

**HUMAN LOSSES OF THE CROATS IN WORLD  
WAR II AND THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR  
PERIOD CAUSED BY THE CHETNIKS  
(YUGOSLAV ARMY IN THE FATHERLAND)  
AND THE PARTISANS (PEOPLE'S  
LIBERATION ARMY AND THE PARTISAN  
DETACHMENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA/  
YUGOSLAV ARMY) AND THE YUGOSLAV  
COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES  
NUMERICAL INDICATORS**

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On the basis of the most important historiographic, demographic and victimological works, the human losses of Croats caused by the Chetniks/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland and the Partisans/People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army and the newly-established communist authorities are shown. This work presents the initial, most often arbitrary estimates and claims, followed considerably more reliable statistical/demographic calculations, and finally individual name and numerical indicators based on more systematic research.

**Key words:** World War II, Independent State of Croatia, Croatia, Croats, human losses, war crimes, Chetniks, Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, Partisans, People's Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army, Communist Party of Yugoslavia

In the total human losses suffered by Croatia and the Croats during the Second World War and the immediate post-war period, a considerable number were casualties of the Chetniks – the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland – and the

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Partisans – the People’s Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army – and the Yugoslav communist authorities.

Demography, historiography and victimology, which also dealt with the issue of human losses in Yugoslavia and Croatia in the Second World War and the post-war years, resulted in many works which may help shed light on the human losses of Croatia and the Croats during the Second World War and the immediate post-war period which were caused by the Chetniks – the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland – and the Partisans – the People’s Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army – and the Yugoslav communist authorities.

Previous research into the demographic and actual human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, in the Second World War and the post-war years<sup>1</sup> has provided insight on the approximate, and also potential, number of fatalities, casualties and victims.<sup>2</sup> There are no notable divergences among researchers in the establishment of the demographic and actual human losses of Croatia and Yugoslavia in the Second World War and the post-war period, but there are serious doubts surrounding the number of casualties and victims based on national/ethnic and ideological/military affiliation, and based on the site and circumstances of death and perpetrators or initiators of death.

Debating the human losses of both Croatia and Yugoslavia in the Second World War and immediate post-war years, particularly the number and structure of fatalities, casualties and victims is today a thankless task. This is because human losses of both Croatia and Yugoslavia in the Second World War and immediate post-war years, despite many estimates, calculations and censuses, constitute one of the most controversial research tasks and, furthermore, one of the most sensitive (current) political topics.<sup>3</sup>

The long duration and intensity of the war in the territory of Croatia, or rather in the Independent State of Croatia (known by its Croatian acronym NDH), and the presence of considerable occupying forces from the Third Reich, Italy and Hungary and the operations of the NDH armed forces, the

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<sup>1</sup> Demographic losses encompass deaths (in combat or otherwise) during wartime, declining birth-rates due to wartime circumstances and the migration balance. Actual losses mean those who were killed or died during the war.

<sup>2</sup> The term fatality applies first and foremost to civilians slain or killed as a result of war, as well as prisoners-of-war who were killed or died. The term casualty refers to soldiers killed in combat. The term victim applies to those who survived the war, but who in various ways suffered damage due to the war, i.e., they were wounded or contracted illnesses, or were displaced or exiled.

<sup>3</sup> Estimates imply claims, more or less founded, on the number of human losses for individual periods and for individual regions and for individual categories of casualties and/or victims. Calculations imply mathematical and statistical computations, more or less founded, on the number of human losses for individual periods and for individual regions and for individual categories of casualties and/or victims. Censuses imply lists of individual casualties and/or victims by name, for individual periods and for individual regions and for individual human loss categories.

Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland and the People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army, resulted in direct clashes between the warring sides, leading as well to high human losses both among combatants and among civilians. The irreconcilable ideologies and the political and military interests of the warring sides as well as civil war multiplied these human losses.

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After the Second World War, the number of fatalities, casualties and victims of the war was intentionally exaggerated, while their origin and structure was *suppressed* and *obscured*, which facilitated the manipulation of human losses.

