if the Jews do not exist, what should be done with them?

Palestinian anti-Zionists and their supporters essentially propose an apartheid solution: the Jews should be made second-class members of the human race, doomed to perpetual wandering, weakness, and deracination — their non-existence confirmed by the imposition of arbitrary alien identities. The endgame of this, one imagines, is obvious: disappearance.

Other forms of anti-Zionism have gone much further. As George Orwell once pointed out, during World War II, Gandhi believed that the Jews should commit mass suicide in order to show the world how horrible Hitler was. The implications of this might outdo even Auschwitz, since it would involve the Jews not merely being eliminated, but also having to do it themselves. And this is, more or less, precisely what today's anti-Zionists are demanding of Israel.

In the face of this, however, there is at least some hope, as it is clear that anti-Zionism, like antisemitism, is fundamentally absurd: The Jews are a people, we have the right to define our own identity, we have the right to claim those rights inherent in that identity, and we are not obligated to annihilate ourselves because of the abstract constructions of non-Jews. And we can hold uncompromisingly that any human being, Jewish or gentile, is bound by morality to reject any such construction.

The Jews are one of the world's smallest minorities; therefore, the world has certain moral responsibilities and obligations towards us. First and foremost ought to be the simple elemental recognition and respect — the radical admission that we *do* exist, which anti-Zionism, as much as if not more than antisemitism, seeks to erase.

*Algemeiner*



*Benjamin Kerstein is the Israel correspondent for Algemeiner and a Tel Aviv-based writer and novelist.*

## Anti-Globalization: The New Anti-Semitism

*The anti-globalization movement should stop sympathizing with terrorists and remove the Middle East conflict from its agenda.*

**By David Arenson and Simon Grynberg**

What do international banks, sweatshops, soft drink makers and Israel all have in common? Currently the attention of the anti-globalization movement. The latest explosion of anti-globalization protests at the UN's Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg is yet another chapter in the movement's sordid history regarding its policies on Israel.

The phenomenon of anti-globalization first appeared in Seattle in 1999 at the World Trade organization meeting. It was further developed at the World Bank demonstrations in Washington in April 2000, at the G7 meetings in Genoa and Prague in July 2001, at the Durban World Conference Against Racism in August 2001, anti-war demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco in April 2002, and now in Johannesburg in August-September 2002. The pattern of disrupting international conferences and trade summits is now firmly entrenched.

While globalization, the internationalization of market capitalism, is seen by many as a ray of hope for solving the world's economic problems, it is also blamed for problems plaguing nations and individuals. This new umbrella movement has emerged to oppose "capitalist globalization." It is a broad-based, motley gathering of groups who aim to reduce corporate power and global inequity, and bring about social justice in the world. It is decentralized, multinational, opposed to hierarchy, and by nature chaotic. Among the very few goals shared universally amongst members of the movement is the need for radical reform of the World Trade Organization and IMF. Israel has recently been added to that list, becoming the global "whipping boy" of the leftist movement. This serves to unify the anti-globalization movement despite its obvious complexities and contradictions.

The roots of the flawed shift in leftist thinking toward Israel were amplified at the UN Conference on Racism in Durban in August 2001, which ended only 3 days before the terror attacks on the World Trade

Center and Pentagon. This controversial conference shifted the anti-globalization debate, and placed racism and xenophobia at the center of its campaign. The net result was that the conference raised the specter of anti-Semitism as a global force in the international community.

**Terms like "genocide", "fascism", "apartheid" and "holocaust" were bandied about at every opportunity to describe Israeli actions and the Jews.**

The international groups (NGO's) in attendance were receptive to the information provided claiming that Israel is an apartheid state engaged in oppression of the Palestinians. Included in the discourse was the infamous forgery "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Terms like "genocide", "fascism", "apartheid" and "holocaust" were bandied about at every opportunity to describe Israeli actions and the Jews. Nazi symbols next to stars of David were used in their protests.

The avalanche of anti-Israel sentiment was made particularly credible by the legitimacy of the UN. Most NGO's look towards the UN for moral guidance, leadership and responsible governance. If the United Nations represents the common goal of truth and justice brought forth by all nations that engage in it, then its resolutions should represent truth.

However, the UN has become a bastion for anti-Israel resolutions -- in effect sponsoring Palestinian terror. Arab states have a disproportionate voice in setting the agenda at the General Assembly and have frequently used it to push forward anti-Israel resolutions. Israel is the only member state at the U.N. that has been denied a seat on the Security Council, and has yet to be included as a member of a regional group at the U.N. The second largest employer after the PA in the West Bank and Gaza is UNRWA. This UN flagship organization has done nothing to prevent camps becoming centers of terrorist activity. For the lack of appropriate action, the UN is morally culpable.

Durban was the catalyst that legitimized anti-Israel rhetoric (anti-Zionism) on a grand scale. The NGO's and participants became messengers of ideas that were spread across the globe. The ideas disseminated placed Israel as the sole antagonist in the conflict, raising the level of worldwide anti-Israel emotion to terrifying proportions. The anti-globalization movement, who took on Israel-bashing as their cause and mantra, embraced the distortion of facts provided at the UN Conference without question.

The "Take the Capital" anti-globalization demonstration in Washington in April 2002 was supposed to be a protest against the G8. Instead it turned into predominantly a show of solidarity for the

Palestinian cause and a mobilization against Israel. Organizers claimed it was the largest showing of solidarity with Palestinians in U.S. history. Protestor "Stanley" perhaps summed up the mood of the marchers best when he was quoted as saying: "We don't approve of suicide bombers killing civilians, but it's the only defense Palestinians have" (as reported by the Washington Post, April 21 2002).

**The anti-globalization movement called for a "global intifada" to protest against Israeli "aggression," essentially calling for wholesale murder and maiming of innocent civilians.**

In April 2002, movements aligned to the anti-globalization movement called for a "global intifada" to protest against Israeli "aggression," essentially calling for wholesale murder and maiming of innocent civilians. Apparently the slaughter of innocent Jews deemed irrelevant and sympathies should lie with suicide bombers.

The anti-globalization movement blames Israel for creating desperate conditions that led to a violent outbreak of resistance. To blame economics for the Palestinian uprising is misleading. The outbreak of terrorism began during a period of economic optimism amongst Palestinians. A recent study from the independent National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts concludes: "Any connection between poverty, education and terrorism is indirect and probably quite weak." The study demonstrates that violence in the Middle East has increased while economic conditions were improving.

The anti-globalization movement believes that Palestinians have been deprived of "their land," and that giving it back to them will create a peaceful resolution to the conflict. In accordance with the 1993 Oslo Accords, Israel withdrew militarily from Palestinian areas, so that by 1999, 98% of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were under self-rule. It is a myth that the Palestinians lacked freedom or autonomy and that this has anything to do with the current armed conflict. What is even more chilling is the idea of billionaire Arafat as a peacemaker. Rather than resolve the conflict through negotiation at Camp David, the Palestinian leadership initiated the current "intifada" against Israel, a reign of terror still continuing until this day. The Palestinians have achieved nothing by all these years of hatred, blood and war, but poverty and deprivation.

Anti-globalization activists claim that Zionism is a form of apartheid and a racist ideology enforced on the Palestinian people. Never mind that this has nothing to do with fighting global capitalism. Zionism

represents the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. This also happens to be the only type of nationalism ever targeted by the UN as racist. The claim that anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism, but a legitimate criticism of Israel's policies, is difficult to understand in the context of the anti-globalization movement making no other pronouncements about any other country in the world. Why is Jewish nationalism described as racism -- do Jews not deserve a national homeland? The only satisfactory answer is that anti-Zionism is none other than anti-Semitism on a national scale. Instead of targeting the Jew as individual, now his national homeland bears the brunt of hatred.

Supporting the ideology of suicide bombers who seek, on principle the outcome that most combatants try to avoid in armed conflict -- the killing of innocents -- places the West in great danger. Islamic fundamentalism, which promotes jihad as a legitimate religious protocol, is a serious threat to Western democratic values, and the peaceful values expounded by the anti-globalization movement.

Palestinian society is strangled by the dictatorial rule of Arafat, with extremist elements like Islamic Jihad and Hamas controlling the streets. Palestinians are directly responsible for a significant percentage of the Palestinian death toll as "suspected collaborators" are publicly lynched. If they are fortunate, they'll have their property confiscated by Arafat's corrupt police force, or detained, tortured, or forced at gunpoint to leave the territories. The spontaneous murder without trial of Palestinians by Arafat's cronies is seldom addressed. Confronting the suffering of Palestinians caused by Israel is one thing, but where is the outcry about the suffering inflicted upon them by the Arafat regime?

By supporting the Palestinian cause, morally and economically, anti-globalization activists share some of the blame for the terror attacks perpetrated by the terrorists. In April 2002, so-called "peace activists" were pictured hugging and kissing Yassir Arafat in a gesture of international solidarity, while he was hiding in his Ramallah compound. This after the Pesach bombing in which a Palestinian suicide bomber blew up 26 civilians. None of the activists who went to "support" Arafat visited the families or the victims of the bombings or expressed any sympathy.

The anti-globalization movement has become a receptacle for propaganda. The receptiveness for fabricated stories of massacres (like Jenin massacre that never happened), followed by vitriolic denunciations without any viable proof, is pure bigotry. Such behavior forms part of a global pattern of denial in response to increasingly lethal anti-

Semitism. It seems that global social justice holds that you are "guilty until proven innocent."

The anti-globalization movement engages in selective amnesia when it comes to other countries. Social justice for a country like Saudi Arabia involves a punishment of flogging of women, no matter what the crime. The religious intolerance of other Arab nations in the Middle East, or the oppression metered out by African crackpot dictatorships fails to show up on the radar screen of this movement. How about considering the subjugated Cypriots, Tibetans, the refugees in the Balkans, and the litany of displaced peoples currently in Africa? The only institutionalized racism in the region by the state-run media of the Arab world is continually ignored. All of Israel's neighbors ignore its citizens' human rights, democratic values and freedoms. The anti-globalization movement cannot expect global social justice to take place when their spotlight is always on Israel, and they support a terrorist organization whose human rights record is appalling.

Controversial right-wing Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi notes a "strange unanimity" between Islamic terrorism and anti-globalization protestors -- both "enemies of Western civilization." This is overstepping the mark. The association between the Arab world and the anti-globalization movement has its roots in a common opposition to American "domination." Israel and the Jews represent American capitalism. Thus attacking Israel gives the movement a good excuse to vent its anti-Semitic frustrations. Besides the anti-Israel component of the protest movement, its social justice and humanitarian agenda is commendable. Many activist movements have had similar liberal aspirations in the past. Many have fallen spectacularly like the socialist movement, whilst many have had outstanding successes, like the anti-Apartheid movement.

If the anti-globalization movement is to be taken seriously in the future, it needs to stop sympathizing and implicitly supporting terrorists and to remove the Middle East conflict from its agenda. Rather than battle against Israel, they should support it as a staging ground for Western values and democracy in the Middle East.

[www.aish.com](http://www.aish.com)

# Serbian Jews in World War One

By Vojislava Radovanović

Serbia in World War One 1914 - 1918, is a magnificent example of courage, warrior skills, love and dignity of the overall population, irrespective of gender, age, religion or nationality. It is at the same time a tragic example of enormous military and civilian losses in the merciless fight for freedom and victory of their beloved country of Serbia.

