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## YUGOSLAVIA - MANI PULATIONS - WITH THE NUMBER OF SECOND WORLD WAR VICTIMS

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### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This publication describes the circumstances in which the initial account of 1.7 million casualties of war was established on the territory of the prewar Yugoslavia for the period between 1941 and 1945. This account was officially given by the government of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) to the reparations committee in Paris in 1946. It shows the persistence with which they tried to prove the accuracy of their first estimate that had been conveyed long before the first census (the first postwar census was carried out on March 15, 1948, and its results were not analysed until 1951), as well as their attempts to prevent the researchers and public from obtaining the accurate data.

The publication also shows the results of research based on the available official documentation. This documentation proves that the total number of victims of war, that is actual casualties for the entire territory of Yugoslavia, was around one million. This negates the allegation of certain Serbian authors and politicians that one million Serbs were killed during the war in the concentration camp Jasenovac alone. Though the struggle against the occupying forces and their collaborators chiefly took place on the territory of Nezavisna Drzava

Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia) which at that time included the present-day territories of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srijem (since 1945, Srijem has become a part of the autonomous province of Voivodina), they also took place in other parts of prewar Yugoslavia, which can be seen from the data given for particular republics and provinces (constituted after 1945). The role of official governmental organizations, particularly the Federal Bureau of Statistics (Savezni zavod za statistiku), is also uncovered here. In the years of 1946 and 1964, this Bureau took part in creating a list of victims of the war. The lists have never been officially released, and therefore - apart from the highest authorities - the Bureau carries the bulk of responsibility for the consequences. In fact, covering the truth about the victims of war caused enormous tensions between the various nationalities, and, unfortunately, was utilized by Serbia to commence the war against Croatia under the pretext of its "moral" foundation to do so. However, Serbia's real aim was to achieve the creation of Greater Serbia, which was clearly shown after it continued its attacks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**OBSESSIONS AND MEGALOMANIA WITH JASENOVAC AND BLEIBURG**, by Vladimir Zerjavic, is a book written with the intention to analyze the modes in which this war could have been avoided. However, the Greater Serbian aspirations smothered all peaceful resolutions to the Yugoslav crisis. This publication is a summarized version of the book. At a time when the world has forgotten the victims of the Second World War, when states are forming new alliances, such as the European Community, in order to maintain economic and cultural prosperity, a war is being waged in these territories with an aim to avenge the victims of a war fought 50 years ago. Particular persistence is obvious in substantiating the number of the Jasenovac victims, which escalated from the early figures of 5, 6 and 7 hundred thousand to the 'precisely' calculated number of 1,110,929 victims, mainly Serbians. The number of one million Serbians killed in the Second World War, constantly repeated by Serbian leaders, and even by writers and other public figures, gained the status of 'verified' magnitude of the suffering that the Serbian people experienced during the war.

On the other hand, a myth about a considerable number of Croatian victims after the Second World War on the Austrian-Yugoslav border has been revived. It is known as Bleiburg, where 300,000 Croats were killed (including the victims of the so-called Way of the Cross/Death Marches).

This study is intended to explain the circumstances which resulted in the aforementioned large figures, as well as methods and means which have been used in affirming their authenticity.

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### **HOW THE NUMBER OF 1.7 MILLION CASUALTIES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAS BEEN DERIVED**

In May 1945, in his Ljubljana speech, Marshal Tito had already stated that Yugoslavia lost 1.7 million of its population during the Second World War. The Yugoslav government submitted the number of 1,706,000 as the official death toll to the Paris International Reparation Commission in 1946. This number included 305,000 soldiers of the National Liberation Army\*.

This document published data on the casualties of war for 18 allied countries (excluding the USSR and Poland), among which Yugoslavia had the largest number of civilian casualties, followed by India (759,000), France (653,000), and Greece (558,000). Civilian casualties of Great Britain (368,000), Czechoslovakia (250,000), the Netherlands (200,000), and the USA (187,000) were considerably less. Among the 18 allies, Yugoslavia reported the largest number of military casualties. The Yugoslav death toll numbered 305,000 soldiers, followed by Great Britain (272,000), France (238,000), and the USA (180,000), while other countries reported their military casualties below 100,000 soldiers.

It should be noted that the first post-war census in Yugoslavia was held on March 15, 1948, and that it established the number of the surviving citizens, which was not available in 1945 and 1946. Therefore the death toll from 1941-1945 could not have been established in that period. The number released by Marshal Tito in Ljubljana and the number which was submitted to the Paris Reparation Commission were based on estimates. The aforementioned Yugoslav Governments Reparation Commission document did not submit any detail on which the estimate was based.

