

УДК 94(497.11 Рашка област)"1941/1944"  
94:339.194(497.11)"1941/1944"

DOI <https://doi.org/10.31212/tokovi.2019.3.ziv.105-125>

Оригинални научни рад

Примљен: 29. 1. 2019.

Прихваћен: 28. 5. 2019.

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### **“Štuka” – Black Market on the Territory of Stari Ras During the Occupation of Serbia in World War II\***

**Abstract:** The paper is about the emergence and development of the black market on the territory of Novi Pazar, Tutin, Raška, Sjenica, Nova Varoš, Priboj, Prijepolje, Pljevlja, and Bijelo Polje between 1941 and 1944, the profitability of numerous aspects of illegal trade, the massive participation of the local population of both religions in the various corrupt activities on the market, and the attitude of the occupational and collaborationist authorities as well as liberation movements, with regard to this phenomenon.

**Key words:** Black Market, Smuggling, Speculators, Smugglers, Black Marketeers, Malversation, Stari Ras, Germans, Italians, Border

The problems that arose with the establishment of the border between the Italian and German occupational zones in wartime Yugoslavia, together with the difficult financial status among the majority of the population of Stari Ras,<sup>1</sup> enabled the development of the black market. “Štu-

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\* The paper is written within the project *Serbian society in the Yugoslav state during 20th century: between democracy and dictatorship* (177016), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 .This territory is also referred to as the „Raška region“, or “Novopazarski Sandžak” or only “Sandžak” in Serbian and Yugoslav literature engaged in Serbian history of 19th and 20th century. It’s considered that Stari Ras cover the territory of: Rožaje, Tutin, Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Gusinje, Plav, Bijelo Polje, Nova Varoš, Priboj, Prijepolje, Brodarevo and Pljevlja (in some cases even Čajniče, Raška and Kosovska Mitrovica).

ka,” as the local people used to call these business activities,<sup>2</sup> was omnipresent and completely pervaded daily life during the war. On the basis of the extent and intensity of smuggling, it can be concluded that even before the occupation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the territory of Stari Ras was a fertile ground for a variety of speculative business activities. On the one hand, the war additionally weakened government discipline, while, on the other hand, it increased the needs of the population. A key reason for the local population’s involvement in these criminal activities was the high profitability of black-market business activities. However, it was not always easy to obtain illegal profits. Life-threatening situations were present at every step, posed by the occupational and collaborationist customs and border authorities, competing smuggling groups, and various marauding gangs, as well as the wilderness of the Stari Ras region.

#### *Malversation with Monopolized Commodities and Food*

In the days following the April War, the newly established border between Italy and Germany was not properly secured.<sup>3</sup> This is described in the report of the gendarmerie units of the Ustasha regime of the Independent State of Croatia (ISC) from Sjenica dated June 1941, indicating that the newly established Albanian Gendarmerie kept border guards and performed customs service in the Sjenica and Deževno counties. Its members, as the Ustasha authorities complained, performed those functions “in a much too friendly manner” being in familial or friendship relations with many of the smugglers.<sup>4</sup> The “openness” of the border soon led to smuggling becoming widespread within the area of Tutin – Novi Pazar – Sjeni-

2 Istorijski arhiv „Ras“ Novi Pazar (Historical Archive „Ras“ Novi Pazar - IARNP), fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOB-i, III, 542–543.

3 According to the Vienna Agreements, the line of interest and territorial demarcation between Italians and Germans on the territory of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia had the following direction: Somobor – Petrinja – along the road: Petrinja – Glina – Bosanski Novi – Prijedor – Banja Luka – Jajce – Donji Vakuf – Travnik – Visoko – Sarajevo – along the railroad: Sarajevo – Prača – Ustiprača – Rudo – along the road: Rudo – Priboj – line Priboj – Nova Varoš – along the road: Nova Varoš – Sjenica – Novi Pazar – Kosovska Mitrovica – along the railroad: Kosovska Mitrovica – Kosovo Polje – Uroševac – line Uroševac – Prizren. The most important for us is the line: Rudo – Priboj – Nova Varoš – Sjenica – Novi Pazar – Kosovska Mitrovica. All parts south of the line belonged to the Italians while the parts north from of the line belonged to the Germans. The last two towns also became a part of the occupational zone of the Third Reich. Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom 1941–1943*, (Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1999), 63, 66.

4 Vojni arhiv (Military archiv - VA), Nezavisna država Hrvatska (NDH), 143–3–8/1.

ca – Nova Varoš– Priboj – Pljevlja. The economic under development and lack of social enlightenment of the Christians and Muslims living in Stari Ras, which was inherited from the interwar period, additionally contributed to the expansion of all forms of illegal trade.<sup>5</sup>

The testimony regarding the above stated was left by General Milan Nedić's trustees, who were present in this area at the time. One of the reports from the beginning of July 1942, states the following: "The unsettled economic situation must have led naturally to the emergence of the black market, which has evidently been flourishing in this region. All possible articles are sold and bought on the black market at high prices. It can be said that there are almost no efforts by (*the occupational*, M. Ž.) authorities to eliminate the black market."<sup>6</sup> In addition, Novi Pazar, Tutin, and Raška were known as centers of the black market even during the 19th century.<sup>7</sup> Illegal trade had a variety of forms, including smuggling of monopolized items, Italian textiles, currency, weapons,<sup>8</sup> alcohol, horses,<sup>9</sup> timber,<sup>10</sup> etc.

Speculative dealings with monopolized staple goods and items (salt, sugar, tobacco, gas) were the most profitable. Therefore, the highest representatives of the local collaborationist authorities and the people close to them were involved in these illegal activities. On 12 June 1941, the commissary administration complained that the Albanian authorities in Kosovska Mitrovica, Novi Pazar, Vučitrn, and Podujevo were "ob-

5 Мирко Ђуковић, *Санџак*, (Београд: Просвета, 1964), 8–14.

6 VA, Nedićeva arhiva (NDA), 2–4II–76/7; *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina*, ur. Ali Hadri i Živko Avramovski, (Београд: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1979), 288; *Нови Пазар и околина*, ur. Михаило Малетић, (Београд: Књижевне новине, 1969), 345.

7 Тихомир Ђорђевић, *Рашка и околина*, (Рашка: СИЗ културе СО Рашка, 1987), 157, 159, 242.