In the factographic and very touching book published by the Committee for Erection of the Monument to Fallen Jewish Warriors – *MEMORIAL TO FALLEN SERBIAN JEWS IN THE BALKAN WARS AND THE WORLD WAR ONE 1912-1918*, published by Publishing House of M. Karić, Belgrade, 1927, the Introduction states as follows: „ (...) Jews had, ever since leaving their original country, continually been good citizens in all countries where they lived throughout history. They always valued highly the aspiration for justice and patriotism of the nations with whom they lived, and they always highly valued the love extended them and never failed to respond with love (...) That is how it is and has been in the country of Serbs, where Jews in every respect (as stated by their famous compatriot and historian Flavius Josephus) worked in peace and order to contribute to the national benefit and struggling, during times of war, shoulder to shoulder, lovingly and courageously next to their brothers Serbs”.

On the occasion of one hundred years of the beginning of World War One, the Jewish Historical Museum is staging this exhibition simply titled *SERBIAN JEWS IN WORLD WAR ONE* and dedicating it to all Serbian Jews, men and women, as warriors or health care workers, in all wars for liberation of Serbia in the period 1912 - 1918.

The Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade can be said to be a small museum. However, this kind of qualification may be questionable in the context of the fact that this is the only Jewish museum in Serbia which, in terms of its content, is an institution of a highly complex organisation. The Museum consists of two components – museum collections, some of which are unique in our country and cannot be seen in other museums or archives. Although our „small” Museum has rich and diversified archives and photo-documentation testifying to the Jewish history and culture, both in Serbia and in the whole of former-Yugoslavia, this material is related mostly to three historical periods: the period between the two world wars, the period of the World War Two and the Holocaust, and the period after 1945, when the Yugoslav state as a whole was finally liberated and saved from German occupiers, the Croatian Ustasha and other Nazi allies. Regretfully, the Jewish community was not saved. The renewal of the Jewish community in Yugoslavia was, mildly stated, was only partial and at a minimum level.

The Holocaust – the atrocious genocide against the Jews, had been accompanied by both plunder and destruction of all forms of tangible heritage. After the founding of our Jewish Historical Museum (65 years ago), the archive documents, photographs, ritual objects, religious books, and other artefacts began to arrive, including diversified and by some magic preserved specific features and documents of a whole universe, our world, which had disappeared. Thus, among other things, there was a box with archive material related to the Serbian Jews in the Balkan Wars and the World War One, 1912 – 1918. It consisted of 35 photographs, originals and copies with, for instance, a unanimous (original) photograph of the Serbian-Jewish heroine Neti Munk carrying on her back a sick man from the time of the terrible epidemic of typhoid during World War One. There are also a number of newspaper articles from the daily „Politika“ from the post-war period, about the war. An original “evacuation diary” from 1916 has been preserved by the Calvary officer Moša Mevorah who, apart from taking part in the war, was an excellent drawing artist. The Museum collections also feature a soldier’s blanket which travelled through Albania and protected from cold its owner, Gavriel Navonović, a Sephardic Jew from Priština. And that is all. That is sufficient.

It has been one hundred years since the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy, which subsequently changed its position, and later on also Bulgaria and Turkey), initiated an offensive war which, until World War Two, was adequately named the Great War. Before the Great War began, Serbia had gone through two Balkan Liberation Wars in the period 1912-1913 (against Turkey and Bulgaria) and was victorious in both. After certain political games and looking for an appropriate occasion, Austria-Hungary attacked the already exhausted Serbia. There was no way that Serbia could have avoided the Great War, and at the same time not lose itself. And that was not an option. The courage and honour of all our predecessors would not have allowed that.

Jews of that time called themselves „Serbs of Moses’ religion“. They took part in all the wars in the period from 1912 to 1918 when the Great War finally ended, and our country lost more than a million and a half of its people. Jews and Serbs, men and women, were exceptionally honourable and courageous warriors, and dedicated doctors and nurses. They all fought in their own way.

That is how the Serbs and Serbs of Moses’ religion were victorious in the Great War. This whole period marked by wars of 1912 – 1918 was both a tragic and a glorious part of the turbulent history of our country, Serbia.

Preserving the memory of our predecessors, their honour and courage, we proudly staged this exhibition. In an article published in the daily “Politika” dating back to 1933, the journalist writes:

„In the liberation wars that Serbia fought all of our Serbia’s Jews always took part. In everything equal to other citizens, they were always among the first to also honour their obligations. When there was need to go to war, our Jews did so (...) and they did not lag behind others in any respect. Many of them gave their lives for the prospects of the country that they lived in.”

# Serbia In The World War One

By Milan Koljanin

The first decade of the 20th century seemed to its contemporaries as a long period of peace, progress and easy living, often described by the term „la belle époque“. For historians it was a long period of what they called the long nineteenth century, bordered by the French revolution and the onset of World War One. Truly, the first global armed conflict, called by its contemporaries the Great War, was in many ways a crucial turning point in the history of mankind. It was equally a major turning point for Serbia and South Slavic peoples, and during it certain processes began which strongly influenced the history of the Jewish people and the creation of their state.

After the French-Prussian war (1870/1871) and the Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1878) which ended with the Berlin Congress, Europe saw a long period of peace. Wars were waged far away from Europe, in Africa and Asia, where the West European countries were enlarging their colonial power at the cost of destroying millions of lives of the native populations. Accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation gradually spread from West European countries towards the central, eastern and southern parts of the continent. The increasing prosperity was accompanied by social conflicts and increasingly strong differences among the great European powers. Germany became one of the major powers only after unification in 1871, so it practically did not benefit from overseas colonial expansion. Relying on its extremely increased economic and military power, Germany was attempting to establish its supremacy on the European soil and by building its fleet to rival the global naval domination of Great Britain. This inevitably led to the distortion in the balance of power and accelerated the creation of the alliance or the Triple Entente between Great Britain and France in 1904 and subsequently Russia in 1907.

Germany in 1879 created a strong alliance with the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy, and they were soon joined by Italy, whereby the Central Alliance was forged. Yet, their actions were often not coherent, and at the same time the common interests of Austria-Hungary and Germany grew in importance. Austria-Hungary directed its expansion towards the Balkans, where it was to prove itself as a great power. Simultaneously, national movements of different component nations within it striving for the creation of their national states were getting momentum. Among these movements was the movement for the unification of South Slavic peoples. The first step made by Austria-Hungary on its way to the Balkans was the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, based on the decision of the Berlin Congress. Contrary to international law, the Monarchy in 1908 annexed this province. The next step was to be the destruction of Serbia as an independent state whereby the Yugoslav movement was also to be destroyed. For both Vienna and Berlin the key obstacle to their plans of moving

into the Balkans and the Middle East was Serbia, which was also perceived as the centre of gathering of all South Slavic peoples and a proponent of Russia. The Austria-Hungary on several occasions made plans for attacking Serbia. The intention to invade Serbia existed also at the time of the Annexation Crisis in 1908/1909 and during the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913, but in both cases Serbia managed not to give a formal pretext for aggression. Under such circumstances, the assassination in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 proved to be an excellent opportunity to achieve the long-reaching plans of both Austria-Hungary and Germany.

The Austria-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had as its main goals economic expansion, preservation of semi-feudal social relations and creation of loyal population. In a territory with strong religious divisions where nation was perceived to be equal to confessional affiliation, a relative majority was made up of Orthodox Christian Serbs. The occupation authorities favoured the Roman-Catholic minority which was systematically empowered by massive immigration from other parts of the Monarchy. The „Europeisation“ of Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in undoubted civilisational progress and was achieved partly through Jewish capital and entrepreneurship coming from other parts of the Monarchy. Improved living conditions were seen especially in the field of health care, to which the newly arriving physicians of Jewish origin contributed significantly. Yet, the Austria-Hungary occupation was perceived by the majority of the population, primarily Serbs and Muslims, as a brutal threat to vital national interests.

As was the case in other South Slavic countries of the Austria-Hungary Monarchy, there was also in Bosnia and Herzegovina a growing movement aiming at unification of Southern Slavs into a powerful and liberal state which would enable smooth national and economic growth. Serbia was perceived to be the „Piedmont“ of unification, its reputation growing after the victorious Balkan wars and the destruction of the centuries-long rule of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The Yugoslav idea was most strongly supported by the youth, and the youth created its organisation „Mlada Bosna“ in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the model of a similar organisation in Italy. Although the most numerous among the membership were Serbs, there were also Muslims and Croats. The same as their peers of the same opinion in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the members of „Mlada Bosna“ thought that their goals have to be achieved by violence, including assassinations of the highest representatives of the Monarchy.

The Serbian revolution of 1804 and the renewed statehood in the Principality of Serbia during the first decades of the XIX century ensured for this part of the Serbian people a speedier development and gradual adoption of the legacy of bourgeois liberal society. Social differentiation, as a requirement of such development, was happening alongside with national integration and building of state institutions. Like other nation states, it also strived to include within its borders also other states in which its compatriots were living. The building of a bourgeois liberal society was accelerated after the Berlin Congress in 1878 recognised

Serbia's independence. At the same time, the decision of the Congress to allow Austria-Hungary to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina was perceived in Serbia as a major defeat of the national policy.

Jews in Serbia were not numerous and did not play such a prominent role in the social and economic structure as was the case in Central and Eastern Europe. The conditions under which Jews lived in the Principality, and later the Kingdom of Serbia, during the XIX century were changeable, at times unfavourable, primarily due to the formation of the national market and capital. According to the provisions of the Berlin Congress, the Jews acquired full civic equality which was subsequently confirmed in the Constitution of 1888. This has led to a relatively speedy social integration of Jews in Serbia. They lived mostly in the country's capital, Belgrade, while smaller communities also lived in Nis, Smederevo, Šabac and a number of smaller towns. Among the 2,911,701 inhabitants of Serbia in 1910, there were 5,997 (0.2%) Jews. More than four fifths of Serbian Jews lived in Belgrade. Of the total population of Belgrade which numbered 89,876 in 1910 there were 4,193 (4.66%) Jews. As was the case before, they mostly lived in the city district of Dorćol, where they made up one quarter of the total population.

Social integration of Jews in Serbia as "Serbs of Moses' religion" did not mean assimilation, but rather a double identification in which their Jewish and Serbian identities matched each other. Their feeling of freedom and belonging to the community was founded in the parliamentary democracy with civil freedoms, as well as their participation in the wars of liberation. After the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913 and the liberation of Old Serbia and Macedonia, the territory of the Serbian state doubled in size. Its borders included relatively sizable communities of Sephardic Jews, the biggest ones in Bitola and Skopje. During the Balkan Wars, the Serbian Jews made a proportionally significant contribution to the liberation and unification as they shared with the others great losses.

After Petar Karađorđević came to the Serbian throne in 1903, there was an overall economic and social prosperity, accompanied by a change of direction in the Serbian foreign policy from Austria-Hungary towards the western democracies and Russia. The attempt by Vienna to prevent such developments by the Customs War in the period 1906-1911 had failed. Serbia saw along with the Serbian unification policy also the strengthening of the movement for unification of Southern Slavs. Despite the attempts by Austria-Hungary to put an end to the Yugoslav movement by repression and judicial persecution, after the Annexation crisis and especially after the Balkan Wars, the movement grew even stronger. Although during the Balkan Wars Serbia won major military and political victories, the price paid for this in human lives and material devastation was an extremely high one. The Serbian Government made efforts to consolidate the state and diminish the animosity of Austria-Hungary, which saw the victory of Balkan allies over Turkey as a great and unpleasant surprise. After the defeat of Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War in 1913, Austria-Hungary notified its allies Italy and Germany of its intentions to attack Serbia. Although they were not ready at that time to support this, in autumn 1913 a position became

dominant in both Vienna and Berlin that the next international crisis should be used for war purposes.