The Yugoslav Reparation Commission could not claim the death toll of 1,706,000 with absolute certainty, which can be concluded from the request submitted by this commission to the Federal Bureau of Statistics in May 1947, requiring a documented and statistically founded estimate of the number of civilian casualties in the Second World War. The true nature of this research and its results were revealed only a few years ago, when Vladeta Vuckovic (later a mathematics professor in the USA) published an article titled: Sahrana jednog mita (Burial of a Myth) in the Serbian emigration magazine "Nasa Rec" (Our Word) (No. 368, October 1985), explaining how he -- at the time a student of mathematics working at the Belgrade Bureau of Statistics - was given the task to calculate the death toll within two weeks. He started with only one instruction: "the figure had to be significant, but scientifically and statistically founded." The results of the research were to be used by Edvard Kardelj "to support the Yugoslav request for reparation at the Paris Conference." However, the regime turned the estimates of the demographic losses (the number he calculated: 1,700,000) into the scientific data on the actual losses, "either out of ignorance, or with an aim to deceive, although the scientifically substantiated figure was somewhat above one million."

In his interview in the Belgrade-based magazine "Duga" (412, December 9-23, 1989), made during his visit to Yugoslavia, Vuckovic described in detail how he, a novice at the statistics office, was assigned by the director Dolfe Vogelnic, and his assistant Alojz Debevc, to calculate the war casualties. He wondered why Vogelnic and Debevc had not undertaken the matter themselves. In the interview he stated: "I realized that they were well-aware of the responsibility and that it was easier to burden a novice with the work for which no one knew where to begin. Simply, they got out of a tight spot." After he handed in his study, for which he was paid, and awarded a week off, he read in "Borba" that "Yugoslavia claimed reparations from the occupying forces, including reparations for one million seven hundred thousand war casualties! His estimate of demographic losses, which also included the unborn children, was proclaimed the official data of the casualties of war. The authorities probably knew what they were doing, he thought, and forgot about it."

It is clear why the experienced demographers, Tasic, Vogelnic and Debevc did not want to undertake this task: at the time of the study, in 1947, a census of the surviving population had not yet been done. However, it stands to reason that they were fully responsible for burdening a novice with such a task, and for the misinterpretation of the results which he calculated. Putting the blame on Kardelj cannot absolve the responsibility from the Federal Bureau of Statistics officials, especially in the case of such important state documentation.

It should be added that after the population census was completed on March 31, 1948, and census data analyzed, Dr. Dolfe Vogelnic published under the title "Demografski gubici Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu" (Demographic Losses of Yugoslavia in the Second World War), Statisticka revija (Statistical Review) 1/1952, the number of 3,250,000 which he considered the most probable estimate of the demographic losses, with a lower limit of 2,900,000 (This number included the demographic losses of the areas which were annexed to Croatia and Slovenia). The motive for Vogelnic's new calculation of the demographic losses after the 1948 census, (although he, as the director accepted the results calculated by Vladeta Vuckovic in 1947, and submitted them to the Yugoslav government), could only be that, after the census data on the surviving population, he concluded that demographic losses should have been considerably larger in order to justify the number of 1.7 million casualties of war.

The next issue of Statistical Review (2/1952) already published a study under the title: Istinski demografski gubici Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu (True Demographic Losses of Yugoslavia in the Second World War) by Ivo Lah, an experienced Slovenian demographer and statistician, who analyzed and denied Vogelnik's calculations. He wrote: "According to Dr. Vogelnik's calculation, an average increase rate per year in the period between 1941 and 1948 would be 2.13%, and most certainly 1.86%. Yugoslavia never had such a high annual increase rate, and certainly never will have. By increasing the increase rate per year for the period between 1941 and 1948, one can substantially increase the number of demographic losses. The issue is only the motivation for a hypothesis of this kind!" It must be stressed that the annual increase rate in Yugoslavia in the period between 1921 and 1931, which included the post First World War baby boom, reached an annual average of 1.5. The annual growth rate after 1931, and especially after 1935, decreased, and in the year 1939 the annual growth rate was only 1,1%. Therefore claiming the growth rate of 1.8% or 2.1% for the period between 1941 and 1948 is an obvious manipulation of war losses.