Three censuses of Second World War human losses were conducted in Yugoslavia, from 1944 to 1946/1947, in 1950 and in 1964. These censuses dealt with those casualties and fatalities caused primarily by the occupying forces and their collaborators.<sup>4</sup> The post-war Yugoslav system and society demonstrated *incivility* and extreme ideological bias, dividing human losses into *acceptable* and *unacceptable* or into *desirable* and *undesirable*. The Yugoslav censuses of human losses in the Second World War were not, obviously, intended to gather data and list and publish all casualties and fatalities, both military and civilian, with indication of all perpetrators among the warring political and military sides, regardless of national/ethnic, religious, political or military affiliation.

The censuses of 1944/1947, 1950 and 1964 did not encompass casualties and fatalities who lost their lives at the hands of the People's Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army or the forces of the anti-Axis coalition. Since these censuses did not result in the expected, official, public and *desirable* number of human losses of 1.7 million, but rather a considerably smaller number of casualties and fatalities, their results were not released to the public. Moreover, the data of the Commission on the Registration of War Victims working under the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1964, the most systematic Yugoslav census of Second World War human losses, were placed under an embargo, and this resulted in the extreme multiplication of Yugoslavia's (and Croatia's) human losses in the Second World War, particularly the Serb victims of the NDH and the Jasenovac camp.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Vladimir Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 43 (2011), no. 3: 702-709, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>5</sup> See Franjo Tuđman, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti. Rasprava o povijesti i filozofiji zlosilja* (Zagreb, 1989, Zagreb, 1990) or F. Tuđman, *Irrwege der Geschichtswirklichkeit. Eine Abhandlung über die Geschichte und die Philosophie des Gewaltübens* (Zagreb, 1993); Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992); V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945* (Zagreb, 1997); Josip Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1998) or J. Jurčević, *Die Entstehung des Mythos Jasenovac. Probleme bei der For-*

In research into the human losses of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, during the Second World War and the immediate post-war period, the priority has most often been placed on those human losses that are, as a rule, *ours*, which provoked a not inconsiderable emotional charge required for public discourse by *left* and/or *right*, while neglecting the fact that all casualties and fatalities are entitled to a grave and commemoration.

The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia has, from 1992 to 1999, gathered data on the human losses of Croatia (and Bosnia-Herzegovina) during World War II and the post-war years, and in the registration of casualties and fatalities it has dedicated attention mostly to Croats, generally those who were not registered in previous censuses of human losses in Croatia (and Bosnia-Herzegovina) in the Second World War, while others were only *incidentally* registered.

Using this *selective* approach, the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia has registered a total of 261,415 fatalities and casualties, of whom 153,700 were persons from Croatia's territory and 99,228 were from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, mainly Croats, who lost their lives during World War II and the post-war period. According to these data, from Croatia's territory 31,855 persons lost their lives as members of the NDH armed forces, 38,732 lost their lives as members of the People's Liberation Army (NOV) and the Partisan Detachments (PO) of Croatia/Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Army, and 38,000 civilians lost their lives, while from Bosnia-Herzegovina's territory, 12,924 lost their lives as members of the NDH armed forces, 5,259 lost their lives as members of the People's Liberation Army (NOV) and the Partisan Detachments (PO) of Croatia/Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Army, and 44,027 civilians lost their lives (*Tables 1 and 2*).

According to data from the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 79,318 Croats from Croatia's territory, both soldiers and civilians, lost their lives during the Second World War and immediate post-war years. According to these data, in Croatia's territory the Chetniks, i.e., the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, were responsible for the deaths of 4,203 persons, of whom 1,628 were civilians, while the Partisans, i.e., members of the NOV and PO of Croatia/Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Army, were responsible for the deaths of 37,881 persons, of whom 7,404 were civilians (*Table 3*).<sup>6</sup>

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*schungsarbeit zu den Opfern des II. Weltkrieges auf dem Gebiet von Kroatien* (Zagreb, 2007); Josip Pečarić, *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu. Skrivanje istine o beogradskim konc-logorima* (Zagreb, 1998); J. Pečarić, *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu, II, O Bulajićevoj ideologiji genocida hrvatskih autora* (Zagreb, 2000); Mladen Ivezić, *Jasenovac. Brojke* (Zagreb, 2003); Vladimir Mrkoci, Vladimir Horvat, *Ogoljela laž logora Jasenovac* (Zagreb, 2008); V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 700-736, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>6</sup> *Izvjestje o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, 1999), pp. 15-16, 19. See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u