At the great military manoeuvres of the Austria-Hungary Army in eastern Bosnia in 1914 the hypothetical enemy was Serbia, and the great concentration of troops looked as part of preparations for an attack against it. The inspection of the manoeuvres and the upcoming visit of the heir to the throne, Prince Franz Ferdinand to Sarajevo, on Serbian national holiday Vidovdan on 28 June 1914 was perceived by the revolutionary youth to be a great insult and provocation. It was also an opportunity to destroy "the enemy of the sublime Yugoslav idea", as one of the assassins, Trifko Grabež, said during the trial. The shots from the pistol of Gavrilo Princip killed the poorly secured heir of the Austria-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand. Unintentionally, his wife Sofia was also killed by shots intended for the Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Oskar Potiorek. Right away, the Government of Serbia was accused for the assassination, which was an indication that the assassination will be given first-class political significance. Through the writing of the press and the speeches of officials an anti-Serbian atmosphere of pogrom was built up. There followed massive destruction and plunder of Serbian property in Sarajevo and other towns across Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbs were targets of humiliation and physical attacks. The situation was similar in Zagreb and some towns in Croatia and Slavonia, but not in Dalmatia. The authorities let the violent perpetrators freely plunder and destroy Serbian property, and there was a boycott of Serbian businesses. Prominent in these calls for persecution of the Serbs were the Roman-Catholic clerical circles, and in Croatia and Slavonia also supporters of the extreme nationalist party of Josip Frank.

Although having no evidence that official Serbia was behind the assassination, already the following day, the key circles of the Monarchy formulated an intention that "war against Serbia should be constructed". The trial against the assassins before the Military Court in Sarajevo in October 1914 also did not come up with evidence of Serbia's involvement in the assassination. It later turned out that Serbia had, through diplomatic channels, warned Austria-Hungary of the possibility of assassination. During the investigation, the assassins were exposed to torture, but they did not change their pleas before the court. Instead, they repeated before the court that they secretly organised themselves because they were aware that otherwise the Serbian Government would have prevented them in their intentions. The trial proved that the assassination was an act of youth from Bosnia and Herzegovina who decided, by murdering the tyrant, to end the symbol of national oppression and remove the obstacle to Yugoslav unification. Gavrilo Princip described his deliberation and the position of other assassins during the trial as follows: "I am a Yugoslav nationalist and I believe in the unification of all South Slavs in whatever form of state, free of Austria". During the first days of July 1914 a decision was made in Vienna to attack Serbia after first conducting consultations with Berlin. The reply of the German Emperor Wilhelm II to the telegram of the Ambassador in Vienna that Austria-Hungary decided for a radical count-down with Serbia was: "Now or never!" The German military and political

leadership intended to profit from its better armament and the weakness of Russia, convinced that through war it can achieve supremacy over the European continent. Thus, Berlin encouraged Vienna in its intention to attack Serbia, aware that this will result in a great war. On 6 July 1914 the German Government promised Austria-Hungary full support, and the following day the Ministerial Council in Vienna made a decision to initiate a war against Serbia. Encouraged by the belligerent writing of the orchestrated press, a belligerent and patriotic atmosphere developed in Vienna, opposed only by very few sober individuals. An orchestrated campaign as a part of the war preparation propaganda used dehumanising stereotypes of Serbs who were condemned as a nation of bandits and murderers, and Serbia was portrayed as their stronghold. It was suggested implicitly and explicitly that it is a threat to peace and civilisation deserving to be destroyed and that all means are allowed in order to achieve this goal.

During June 1914 in Vienna and Berlin diplomatic preparations for war were underway, while the European public predominantly believed that the crisis was subsiding. When Austria-Hungary delivered its ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July 1914, demanding a response within 48 hours, it became increasingly obvious that the war was about to break up. The ultimatum demanded of the Serbian Government to disable the activity of national and nationalistic organisations in Serbia, as well as allowing Austrian bodies to be involved in „suppressing the subversive movement“, and participate in the investigation „against the conspiracy of 28 June“. Although Serbia was ready to accept practically all demands from the ultimatum, such demands were unacceptable for an independent state. Its sovereignty would have been seriously violated as it was impossible to predict what would be the limits of Austrian authorities in Serbia. It was obvious that the ultimatum was intentionally worded in a way which rendered it impossible to accept. The response of the Serbian Government was exceptionally accommodating, but he unacceptable demands were rejected.

Dissatisfied with the response, the Austria-Hungary government on 25 July 1914 terminated diplomatic relations with Serbia and withdrew its representatives from Belgrade. It was clear to the Serbian Government and the Prince Regent Aleksandar that this meant war, and under the circumstances Serbia did not know whether it will have the support of western allies and Russia. The Government moved its seat to Niš, ordered evacuation of Belgrade, and ordered general mobilisation. The Montenegrin King Nikola on 27 July sent to the Serbian Prince Regent Aleksandar a message of solidarity and readiness to jointly fight Austria-Hungary, which began mobilisation on 27 July and the subsequent day, in an unusual manner, by open telegram, declared war on Serbia.

At its first session held on the day of declaration of the war on 28 July 1914 the Serbian Government made a decision that the country's independence is to be defended with all means available. The Prime-Minister Nikola Pašić in his address stated: „If something were to happen, we will, even if we are completely alone, defend ourselves to the last drop of blood“. Serbia hoped that it would not be left alone in the war which was believed to turn into a pan-European war.

Weak, exhausted and peasant-dominated Serbia at that time had a population of 4,550,000 and was up against a developed European country with the population of 51 million capable of mobilising six million troops. With maximum efforts, Serbia could mobilise a total of 707,000 soldiers. In his first wartime announcement made the following day, Prince Regent Aleksandar called the people to defend the country with all their strength „their hearth and the Serbian tribe“. Although itself weakened and exhausted Montenegro sided with Serbia, aware that this is an issue decisive for the future of the whole Serbian nation. King Nikola in his war announcement on 6 August stated that Austria had declared war on Serbia, and thus the whole Serbian and Slavic nation. „Whoever is a hero and walks in the steps of the two Serbian kings, let us die and shed our blood for unity and golden freedom“.

Already the day after the war was declared, on 29 July 1914, the undefended Belgrade was bombed from Austria-Hungarian war ships (monitors). Simultaneously, Austrian troops attempted to cross the Sava river into Belgrade but were, with great losses, sent back. That was the first major war clash of the Great War. The same day Russia declared partial mobilisation making it clear that it shall not allow the destruction of Serbia and shall not allow Austria-Hungary to gain control over the Balkans. Germany followed suit and announced mobilisation and declared war on Russia on 1 August and on France on 3 August. Two days later Great Britain became involved in the war as well. Somewhat later, the Central Allies (Germany and Austria-Hungary) were joined by Turkey, while the Entente was joined by Japan. Italy declared neutrality, but the subsequent year joined the war on the side of the Entente. Thus the war became not only European but global. The German plan consisted of the intention to undertake a quick move across the neutral Belgium and defeat France, and subsequently focus all forces to the East and defeat Russia. Despite initial successes of the German military, after the decisive resistance by French and British troops, a relatively stable Western Front was established and continued to be the site of heavy and blood-shedding trench battles. In the direction of Russia, the German and Austria-Hungarian troops established the Eastern Front which also was the site where millions of people lost their lives during the war.

Although Serbia had just come out of the exhausting Balkan Wars, with modest arms, equipment and ammunition reserves, the success of the mobilisation was extraordinary. There was a commitment across the country to defend the hard won freedom at any cost. Despite all difficulties and deprivations, the Serbian Army was well organised, led by experienced officers under the supreme commander Prince Regent Aleksandar. The Chief of the Supreme Command was Field Marshal Radomir Putnik, and his assistant General Živojin Mišić. The Army was organised in three armies and the Užice army, which acted jointly with the Montenegrin and the Sandžak army. The Serbian Supreme Command based its war plan on the assessment that the key blow of the Austria-Hungarian Balkans army will be from the north (along the line Obrenovac-Belgrade-Požarevac) to be followed by moving on along the valley of the Velika Morava river. However,

the key blow came from the west, across the Drina river, which the Austria-Hungarian troops started to cross on 12 August 1914. Having noticed that this was the commencement of the decisive attack of the enemy, the Serbian HQ regrouped the troops and in the battle of Cer from 15 to 20 August caused a heavy defeat of the Austria-Hungarian troops which were forced to withdraw from Serbia. This was at the same time the first victory of the Allies in the Great War which started with their defeats along the Western Front.

As the Allies insisted to undertake an offensive on the Austria-Hungarian territory and thus relieve pressure from other fronts, the Serbian HQ on 6 September undertook a military operation in Srem. Despite partial successes, the Serbian Army suffered a heavy defeat and was forced to withdraw back to Serbia. At one of the sectors the defeat would have been a total disaster had it not been for the courageous scout Rafailo Anaf, a fighter in both Balkan Wars, who killed the Austrian telephone operator and heard the order to make a siege. He promptly notified his superiors of this and the Army withdrew in a timely manner. Before the whole corps the commander commended Anaf, took off the gold medal from his jacket and placed it on the breasts of the courageous Anaf, from Belgrade, who soon afterwards was killed in combat. In mid September the Užička army and the Sandžak division made a breakthrough in eastern Bosnia and arrived to the vicinity of Sarajevo, but on 22 October they withdrew to their territory.

A new attack on Serbia by the Balkans army led by General Potiorek came on 8 September 1914, again from across the Drina river. Bloody battles lasted during the following week, the biggest among them being the battles at Gučevo and Mačkov Kamen. Austria-Hungarian troops, at the cost of major losses, pushed deep into the Serbian territory. At the end of October, by attack from Srem and from across the Drina, the Austria-Hungarian army took control over the region of Mačva, and continued to make progress and took the towns of Valjevo, Lajkovac, and Obrenovac. In mid-November 1914 a new front line was established at the river Kolubara. In order to shorten the front and separate the enemy, the Serbian Army withdrew and had the opportunity to take a breath and regroup. Belgrade was abandoned and the Austria-Hungarian troops walked into Belgrade, which was met by enthusiasm in Vienna. One of the first measures introduced in the occupied Serbian capital was the hanging of Serbian patriots in the city centre on Terazije square, and the gallows were placed also in other parts of the city.

In the meanwhile, the Serbian Army received new supplies of ammunition which created the conditions for a counter-offensive. On the day of parade of occupation forces in Belgrade, 3 December 1914, the newly appointed commander of the First Army, General Mišić, ordered a decisive offensive. After heavy fighting a victory was achieved in Suvobor, creating pre-conditions for decisive progress by the Serbian Army and a major defeat of the Austria-Hungarian Balkans' army. During these operations, known as the Kolubara battle, a brilliant victory was won which arrested over 40,000 enemy soldiers and 270 officers, and huge supplies of armaments, equipment and

ammunition. Until 16 December 1914 the last Austria-Hungarian soldier was driven out of the country.

The price of Serbian victories was extremely high. By the end of 1914 Serbia lost about 163,500 soldiers and officers, of which more than 69,000 were killed in combat or had died. The losses on the side of Austria-Hungary were much greater, about 274,000 soldiers and officers. However, Serbia had suffered losses not only on the front line, but also in form of great civilian losses due to unprecedented terror. These were not instances of individual killings, but systematic torture and beastly murder as well as concentration camps detaining men, women and children from occupied areas. Advanced towns like Šabac and Loznica, which were located along the lines of Austria-Hungary attacks, were practically completely destroyed. By the beginning of October 1914 Belgrade was bombed for 36 days and nights. The key scientific and cultural institutions of the capital were either destroyed or seriously damaged, the central hospital was bombed repeatedly, the embassies of Russia and Great Britain were damaged. Bombing severely affected the Dorćol district, which was home to the majority of Belgrade Jews, who jointly suffered all hardships of the war with their Serb neighbours.