Ivo Lah calculated in the study that the annual growth rate for the period between 1941 and 1948 was 1.23%. The estimated population on March 15, 1948, the day of the census, was 17,200,000. The Yugoslav State Bureau of Statistics calculated in its publication\*\* the estimated population as follows:

	<b>annual growth rate</b>	
Census population 31.3.1931.	13,934.038	
Population growth 31.3.1931.-31.3.1941.	1,905.323	(1.29%)
Expected population 31.3.1941.	15,839.364	
Population growth 31.3.1941.-31.3.1945.	762.129	(1.19%)
Expected population 31.3.1945.	16,601.493	

While Ivo Lah undertook a proper calculation of the population growth for the period between March 31, 1945 and March 15, 1948, resulting in a number of 600,000; Vogelnik calculated, at a lower variance, the expected population number of 17,991,000, and at a higher variance, the number of 18,354,000 on March 31, 1948. That is, he increased the number by 1,390,000 or respectively by 1,753,000, which clearly reveals an attempt to deliberately increase the number of demographic losses, in order to increase the number of the casualties of war.

It is not likely that Dr. Vogelnik was ignorant of the official calculations of the annual increase rate and estimated population for the period up to March 31, 1945. Therefore, it is not clear why Dr. Vogelnik, the director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, could commit such a dishonorable act just in order to justify the estimates of war casualties, which were officially submitted to the Paris International Reparation Commission, reporting the figure of 1,706,000.

We cannot suppose that at the time, in 1945 and 1946, anyone had in mind the consequences which the first high estimates would cause to the Yugoslav community. They were probably fabricated with an aim to show the greatness and contribution of the Yugoslav liberation movement to the world, and to provide a basis for submitting a reparation request to the major occupying forces (Germany and Italy)\*\*\*. However, in 1952 it was already evident that the requests were considerably over-estimated, and that they could not form the basis for reparation. The death toll of 1,706,000, however, remained protected by the state authorities, until Marshal Tito's death in 1980.

\* *Yugoslav human and material losses in the war period between 1941-1945 as stated by the Reparation Commission Department of the Yugoslav government.*

\*\* *Demografska statistika (Demographical Statistics), Series II, Volume 2, "Izracunat broj stanovnika Jugoslavije za 1941 i 1945" ("The Calculated Number of the Population of Yugoslavia for 1941 and 1945"), issued in Belgrade, May 1945 (data for the territory of the pre-War Yugoslavia).*

\*\*\* *Yugoslavia's human and material losses during the Second World War (1941-1945), as released by the Yugoslav Reparation Commission, page 12: Germany had to pay reparation amounting to 35,858,000.000 US dollars and Italy had to pay 9,850,000.000 dollars.*

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## **THE 1946 AND 1964 OFFICIAL LISTS OF THE CASUALTIES OF WAR**

State and regional commissions for the establishment of war crimes committed by the occupying forces and their collaborators in 1946 made a census of the victims of fascist terror (it excluded the lists of the slain resistance fighters and the lists of the so-called quislings and collaborators). The lists were most probably completed in collaboration with regional, republic and federal bureaus of statistics. They were aimed to support the reparation requests submitted to the International Reparation Commission in Paris. However, the results of the listing were not officially published, although the census costs were enormously high. In my own investigation I found out that the Croatian Archives filed detailed listings for the Republic of Croatia. The Archives also has a list by names, entered into 22 books. The list cites 138,984 individuals; out of whom 6,670 were killed in Germany, 22,376 were killed by Germans in the Yugoslav territory, 1,255 were killed by Germans and Italians, 8,111 were killed by Italians, and 42,250 were killed in concentration camps.

Data compiled by the State Commission for Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to Dorde Pejanovic's Stanovnistvo BiH (Population of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Naucna knjiga, Beograd, 1955), mention 174,084 victims. Listings compiled by the Regional Commission for Srijem state 21,597 victims, while the Regional Commission for Backa and Baranja listed 17,399 victims. Other data compiled in 1946 has not been available. In the year 1988, the Sarajevo files were in complete disorder, while the officials of the Serbian Archives, the Belgrade Archives, and the Yugoslav Archives claimed that they were not in possession of such data.

However, in 1988, I found out that the Yugoslav Archives have registered data on listings completed by the Federal Bureau of Statistics in 1964, which contained names of all resistance fighters killed and other victims of the war, as well as resistance fighters and others who survived the war. All the listed data were kept in 2,948 boxes, out of which 4 a day are available to each researcher. When I asked why the data were not classified according to republics, provinces, and nationality, I was told that the Archives lacked personnel for such activity.