8 VA, Italijanska arhiva (IA), 308a–4–8/1.

9 IARNP, fond 283, Zbirka dokumenata iz Narodnooslobodilačkog rata (NOR), Izveštaj Krajskomande Kosovska Mitrovica o veterinarskoj službi u okrugu Kosovskomitrovačkom od 15. jula 1942. godine, 3.

10 .This type of criminal activity was quite widespread in the course of the war. Apart from collaborationist organizations, liberation movements were also engaged in the fight against the illegal cutting of timber. This is how, for instance, Miodrag Prijović, a Chetnik commander of Priboj County, issued strict order to his companions at the end of 1942 to undertake all measures in order to stop deforestation. In order to achieve the same goal, the Italian invaders founded a forest directorate at the Governorate of Montenegro. Istorijски архив Краљево (Historical archive Kraljevo - IAK), fond 412, lični fond Tihomira Đorđevića (TĐ), kut. 37, Opštinskoj upravi Raška 30. 4. 1942, br. 5573; Arhiv Srbije (Archive of Serbia - AS), Ž-28, Zbirka dokumenata iz Narodnooslobodilačkog rata (NOR), kut. 13, f. Sandžački četnici, dok. 14, 1; VA, IA, 739–5–9/3.

taining sugar and salt for these counties at a determined monopoly price from the sugar factory in Belgrade, which were later sold at extremely high prices. In this way, Šaban Čolaković and Mustafa Deva from Mitrovića obtained two wagons of sugar for the County of Kosovska Mitrovića at the expense of the Serbian population they had previously driven away from their homes. They sold several hundred kilograms for 25 dinars per kg while the remaining part was sold under the counter so that their profits were more than 1,500,000 dinars for that part."The commissary administration protested to the Germans that such "outright plunder" should be stopped as soon as possible.<sup>11</sup>

The extent to which the occupying forces were concerned about the issue can be seen in the complaint by Senator Tihomir Šarković from Raška of 31 January 1942. In this complaint, he asked General Nedić to prohibit the further delivery of monopoly items to the Albanian administration in Novi Pazar, which was explained by the fact that it did not provide the local Serbs with any food but that they supplied themselves through the Refugee Committee in Raška.<sup>12</sup> Some members of the Albanian administration thus illegally sold the surplus obtained in that way in Albania, sometimes even at a 100% higher price. Novi Pazar thus became a black market center as it had been in the time of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>13</sup> It seems that there was also illegal trade with the aid coming from Raška to the remaining Serbs in Novi Pazar.<sup>14</sup>

The black market network was also extensive in another part of Stari Ras, in the counties of Priboj, Pljevlja, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, and Prijepolje. The reason was that the Italian authorities had failed to establish a regular supply of corn and monopolized commodities<sup>15</sup> for a long time. Therefore, the population went to the territory of the ISC, to Bosnia, in order to purchase necessary food staples.<sup>16</sup> The Counties of Zlatibor, Arilje,

11 VA, NDa, 20A-2-5/1.

12 IAK, fond 412, TĐ, kut. 37, Izveštaj okružnog Odbora za zbrinjavanje izbeglica Raška, 31. 1. 1942, 1-2.

13 IARNP, fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOB-i, III, 541.

14 IAK, fond 412, TĐ, kut. 37, Naredba Suhoplaninskog četničkog odreda od 22. januara 1942. godine, 1.

15 When food was supplied regularly, the population was mostly well-provided. For instance, for July 1942, the Italian authorities approved, only for Pljevlja County, a shipment comprising: 128 t of corn, 12.2 t of rice and 6.3 t of sugar. For April 1943, the Counties of Priboj, Pljevlja, Prijepolje and Bijelo Polje received: 22 t of flour, 155.5 t of corn, 37.4 t of sugar, 62.3 t of rice and 50 t of pasta. VA, IA, 740a-2-18/2; Ibid., 752-1-57/1; „На време помоћ – права је помоћ“, *Пљеваљски весник*, 27. 7. 1942.

16 VA, NDH, 61-2-10/1.

and Morava were an even more frequent source of supply. Soon, in the middle of June 1941, the Croatian gendarmerie from Sjenica<sup>17</sup> arrested the first large group of blackmarketeers together with several farmers from Pešter who had been smuggling salt.<sup>18</sup> The real smuggling market was located in the Muslim village of Boroviće (leather, wool, textiles, weapons), on the mountain of Javor,<sup>19</sup> north of Sjenica. Since the local population was earning substantial amounts of money in this way, they did not refrain from using arms to defend their business interests. Their targets were equally members of collaborationist Serbian border guards (SGS) and German and Italian customs officers and soldiers.<sup>20</sup> However, in the above mentioned three counties, prices were extremely high. As the commercial institutions of Nedić's government announced in July 1942, corn was paid 70 dinars/kg, lard 450 dinars/kg, cheese and cream (kajmak) 200 dinars/kg, etc.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, going from Zlatibor, Arilje, and Morava counties to Stari Ras and vice versa was not at all safe in some phases of the occupation. People were robbed and killed, often after brutal torture.<sup>22</sup>

Chetnik commander Radomir Đekić<sup>23</sup> used this situation to create a monopoly on the black market with his companions. The local command

17 .More data on the presence of ISC authorities in this area, as well as in the territory of Stari Ras in general, can be found in: Милутин Живковић, *Независна држава Хрватска у Србији 1941. Усташки режим у Прибоју, Пријеполу, Новој Вароши и Сјеници (април–септембар 1941)*, (Београд: Друштво историчара Србије „Стојан Новаковић“, 2018).

18 VA, NDH, 84–2–56/1; Ibid., 143–1–15/1.

19 Салих Селимовић, *Кладница 2*, (Ужице: Графичар, 2015), 111, 116.

20 On 13 June 1942, about 400 Muslims from the village Kladnica attacked a group of German soldiers (60 fighters) and a platoon of Serbian border guards of the Arilje border detachment after they had confiscated goods intended for smuggling in the village of Boroviće. The fight lasted all day in several villages on Javor (Boroviće, Kalipolje, Bukovik – robbed village) between Serbs and Germans on one side and Muslims on the other. In that occasion, two members of the SGS were killed and two German soldiers were wounded. As for the Muslims, there were 20 dead and several dozen wounded combatants. The people from Kladnica were saved from retaliation by the fact that the village was located in the Italian occupational zone where Germans did not have the right to carry out repression. VA, NDA, 136–8–16/1–3.