Since the very beginning of the war against Serbia, Austria-Hungary heavily violated international law on warfare, or the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Mass crimes committed by its army against the civilians and prisoners of war in western Serbia were systematic and encouraged by military commanders at all levels of command. Thanks to the continued communications efforts by the Serbian Government and Nikola Pašić the international public was informed about the atrocious crimes committed against the Serbs and the destruction of material and cultural assets. In this respect the Serbian Government was significantly assisted by the engagement of Rudolf Archibald Reiss, world renowned criminologist, professor of the University of Lausanne. Through his publications and articles sent to major newspapers, including detailed descriptions of atrocities committed against the Serbian soldiers and civilians he contributed significantly to informing the world public of the true nature of the aggression of the Central Powers against Serbia.

Serbs in Austria-Hungary itself were exposed to mass oppressive treatment, as they were qualified as „politically suspicious“ („politisch verdächtig“) and „subversive elements“. Apart from mass murders executed by the regular army and the police forces, the majority of murders and plundering were performed by para-military units of the „protective corps“ (the so-called “Schutzkorps”) consisting of local Muslims (in eastern Bosnia) and Croats. There was mass detention of the overall male population, mostly from bordering areas in Serbia and Montenegro, under the pretext that the aim was to prevent a Serbian uprising. The Serbian national name and the Cyrillic script were prohibited, Serbian educational and cultural institutions were closed, and orchestrated trials were held as „great treason trials“. The repressive measures, apart from Serbs, also targeted Yugoslav-oriented intellectuals of other nationalities. Some of the most outstanding intellectuals and politicians managed to flee the country and, with the help of the Serbian Government, in April 1915 they

established the Yugoslav Committee. The role of the Committee was to inform the world public about the political goals of the Serbian Government and Yugoslavs from Austria-Hungary, and it increasingly served as their political representative office.

While initially at the outset of the war the defined goal of the Serbian Government was the defence against the aggressor, during September and October 1914 gradually a new and more far-reaching objective was formulated, as an intention to transform Serbia into a strong South-West Slavic state that would be comprised of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This was to be a unique, centralised monarchy whose constitution would guarantee full religious and civil equality. Such a war objective of the Serbian Government, formulated by all major civil political parties, was put forward at the time of the battle of Kolubara and was presented to the national Presidency on 7 December 1914. The declaration emphasised that the main goals of the Serbian people were to persevere in the „holy fight to defend its home and its freedom“ and to be victorious in the war which, at the same time, was transformed into a struggle for „liberation and unification of all our unliberated brethren Serbs, Croats and Slovenes“. Through this document, known as the Niš Declaration, the Serbian Government definitely defined as its war goal the unification of the South Slavs. Obstacles standing in the way of achieving such goals were huge, because the achievement of the goal was predicated not only on winning the war, but also on the acceptance of great powers to create on the rubble of the Austria-Hungary new national states, among them the Yugoslav one. This was to happen only during the last year of the war.

Soon after publishing its Declaration the Serbian Government started making efforts to inform the public of allied and neutral countries about its war goals. This led to engaging outstanding scientists and distinguished individuals both from Serbia and from allied countries. A great role in this was played by the Yugoslav Committee which moved its seat from Rome to London.

The hardships associated with the war and the massive military and civilian losses further aggravated the generally difficult situation in the Serbian health care services of the time. Apart from great lack of hospital capacities, sanitation materials and medical supplies, the most needed resources were the medical staff, primarily doctors. The deficit was the greatest in what was most needed - surgeons and epidemiologists. At the beginning of the war Serbia had 450 doctors, of which 44 were women. Humanitarian individuals from 45 countries responded to the call of the Serbian Government for help, establishing there assistance committees, which shipped the necessary assistance and informed the public about the struggles of Serbia. Doctors and medical personnel started to arrive from allied and neutral countries, including Russia, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the USA, and Denmark. The International Red Cross from Geneva as well as the Red Cross organisations from Great Britain, Russia and the USA provided significant assistance. The total headcount of international sanitation missions to Serbia was about 200 doctors, 500 nurses and technicians, and about 25 field hospitals were provided.

The Serbian Sanitation Service, despite the arrival of such missions and volunteers, was still far from able to meet all the needs for treatment of the huge number of casualties, including the wounded Austria-Hungary troops. According to all sources, these troops had the same treatment as the Serbian ones. The ratio of doctors to soldiers in the Serbian Army was one doctor to 750 soldiers, while in Germany this ration was one doctor to 30 soldiers, and the ratio in the Austria-Hungary army was similar to that of Germany. A significant number of Serbian doctors lost their lives in combat, and most of them died of typhoid fever epidemic which devastated them during the first months of 1915. A total of 157 doctors lost their lives, of which 124 were victims of the typhoid (other sources also state 132), the number of international doctors in this total being 25. Among them was a reserve sanitation major, a doctor from Šabac, Avram Vinaver, who was decorated for his commitment also during wars of 1913 and 1914, and who had the first x-ray device in Serbia. The epidemic first started in Austria-Hungary and was transmitted to Serbia by their soldiers. Although according to the international warfare law it was obliged to notify Serbia of the epidemic, Austria-Hungary failed to do so and the epidemic spread across Serbia due to the high number of captured soldiers and refugees. At the peak of the epidemic, and at the request of the Serbian Government, on 4 March 1915, sanitation missions arrived from Great Britain and France, which offered the decisive assistance in suppressing the epidemic. It is estimated that during 1914 and 1915 the total number of people infected was about 400,000 and the death toll was over 100,000 civilians along with 35,000 soldiers and about 30,000 prisoners of war. The mortality rate in Austria-Hungary camps for Serbian prisoners of war and civilians was even higher, which further increases the scope of massive death. The US war correspondent John Reed described Serbia as the „country of the dead“.

The first year of the war devastated Serbia. The army and the civilians suffered from warfare, in massacres and from typhoid epidemic, while material devastation was also tremendous. Economy and food production decreased as 83% of the men aged between 18 and 55 were mobilised, and livestock was confiscated for military purposes. Public revenues decreased, while the costs of the war exceeded by almost eightfold the state revenues. The population was in extreme deprivation and on the verge of hunger. There was need to feed not only the local population and the army, but also to provide care for the refugees and the wounded, as well as Austria-Hungarian prisoners of war. At the end of 1914 the number of the wounded in Serbia was about 100,000 on both the Serbian and the Austria-Hungarian side, about 75,000 prisoners of war and about 100,000 Serbian refugees from the north-western Serbia and the regions of Srem and Bosnia.

The foreign policy position of Serbia was extremely challenging not only because it had a superior enemy at its borders, but also due to the constant pressure by allies who were trying to attract the neutral Italy and Bulgaria to their side. That is why Serbia was under a strong pressure to give up a part of its territory to its eastern neighbour and not to dispute Italy the right to a part of the Adriatic coast. In order to win Italy over, the Allies made a secret London Pact on

26 April 1915, promising Italy the South Tyrol, the Julian district with Trieste, Gorizia and Postojna, and Istria, the Kvarner islands, northern Dalmatia including Zadar and Šibenik and a number of islands. Since Serbia in its war program emphasised its aspiration for the unification of all South Slavs, it did not succumb to these pressures even at the cost of tense relations with its Allies. When offered by the Allies to make a deal with Italy regarding demarcation of borders, Serbia responded that it is not ready to „trade“ with its own people, specifically Croats and Slovenes. Serbia also was never given the status of an ally of the Entente powers, which had negative consequences on warfare. Due to the defeat of the Allies at the fronts in 1915, the pressures on Serbia became even stronger.

Achieving success at other fronts, the Central Powers in September 1915 started to concentrate troops in order to launch the final battle against Serbia. This would mean for them establishing a link with Turkey and making further progress towards the Middle East. Preparing for the offensive, on 6 September 1915 in Pleso they forged a secret agreement with Bulgaria to take part in attacking Serbia defining at the same its occupation zone. They had joint forces of about 800,000 soldiers of the Central Allies, under field marshal August von Mackensen, one of the most competent German officers, after whom this army was named. Serbia was defended by 300,000 soldiers distributed along the front of about one thousand kilometres.

After ferocious infantry preparations, the attack of superior Austria-Hungarian and German forces began on 7 October 1915 from the north, across the river Sava and the Danube, and from the west, across the river Drina. The power of the attack was especially hard on the capital of Belgrade, which suffered huge destruction. Apart from French infantry soldiers and Russian sailors, the defence of the city was aided also by civilians, among them Jews from Dorćol. The heroic defence of Belgrade and the words of major Dragutin Gavrilović about fighting to the last man standing, have been preserved in the collective memory of the Serbian people. Battalion commander, major Avram Beraha, was among the prominent officers in the defence operation, who commanded the troops during the defence. Despite the heroism, the defence was broken after two days, the city was occupied, and the field marshal Mackensen paid tribute to the defenders. The Mackensen army made slow progress because of the tireless defence of the Serbian Army, so back-up was needed from other fronts. The Bulgarian Army attacked Serbia on 14 October 1915 and a month later managed to take Niš, Skopje and Kačanička gorge, whereby it cut off the road to the Serbian Army on their way towards the allied forces in Greece.

The Serbian Army was withdrawing before the battle, avoiding siege, but the situation was becoming increasingly dire. Allies sent two divisions from Greece to help Serbia, but this was both insufficient and untimely. Despite the almost desperate situation, the Government and Prince Regent Aleksandar were committed to continue the struggle by rejecting the capitulation offered by the enemy. Attempted break-through towards Skopje and Greece failed and on 25 November 1915 a decision was made to retreat towards the Adriatic across Kosovo and Metohija, Montenegro and northern Albania. The Serbian Army

believed that capitulation would be the worst solution as that would mean losing both the state and the Allies, and that the only solution was the retreat of the army and state institutions towards the Adriatic and connecting with the Allies. Nikola Pašić sent a message to soldiers that „the state will continue and preserve itself; it will, thus, exist, although on foreign ground, as long as the government and the army is there, irrespective of its strength“.

By the end of November 1915 Austria-Hungarian forces launched an offensive on Montenegro. The tireless defence by Montenegrin Sandžak army facilitated the safe passage of the Serbian Army and refugees. In the decisive battle near Mojkovac on 6 and 7 January 1916 the Montenegrin army under the command of General Janko Vukotić won a brilliant victory. However, the Montenegrin defence along the western line suffered a complete breakdown. The Montenegrin HQ on 11 January 1916 asked for a truce, while Austria-Hungarian forces continued its breakthrough, occupied the capital Cetinje and put a siege on the Montenegrin army near Podgorica. King Nikola left the country and crossed to Italy, and on 25 January 1916 in Cetinje the capitulation of the Montenegrin army was signed. Soon afterwards military administration was established in Montenegro.

Having destroyed its heavy weapons, the Serbian Army at the end of November 1915 started its troublesome retreat towards the Adriatic, organised in three directions: towards Shkodra, Lesha and Elbasan. King Petar, the Prince Regent Aleksandar, the Government, the national deputies, members of the diplomatic corps, distinguished intellectuals, and a huge number of refugees including many children were retreating along with the Army. While advancing through Albanian snow-covered mountains, without food or shelter, exposed to attacks by Albanian tribes, a great number of Serbian soldiers and civilians lost their lives on daily basis. According to the memory of the French envoy to Serbia August Bopp, who arrived to Shkodra with the Serbian Army, the soldiers „looked completely exhausted, like living skeletons [...] only here and there they would utter the word *bread*, that was the only word they could gather the strength to utter“. The majority of the Serbian Army with refugees arrived to the area between Shkodra and Durres at the beginning of January 1916. However, their evacuation to Greek islands of Corfu and Vido started only at the end of the month due to obstructions of the Italian and British Government. After a strong intervention by the Russian Tsar Nikolai II, the evacuation was accelerated and Italian ships were joined by French and British ones. About 140,000 soldiers were evacuated to Corfu, another 110,000 were evacuated to the French Colony Tunisia to Bizerte, while 2,000 patients were transferred to hospitals in France. A great number of refugees were evacuated to allied and neutral countries. Total losses of the Serbian Army in combat and during the retreat during 1915 are estimated at 250,000 people, while another 140,000 civilians died or went missing.