Only after the journalists of "Danas", Zeljko Kruselj and Duro Zagorac published the data from these listings ("Danas", November 21, 1989), we found out that this was not true. The listings were compiled at the request of the Federal Republic of Germany, because Germany did not agree to the repeated Yugoslav request for reparation negotiations, as long as they were based on the figure of 1,706,000 victims of war, as submitted to the Paris Reparation Commission in 1946. The "Danas" journalists wrote:

*"The first phase of the listing, conducted in October and November 1964, and concluded with the preliminary summary of data on the republic level, did not suggest the forthcoming embargo. The consolidation of the data by the Federal Commission in Belgrade caused real panic. The witnesses claim that the almost unanimous reaction was: Impossible! The records were returned to the republic commissions and to the municipalities. There were minor corrections in few cases, but the overall results did not change. The Federal Commission itself came to a similar conclusion, asserting that the listings comprised 1,107,172 people engaged in the war, out of which 597,323 people were killed in different ways. The opinion is that migrations and extermination of entire families and small villages in the mountain areas influenced the scope deficiency in listings. The deficiency is estimated at 20-30%. Supposedly, the listing compiled according to nationality was the most unjust towards Serbians, Muslims, and Croatsians.*

*In the case of Slovenian, Macedonian, and Montenegrin victims the figures were fairly correct."*

On the assumption that the listing has a 20-30% deficiency, the estimated number of killed resistance fighters and civilians would reach 750,000 to 780,000. Together with 200,000 killed collaborators and quislings, the total number would reach about one million.

Concerning the embargo, the "Danas" journalists said:

*"It is not known when the state formally classified the list of the war victims as a top secret, but it is almost certain that the data was submitted to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. In this context, certain issues are connected to the embargo on the list for the Yugoslav public, which saw long-lasting dissension among the researchers of this phenomenon. This policy of double standards, that is, truths which are suitable only for use abroad, caused a considerable amount of distrust in the official standpoint of the Yugoslav authorities, and this on the part of its own citizens."*

**Table 1**  
**RESULTS OF THE 1964 LISTINGS\***

<b>Republic</b>	<b>death toll</b>	<b>survived</b>	<b>nationality</b>	<b>death toll</b>
SRFY	597.323	509.849	Serbians	346,740
B-H	177.045	49.242	Croatians	83,257
Montenegro	16.903	14.136	Slovenians	42,027
Croatia	194.749	106.220	Macedonians	6,724
Macedonia	19.076	32.374	Montenegrins	16,276
Slovenia	40.791	101.929	Muslims	32,300
Sebia (Proper)	97.728	123.818	Jews	45,000
Vojvodina	41.370	65.957	Turks	686
Kosovo	7.927	13.960	Albanians	3,241
Unknown	1.744	2.213	Hungarians	2,680
			Slovaks	1,160
			Unknown	16,202

This survey clearly shows that the results of the 1946 and 1964 listings were not published because they substantiated that the actual population losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War were considerably less than the number submitted to the International Reparation Commission in Paris, i.e. the official 1,706,000 victims, the figure also known to the Yugoslav public.

While every other conscientious and responsible state leadership would take all measures in order to establish the real truth, i.e. important and crucial data for the people of a country, the Yugoslav leadership of the time eliminated all summary documents (they were allegedly burned). This resulted in fabrications and combinations by various authors about where the large losses occurred. Finally, the Serbian writers and historians agreed that the largest losses occurred in the notorious Jasenovac-Gradina concentration camp.

By their constant exaggerations they augmented the number from 500,000 to 700,000 victims, and most often even to one million, while one of the latest authors, Dr.Radovan Bulatovic reached the 'precise' number of 1,110,929 victims, the majority of which were Serbians, killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp. He reached this figure by calculating surface area of grave fields, which he estimated at 111,404 square meters, although the verified number of 200 graves has a surface of 11,000 square meters. He multiplied his surface area with an average of 9 skeletons per square meter, instead of the anthropologically proved 1.8 skeletons per square meter.

• *It does not include war losses of collaborators and quislings.*

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## **ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY**

We should mention another manipulation with the results of anthropological research, made by Dr. Vida Brodar and Dr. Ante Pogacnik from Ljubljana, and Dr. Srboljub Zivanovic from Novi Sad, between June 22 and 27, 1964 in Jasenovac.