21 Ibid., 29–2–59/14.

22 At the beginning of June 1942, five farmers from Morava County went to Sjenica to buy corn illegally. On return, they were intercepted by local Muslims who robbed and savagely killed them in a forest on the very border. Стеван др Игњић, Јаван Радовановић, Властимир Луковић, Љубомир Марковић, Милан Бујошевић, *Ивањица – хроника моравичког краја*, (Београд: СУБНОР, 1972), 446.

23 Commander of Zlatibor Chetnik detachment was present with his unit within the areas of Užice, Ivanjica, Arilje, Nova Varoš, and Sjenica. He entered Užice first in September 1941. He was close to Kosta Pečanac as well as General Dragoljub Mihailović. He fought against Muslim militia from Stari Ras as well as authorities of the ISC and

of Serbian State Guard (SDS) complained that he managed to fraudulently obtain 30 tons of salt and 8 tons of sugar from the Serbian Government in Belgrade and resell it with his companions (salt for 15 and sugar for 180 dinars/kg). Therefore, the SDS command in Užice ordered Đekić's arrest in mid-1942.<sup>24</sup> Javor military commander Božidar Ćosović was even more prone to various shady dealings.<sup>25</sup> In the summer of 1943, among other reasons, he was sentenced to death and executed by the followers of General Mihailović.<sup>26</sup> Captain Dušan Radović "Kondor",<sup>27</sup> a commander of the Zlatibor Corps of the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland, also publicly complained about the illegal activities of some local Chetnik commanders.

Since the black market had become the first option for the citizens to provide for themselves, there was an astronomical increase in prices of food staples in the territory of Polimlje. Priboj archpriest and prominent national activist Mihajlo Jevđević complained to the Italian authorities in November of 1941 that the prices of food products had increased from 100 to even 500%<sup>28</sup> on the average when compared to the pre-war period. At the same time, the collaborationist press wrote that "goods bought for a few dinars are sold for dozens of lire."<sup>29</sup> For instance, at the beginning of 1942, in the counties of Pljevlja, Priboj, and Prijepolje, a kilogram of salt cost 100 dinars while a kilogram of sugar went for as much as 300 dinars. When there were enough goods, the usual price was 9 dinars for salt and 20–25 dinars for sugar.<sup>30</sup> The profitability of these dealings was also recognized by those Chetniks who collaborated with the Italians. Thus, in Bijelo Polje County, they raised the price of corn received from the oc-

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communists in Bosnia. He participated in the siege of Višegrad in the autumn 1941. Later on, he joined the forces of Major Petar Bačović.

24 VA, NDa, 21–2–21/1.

25 Born in the village Brezovi near Ivanjica. Before the war, he was a cooper. As a self-proclaimed war commander, he was present with his companions in the areas of Ivanjica, Arilje, Nova Varoš, and Sjenica. He was sometimes loyal to Kosta Pecanać and sometimes to Dragoljub Mihailović and frequently he acted independently. He fought against the Partisans, Muslim militia, Italians, and Germans. There are noted cases of his cooperation with both occupiers. He was deeply involved in crime, mostly murders and robberies of not only Muslims, but also Christians.

26 Istorijски архив Београд (Historical Archive Belgrade - IAB), BDS, J-314/60–61.

27 Коста Николић, *Историја Равногорског покрета 1941–1945. Србија под окупацијом*, II, (Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 2014), 33.

28 VA, IA, 745–7–48/1.

29 „Опомена шпекулантима“, *Пљеваљски весник*, 26. 1. 1942.

30 AS, Ž-30, Zbirka fotografija (ZF), 206/26, 84, 27, 37, 38, 140–141.

cupational forces for distributing to the people and thus made a special fund for the needs of their armed units.<sup>31</sup>

All of this had resulted in the regulation of fixed prices for basic products on the territory of the Governorate of Montenegro<sup>32</sup> and intensified control by the occupational administration for the purpose of complying with regulations.<sup>33</sup> The fight against speculators soon gave certain results.<sup>34</sup> According to the collaboration press, *Pljevaljski Vesnik*, at the beginning of October of 1941, as many as 10 traders from Prijepolje were arrested. As a consequence of non-compliance with the mentioned regulations, there was a full confiscation of goods from shops and they were sold at regular prices.<sup>35</sup> In January of the next year, inspection control was carried out in Pljevlja, considering that various embezzlers became enormously rich using "urgent need and shortage which is (was, M. Ž.) unbearable" for the local population. Therefore, several Muslim illegal traders were imprisoned and fined while all articles in the shops were sold out.<sup>36</sup> Caught black marketeers often ended up in Italian concentration camps.<sup>37</sup> The revolutionary communist authorities also made a fixed price list for the staple food on the territory of Stari Ras. It is understandable that it was less favorable than the one prescribed by the Governorate of Montenegro.<sup>38</sup>

On the territory of Novi Pazar, Raška, and Kosovska Mitrovica, the situation was similar. Although, the Serbian collaborationist government

31 Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archive of Yugoslavia - AJ), fond 110, Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača (DKRZ), 263/715.

32 Established after the suppression of the July Uprising in Montenegro, precisely on 3 October 1941. A leading figure in this was General Biroli who had full military and civilian rule in Montenegro and great part of Stari Ras starting from 25 July. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti*, 96–97.

33 VA, IA, 745–7–53/2; Ibid., 37/2; Ibid., 749–2–43/1.

34 The Italian authorities also allowed commodity exchange in order to suppress the black market. For that purpose, a special rate for payment-in-kind was introduced. It was conceived as follows: 1 kg of corn – 2/3 kg of potato, 0.5 kg of beans – 3/4 kg of cabbage, 1 kg of rice – 0.25 kg of live chicken, 1 kg of ham – 6 kg of corn and the like. Ibid., 746–4–5/1; this payment-in-kind was also carried out on the territory of Novi Pazar and Raška. The local authorities traded sugar with the farmers in a way that 1 kg of it was exchanged for: 4 kg of wheat, 5 kg of corn or 5 kg of rye. IAK, fond 412, TĐ, k. 37, Dopis Odbora za izdržavanje izbeglica i pogorelaca opštinskoj upravi u Raški, 16. II 1942. godine, 1.

35 „Разне вести“, *Пљеваљски весник*, 27. 10. 1941.

36 „Опомена шпекулантима“, *Пљеваљски весник*, 26. 1. 1942.

37 Хилмија Хасанагић, *У суровој школи*, (Београд: Просвета, 1962), 36, 143, 178, 196, 204.