The evacuation did not represent the end to the mass dying of the exhausted Serbian soldiers and refugees. About 5,400 people died at the islands of Corfu and Vido and about 1,000 in Bizerte. Soon after arrival the accommodation and food conditions improved and the Serbian Army was

recuperated and reorganised rather quickly. The Serbian Government sent pupils and students, a total of about 5,500 to schools, mostly in France and to a lesser degree to Great Britain and Switzerland. At Corfu the Government of Nikola Pašić again became operative, and Nikola Pašić served also as Minister of Foreign Affairs. After the national deputies got together the National Assembly resumed its work and this meant the continuation of work of diplomatic offices and resumed printing of Serbian press. With the material assistance provided by the French and partially British armies, the Serbian Army was reorganised into three armies. In mid April 1916 the transport of the Serbian Army to the Allied fronts to northern Greece began.

While the Army was retreating through Albania, Serbia was occupied, and the occupier did so with the ambition to prevent it from ever becoming an independent state again. The ambitions of the Bulgarian occupier went even further. At the time of attack on Serbia in October 1915, Austria-Hungary and Germany had somewhat different plans regarding the future of the occupied Serbian territory. There were also differences concerning the future of the second Serbian state, Montenegro. In Austria-Hungary there were differences between the Austrian and the Hungarian parts of the Monarchy. Yet, all participants in the aggression shared a position that Serbia as a state should be destroyed. Such a position started to be operationalised at end of November and beginning of December 1915, when the majority of Serbia was occupied and when it seemed that its army was experiencing a complete collapse. The key actors in Vienna advocated an annexation of a big part of Serbia and Montenegro, while the remaining parts would be under military administration, in accordance with the agreements with the German and Bulgarian governments. The Hungarian Prime Minister Istvan Tisza advocated annexation of territories along the Sava river, to which Hungarians and Germans were to be colonised. In order to disturb the Serbian ethnic continuity they were to be colonised in greater numbers in the regions of Srem, Bačka, and Banat. The plans were also to reduce Montenegro in size and disconnect it from the sea. The remaining parts of Serbia and Montenegro were to be a protectorate, politically and economically dependent on the Monarchy. Bulgaria was trying to get an even greater part of Serbia than promised under agreements with the Central Powers. Germany supported Bulgarian aspirations, and itself did not have territorial aspirations towards Serbia. Germany, too, supported the destruction of the Serbian state attempting to have its territory as a part of its „great economic area“.

The conflict regarding the occupied Serbian territory lasted until 1 April 1916 when, under Germany-led arbitration, the demarcation line was finally drawn between the Austria-Hungary and Bulgarian occupation zone. On 1 January 1916 a Military General Government was established in the Austria-Hungarian occupied territory which, after the final demarcation, covered the districts of Šabac, Belgrade, Valjevo, Smederevo, Kragujevac, Gornji Milanovac, a part of the Čuprija district, as well as districts of Užice, Čačak, Kruševac, Kosovska Mitrovica, Novi Pazar and Prijepolje. The Bulgarian occupation area covered the eastern, southern and central Serbia, parts of Kosovo and Metohija,

and Macedonia. It was divided into two administrative regions: the Military-Inspection Area of Morava, with its seat in Niš, and the Military-Inspection Area of Macedonia, with the seat in Skopje. The Military-Inspection Area of Morava consisted of six districts: Požarevac, Negotin, Zaječar, Čuprija, Niš, and Vranje (which included also the Pirot district).

The Austria-Hungarian administration was characterised by ruthless exploitation of natural resources, mass detention of the population in detention camps, and destruction of the political and national awareness among Serbs. The occupying administration, in its propaganda, was portrayed as „civilising“. The destruction of Serbian national culture was carried out by different means, primarily looting, but also through schools and other means. Along with other national features, the Cyrillic script was prohibited, the “Croatian script” (the Latin alphabet) was introduced in schools, Serbian textbooks were prohibited, strong censorship was introduced, prohibition covered the books by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Branko Radičević, and a number of other writers. German and Hungarian languages became mandatory school classes. Significant Serbian Medieval monasteries were plundered, bells were removed from churches, museums, archives and libraries were systematically plundered. The Serbian Orthodox Church was also a target, as a key actor in preserving the national identity. Some 200 priests were detained, the Metropolitan Archbishop and a part of the clergy were in refuge, so the regular church activity was paralysed. The Austria-Hungarian occupation administration tried to transform Serbs into obedient and loyal Monarchy subjects, shaping their national awareness and culture to their desired model.

The economic policy of the Austria-Hungarian occupier brought the country to misery and hunger. Industrial companies, banks and trading companies were transferred by decrees to the authorities of the military administration and state monopoly was introduced over a number of vital products. There were continued requisitions, and the market was completely opened to goods from Austria-Hungary. Food was rationed, and the daily rations were repeatedly reduced. This led to mass starvation of the population and starvation to death. Only in September 1917 more than 8,000 people died of starvation. This most severely affected the most vulnerable, the children and the poor, predominantly in urban areas.

The General Military Government, however, did not question the existence of the Serbian nation. The situation was quite different in the Bulgarian occupation zone. Bulgaria was sticking to the principle that the total Slavic population of Macedonia and the Morava region (areas within the watershed of Južna Morava, Velika Morava and party Zapadna Morava) is in fact Bulgarian, while the Serbian national sentiment is a result of violence exercised by the Serbian state. This was the basis for total Bulgarisation of the nation, which started right after establishing the occupying authority and lasted throughout the war until liberation. Together with the military, the police and the administration, Bulgarian teachers arrived to the occupied areas. Although the occupied territory also had other nations like Albanians, Turks, Greeks, and Jews, the Bulgarisation was aimed primarily at Serbs. As stated by

the Austria-Hungary liaison officer, Bulgarisation was characterised by two major trends: „destruction of the upper class (inteligencia) of the local population, and the introduction of the Bulgarian language“. Deportation and detention of teachers, priests, officers, and others started right away, and many of them were atrociously murdered. The Serbian language and books were prohibited, Serbian personal names were Bulgarised, all family patron saints and other holidays were prohibited, along with the Serbian national costume, especially the “šajkača” cap. A system of ruthless economic exploitation was introduced, which led to hunger.

Already during the attack on Serbia in October 1915 the Bulgarian troops performed great atrocities over the Serb prisoners of war, the wounded and the civilians. After hearing of the manner in which the Bulgarian army acted and the situation in the Bulgarian occupation area, the Serbian Government was convinced that this represents the destruction not only of the Serbian national awareness, but also physical destruction of a great part of the nation, primarily the elite. That is why the government moved on to systematically gather data regarding the crimes committed by the Central Powers, and it turned out that the most numerous and most atrocious were the Bulgarian crimes. To boost this effort of gathering data, the Serbian Government again engaged professor Reiss. At the invitation of the Prime-Minister Pašić, he arrived to the Serbian Army Headquarters in mid October 1916. Already in April 1917 the Serbian Ministry of Defence in Thessalonica published a brochure by Reiss titled *The Destruction of the town of Bitola*. Along with other violations of the international warfare law, this brochure stated that the Bulgarian-German artillery bombed the liberated town of Bitola by poisonous gas granates. In just one bombing campaign, during the night of 16/17 March 1917, such poisonous gas bombing killed 61 persons, among them 25 women and 32 children. During the first bombing of Bitola, the granates targeted the Turkish and the Jewish quarters and buildings in the vicinity of the Serbian Archbishop’s Home, in whose cellar 37 refugees were murdered by gas.

Until summer of 1918, it was impossible for the Serbian Government, and even the Serbian Red Cross, to communicate with the occupied regions. Nevertheless, information regarding the situation in the country arrived through various channels. A key actor in this was the neutral Holland, which represented Serbian interests in Bulgaria. Based on the information which he received through various means, Pašić sent a number of protest notes on behalf of the Serbian Government in the period from 20 September 1916 to 15 April 1918, addressing them to governments of allied and neutral countries, signatories of the Hague Conventions, regarding the Bulgarian violations of international warfare law. A big issue for the Serbian Government was the issue of sending assistance to the country, primarily for the detained. Identifying the actual number of Serbian prisoners of war, and especially civilian detainees, proved to be a great problem due to the stance of Bulgaria regarding the status of the occupied territory and the population therein.

Under the pressure of the international public, the Bulgarian Red Cross at the end of 1917 provided the information that in Bulgaria there is only 21,000 Serbian prisoners of war, while civilian detainees were not even mentioned. This was far from the actual number, because it was known that only from the Morava Military-Inspection Area the Bulgarian detention camps in 1917 housed between 60,000 -65,000 persons. Among them, there were about 8,000 women and girls who were sold, for golden money, by Bulgarians to Turks. Professor Reiss determined that these were mostly girls aged ten to fifteen. A big group of Serbian prisoners of war was sent to Turks to Asia Minor, and they were dying in great numbers while working to finalise the Bagdad railways and communications for the Turkish Army. After Bulgarian capitulations, about 52,000 detained persons returned to Serbia, although the Bulgarian Red Cross reported slightly earlier that the number of detained civilians was 14,324.

The next great wave of violence against the Serbian population started during the Toplica uprising, which broke out at end of February 1917. The actual scope of mass destruction of the Serbian population and material destruction became clear only after the liberation. The National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes established an Inquiry Committee to investigate the causes of the uprising in the districts of Toplica, Vranje, Niš, and some others. In March 1920 the Committee submitted its comprehensive report on the persecution during the Toplica Uprising stating that the number of victims was 35,000. Within preparations for the Paris Peace Conference, a special Inter-Allies Commission was established in 1919 to investigate crimes committed by the Bulgarian occupier in Serbia. According to the reports of this Commission, during the Toplica Uprising in the spring of 1917 a total of 20,000 Serbs were killed, of all ages and both genders. Most were killed by Bulgarians, predominantly by cold weapons, while others were killed by the Austria-Hungarian army and gendarmerie. The killing was accompanied by enormous destruction, plundering and violence.

The World War One was unique also in terms of massive detention of civilians in concentration camps. Detention was used not only against the population of the occupied countries, but also the „unloyal“ individual compatriots. Detention strongly affected the Serbian population, both in Serbia and Montenegro, and in Austria-Hungary. In Serbia proper, both during military operations, and after the establishment of occupation administration in the autumn of 1915, civilians were massively detained along with prisoners of war. According to incomplete data, during the Great War there were about 50 bigger and smaller concentration camps (transit-temporary and permanent) in Austria-Hungary detaining several hundreds of thousands of civilians, citizens of the Monarchy and citizens of occupied countries. In the territory of Yugoslav countries the Monarchy ran about 20 concentration camps, mostly in Slavonia, Srem, and Croatia (Koprivnica, Virovitica, Osijek, Čepin, Tenja, Borovo, Varaždin, Dalj, Petrovaradin, Donji Miholjac, Pleternica, Pačetin, Bobota, Belišće, Bršadin, Turanj, Poganovci, Žegar), the largest one being in Dobož, Bosnia.