The Commission's data on human losses in Croatia (and Bosnia-Herzegovina) during the Second World War and post-war years are additionally deficient due to the memory effect, i.e., the fact that people remember events mistakenly or simply forget, which could only be expected. This was also noted even in the case of the most systematic Yugoslav census of Yugoslavia's human losses during the Second World War conducted by the Commission on Registration of War Victims formed by the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1964.<sup>7</sup> Namely, nationality/ethnicity was not ascertained for many human losses for which the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia gathered data, nor was it determined whether the fatalities or casualties were soldiers – and if so, to which army they belonged – or civilians. Thus, in the case of 32,920 persons from Croatia's territory, it is unclear as to whether they lost their lives as soldiers and to which army they belonged, or as civilians, while the nationality/ethnicity of 53,768 fatalities or casualties from Croatia has not been determined (*Table 1*).<sup>8</sup>

The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia was dissolved in May 2002, and the registration of Croatia's human losses in the Second World War has not been completed.<sup>9</sup>

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The question of Yugoslavia's human losses in the Second World War became a first-class political issue in the immediate post-war phase, and has remained so to this day. For the vast majority of the debates on the human losses of both Croatia and Yugoslavia in wartime and the post-war period have no basis in science and they are recognizably rooted in ideology and propagan-

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Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 712.

<sup>7</sup> See Srđan Bogosavljević, "Nerasvetljeni genocid", in Nebojša Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* (Belgrade-Zrenjanin, 1996), pp. 196-198 (Belgrade, 1996), pp. 165-167 or S. Bogosavljević, "Drugi svetski rat – žrtve. Jugoslavija", *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 4 (Zagreb, 2001), pp. 497-499; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 708.

<sup>8</sup> *Izveštće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, pp. 15-16. See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, popisi)", p. 712.

<sup>9</sup> Josip Kolanović, Milan Pojić, "Popis žrtava Drugoga svjetskog rata, poraća i Domovinskog rata. Rezultati i perspektive", in Nada Kisić Kolanović, Mario Jareb, Katarina Spehnjak (eds.), *1945. – razdjelnica hrvatske povijesti* (Zagreb, 2006), p. 465; J. Kolanović, "Svaka žrtva ima svoje ime. Poimenični popis žrtava Drugoga svjetskoga rata i poraća u Hrvatskoj", in Zvonimir Šeparović (ed.), *Žrtva znak vremena. Zbornik radova Petog Hrvatskog žrtvoslovnog kongresa* (Zagreb, 2011), p. 30.

da.<sup>10</sup> Stated simply, it is most often of case of who and/or whose side most convincingly formulates fabrications and lies.

The systematic public re-evaluation of the human losses of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, in the Second World War only appeared only in the 1980s, when Yugoslav governing structures and the communist ideology began to irretrievably lose their credibility.<sup>11</sup> The most systematic statistical calculations of human losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War conducted by B. Kočović abroad in 1985<sup>12</sup> and V. Žerjavić in Yugoslavia in 1989,<sup>13</sup> differ negligibly in national/ethnic and regional structure, but not in the total number of casualties and fatalities.