38 VA, Narodnooslobodilačka vojska Jugoslavije (NOV), 175–16–5/1–2.

prescribed fixed values of products by the “Decree on Prices” (the prices in September 1941 for instance, were as follows – cheese and cream (kajmak) 38 dinars/kg, meat 26 dinars/kg, lard 90 dinars/kg, etc.),<sup>39</sup> the villagers themselves determined the prices for their own products so that sometimes they literally robbed their customers. Thus in the open market in Raška in December 1941, wheat was available “under the counter” for 20 dinars/kg, lard for 140 dinars/kg, apples for 32 dinars/kg, walnuts for 30 dinars/kg, an egg for 3 dinars, etc.<sup>40</sup> In Kosovska Mitrovica, the price of a kilo of bread was 50 dinars, while for instance, a daily earning of workers in the plant of Trepča was between 50–80 dinars.<sup>41</sup> The malversation with the prices of food never ceased, which is evident from the fact that commercial police bodies of Kosovska Mitrovica County submitted 116 criminal charges against various smugglers during December of 1942, 264 in October and November of the next year, and another 105 in February of 1944, and collected 320,452 dinars on account of several hundred pronounced sentences.<sup>42</sup>

The illegal flow of large quantities of food, primarily sugar, gas, tobacco, corn, and alcohol, awakened the desire of many people to seek easy money. School inspector and teacher Tihomir Đorđević from Raška noted that “the biggest black marketeer of Raška and Sandžak is Života Ivanović, a big seller of salt and tobacco”. As for his business dealings at both sides of the border<sup>43</sup> and his smuggling network in general within Deževo, Studenica and Sjenica Counties and sub-prefecture Tutin, Đorđević adds: “The Turks formally expelled him from Novi Pazar and he came to Raška to make it blissful in the same way he did with Novi Pazar... (*Tobacco, M. Ž.*) He takes a pack of cigarettes ‘Ibar’ or ‘Zeta’ to Novi Pazar or Kosovska Mitrovica and sells them there for 30 dinars. He did the same with salt. Salt was sold to resellers for 35–50 dinars and they were taking it to Novi

39 „Попис цена“, *Ново време*, 6. 9. 1941. године.

40 IAK, fond 412, ТД, kut. 3, Dnevnicu Tihomira Đorđevića 1943. godine, Ratni dnevnik 24. 4. – 31. 5. 1941. godine, 16; Ibid., Ratni dnevnik 1. 1. – 29. 4. 1942. godine, 57; Ibid., kut. 4, Dnevnicu Tihomira Đorđevića 1941–1946, Ratni dnevnik april–maj 1941. godine, 32.

41 *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina*, 288.

42 AS, Ž-28, NOR, kut. 2, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 252, 3; Ibid., dok. 196, 3; Ibid., dok. 217, 3; Ibid., dok. 236, 3.

43 The German police forces in occupied Serbia had information that a great number of embezzlers had managed to bribe witnesses and officials of branch offices of the Commissariat for Refugees in order to obtain refugee status. Thus, their legal movement across occupied Serbia as well as the territory of governorate of Montenegro and even “Greater Albania” was much easier. IAB, BDS, J-703/1.



Pazar (70 dinars/kg, M. Ž.) or selling it to the villagers on Pešter for 400 dinars per kg".<sup>44</sup> Chronicler Miodrag Radović wrote that 80% of Muslims and as many as 95% of Christian households in Novi Pazar had their black market business<sup>45</sup> during 1942 and 1943.

The only thing that the municipal administration in Raška could do was conclude that "both, citizens of Raška and refugees" are into "speculation." At the beginning of February of 1942, a refugee, Stikić, who was a carpenter, smuggled a coffin full of sugar into Novi Pazar. The Chetniks of the Javor Corps subsequently arrested well-known black marketeer Todor Veličković from the village of Šare in Sjenica County, with 100 l of rakija, who was taking this plum brandy "to Duga Poljana for the Turks". Fighting against Ivanović, Stikić, Veličković and the like, on 9 February 1942, military commander Mašan Đurović<sup>46</sup> warned that everyone caught smuggling was going to be punished with 25 whippings public.<sup>47</sup> However, the honest intentions of this "legal" measure must be questioned considering that its author was himself involved in various shady dealings with money, automobiles, footwear and clothes, timber, etc.<sup>48</sup>

Determination for fighting against smugglers was demonstrated by Studenica County Commander Drago Nešić who ordered a police raid

44 IAK, fond 412, TĐ, kut. 4, Dnevnik Tihomira Đorđevića 1941–1942, Ratni dnevnik 1. 1. 1942. – 29. 4. 1942. godine, 72.

45 IARNP, fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOB-i, III, 541–543.

46 Born in the village of Gajtan near Medveđa, he completed the reserve officer school in Bileća in 1934. He joined up with Kosta Pećanac until 10 May 1941. He was in his headquarters for a certain period of time and later went to the Ibar Valley as the military commander of Suha Planina. He took part in the religious and ideological fighting on this territory in the autumn of 1941. From the end of August 1941, he openly collaborated with the Germans. His personality was short-tempered, stubborn and volatile and it seems that he had problems with alcoholism. Therefore, he was never fully subordinated to Pećanac and he frequently acted independently. Although he was legalized, he had problems with the German authorities due to his behaviour. After the Germans tried to disarm his detachment at the beginning of March 1943, he started to operate illegally. Although there was an intention by the Supreme Command (VK) of the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland to execute him, General Mihailović pardoned him and sent him to the surroundings of Bijelo Polje. After he deserted that place, Mihailović became impatient with him and he was shot on Mt. Zlatar in the middle of 1943.

47 IAK, fond 412, TĐ, kut. 37, Štab Suhoplaninskog četničkog odreda od 9. II 1942. godine, br. 605, 1; AS, Bezbednosno informativna agencija (BIA), zbirka 267, Istorijat Ivanjice i Arilja, f. Javorski korpus, 39.

48 Милутин Живковић, *Између „Велике Албаније“ и окупиране Србије. Нови Пазар, Тутин и Ибарски Колашин (1941–1944)*, (Лепосавић: Институт за српску културу, 2018), 177–178.

in Raška on 13 April 1942. In the course of the mentioned raid, several black marketeers, who operated not only in the German but also in the Italian occupational zone, were arrested (one of them was a refugee from Novi Pazar).<sup>49</sup> Subsequently, on 2 July, an order was issued to all gendarmerie stations to increase control over passengers in the Studenica and Deževno counties.<sup>50</sup> Despite tighter control, according to eyewitnesses, it could have been always noticed that there was “some Turk, who had taken a pack of “Drava” cigarettes for 20 dinars, a pack of “Morava” cigarettes for 21 dinars, “Zeta” for 18 dinars,” etc<sup>51</sup> from Kraljevo or Novi Pazar in order to resell them.