Right after the ultimatum to Serbia, Austria-Hungary started mass arrests and detention, using already prepared name lists, and declaring the detainees to be hostages. These were not just members of the Serbian elite, but also all the others, among them a great number of women and children. The Serbian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was targeted with special force, especially in eastern parts, as well as the regions of Srem and Banat. The pretext used was the operations of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies in eastern Bosnia and in Srem in the autumn of 1941. Just in Srem 320 people were killed, and the total number of people detained from 41 villages until the end of 1914 was close to 30,000. Another form of terror was expulsion of Serbs from Srem and their settlement in the villages of western Slavonia, which suffered a great economic burden due to this. In the region of Požega district there were about 13,000 such expelled people, of which about 1,000 Serbs were detained in the concentration camp in Pleternica, while the Serb villages housed 12,000 such expelled people (women, children and elderly) from Srem. From the town of Zemun about 6,000 Serbs were detained in camps in Dalj and Borovo and expelled to western Slavonia.

Of the concentration camps in the territory of Yugoslav states within the Monarchy the biggest camp was in Doboj. The first prisoners were brought to this camp in December 1915. A total of 45,791 people were detained in this camp, of which 33,669 were civilians from Bosnia and Herzegovina (among them more than a half were women and girls), another 9,172 were from Serbia and 2,950 were prisoners of war, men and women and children from Montenegro. By 1 May 1917 the number of people who died in the camp was 1,901 officially, but the number was certainly much higher. According to death records only during April of 1916 643 children died. The Doboj and other camps across the Yugoslav states within the Monarchy were also used as transit camps from which detainees were transferred to other camps in Hungary and Austria.

Already during the first weeks of war against Serbia, camps were established in Austria-Hungary for prisoners of war and the civilian populations from Serbia and for Serbs from the Monarchy. Among the first were the camps Neszider (another name: Sopronnyek), Czegled, and Arad. At the beginning of the war about 1,500 people from Šabac were detained in Czegled and Arad (some sources state as many as 2,000) of which over 200 women and girls. From September 1914 hundreds of civilians from western Serbia were detained in the camp in Tuzla. After taking Belgrade at the beginning of December of 1914 more than 1,500 people were deported from the capital, among them about 150 women and girls.

Mass detentions of the Serbian and Montenegrin population continued also after their breakdown and after the establishment of the occupation administration. Apart from the above camps, they were also detained in camps Nagymegyér, Boldogasszony, Aschach, Mauthausen, as well as in the largest camps: Heinrichsgrün and Braunau am Inn. Before deportation from Serbia, a great part of prisoners were first detained in the Kalemegdan camp in Belgrade. Several thousand people went through this camp

just during 1918, and on daily basis it housed up to 500 detainees. According to professor Reiss, the biggest camp for Russian, Serbian and Montenegrin prisoners of war was in Heinrichsgrün where, at the beginning of October 1916, there were 66,000 detainees. Among these, there were about 12,000 Serbian civilians, mostly from the region Pomoravlje. Apart from camps for prisoners of war and detainees, there was a special camp for Serbian children over five years of age. Detainees from this camp were subsequently transferred to the camp in Braunau am Inn where, in February 1918 more than 3,200 Serbian civilians died, including a significant number of children.

The camp in Braunau am Inn had a Serbian Children Detention School established. This was, in fact, a children's camp in which the children were „re-educated“ and stripped of their national identity. Serbian history was prohibited and mention was made only of events in which Serbs were humiliated. The language of instruction was Croatian, and starting from second grade it was the German language. Disobedient Serbian teachers were transferred to forced labour from which very few returned.

The camp in the Arad fort was one of the worst and one with highest mortality rates. Of about 15,000 detained Serb civilians from Serbia and from Austria-Hungary and Serb soldiers, many of whom came there wounded, about 4,317 died in this camp of disease, starvation, and abuse. Camp detainees were obliged to perform physical labour. The destiny of small children was especially tragic, and a report from the Arad camp states that there were more than 400 children there. A few months later only 30 to 40 were still living, all of them very exhausted and almost dying.

According to the official study of the Serbian Government, as of 1 February 1918 the total number of Serbian prisoners of war in Austria-Hungary was 93,473 and the number of detained civilians was 60,000. That number according to Austria-Hungarian sources was greater, specifically almost 64,000 detainees. The biggest number of detainees (36.621) was in Braunau am Inn, to which detainees from Heinrichsgrün were transferred, the next in terms of numbers was Nagymegyér with 11,876 and Aschach with 4,418, and Boldogasszony with 2,910. In the territory of Hungary the detainees were in numerous smaller camps, the biggest among them being Czegled with 1,231 detainees. According to the date of the occupation administration in Serbia, at the end of 1917, the number of detainees from Serbia had risen to 77,000. The document that the Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes presented at the Peace Conference in Paris at the beginning of 1919 states that there was a total of 182,000 Serbian detainees, of which in Bulgaria 120,000; in Austria-Hungary 60,000; and in Germany 2,000. According to the calculations by professor Reiss, about 150,000 civilians were deported and detained only to camps in Austria-Hungary, of which 80,000 lost their lives, which is 44%.

Despite mass crimes and repression, occupation authorities were aware that their success was limited. As the war moved on and as news of Allies' successes and victories of the Serbian Army came in, the spirit of resistance was getting stronger. Already in March 1916 an Austria-Hungarian source states that it is wrong to think that the Serbs feel defeated. A year later the same source estimates

that „among the majority of the population there still is fanatical hope of Serbia’s independence“. Such sentiment, coupled with the despair due to the very harsh occupation, were expressed through sporadic armed resistance of the population which, near the end of February 1917 in Toplica, grew into a general armed uprising. That was the only major national uprising during World War One. The rebelling army soon liberated Kuršumljia, Prokuplje, and Lebane, and at the beginning of March 1917 it came very close to Niš.

This uprising was not linked to the Serbian Army HQ in Thessalonica, and was an expression of rejecting the occupation, which made Serbs feel disfranchised, humiliated and exploited. As the uprising was a threat to both the Bulgarian and the Austria-Hungarian occupation administrations, their joint forces on 8 March 1917 undertook a general campaign attacking the rebels, using over 60,000 Austria-Hungarian and Bulgarian soldiers, and the combat was joined by the Bulgarian and German aviation. The rebels’ forces were broken by 25 March 1917, and some smaller groups moved on to waging guerrilla resistance. Operations against the rebels were accompanied by mass crimes against the civilians and destruction of whole villages. Although most of the crimes were committed by Bulgarian units, atrocities were just as fierce on the side of the Austria-Hungarian forces. Sporadic resistance of the “comits” (chetniks) did not stop throughout 1917 despite the death of their commander Kosta Vojinović, one of the leaders of the uprising. From beginning of 1918 guerrilla actions increased in number on both Austria-Hungary and Bulgarian occupation areas. During the progress of allied and Serbian units in September and October 1918 there was a whole series of spontaneous uprisings in Serbia and Montenegro, which significantly contributed to the liberation of the country.

After the final decision by the Allies that the Balkan Front is significant and that it needs to be maintained and strengthened, the dilemmas regarding the engagement of the Serbian Army were resolved. The Serbian HQ requested that the Army remains one and under its command, which had a military and even more a political significance. In contrast to this, France requested that Serbian units be subordinated to it. This led to a long dispute, but the Serbian view prevailed. By June 1916 about 127,000 Serbian soldiers were transferred to the Allied front in northern Greece and by the end of the following month this number grew to 152,000. At beginning of August 1916 there were at the Thessaloniki front 127,800 French and 119,000 British troops.

The Serbian Army was located at the central part of the allied forces front north of Thessaloniki and therefore in the Serbian collective memory the Balkans Front is preserved as the Thessaloniki front. Allied forces in Greece were under the command of French commanders, they consisted mostly of French and British troops, along with some significant Russian and Italian units. It soon proved that the most active part of the front with the greatest striking power was the part with the Serbian Army. The coming of the Serbian Army to the Allied Forces front in Greece was a great surprise both for the Allies and for the enemy. In contrast to the belief that Serbia along with its Army was

destroyed, it turned out that it still exists as a major military and political actor that has to be reckoned with.

In summer 1916 the Allies managed to win over Romania to join the war on their side, and a plan was drawn up for joint actions in which the Serbian Army was to play an important role. The offensive at the Thessaloniki Front was to begin on 20 August, and Romania was to attack Austria-Hungary on 27 August. Central powers noticed that an offensive was being prepared, so the Bulgarian Army started a powerful offensive on 17 August. They stroked the heaviest blow in the sector under the control of the Serbian Third Army. Allied forces were made to retreat, but the situation was soon stabilised. Commander Živojin Mišić was urgently summoned from Corfu to take command over the First Army. Command over the Third Army was taken over by General Miloš Vasić. The counter-attack by allied forces started on 14 September 1916 and the main actor was the Serbian First Army. In a three day bloody combat at Gorničevo the Bulgarian forces were broken and made to retreat. Fierce combat continued on mountain Nidže for the mountain tops of Kajmakčalan, which after severe losses was finally won on 30 September. Thus, the Serbian Army was back on its state territory. After the deep advance of the First Army and the battle of Crna Reka, Bulgarian forces retreated 40 kilometres so that the Russian and Serbian forces entered Bitola on 19 November 1916. North of Bitola, Bulgarians and Germans stopped the advance of the Allies and this meant moving on to trench war. This front line remained intact for almost two years until the decisive Allied forces offensive. The Serbian Army confirmed its value, but paid a very high price because 28,000 soldiers were killed. Bulgarians and Germans suffered much greater losses, specifically 68,000 soldiers killed and about 7,700 prisoners of war. Due to heavy losses, the Serbian Army was reorganised again and since that time had only two armies. The First Army, under commander Živojin Mišić, consisted of the Moravska, Drinska and Dunavska divisions, while the Second Army, under commander Stepa Stepanović, consisted of Šumadijska, Timočka and Vardarska divisions. Other allied armies suffered much lower losses, which goes to say that the Serbian Army took the heaviest burden of combat.

Among the ranks of the Serbian Army there were also volunteers from Boka, Hercegovina, Montenegro, as well as soldiers who deserted the Austria-Hungary Army. Due to heavy losses during the retreating from Serbia and in combat on the Thessaloniki front, it became very important for the Serbian Army to attract as many volunteers as possible. The volunteer movement was also encouraged by the Yugoslav Committee for political reasons as Yugoslavs from Austria-Hungary fighting on the side of Entente would strengthen their role as actors of unification. They counted on Yugoslav immigrants in the USA and in British dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and especially on tens of thousands Yugoslavs who, as Austria-Hungarian soldiers, were prisoners of war or surrendered to Russians and Italians. In December 1916 a Serbian Embassy in Washington was established with a special task to recruit volunteers. Lieutenant colonel Milan Pribičević was sent to North America where, in cooperation with the Serbian Embassy and immigrant organisations, he

organised the transfer of volunteers to the Serbian Army. There was a total of 4,200 volunteers transferred and among them, apart from Serbs, there were 200 Croats and a smaller number of Slovenes. The organisation of volunteers in South America and dominions proved to be a failure. Although in Italy there were several thousand Yugoslav prisoners of war, the Italian government for political reasons disrupted their dispatch to the Thessalonica front, and only 260 of them arrived there.