The TV show Porota (Jury) was broadcasted from Belgrade on November 13, 1989. The participants in the show were Dr. Milan Bulajic, Dr. Nikola Zivkovic, Dr. Vjenceslav Glisic, Prof. R. Petrovic, and Mr. Antun Miletic from Belgrade and Zeljko Kruselj, Slavko Goldstein, and myself from Zagreb. A section of the documentary "Jasenovac", by Lordan Zafranovic, was shown as an introduction to the discussion. During the program, Dr. Srboljub Zivanovic stated that the aforementioned commission calculated that in the Jasenovac-Gradina area at least 700,000 victims were executed and that mass graves had about 800 skeletons each. This program had an aim to prove that the field excavations verified this number of victims, in front of a large TV audience. Since I was not acquainted with the report of the anthropology team which carried out excavations at Gradina, and I cannot say if other participants read that report, Dr. Zivanovic's claims were received as authentic. This, of course, was the aim of the TV program.

However, when the Memorial Center at Jasenovac handed in that report, it showed that the 32 page report, signed by all three anthropologists, did not contain such calculations, or the number of 700,000. The report says that 7 mass graves were excavated, with the following findings: grave 1 - 197 skeletons, grave 2 48 skeletons, grave 3 - only 2 skeletons, grave 4 - 8 skeletons, grave 5 - no data, grave 6 - 26 skeletons, and grave 7 - 3 skeletons.

No expert in anthropology, or any other science, could, on the basis of such a report, come to the conclusion stated by Dr. Zivanovic. Although any reader of the report could clearly see that Dr. Zivanovic's claim was fabricated, I decided to visit Ljubljana and ask Dr. Vida Brodar (Dr. Pogacnik had died earlier) to tell me if she knew whether the commission discussed and calculated the total number of victims possible at Jasenovac-Gradina on some other meeting, which was not mentioned in the report. She wrote in her testimony of April 11, 1990:

*"I hereby declare that the anthropological team composed of Dr. Vida Brodar, Dr. Anton Pogacnik, and Dr. Srboljub Zivanovic, which performed excavations at Gradina near Jasenovac, between June 22 and 27, 1964, produced a 32 page report, describing every significant detail of the excavations. I specifically declare that, apart from the contents of the report our team never discussed or calculated the total number of victims of the concentration camp Gradina-Jasenovac."*

Had Dr. Zivanovic thought that Dr. Brodar was dead too, thus having no living witnesses to the research or did he assume that the original report would never be subject of investigation, remains a secret. However, it is unbelievable that a person with an academic title could do something like that, just to satisfy somebody's pre-determined goals.

The above display shows what has been undertaken to conceal the truth, that is, how some data has been deliberately misused with the purpose of proving a larger number of victims in Jasenovac, not only in order to denote the Ustashi crimes, but also to prove the genocidal character of the entire Croatian nation.

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## **A REQUEST FOR ESTABLISHING THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, SUBMITTED TO THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS**

The pressure on Croatia and constant repetition of the issue of war victims continued in the media and a large number of books (especially by Dr. Milan Bulajic), even after I published my book, which documentarily verified that the total demographic losses (for the pre-war territory of Yugoslavia) could be calculated at two million, and the actual war death toll at about one million.

This conclusion was made by some other authors\*, and by the present director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics himself\*\*. Therefore the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences from Zagreb requested (in the official letter on May 25, 1990, no.28/4. 1990) from the Federal Bureau of Statistics that they engage in establishing the population losses of Yugoslavia during the Second World War. A special study was prepared for this purpose, describing in detail the aforementioned calculations by several authors, and even the Bureau's participation in the earlier calculations of losses and listings of slain resistance fighters and other victims of war. In spite of all urgencies, the Federal Bureau of Statistics has not done anything at all, although the request was handed in two years ago.

That confirms that even an official institution, which has shared the guilt for creating such an atmosphere of confusion regarding Second World War human losses, took the identical negative stand as numerous Serbian authors who have misused this confusing situation with an aim to create an excuse (both for the Serbian people in the country, and for the whole international community) for military aggression against Croatia.