### *Illegal Trade in Textiles and Weapons*

After a certain period of time, when the German and Italian occupational authorities established stricter market control, black marketeers found additional sources of income. Smuggling of “textile goods of Italian origin” from the territory of “Greater Albania” turned out to be the most profitable. Ibrahim Ljutviju, the county commander of Kosovska Mitrovica, complained in April of 1943 that illegal trade in textiles “has not been reduced at all” with respect to the previous months, but that it was actually increasing.<sup>52</sup> One of the main smuggling channels was the one which led from Tutin to Novi Pazar. What the members of the SGS managed to confiscate was the part that had not been stored safely. Thus in May of the same year there was a break-in into the premises of the Kosovska Mitrovica County commander, where “200 meters of textiles, among other things,”<sup>53</sup> were stolen. Although Ljutviju ordered a detailed investigation, several months later, in August, he could again only note that the smuggling of textiles in the Kosovska Mitrovica County was “undiminished.” However, he gave indications of the causes for this state of affairs. According to Ljutviju, the problem was literally in the fact that the main suppliers were in Kosovska Mitrovica and that “none of them have been detected, either by the commercial police, or by other control bodies and confisca-

49 IAK, fond 412, ТД, kut. 4, Dnevnicu Tihomira Đorđevića 1941–1942, Ratni dnevnik 1. 1. 1942. – 29. 4. 1942. godine, 76.

50 Ibid, kut. 37, dok. Načelstvo sreza Studeničkog odredu SDS u Raški, 2. 7. 1942, 1.

51 Ibid., kut. 4, Dnevnicu Tihomira Đorđevića 1941–1942, Ratni dnevnik 1. 1. 1942. – 29. 4. 1942. godine, 32.

52 AS, Ž-28, NOR, kut. 2, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 279, 4.

53 Ibid., dok. 289, 1.

tion was mainly carried out in small quantities by black marketeers who (were, M. Ž.) transferring the purchased goods to the Serbian interior".<sup>54</sup>

An account showing how living was earned through textile smuggling was given by Bećir Džidić from Novi Pazar, who was involved in this illegal trade from 1941 to 1946. In his postwar memoirs, he said: "Goods were transferred from Novi Pazar to Peć and vice versa. We usually went in groups of up to 10. We were armed since the road was dangerous due to bandits and wild animals. We usually used two roads from Peć. The first (was, M. Ž.) Peć – village Crnovci – Rožaje – village Draga – Mojstir – Crniš – Paljevo – Dolac – Lukare – Novi Pazar, while the second one was Peć – Istok – Korita – Mojstir – Ribariće – Orlje – Jošanica – Novi Pazar. We would set off from Novi Pazar with the goods loaded on horses around midday, stay overnight in Mojstir, and continue our journey to Peć. The journey lasted for 14–15 hours. These roads were used exclusively by Muslims. We (Muslims, M. Ž.) did not dare to go from Novi Pazar to Raška and Serbia, and the Serbs did not dare to go from Novi Pazar to Kosovo and Metohija and Albania. Novi Pazar, however, was the place where everyone met, sold goods to each other, and made a lot of money."<sup>55</sup> The capitulation of Italy caused a "significant" decline in textile smuggling since its resources in the Albanian territory as well as the Apennine Peninsula, began to "dry out".<sup>56</sup>

The purchase and resale of weapons emerged as a particularly profitable type of income on the black market. Considering the permanent conflicts of the local population, for both religious and ideological reasons, the need for weapons in Stari Ras was constant. According to documentation resulting from the work of institutions of the ISC in Sarajevo, which generally were well informed about events on this territory, it was extremely expensive. Muslims or Christians in Sjenica and Dežev County had to set aside between 5000–7000 kunas for one gun i.e. 6500–9000 dinars.<sup>57</sup> Weapons were coming to Stari Ras from all sides – from Kosovo and Metohija, from Central Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and (or) Albania.

The Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Partisan Army and the Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia (VSNOP and DVJ) wrote to the command of the Durmitor Partisan detachment at the beginning of

54 Ibid., kut. 3, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 300, 4.

55 IARNP, fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOB-i, III, 545.

56 AS, Ž-28, NOR, kut. 2, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 236, 3; Ibid., dok. 196, 3; Ibid., dok. 217, 3.

57 VA, NDH, 61-6-6/2; Ibid., 241-2-38/4.

April 1942 to strengthen control over the Tara River crossings. This was for the purpose of preventing illegal arms trade to Stari Ras for both Chetniks and the Muslim militia.<sup>58</sup> Northward from this place, Major Dragomir Milutinović, a commander of the SDS for Užice County, complained at the end of May of the same year that Serbian refugees from Stari Ras were partly engaged in “various shady dealings, robbery, black marketeering, and other kinds of illegal activities.” He labeled a certain Miloš Krpović as an active smuggler from the village of Kolovrat near Prijepolje. He was illegally buying guns and ammunition under the pretext of buying weapons from refugees who regularly served the SDS for the Mileševa Chetnik detachment. His real intention apparently was to “take them to Sandžak and sell them to the Turks and Arnauts for a substantial amount of money.” Fighting against Krpović<sup>59</sup> and his “business” partners, Milutinović ordered border surveillance to be raised to the highest level and introduced rewards of up to 5000 dinars for gendarmes who would catch the smugglers.<sup>60</sup>

However, the uncontrolled flow of weapons to the territory of Stari Ras continued. The Italian authorities registered that it was coming from the left bank of the Drina River in large quantities i.e. from the territory of the ISC. Muslims from the counties of Čajniče, Pljevlja, and Priboj were mainly supplied with it. Every Muslim from Stari Ras who purchased weapons in this way was given free railway transport by the Croatian authorities from any part of the country to the border. The price of the gun still was about 5000 kunas. The Italians did not disturb this process out of consideration for the puppet government in Zagreb so that the only thing their customs service on the Drina River could do was conclude that illegal weapons trade at the end of 1942 had intensified.<sup>61</sup>

On the other hand, according to Major Rudolf Perhinek, who was General Dragoljub Mihailović’s delegate for Montenegro, at the same time

58 VA, NOVJ, 2A-3-9/1.

59 The Chetnik Command of Stari Ras accused Captain Nikola Kijanović, who was his superior and commander of the Mileševa brigade (former Mileševa Chetnik detachment), of smuggling a certain quantity of weapons confiscated from the Partisans in the course of 1942. In order to avoid the death penalty, Kijanović had to flee to Central Serbia. *Ibid.*, 223-12-5/22a, 29; VA, Četnička arhiva (ČA), 145-1-7/1.