The process of gathering volunteers from Russian detention was much easier. A centre for collection of volunteers was set up in Odessa and during February 1916 the first Serbian Volunteers Brigade was organised with 9,733 soldiers. These were practically exclusively Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lika, and Vojvodina. By August the same year the division grew to 18,000 troops. After Romania joined the war, the division suffered losses of as many as 8,000 troops in battlefield against the Bulgarians in Dobruja. In Odessa the same summer the Second Serbian Volunteer division was formed with 11,169 troops, consisting not only of volunteers, but also other prisoners of war, so apart from Serbs (6,200) there was a significant number of Croats (3,144) and Slovenes (1,556). These two divisions merged to form the Serbian Volunteer Corps under the command of general Mihailo Živković. After the breaking out of the revolution in Russia in March 1917, and especially after the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917, a significant number of this formation dissipated. Finally, during the first months of 1918, a total of 12,500 volunteers arrived in Thessalonica. Volunteers arriving from Russia and the US were a valuable addition to the weakened units of the Serbian Army. Most volunteers in February 1918 formed the Yugoslav division which became part of the Second Army under the command of Commander Stepa Stepanović. The formation of this division had a political significance as it was to demonstrate that all Yugoslavs are taking part in the struggle for a unified country.

With the renewal of political life in Corfu, the conflicts between political parties were also renewed. Nikola Pašić relied on the majority in the National Assembly and full support of the Entente and thus managed to keep control of all decisions and practical moves made. This simplified the manner of managing state politics and ensured continuity under war conditions, but led to monopolising competences and spoiling the political climate. At the same time, there was another conflict, much more severe and subdued. It was a continuation of the conflict between military and civilian authorities which was ongoing in Serbia since the assassination of Aleksandar Obrenović in 1903. The main role in this was played by the secret military officers' organisation „Crna ruka“ (Black Hand) headed by colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis. He was a great patriot, but with strong political ambitions, and thus a threat to the dynasty and the parliamentary regime. The conflict culminated in Corfu and ended with the arrest of Dimitrijević and nine other highly ranking officers, a number of volunteers and civilians, and the investigation was undertaken against another 124 officers. Under an orchestrated and framed indictment that they had organised the assassination against Prince Regent Aleksandar, the ten indictees were tried

before the Military Court in Thessalonica from 2 April to 23 May 1917. Death sentences were pronounced for three indictees, including Dimitrijević, and they were executed on 13 June 1917 in the vicinity of Thessalonica. Thus, Prince Regent Aleksandar, assisted by the Government of Nikola Pašić, came victorious out of this conflict.

The Serbian Government was trying to keep control over the political action for the unification, while the Yugoslav Committee, although funded by the Serbian Government, was trying to be as independent in its role as possible. Between the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee, as well as among the members of the Committee themselves, there were differences regarding the set up of the future state. In order to build consensus regarding the key issues, a meeting was held in Corfu between 15 June and 27 July 1917 of representatives of the Serbian Government, joined by the Speaker of the National Assembly and representatives of the Yugoslav Committee headed by the distinguished Croatian politician Anto Trumbić. In contrast to Serbian representatives, who advocated equality of all religions, Trumbić did not support the equality of Muslims and Jews with Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholic religion. Yet, the stance of the Serbian Government prevailed and the Corfu Declaration, published on 20 July 1917, stipulated equality of all religions. The Declaration determined that the future country shall be called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, that it shall be a constitutional and democratic parliamentary monarchy. According to the Declaration, all three national names are equal, there is equality between the Cyrillic and Latin script, all citizens are equal and have equal rights, the state must reflect religious peace, and there is to be equal and general voting right. The Declaration was welcomed by all supporters of unification. It was also welcomed by the Montenegrin Committee for National unification which on 11 August in Paris made a statement that it fully adopts the Corfu Declaration „convinced that it reflects the aspirations of the Serbian people of Montenegro“.

The Yugoslav movement was getting stronger in Austria-Hungary itself. The death of Emperor Franz Joseph in 1916 and the coming to throne of Tsar Karl in 1916, followed by a great amnesty of political prisoners, contributed to the revival of political life and the strengthening of the Yugoslav movement. Deputies from the Yugoslav countries within the Austrian part of the Monarchy established in the Parliament in Vienna a separate caucus. On behalf of the club, on 30 May 1917, Anton Korošec read the Declaration which emphasised that deputies will work towards the unification of all countries within the Monarchy where Slovenes, Croats and Serbs are living into an independent “state entity” which would be „under the auspices of the Habsburg-Lotharing dynasty“. Although a compromise, this document, named the May Declaration, was a great step towards the unification of the Yugoslavs within the Monarchy, and contributed to the disintegration of the Monarchy. The Declaration made a strong impression across the Yugoslav parts of the Monarchy. The signs of the country coming apart were becoming increasingly obvious. Defeats at fronts, deprivation caused by war, the increasing number of soldiers deserting the army – were signs of a profound crisis that was soon to be resolved.

The USA joining the war against Germany on 6 April 1917 and against Austria-Hungary in December the same year had a crucial significance for the unfolding of World War One, as well as for resolving the issue of Yugoslav unification. The huge military and financial assistance to the countries of Entente, along with the arrival of two million US troops to the European war front have turned around the war situation. The Serbian Government was aware of the significance of the US entering the war, and it expected not only assistance in loans and armament, but also in support to the achievement of the Yugoslav programme. Other nations of Central and Eastern Europe equally had hopes for US support to achieving national liberation. Already as of June 1917 financial aid for Serbia started to arrive from the US. In order to win the support of the USA, Nikola Pašić decided to send to the US a mission that would be tasked with informing the American public and authorities about the Yugoslav programme of the Serbian Government. Before the mission was sent, at end of September 1917, Pašić sent to the US the sanitation service captain, Dr David Albala with the task to promote the war goals of Serbia among the American Jews. At the beginning of 1918, the Chief Rabbi of Serbia, Dr Isak Alkalaj, also arrived to the US with the same task as Dr Albala. The Serbian delegation, headed by the Ambassador to Paris Dr Milenko Vesnić, arrived to the US on 20 December 1917, and soon met with the highest state officials, foreign affairs secretary, John Lansing, and President Woodrow Wilson. The political objectives of the mission had not been achieved by its return at the beginning of February 1918 as the USA was not yet ready to accept the destruction of Austria-Hungary.

Both captain Albala and the Head Rabbi Alkalaj were very active among the Jewish and general US public. Somewhat before the arrival of Albala, on 2 November 1917, the UK Government by its foreign secretary's declaration (the Balfour Declaration) supported the creation of the "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. At Albala's initiative, the deputy Vesnić on 27 December 1917, sent him a letter confirming that Serbia accepts the Balfour Declaration. Thereby the government of a small occupied Serbia was the first after the UK Government to support the renewal of the Jewish state in Palestine. This had been done quite explicitly, in contrast with the actual Balfour Declaration, which aroused numerous controversies and doubts. The letter was written in the English language as it was intended to be published. Thanks to Albala, the letter was soon published in all major US newspapers, presenting a picture of Serbia as a tolerant, broad-minded, and democratic country, especially among the influential Jewish circles.

The adoption of the Corfu Declaration once again demonstrated to Allied countries that the Yugoslav peoples are united in the effort to create a joint state. The Serbian Government through diplomatic and public action tried to get the support of the Allies to endorse the Yugoslav programme, the biggest obstacle to which was lack of readiness to put an end to the Austria-Hungary. The project of unification of South Slavs was just one among the many national movements by peoples within the Monarchy, because Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians were equally

aspiring for the creation of their nation states, and this was impossible without the breaking up of the Monarchy. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia at the beginning of November 1917 provided a strong incentive to this process, by promoting the concept of national self-determination. Building on the democratic principles and the idea of self-determination, The US President Woodrow Wilson at the beginning of January 1918 presented to Congress the "Fourteen Points", supporting the right of nations to self-determination, restoration of occupied countries, rejection of secret agreements and freedom of navigation upon the seas.

The war at the Western Front, despite heavy losses, was not ensuring a decisive advantage to either side. Yet, the course of the war during 1918 was increasingly demonstrating that the Entente allies were getting closer to victory. This did not change significantly even after the Bolshevik Russia exited the war after brokering a peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk at the beginning of March 1918. As a result of this peace treaty, the Central powers were given the right to occupy Ukraine and Belarus, whose stocks of food partially refilled the losses due to the blockade imposed by the Allies. Peace in the East enabled Germany to shift all its forces to the West and on 20 March launch a major offensive across the river Somme. Germany made a deep break-through and Paris was within reach of its artillery. Despite partial successes along other directions, German forces were stopped by June that year. Although both sides had suffered enormous losses of troops, Germany, in contrast to the Allies, had no way of replenishing them.

The change in the stance of the US and subsequently of other Entente Powers happened in June 1918. Thus, the achievement of the Yugoslav national program entered its decisive stage. Within the Monarchy itself the signs of the country's disintegration were becoming increasingly obvious. These changes were not only of national nature, but also of social character, under the influence of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the general weakness of state authorities. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the attacks of Serbian comits against authorities and their supporters grew in frequency, along with setting on fire of bay residences and estates. The situation was similar in Croatia and Slavonia, where the increasing number of deserters from the front and returnees from Russian detention made up the „Green cadres“, whose members were plundering mostly wealthy estate owners and setting the estates on fire.

The first precondition for the achievement of the Yugoslav programme was the victory at the front. Understanding the significance of the Thessalonica front for victory over the Central powers, the Allies starting with June 1918, under the command of Louis Franchet d'Esperey began preparations for a decisive offensive. The proposal of the Serbian Army HQ was accepted to begin the offensive on the Serbian part of the front. The British have long opposed the offensive and only some days ahead of its beginning did they agree to participate in it. The forces on the Thessalonica front were equal; on the other side of 626,000 troops of Bulgaria, Germany and Austria-Hungary there stood 628,000 Allied troops, among which 185,000 French (of which about one half from the colonies); 150,000

Serbian troops (among them 20,000 volunteers); 135,000 Greek troops; 120,000 British; 42,000 Italian and 1,000 Albanian soldiers under Esad Pasha. Allied forces were superior in artillery and aviation, which was further strengthened during the preparations. The Chief of the Serbian Army HQ was Commander Živojin Mišić; the commander of the First Army was general Petar Bojović; the commander of the Second Army was commander Stepa Stepanović. The orders of General d'Esperey stated that after the preparations of the artillery on 14 September, the following day should begin with the infantry attack of the Serbian forces, that the attack by British and Greek troops would commence on 18 September, to be followed by the French attack on 24 September 1918. The orders of the Serbian HQ stated that the speed of the break through is decisive for the success of the overall offensive, that it should be done „without rest, until the maximum limits of human and horse power“.

The Allied forces “hurricane” artillery fire accompanied by aviation operations lasted from 14 to 15 September, followed by infantry attack of the Serbian Second Army. After tireless and bloody battles the Bulgarian front was breached along the line Veternik - Dobro Polje, and the following day Kozjak was taken thus enabling a break through into the Tikveš valley. Four Serbian and one French division participated in the offensive. The attack of British-Greek forces on 18 September was a failure and threatened to stop the whole offensive. The Serbian Army HQ decided to continue the attack during the three days which followed and made a break through into the valley of the Vardar river. The quick advance of the Serbian and allied troops was not stopped despite the great back up from the Western front. Austria-Hungarian HQ sent major backup to Serbia as well. It was all in vein since the Serbian and Allied forces advancing from the south was unstoppable. On 29 September the French cavalry took Skopje, and delegates of the Bulgarian Government offered capitulation, which was signed in the night of 29/30 September 1918.