Kočović's estimate of the actual losses for Yugoslavia is 1,014,000 and 1,985,000 in demographic losses, while Žerjavić's estimate of actual losses for Yugoslavia are 1,027,000 and 2,022,000 in demographic losses. Kočović's estimates for Croatia are 295,000 actual and 605,000 demographic losses, while Žerjavić's estimates for Croatia are 271,000 and 295,000 actual and 604,000 demographic losses. According to Kočović, the decline in birth rates for the Yugoslav population due to wartime circumstances was 333,000, while according to Žerjavić it was 326,000. The war also caused great migrations outside of Yugoslavia, and Croatia. Most of these migrants were Germans, followed by Italians. The number of migrants from Yugoslavia prompted by wartime circumstances was 638,000 or 654,000 according to Kočović, while according to Žerjavić this figure was 669,000. According to Kočović, 57,000 Croats migrated from Yugoslavia, while according to Žerjavić 39,000 migrated. According to Žerjavić, the total number of migrants from Croatia from 1939 to 1948 was 157,000 persons (*Tables 4, 5 and 6*).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992); V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945* (Zagreb, 1997); Mihael Sobolevski, "Između Jasenovca i Bleiburga", *Erasmvs* 4 (1993), pp. 42-47; B. Kočović, *Nauka, nacionalizam i propaganda (Između gubitaka i žrtava Drugoga svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji)* (Paris, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> For example, see Ljubo Boban, *Kontroverze iz povijesti Jugoslavije*, 2 (Zagreb, 1989); Kosta Nikolić, "Polemike o genocidu u NDH u jugoslovenskoj historiografiji 1985-1989.", in Jovan Mirković (ed.), *Genocid u 20. veku na prostorima jugoslovenskih zemalja* (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 425-452, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>12</sup> B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985, Sarajevo, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> See B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985), pp. 38, 41-42, 47, 65-66, 173, 180-184 (Sarajevo, 1990), pp. 24, 27-28, 33, 51-52, 163, 170-174; V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 54, 63, 70, 72, 80; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 150, 159, 166-167, 175; V. Žerjavić, "Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 24 (1992), no. 3: 158; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3: 146, 550-551, 553; V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, pp. 146, 151, 154-155, 166.

However, there are also estimates and calculations showing a higher number of migrants, both among Croats and Serbs, as well as estimates and calculations showing a higher total number of migrants from Croatia. The number of Italian migrants in particular is dubious.<sup>15</sup>

During the Second World War, most fatalities and casualties were from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e., in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. According to Kočović, out of Yugoslavia's actual losses of 1,014,000 in World War II, most were from Bosnia-Herzegovina: 382,000, of which 209,000 were Serbs and Montenegrins, 79,000 were Croats, 75,000 were Muslims, 10,000 were Jews and 9,000 were Others, followed by Croatia: 295,000, of which 125,000 were Serbs and Montenegrins, 124,000 were Croats, 17,000 were Jews and 29,000 were Others, and then Serbia proper: 141,000, of whom 114,000 were Serbs and Montenegrins, 1,000 were Croats, 5,000 were Muslims, 8,000 were Jews and 13,000 were others (*Table 7*).<sup>16</sup>

According to Žerjavić, out of Yugoslavia's actual losses of 1,027,000 during World War II, most were from Bosnia-Herzegovina: 316,000, of whom 164,000 were Serbs, 64,000 were Croats, 75,000 were Muslims, 9,000 were Jews and 4,000 were Others, followed by Croatia: 271,000, of whom 131,000 were Serbs, 106,000 were Croats, 2,000 were Muslims, 10,000 were Jews and 22,000 were Others, and then Serbia proper: 167,000, of whom 142,000 were Serbs, 13,000 were Muslims, 7,000 were Jews and 5,000 were others. Žerjavić added roughly 80,000 Yugoslavs to his computations of actual losses by republics and provinces and national/ethnic groups, of whom 33,000 were Serbs, 24,000 were Jews, 14,000 were Croats, 3,000 were Muslims and 6,000 were others, who lost their lives abroad during the Second World War (*Table 8*).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Vladimir Stipetić, "Jedno stoljeće u razvoju nacionalne strukture stanovništva na teritoriju SR Hrvatske (1880 - 1981)", *Suvremeni ekonomski problemi* 8 (1987), pp. 81, 119-120; Ivan Crkvenčić, "Emigration of Italians and Germans from Croatia during and immediately after the Second World War", *Društvena istraživanja* 9 (2000), no. 1 (45), pp. 19-38; Ivo Nejašmić, *Depopulacija u Hrvatskoj. Korijeni, stanje, izgledi* (Zagreb, 1991), p. 141 or I. Nejašmić, *Stanovništvo Hrvatske. Demografske studije i analize* (Zagreb, 2008), p. 56; Marica Karakaš Obradov, *Dobrovoljna i prisilna preseljenja u Hrvatskoj tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2011); V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugome svjetskom ratu i u poraću koje su prouzročili Narodnooslobodilačka vojska i Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije/Jugoslavenska armija i komunistička vlast. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi). Case study: Bleiburg i folksdojčeri", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 42 (2010), no. 3: 711; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 745-747, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>16</sup> B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985), p. 182 (Sarajevo, 1990), p. 172.