*\* At the conference of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, held on June 6, 1985, Dr Dusan Breznic stated that about 1,100.000 people were killed in the war. Paul Mayers and Arthur Campbell, the American authors of the study: "The population of Yugoslavia", published by the Bureau of Census, Washington D.C. , 1954, calculated the Yugoslav life losses at 1,067.000.*

*\*\* In "Politika Svet Exclusive", a Belgrade periodical, no.1, April 1990, he stated that demographic losses could be between 1.75 and 2 milion.*

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## **THE AUTHOR'S SURVEY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND HUMAN WAR LOSSES IN YUGOSLAVIA**

I began with statistical calculations of population losses during the Second World War in early 1986\*. By the end of my calculations I came across a publication by Dr. Bogoljub Kocovic, who used an almost identical method in his statistical calculations\*\*.

It should be stressed that only Mr. Kocovic and I classified our calculations according to republics and provinces, and according to nationality, while all other authors only stated total data for all of Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is interesting to view our comparative surveys:

**Table 2**

<b><i>Teritory of pre-war Yugoslavia</i></b>	<b><i>Kocovic</i></b>	<b><i>Zerjavic</i></b>
Total demographic losses	1,985.000	2,022.000
Decrease in Birth rate	333.000	326.000
Emigrations	638.000	669.000
War death toll	1,014.000	1,027.000

Here we should explain differences in the number of Serbian and Croatian casualties of war. When calculating the population increase for Belgrade (together with Zemun and Pancevo), Dr. Kocovic considered only the growth rate of the calculated population on March 31, 1931, (289,000), and did not take into account the population which immigrated from rural areas of Serbia, and other parts of the country. According to the Statistics Yearbook of 1938/39, the number of inhabitants of Belgrade increased to 409,000, as of December 31, 1938. Thus the Serbian losses for Serbia Proper are larger in my survey (142,000), than in Dr. Kocovic's (Serbian and Montenegrin losses: 114,000).

**Table 3**  
**COMPARISON OF THE ACTUAL POPULATION LOSSES ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY (in thousands)**

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>Kocovic</i>	<i>Zerjavic</i>	<i>total</i>
		<i>in the</i>	<i>in the</i>	
		<i>abroad</i>	<i>country</i>	
Serbians	487	49733		530
Croatians	207	17814		192
Slovenians	32	366		42
Montenegrins	50	20-		20
Muslims	86	1003		103
Macedonians	7	6-		6
Other Slavs	12	7-		7
Albanians	6	18-		18
Jews	60	3324		57
Gypsies	27	18-		18
Germans	26	28-		28
Others	14	6-		6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1014</b>	<b>94780</b>		<b>1027</b>

When calculating Croatia's losses, Dr. Kocovic did not consider that the Biograd and Preko districts (56,000 inhabitants) were incorporated in the pre-war Yugoslav territory, and by this he increased losses of Croatians and decreased the losses in the annexed territory. Dr. Kocovic's calculations of Croatian losses would, with this correction, be 151,000, while my calculations state 192,000.

When calculating Montenegrin losses, Dr. Kocovic implied a considerably larger annual growth rate for the period of 1941- 1948, than Montenegro had in the period between 1921 and 1931, although the registered annual growth rate in all of Yugoslavia was in a constant decline after 1931. For example, the average growth rate in Yugoslavia between 1921 and 1931 was 1.5% per year, while in the year of 1939 the registered growth rate was only 1.1%. My calculations of losses according to republics and provinces are the following:

**Table 4**  
**WAR LOSSES ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY (in thousands)**

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>B-H</i>	<i>Montenegro</i>	<i>Croatia</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Slovenia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>Abroad</i>	<i>Total</i>
Serbians	164	6	131	6	-	190	33	<b>530</b>
Croatians	64	1	106	-	-	7	14	<b>192</b>
Slovenians	-	1	2	-	32	1	6	<b>42</b>
Macedonians	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	<b>6</b>
Montenegrin	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	<b>20</b>
Muslims	75	4	2	4	-	15	3	<b>103</b>
Albanians	-	4	-	-	-	14	-	<b>18</b>
Jews	9	-	10	-	-	14	24	<b>57</b>
Germans	1	-	2	-	1	24	-	<b>28</b>

Gypsies	1	-	15	-	-	2	-	<b>18</b>
Others	2	1	3	1	-	6	-	<b>13</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>1.027</b>

The second part of my book gives a survey of actual losses published in other sources, i.e. monographs issued by people's committees in individual municipalities and districts, the Karlovac Historical Archives, the Federal Association of the Liberation War Fighters, and by some other authors. Registered, collected and classified data on the actual losses have been important for checking the statistically calculated results. Registered data for Croatia (available for all municipalities and districts), numbered 266,600 losses, while statistically calculated data showed 271,000 losses. For other republics and provinces 80-90% of the data was compiled, which denoted that the actual data could approximately match the statistically calculated data.