60 VA, NDa, 21-2-21/1-2.

61 Archivio dell’Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell’Esercito (AUSSME), Comando truppe Montenegro, bus. N-5/997, Comando truppe Montenegro, Notiziario Nr. 216 del giorno 12. novembre 1942, 2; *Ibid.*, Notiziario Nr. 243 del giorno 9. 12. 1942, 2.

"weapons and ammunition and particularly automatic weapons"<sup>62</sup> could have been bought "at cheap prices" in northern Albania (region Vermosh). Another smuggling channel went from Metohija through Rožaje and particularly the Tutin area (municipalities of Melaje and Suvi Do) for the Counties of Bijelo Polje and Sjenica. The Italians were aware of it but could not put an end to it due to the lack of troops.<sup>63</sup> Fire arms could also be obtained from the invading soldiers. On one occasion in May of 1942, the Chetniks from Nova Varoš under the command of Major Miloš Glišić managed to obtain about 50 boxes of ammunition and bombs illegally from the Italians. This was achieved by procuring Christian women from Nova Varoš to them.<sup>64</sup> On the next occasion, they received weapons by giving a certain amount of potatoes (about 500 kg)<sup>65</sup> to their garrison in Priboj and Prijepolje.

Citizens, Christians and Muslims alike, could secretly buy weapons from Italian soldiers for money or food. However, this exposed them to the risk of being reported to the command of a garrison by the soldiers-sellers and ending up in prison, which, as it seems, was not an unusual occurrence.<sup>66</sup> As a matter of fact, the Italians "did a lot of business" on the black market, particularly since the capitulation of their homeland had become certain. They mainly sold illegally what they had previously robbed from the population in the cities and villages in the course of their numerous raids, as well as clothes, footwear, petrol, weapons, etc.<sup>67</sup> The Bulgarian army<sup>68</sup> acted in a similar way in the areas of Novi Pazar, Raška, and Ivanjica.

62 VA, ČA, 19-2-3/1. - In the autumn of 1941, Muslim citizens from Novi Pazar managed to illegally buy in Albania: 600 guns, 7 heavy machine guns, 200 bombs and 50 boxes of ammunition for the needs of defending the city from Serbs. Harun Crnovršanin, Nuro Sadiković, *Sinovi Sandžaka*, (Frankfurt: Sandžacka riječ, 1996), 203.

63 AUSSME, 38. divisione „Puglie“, bus(ta) N-5/979, Comando divisione, Distaccamenti R.G. Finanza a Suvi Do – Delimedje e Melaj, Nr. 5036, 20. 10. 1942, 1; Ibid., Comando della compagnia R. Guardia finanza di Tutin, Nr. 5329, 3. 10. 1942, 1.

64 AS, BIA, zbirka 266, Istorijat Prijepolja, f. Izjave i saslušanja, 433; Ibid., zbirka 270, f. Istorijat Nove Varoši, 40-41; AS, Ž-30, ZF, 206/102.

65 AS, Ž-30, ZF, 206/16, 26, 84, 27, 37, 38, 140-141.

66 AS, BIA, zbirka 271, Istorijat Priboja, f. Izjave i saslušanja, 157.

67 Ibid., zbirka 270, Istorijat Nove Varoši, 33.

68 The testimony of a teacher, Đordjević, from 1943 shows what kind of experience the citizens of Raška had with the Bulgarians: "While entering (*Raška*, M. Ž.) near 'Matova česma,' the Bulgarians made fortifications – one machine-gun nest at the foot for fighting against airplanes and one concrete canopy in front of the guardhouse. On the canopy, the Bulgarians, as experienced migrant workers, would arrange their tobacco, soap, rice and other items they had for sale and offered the same to all passers-by. As far as I noticed, they were much nicer toward those who bought something than toward

### *Currency Smuggling*

Smuggling of textiles and weapons was followed by illegal trade with different currencies, particularly gold Albanian Napoleons, Italian lire, pre-war Serbian dinars, etc. In the course of the April War and immediately after it, on the territory of the Governorate of Montenegro, there were a lot of banknotes in denominations of 1000 dinars, which the Yugoslav Government did not manage to take with them. Since the rural population mainly came into the possession of these bank notes, this caused real chaos in the monetary system. By December of 1941 in Polimlje, the "1000 dinar notes" had already ceased to be valid even on the black market and the only banknotes still in use were of 20, 50 and 100 Yugoslav dinars. Italian lire, Albanian leka, Croatian kunas as well as silver and gold money of all types were in use.<sup>69</sup>

In order to suppress the illegal flow of money of all types, Governor Pirzio Biroli formed a special board for currency offences on the territory under his jurisdiction at the end of October 1941. The board was working on the basis of Mussolini's order regarding the exchange of currencies on the territories of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia under Italian occupation, issued on 24 April of the same year.<sup>70</sup> In the aftermath, the subjugated population was required to carry out the exchange of old money for Italian lire. The collaboration press *Pljevaljski vesnik* wrote that this was how a regular exchange rate was going to be established, money transactions, imports and exports facilitated and various illegal activities prevented.<sup>71</sup> Currency smuggling, however, continued and therefore a certain exchange rate was established in the black market.<sup>72</sup> Thus, Mussolini issued additional decrees regarding currency exchange on the territory of the Governorate of Montenegro in August 1942 followed by

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those who said: 'I don't need anything'. They even had the principle that those who had bought something from them did not need to show any ID and were free to pass." IAK, TĐ, kut. 3, Dnevnicí Tihomira Đorđevića 1943, Ratni dnevnik 2. 3. 1943. – 31. 8. 1943, 56; IARNP, fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOV-i, III, 518; Игњић, Радовановић, Луковић, Марковић, Бујошевић, Ивањица, 444.

69 VA, NOVJ, 1671-2-5/2.

70 VA, IA, 745-1-56/3-4.

71 „Службене вести“, *Пљеваљски весник*, 10. 11. 1941.