Bulgarian capitulation was a heavy blow to the Central Powers, but they still had significant forces in the Balkan front. The Serbian Army HQ did not want to give the enemy time to take a break and organise its defence, so the advance of the Serbian Army continued at full speed. The Serbian Army was highly motivated, it was fighting on its territory for the liberation of its country and enjoyed the support of the population. Their advance was so quick and so powerful that military reports noted that the French cavalry could not keep up with the advances of the Serbian infantry. Not waiting for the Allied forces, the Serbian First Army on 2 October defeated an Austria-Hungarian division near Vranje, and got close to Niš, where there were strong German forces. General d'Esperey ordered the Serbian HQ to stop its advancing, and the HQ did not consent. After that the Army commanded by Petar Bojović, who was in the meantime titled commander, struck a heavy blow to German forces in the Niš operation on 11 October and liberated Niš and Prokuplje. This had a huge impact on the future course of the war, as it cut off communication with Turkey, which capitulated on 30 October 1918. The First Army under commander Bojović continued energetically to

make its advance to the north and on 1 November at the head of the Danube division he entered Belgrade which greeted him with enthusiasm. The advance of Serbian and allied forces was significantly supported by the population of occupied Serbia and Montenegro. Under the leadership of comits (chetniks) or spontaneously, the local population of the occupied areas attacked enemy units and often locally liberated parts of the territory before the actual arrival of Serbian and Allied troops. Along the valley of the Ibar river, in Sandžak (Raška) and in Montenegro there was a general uprising even before the arrival of liberators. The Austria-Hungary garrison in Cetinje surrendered on 2 November and the same day the uprising and the comits liberated Nikšić.

The Serbian Army on 3 November 1918 reached the northern and the western borders of the country, and the same day Austria-Hungary signed capitulation. Germany signed the armistice on 11 November 1918, whereby the military operations ended in Europe. The war was to be formally ended at the Peace Conference in Paris and by signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 29 June 1919, stating Germany as the one guilty of the war.

Ahead of the announced capitulation, on 2 November 1918, Nikola Pašić requested the Serbian HQ to take Yugoslav territories within Austria-Hungary. The Army HQ issued an order to take the region of Banat east of Timisoara and Arad, the region of Bačka up to the line Subotica-Baja, as well as provinces of Slavonia with Srem, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Kranjska and Koruška. At the same time, the national councils of Yugoslav provinces were sending their delegates to the Serbian HQ requesting the HQ to take their territories, protect their national interests and maintain peace and order. The greatest risk was threatening the western Yugoslav territories where Italy had claims according to the London agreement of 1915. In the taking of the Slovenian territory a significant role was played by Serbian prisoners of war who prevented the breakthrough of the Italian army towards Ljubljana. At the request of the National Council, the Serbian Army on 14 November entered Zagreb, and the same day the advance of the Italian Army was stopped near Rijeka.

The victorious advance of the Serbian Army and Allied forces created the realistic conditions for the unification of the Yugoslav territories of the Monarchy. The previous government simply collapsed, and the unification movement started establishing its authorities. The Croatian Assembly on 29 October 1918 declared the termination of all state and legal links between Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia with the Monarchy and made a decision to join the common State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs headed by the National Council. The Serbian Government supported the National Council in the belief that it would „contribute to speedy unification of all Serbo-Croats and Slovenes in one free state“. During the second half of November 1918 national assemblies of individual provinces made their relevant decisions on unification with Serbia. The National Council in Zagreb on 25 November made a decision on unification of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with the Kingdom of Serbia and Montenegro into one state. The very same day the Great National Assembly of Serbs, Bunjevac people and other Slavs of Banat, Bačka and

Baranja made a decision in Novi Sad that these provinces secede from Hungary and join the Kingdom of Serbia. The Great National Assembly of Serbian people in Montenegro on 26 November 1918 made a decision that King Nikola and the Petrović dynasty be removed from the Montenegrin throne and that Montenegro be united with Serbia and join the common state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In Bosnia and Herzegovina a great majority of districts at their assemblies decided for unconditional unification with Serbia.

The formal act of creating the Yugoslav state took place in Belgrade on 1 December 1918 in the house of the Krsmanović family at Terazije Square, where the Royal Court was temporarily accommodated. Representatives of the National Council from Zagreb read their Address, and Prince Regent Aleksandar read his Response to the Address, presenting the basic principles regarding the internal organisation of the united state until the time of convening the Constitutional Assembly, to decide the final structure of the state.

In the war for liberation and unification of Yugoslav peoples Serbia endured exceptional losses in population which cannot be replenished. According to official data presented at the Peace Conference in Paris at the beginning of 1919, Serbia lost about one million people during the war, of which 369,518 soldiers and 630,000 civilians. According to other data, the Serbian losses were about 1,200,000 and some sources estimated them at 1,300,000 people. The number of disabled was in hundreds of thousands. Although presently it is estimated that the losses were much lower, it is beyond dispute that they by far exceed the losses of other countries which participated in the Great War. This war, unprecedented by its scope in previous history, took about 17 million lives, among them 7 million civilians, and 20 million wounded.

Serbia at the end of the war was destroyed and plundered. Material devastation was enormous and estimated at 7 to 10 billion golden francs. Into building the united state Serbia invested not only huge human and material losses, but also its statehood and tradition, as well as the efforts to define and provide diplomatic support for the program of Yugoslav unification. Thanks to its military force Serbia preserved the territory in which Yugoslav peoples lived and prevented its segmentation. As one of the states which won the victory, putting under its auspices the other Yugoslav peoples, it made it possible for them to avoid the status of the defeated and join the victorious side with almost no losses.

During World War One Serbian Jews made a significant contribution to liberation and unification, bearing along with other citizens of Serbia the great losses, along the front lines and in the background. Except in battlefield and from sustained wounds and disease, they also perished in Austria-Hungarian camps. The number of Jews living in the pre-war Serbia was between six and seven thousand, of which about 600 took part in the war. Several hundreds were wounded, almost 150 killed, hundreds disabled. Many among them were decorated for the courage they demonstrated. Jewish courage and persecution in the fight for liberation strengthened their position and integration and reputation among the Serbs and this is evidenced by the

monument at the entry to the Jewish (Sephardic) cemetery in Belgrade. Jews shared a strong national and patriotic feeling with other citizens of Serbia. The ideals of the youth of that time, the youth to which she herself belonged, were described by Paulina Lebl-Albala as follows: "We were aware that our generation had the honour and the duty to live up to the Kosovo legacy". When the Serbian Army was entering Belgrade on 1 November 1918 the liberators were welcomed at the Terazije Square by members of the Committee of Belgrade Ladies and with the signing of the Belgrade and Serbian-Jewish Singing Society, who handed colonel Milojević a silver cup. At the welcoming ceremony for the Prince Regent Aleksandar five days later the Serbian national anthem was sung by the Singing Society Stanković and the Serbian-Jewish Singing Society.

*Translator Žaneta Miljanić*



*Monument to Jewish soldiers fallen in the wars 1912-1918. Jewish Sephardic Cemetery Belgrade*

#### *SOURCES AND LITERATURE*

- Mile Bjelajac, *1914-1918: Zašto revizija? Stare i nove kontroverzije o uzrocima Prvog svetskog rata*, Beograd, Medija centar 'Obrana', 2014.
- Vladimir Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, Beograd, Prosveta, 1966.
- Isidor Đuković, *Tifus u Srbiji 1914-1915*, Beograd, Udruženje potomaka ratnika Srbije od 1912-1920, Signature, Beograd, 2006.
- Isti, *Austrougarski zarobljenici u Srbiji 1914-1915*, Beograd, Signature, 2008.

Milorad Ekmečić, *Ratni ciljevi Srbije 1914*, Beograd, Srpska književna zadruga, 1973.

Ludvik Hiršfeld, *Istorija jednog života*, Beograd, Srpska književna zadruga, 1962.

Milan Koljanin, *Jevreji i antisemitizam u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, Beograd, Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2008.

Mihailo M. Milošević, *Jevreji za slobodu Srbije 1912-1918*, Beograd, Filip Višnjić, 1995.

Andrej Mitrović, *Prodor na Balkan. Srbija u planovima Austro-Ugarske i Nemačke 1908-1918*, Beograd, Nolit, 1981.

Isti, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu*, Beograd, Srpska književna zadruga, 1984.

Isti, *Ustaničke borbe u Srbiji 1916-1918*, Beograd, Srpska književna zadruga, 1987.

Anika Mombauer, *Uzroci Prvog svetskog rata. Sporenja i saglasnosti*, Beograd, Clio, 2013.

Božidar Panić i dr., *Aradska tvrđava. Austrougarski logor za istrebljenje Srba 1914-1918*, Požarevac, Savez potomaka ratnika Srbije 1912-1920, 2007.

Nikola B. Popović, *Srbi u Prvom svetskom ratu 1914-1918*, DMP, Arhiv Srbije i dr., 1998.

Mira Radojević, Ljubodrag Dimić, *Srbija u Velikom ratu 1918-1918. Kratka istorija*, Beograd. Srpska književna zadruga, Beogradski forum za svet ravnopravnih, 2014.

R.A.Reiss, D.Sc., *Izveštaj podnesen srpskoj vladi i zverstvima koja je austrougarska vojska počinila za vreme prvog upada u Srbiju*, Beograd, Gornji Milanovac, Dečje novine, 1995.

Flora Sandes, *Engleskinja u srpskoj vojsci*, Beograd, Mladost turist, Itaka, 1995.

*Spomenica poginulih i umrlih srpskih Jevreja u Balkanskom i Svetskom ratu 1912-1918*. Izdanje Odbora za podizanje spomenika palim jevrejskim ratnicima, Beograd 1927.

Đorđe Đ. Stanković, Nikola Pašić, *saveznici i stvaranje Jugoslavije*, Beograd, Nolit, 1984.

Isti, *Izazov nove istorije*, Beograd, Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992.

Isti, *Izazov nove istorije (2)*, Beograd, NIU 'Vojska', 1994.

Vladimir Stojančević, *Srbija 1908-1918. Izabrani radovi*, Beograd, Srpska književna zadruga, 1995.

*Stradanje srpskog naroda u Srbiji 1914-1918. Dokumenta*, priredili Slađana Bojković i Miloje Pršić, Beograd, Istorijski muzej Srbije, 2000.

Katarina Šturceneger, *Srbija u Evropskom ratu 1914-1915*, Novi Sad, Akademska knjiga, 2009.

Arijus van Tinhooven, *Strahote rata u Srbiji. Dnevnik ratnog hirurga 1915*, Beograd, Utopija, 2005.

Petar Tomac, *Prvi svetski rat 1914-1918*, Beograd, Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1973.

Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije i stvaranje jugoslovenske države 1914-1920*, Beograd, Narodna knjiga, Srpska književna zadruga, 1986.

*Jewish Historical Museum Beograd/Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia*

## Content

**\*\*\* Dan Reisinger 1934-2019**

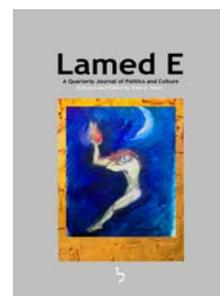
**Stuart Schoffman: *The Ubiquitous Gabirol***

**Benjamin Kerstein: *Why Anti-Zionism Is Worse Than Antisemitism***

**David Arenson and Simon Grynberg: *Anti-Globalization: The New Anti-Semitism***

**Vojislava Radovanović: *Serbian Jews in World War One***

**Milan Koljanin: *Serbia In The World War One***



### *Lamed E*

*Selected and Edited by  
Ivan L Ninic*

**Shlomo Hamelech 6/21  
4226803 Netanya, Israel  
Phone: +972 9 882 6114  
e-mail: [ivan.ninic667@gmail.com](mailto:ivan.ninic667@gmail.com)**

<https://listzaradoznale.wixsite.com/lamed>

***Lamed E* logo is designed by  
Simonida Perica Uth**