<sup>17</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 73; V. Žerjavić, *Opsejije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 168; V. Žerjavić, *Yugoslavia - manipulations with the numbers of Second World War vic-*

Thus, according to Žerjavić's computations by republics and national/ethnic groups, the total numbers of actual losses may have been negligibly different, i.e., higher. For according to Žerjavić, during the Second World War Croatia lost approximately 295,000 persons, of whom 137,000 Serbs and 118,000 Croats. Bosnia-Herzegovina lost approximately 328,000 persons, of whom 170,000 were Serbs, 78,000 were Muslims and 66,000 were Croats.<sup>18</sup>

However, in his calculations/estimates of human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, Kočović did not, as Žerjavić did, delve into ascertainment of the number of casualties and fatalities based on ideological/military factors and the parties responsible for their death.

There are more recent extensive critical examinations of Kočović's and Žerjavić's computations of demographic and actual losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, such as, for example, those by K. Katalinić, R. Petrović, Ž. Đorđević, J. Jurčević, T. Dulić and D. Vrućinić, more or less founded and sustainable.<sup>19</sup>

The Yugoslav censuses of human losses in the Second World War, from 1945 and 1946/1947, 1950 and 1964, the Yugoslav general censuses of 1931 and 1948 and the estimates of wartime and direct post-war migrations outside of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavs who lost their lives on the *enemy* side provide a general number of demographic and actual losses. Taking into account all unavoidable indicators and estimates in the computation of Yugoslavia's human losses in the Second World War, the demographic losses may have been

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*tims/Yougoslavie - manipulations sur le nombre des victimes de la Seconde guerre mondiale/Jugoslavien - Manipulationen mit Kriegsoffern des zweiten Weltkriegs/Jugoslavija - manipulacije žrtvama Drugog svjetskog rata* (Zagreb, 1993), pp. 27, 60, 91, 119; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 551, 553; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 156.

<sup>18</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 61, 63, 70, 73; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 157, 159, 166, 168; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 551, 553; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 156.

<sup>19</sup> See Kazimir Katalinić, "Hrvatsko-srpski sukob u svjetlu brojaka", *Republika Hrvatska* XXXVI (1986), no. 153: 17-58; K. Katalinić, "Hrvatske i srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.", *Republika Hrvatska* XXXVIII (1988), no. 160: 15-63; K. Katalinić, *Argumenti. NDH, BiH, Bleiburg i genocid* (Buenos Aires-Zagreb, 1993); Ruža Petrović, "Ratni gubici Jugoslavije u II svjetskom ratu", in Radovan Samardžić (ed.), *Genocid nad Srbima u II svjetskom ratu* (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 341-359; Životije Đorđević, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u Drugom svjetskom ratu* (Belgrade, 1997); J. Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1998) or J. Jurčević, *Die Entstehung des Mythos Jasenovac. Probleme bei der Forschungsarbeit zu den Opfern des II. Weltkrieges auf dem Gebiet von Kroatien* (Zagreb, 2007); Tomislav Dulić, *Utopias of Nation. Local Mass Killing in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1941-42* (Uppsala, 2005); Dušan Vrućinić, *Demografski gubici Srbije prouzrokovani ratovima u XX veku* (Belgrade, 2007).



approximately 2 million, while actual losses may have been approximately 1 million. More significant increases in demographic and actual losses in Yugoslavia in the Second World War were most often adjusted by computation methodologies for the needs of *acceptable* demographic and actual losses for individual national/ethnic groups.

In research into both the number and ethnicity/nationality and social and regional and gender and age structures of human losses in Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and immediate post-war years, the problem is mainly a lack of original archival materials. However, in research into the human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and immediate post-war period, the problem is most often not only a lack of sources and reliable indicators, but also the “good will” to properly examine specific issues.