72 In February of 1942, the Supreme Partisan Command wrote that a certain exchange rate had been established for illegal money exchange on the territory of Stari Ras. The exchange rate of the given currencies into the dinar was as follows: one lira – 2,63 dinars, Albanian franak – 16,4 dinars and Albanian lek – three dinars. VA, NOVJ, 4-1-5/1.

the creation a "Money and currency exchange office"<sup>73</sup> in January of the next year. However, the general conclusion was that currency smuggling on the territory of occupied Montenegro remained quite widespread.<sup>74</sup>

In occupied Serbia, various currencies were present on the black market. The Germans were extremely dissatisfied with the constant illegal flow of the Albanian lek for which they blamed the members of the SGS bodies in the Kosovska Mitrovica district.<sup>75</sup> As reported by the agents of the German BDS in the middle of August 1943, the head of the Albanian National Council (ANC) Ali F. Draga, traveled from Belgrade to Tirana via Rome with a broker, Husein Jusuf from Kosovska Mitrovica. Their intention was to obtain authorization from the Italian Government for "the procurement of several million Albanian Napoleons, which they (*had*, M. Ž.) the intention of selling on the black market in Kosovska Mitrovica." Jusuf then traveled with an Albanian passport, "which he had no right to have at all" since he was born in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and which he got through the mediation of Ali Draga "for the purpose of easier implementation of various kinds of speculation."<sup>76</sup> In Tirana, the two of them sold 450 English pounds sterling in gold and exchanged them for Napoleons (paid 19,000 dinars per piece in Belgrade and 23,000 in Kosovska Mitrovica). Even though the BDS reported the case to the head of the German border guard, Retov, the money was not confiscated and they sold it in Kosovska Mitrovica. This implies that the German commercial bodies were also involved in the smuggling operations.<sup>77</sup>

After Jusuf was arrested by BDS agents, it turned out that Ahmed Ago-pasha from Priština, who worked with the previously mentioned two, was also involved in currency fraud. Jusuf bought Napoleons in Belgrade for Ago-pasha and for that task, only in the course of the summer of 1943 he repeatedly received more than 4,000,000 dinars from him. A certain Gina Aleksić from Belgrade took several hundred gold coins to Kosovska Mitrovica from where Jusuf's companions took them to Ago-pasha in Pristina. In his testimony, Jusuf also mentioned the names of Džafer Deva and Vehbi Frašeri, leading Albanian representatives in Kosovo and Metohija.<sup>78</sup>

The involvement of leaders of the Albanian authorities in various dicey activities, however, does not end here. The district authorities

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73 VA, IA, 739-5-1/3-4.

74 VA, NDa, 2-411-76/7.

75 *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina*, 289.

76 IAB, BDS, B-1222/23.

77 *Ibid.*, 24.

78 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

of Kosovska Mitrovica wrote in July of 1943 that the main black marketeers were powerful people from the cities, who illegally stored and sold goods there at high prices and, allegedly, the local authorities were not able to find them.<sup>79</sup> Confirmation of this analysis, as well as the explanation as to why these criminal activities were not discovered by the authorities, is given in the following case. During September of 1943, the German "Price Control Office" (DOST) from Belgrade, helped by the Feldgendarmarie, searched the house of Acif Hadžiahmetović Bljuta<sup>80</sup> in Novi Pazar. On that occasion, a significant quantity of illegal fabrics (Italian) was found and entirely confiscated.<sup>81</sup> Although he was caught with the incriminating material, Bljuta was not charged for anything, primarily due to his strong political standing, which he had as a leading collaborationist in Novi Pazar. People close to Bljuta, who were also engaged in smuggling, were traders Ejup Ljajić and Džemail Bošnjović who, for that purpose, had shops in Peć, i.e. Prizren. They were openly supported by many Muslim members of the SS Hilfpolizei/HIPO, to which smuggling was not alien.<sup>82</sup> The case of Ćamil Prašević, a commander of the Italian collaborationist Muslim Militia<sup>83</sup> for Sjenica County, should also be mentioned here. One of the leading black marketeers on that territory was his brother Ćazim. He actually died while doing this business considering that he was executed by members of the SGS on Javor on 28 October 1942.<sup>84</sup>

### *Corruption of Customs Authorities*

In the atmosphere in which criminal activities initiated by the very top of the Albanian collaborationist authorities in Kosovska Mitro-

79 AS, Ž-28, NOR, kut. 3, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 321, 3.

80 Former captain in the Turkish Army, a member of "Džemijet" and MP in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia repeatedly; wealthy trader and the pillar of the collaborationist authorities in Novi Pazar and Tutin in the course of the occupation of Serbia in World War II; participated in the majority of fights against Christians i.e. Chetniks and Partisans from 1941 to 1944. After liberation, was shot by the Communists.

81 IAB, BDS, B-1251/2-3.

82 IARNP, fond 284, Zbirka hronika, referat M. Radovića, Hronika Novog Pazara u NOB-i, III, 543-544.

83 The unit originally was under the control of the ISC regime and later aligned with the collaborationist forces of the Governorate of Montenegro. It was formed by Muslims from Sjenica County, mainly from Kladnica, Radžaginje, Trijebinja, and other bigger Muslim villages. It was armed and sustained by the Italians. It was under the command of Ćamil Prašević from Kladnica. After the Italian capitulation, the unit members went to serve the German occupier, where they stayed within various formations until the liberation.

84 VA, NDa, 29-2-59/39; VA, ČA, 149-1-6/1.



vica district, the SGS detachment in Dežev County also did not remain immune to them. After the supreme command in Belgrade sent an inspection team to this region in February 1943, a series of irregularities were discovered in the work of the unit that supervised the border between "Nedić's" Serbia and "Greater Albania." The commission primarily pointed out the illegal money and business operations on the black market. Dušan Svrzikapa, who was acting commander of the local SGS unit, escaped from the position to Belgrade, as a real criminal, where he was soon arrested and convicted.<sup>85</sup>

Second Lieutenant Abid Hamzagić from Tutin followed in the footsteps of Svrzikapa. The occupational authorities arrested him in the spring of 1943 and the former member of the SGS joined the 13th SS "Handžar" Division<sup>86</sup> in order to avoid being sent to a concentration camp. The arrest of Hamzagić did not scare many border guards in the grip of criminal activity. Such was the case of Second Lieutenant Gani Beriša, who was a "commander representative" of the county border unit of Dežev County. He was removed and arrested on 31 April 1944 by the German customs commissar from Kosovska Mitrovica on the grounds that he "embezzled great quantities of confiscated smuggled textile goods."<sup>87</sup>

Those border guards who performed their duties more conscientiously than the abovementioned individuals had great problems in preventing black marketeers from conducting their illegal activities under such circumstances. The centers of large-scale smuggling activity were the already mentioned big villages of Melaje and Suvi Do in the Tutin area, and Brnjica in the area of Sjenica.<sup>88</sup> The German occupational authorities were also partially to blame for the state of affairs since their control over trade with sub-prefectures Rožaje and Tutin, i.e. the prefecture Peć and Sjenica County, was somewhat intensified only after the arrival of the SGS detachments to Dežev County during the spring of 1942. Increased supervision, however, caused great dissatisfaction among the local people, particularly the Muslims, exposing the border guards to life-threatening situations.<sup>89</sup>

Since the smugglers were mostly well-armed, there were frequent unpleasant encounters. Several examples will be mentioned. Real chaos ensued in Sjenica County on 27 September 1942 when German and Ser-

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85 VA, NDa, 190-4-11/1.