**Table 5**  
**ACTUAL WAR LOSSES IN YUGOSLAVIA ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES(in thousands)**

<b>Republics- Provinces</b>	<b>Casualties Total</b>	<b>Ressis. fighters</b>	<b>Victims total</b>	<b>Victims in places</b>	<b>Victims in camps</b>	<b>Collab. and quislings</b>
B-H	316	72	174	89	85	70
Montenegro	37	15	15	14	1	7
Croatia	271	66	153	105	48	52
Macedonia	17	14	2	2	-	1
Slovenia	33	12	11	8	3	10
Serbia (total)	273	58	146	67	79	69
Serbia Proper	167	42	92	39	53	33
Vojvodina	83	10	46	20	26	27
Kosovo	23	6	8	8	-	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>947</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>501</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>209</b>

\* *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu, (Population Losses of Yugoslavia, Zagreb, 1989).*

\*\* *Zrtve drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji (Victims of the Second World War in Yugoslavia), Nase Delo, London, 1985.*

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**CALCULATIONS OF SERBIAN LOSSES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE NDH\* AND IN JASENOVAC-GRADINA; AND CROATIAN AND MUSLIM LOSSES AT BLEIBURG AND IN THE SO-CALLED WAY OF THE CROSS (Death Marches)**

In my book\*\*, I presented detailed calculations of the Serbian casualties in the territory of the NDH during the Second World War\*\*\*:

<b>Total number of those killed and the dead</b>	<b>322,000</b>
out of National Liberation Army soldiers	82,000 <b>125,000</b> </TD
which Collaborators and "quislings"	23,000 <>
Taken to the German camp in Zemun	20,000
out of	
which Died of typhoid	25,000 <b>197,000</b>
Killed by Germans	45,000
Killed by Italians	15,000
Civilians killed in battles between Ustashas, Chetniks and Partisans	34,000
Killed in prisons, pits and other camps	28,000
Killed in the Jasenovac-Gradina camp	50,000

Besides these casualties, 13,000 Serbians from the NDH territory were killed abroad, while 22,000 emigrated. (Other victims in the Jasenovac concentration camp were: 12,000 Croats and Muslims, 13,000 Jews, and 10,000 Gypsies, a total of about 85,000 victims.)

The same publication gives data on Croatian and Muslim victims, who were killed at Bleiburg (on the Austrian-Yugoslav border), and during the so-called Way of the Cross (Death Marches). On the basis of the number of 12,196 Croats, whom the British extradited from the Vitkring camp near Klagenfurt, and the number of the Yugoslav Army captives, the total number of the slain Croats and Muslims could be estimated at between 45 and 55 thousand. 41,000 Croats emigrated.

In addition to these victims, about 1,500-2,000 Serbian and Montenegrin Chetniks were killed in connection with the Bleiburg massacres, as well as about 8,000 Slovenian Belogardists (mainly in the Kocevje pit).

*\* Independent State of Croatia in the WWII.*

*\*\* Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga (Obsession and Megalomania with Jasenovac and Bleiburg), Globus, Zagreb, 1992..*

*\*\*\* According to the listings of the State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes Committed by Occupying Forces and Collaborators, performed in 1946: In The Croatian territory only 13.000 people died of typhoid, 22,376 were killed by Germans, 12.500 by Germans and Italians, 8.111 by Italians. Bosnia and Hercegovina had about the same number of victims.*

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## CONCLUSION

The initial high estimates of the Second World War casualties were calculated with the purpose of depicting Yugoslavia's great contribution and in order to form a basis for large reparation, which has not been accomplished. The aforementioned estimates and concealment of the casualty listings from 1946 and 1964, incited Serbian and Croatian extremists to debate about the number of Jasenovac victims, as well as the massacred people at Bleiburg and the so-called Way of the Cross ( Death Marches ). After Marshal Tito's death, the Serbian extremists were more obstinate in claiming that 700,000, and even one million people (mainly Serbians) were killed in the Jasenovac camp only. This formed the basis for accusing the Croatian nation of having a genocidal character, although during 13 centuries of living together, a major slaughter or extermination between Croats and Serbians never occurred\*.