86 IAB, BDS, H-252/1.

87 VA, NDa, 27B-1-1/12.

88 VA, ČA, 124-5-7/7.

89 VA, IA, 308-4-8/1.

bian border patrols blocked the local smuggling market. The Muslims opened fire on them but luckily there were no casualties. A few days later, on 5 October, there were repeated conflicts with black marketeers but this time with about 15 Muslims and Christians. After a major skirmish, they fled to the woods of Javor.<sup>90</sup> On 27 May 1943, border guard Šaban Hamzagić killed Murat Nuhanbegović from Novi Pazar as he was smuggling goods over the border.<sup>91</sup>

An SGS patrol caught Ibrahim Rahmanović on 25 January of the next year during an attempt to smuggle fine Italian textiles from the territory of Albania. After subduing him, the border guards confiscated 58m of colored linens from him. On 12 February, border guards came into possession of an entire truck filled with illegal goods near Tutin. When they opened fire on the smugglers, they escaped into Albanian territory leaving not only a passenger car but also 65 iron pans for baking bread. At the beginning of March, the border guards had their hands full again. First, on 6 March on the Novi Pazar–Jošanica road, they caught black marketeer Graca Ljutviju from Sjenica County and seized 47 m of colorful linens and three days later, Hazir Salković from the village Vrbasić, was also arrested in the village itself, in a place called Hadžet, with more than 20 m of illegally obtained textiles.<sup>92</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The general prevalence of various types of black market activities is clearly shown by many examples presented in the previous parts of this text. This is literally confirmed by documents created by the institutions of the ISC and the trustee of general Nedić. The collaboration press and contemporaries also wrote about this. Various illegal activities of the population in Stari Ras were recorded not only by Croatian, Italian and German, but also by Serbian collaborationist authorities, hence leading to the conclusion that the black market had been present in all pores of society. Its extensive network was formed by: the local Christians and Muslims, refugees, members of collaborationist organizations, illegal movements, and occupational armies.

The cause of all the above presented is the high and fast profits gained through black-market “business” activities. We must remem-

90 VA, NDa, 29-2-59/33.

91 AS, Ž-28, NOR, kut. 2, f. Vlada Milana Nedića, dok. 289, 1.

92 VA, NDa, 27B-1-1/45, 74, 91.

ber that food in the Polimlje region had become more expensive by 100–500% compared to the interwar period, that in Pljevlja “goods bought for a few dinars were sold for dozens of lire,” that the price for 1 kg of sugar on Pešter was up to 400 dinars, that a gun was paid between 6500 and 9000 dinars, that the Albanian authorities from Novi Pazar sold monopolized items in Albania at 100% higher prices than in Serbia, that illegal traders from Kosovska Mitrovica obtained 1,500,000 dinars for a shipment of food staples sent from Belgrade, etc.

Although, by all odds, profits were high, it was not at all easy to earn money through illegal trade. Smugglers were exposed to all kinds of dangers, which can be seen by their numerous deaths on Javor, Golija, in the Tutin and Novi Pazar area, the attacks of Muslims from Kladnica on SGS members and the German Army, the arresting of smugglers in Prijepolje and Pljevlja, the prosecution of military commanders Đekić and Đurović, i.e. Captain Kijanović, various inspections and commissions in collaborationist units, the risk of bandits who lurked along the smuggling routes, as well as the danger of wild animals, and so on.

### **Summary**

As early as 1941, smuggling was already thriving due to the instability of the Italian and German border, the general poverty of the population of Stari Ras, which consequently had already shown a tendency toward illegal forms of trade in the previous decades, as well as the chaos that resulted from the occupation itself. Smuggling soon became widespread in all pores of society, from illegal trade with monopolized commodities and food, weapons, textiles, fuel, alcohol, etc. and the illegal flow of currency. Almost everyone was engaged in black market activity: the local population, both Christian and Muslim, refugees, government officials, customs officers, border guards, Chetniks, Partisans, German, Italian, and Bulgarian soldiers... As a result, the occupational and collaborationist authorities did not do enough to suppress this activity so that it continued to develop, dragging the entire Stari Ras region into even deeper crisis.

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## Резиме

Милутин Живковић

### „Штука“ – црна берза на простору Старог Раса током окупације Србије у Другом светском рату

**Апстракт:** Чланак се бави настанком и развојем црне берзе на подручју Новог Пазра, Тутина, Рашке, Сјенице, Нове Вароши, Прибоја, Пријепоља, Пљеваља и Бијелог Поља између 1941. и 1944. године, исплативошћу многих видова незаконите трговине, масовним учешћем локалног становништва обе вере у разним малверзацијама на тржишту и односима окупационих и колаборационистичких власти, али и устаничких покрета према овом феномену.

**Кључне речи:** црна берза, шверц, шпекуланти, кријумчари, црноберзијанци, малверзације, Стари Рас, Немци, Италијани, граница

Услед несталности италијанско-немачке границе, општег сиромаштва старорашког становништва, које је стога још у претходним деценијама било окренуто илегалним видовима трговине, као и хаоса који је изазвала окупација, шверц цвета још током 1941. године. Он убрзо прожима све поре друштва. Од малверзација са монополским артиклима и храном, преко кријумчарења оружја, текстила, бензина, алкохола и др. до илегалног протока монете. Црном берзом се баве готово сви: староседеоци – хришћани и муслимани, избеглице, државни службеници, цариници, граничари, четници, партизани, немачки, италијански и бугарски војници. Притом, окупационе и колаборационистичке власти чине недовољно да би сузбиле ову појаву, па она наставља да се грана и да целу старорашку област увлачи у још дубљу економску кризу.