The extraordinary conditions were created under the German occupation. German forces organized camps in all its occupied territories, therefore also in Nedic's collaborating state of Serbia, where 14,000 Jews from Serbia Proper, Banat and Srijem were killed on the execution localities in Jajinci and in mobile gas chambers, mainly until spring of 1942, while in May 1943, on the explicit request by the Germans, 1,700 Jews from Zagreb, and 2,500 from the rest of Croatia were taken to the notorious concentration camp in Auschwitz. 1,200 Jews from mixed marriages survived in Zagreb.

Citing from the publication Banjica, (published by the Historical Archives and Kultura from Belgrade, 1987), in late 1943 and early 1944, 68,000 bodies were exhumed and burned, while 1,400 remained unburned. The difference is only in the fact that in Serbia the majority of the victims were killed in the execution locations in Jajinci, and the minority in camps (Banjica, Loznica, Sabac, and others), while in the NDH the largest number of victims were executed in the Jasenovac camp, and in pits (Jadovno and others). A large number of people were killed in the villages, during the battles between Ustashas and Partisans. The villages were conquered many times by both sides, mainly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the major battles were led

between 1942 and 1945. Battles were led in the territory of Serbia only in the Autumn of 1941, and after October 1944, when Belgrade was liberated.

While after the Second World War nobody accused Nedic's Serbian Guard, police, informants and agents, whose assistance was used by the Germans in their arrests and killings, a fierce Serbian wrath was pointed at the Ustashas who performed executions in Jasenovac and other places mostly by themselves (which every civilized human being must condemn as a grave crime). Of course, there were crimes committed by Chetniks, but to a lesser extent.

However, the escalation of the attacks by Serbian extremists, and claims that at least 700,000 (and later over one million) Serbians were killed in the Jasenovac camp, provided a basis for accusing the Croatian nation of having a genocidal character. This, finally, was used as a moral excuse for waging the war against Croatia. However, it is obvious from the described manipulations with the number of the casualties of war, and with actual Serbian and other losses, established on the basis of original documents, that this imaginary idea was created in order to accomplish the plans already outlined in the Nacertanije(Design) by Ilija Garasanin, and announced at Gazimestan (Kosovo) in 1989 at the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle. On that occasion, Slobodan Milosevic declared that he will use all institutional, non-institutional, and even military means in order to create a state where all Serbians will live together, which brought about the present situation.

It is hoped that involvement on the part of the world powers (UN) and the European community (EC) will bring about a just and peaceful solution to the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and enable us to enjoy economic and cultural prosperity in the European family of states in the near future.

One should also believe that the Serbians in Croatia, who have lived in these territories for more than four centuries, will realize that they are not endangered in a community with Croatians. They especially should not be afraid that any form of genocide could occur, because they themselves know best that during the Second World War a large number of Croatians stood at their defense, and that they, along with Serbians, contributed to the National Liberation War, and even prevented a larger number of victims. It should be mentioned that the regular Croatian Army (Domobrani) also helped with their passive role and even by logistic support to the partisan units.

It should be noted that vengeance for the crimes committed by the Ustashas was executed immediately after the war, with the terrible massacres at Bleiburg and during the so-called Way of the Cross (Death Marches), when many innocent opponents of the Communist regime were also killed. Therefore, enacting vengeance against the Croatians, with whom the Serbians in Croatia have peacefully lived for the past 45 years, could not be excused, neither morally nor politically.

After the artificially created euphoria is over, and once peace is established, all reasonable and objective Serbians will -- I strongly believe -- realize that their common life with Croatians, in a state with a prosperous economic future, is the most acceptable solution for them.

Zagreb, April 27, 1992

*\* On the contrary, the Croatian King Tomislav helped Serbians in their war against Bulgarians in 922, and the Bosnian King Tvrtko helped them in the battle on the Kosovo field, against Turks in 1389.*

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**SUPPLEMENT  
THE FIRST CENSUS IN THE KINGDOM OF SERBIANS, CROATIANS AND  
SLOVENIANS (KRALJEVINA SHS)**

A 1921 census was taken throughout the constitutive state units as they entered the Kingdom of Serbians, Croats and Slovenians in 1918. In this census, Southern Serbia included the territories which were founded later (in 1945): the Republic of Macedonia, the Province of Kosovo and Sandzak (the latter became a part of the Republic of Serbia). Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Medjmurje, Krk and Kastav were parts of Croatia - all of them, together with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Prekomurje, Banat, Backa and Baranja were under the rule of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire until December 1, 1918 when they united with Serbia and Montenegro into the Kingdom of Serbians, Croats and Slovenians.