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In Croatian émigré historiography and popular current affairs publishing, the numbers of Croats who lost their lives during the Second World War at the hands of the Chetniks, i.e., the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland (JVuO) vary, and are generally *exaggerated*, often up to the impossible claim that the Chetniks/JVuO and the communists killed a million Croats.<sup>20</sup> In Croatian historiography, various numbers of casualties and fatalities at the hands of the Chetniks/JVuO are cited for Croatia’s territory, up to 20,000, and up to 50,000 to 65,000 in the territory of the NDH. The data from name lists of casualties and fatalities and the estimates of historians and computations of demographers are also often at odds with each other.

The Territorial Commission for the Investigation of Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators registered 1,729 civilians in 1945 whose deaths in Croatia’s territory were caused by the Chetniks/JVuO.<sup>21</sup> Citing the available sources, in 1989 Franjo Tuđman stated that in Croatia’s territory, the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of 1,372 persons, generally members of the NOV and PO of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army, which is numerically the smallest estimate in historiography.<sup>22</sup>

Thereafter, in 1993, M. Sobolevski, Z. Dizdar, I. Graovac and S. Žarić, using research results, primarily identification by individual names, estimated that the Chetniks/JVuO were accountable for the death of approximately 3,500 per-

<sup>20</sup> For example, see Ivo Omrčanin, *Diplomatiska und politische Geschichte Kroatiens* (Neckargemuend, 1968) or I. Omrčanin, *Diplomatic and Political History of Croatia* (Philadelphia, [1973]) or I. Omrčanin, *Diplomatska i politička povijest Hrvatske* (Washington, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, ZKRZ, GUZ, 2624/45.

<sup>22</sup> F. Tuđman, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti. Rasprava o povijesti i filozofiji zločinja* (Zagreb, 1990), p. 372.

sons in Croatia's territory.<sup>23</sup> Žerjavić's calculations and estimates on the number of those whose death in Croatia's territory was caused by the Chetniks/JVuO are different. Žerjavić's initial figures in 1994 were that the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of approximately 20,000 persons on Croatia's territory and approximately 45,000 persons – about 12,000 Croats and 33,000 Muslims – in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for a total of approximately 65,000 persons. According to Žerjavić's later figures, in the territory of the NDH the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of approximately 47,000 persons, of whom 18,000 were Croats and approximately 29,000 were Muslims.<sup>24</sup> In 1995, Dizdar estimated that in Croatia's territory the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of approximately 3,750 persons, and then, citing Žerjavić's calculations and estimates, he rather drastically changed course and stated that the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of approximately 32,000 Croats, approximately 20,000 in Croatia's territory and approximately 12,000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and approximately 33,000 Muslims, for a total of approximately 65,000 persons.<sup>25</sup> In 1999, Sobolevski, using identifications by individual names, estimated that in Croatia's territory the Chetniks/JVuO were responsible for the death of 3,000 persons, and, based on Žerjavić's calculations, for approximately 20,000 Croats in Yugoslavia's territory.<sup>26</sup> (Sobolevski later explained that the estimate 20,000 was not his figure.)<sup>27</sup> Graovac first estimated that the Chetniks/JVuO caused the death of approximately 3,500 persons in Croatia's territory, and then in 1995, using

<sup>23</sup> M. Sobolevski, Zdravko Dizdar, Igor Graovac, Slobodan Žarić, *Zločini četničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1993 [manuscript].

<sup>24</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/* [Croats and Muslims in the territory of the NDH] [Tabular overview] (Zagreb, 1994); V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 557; V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 95; V. Žerjavić, "O stradanjima u Drugom svjetskom ratu: stradali Hrvati od četnika, stradali Srbi i broj stradalih u Jasenovcu", *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara* 5 (Zagreb, 2002), pp. 565-569.

<sup>25</sup> Z. Dizdar, Milivoj Kujundžić, *Doprinos Hrvatske pobjedi antifašističke koalicija* (Zagreb, 1995); Z. Dizdar, "Četnički zločini genocida nad Hrvatima i Muslimanima u Bosni i Hercegovini i nad Hrvatima u Hrvatskoj tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata (1941.-1945.)", *Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 1995.-1996.* (Zagreb, 1996), pp. 239-270; Z. Dizdar, "Četnički zločini nad Hrvatima i Muslimanima u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata (1941.-1945.)", in Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 1999), pp. 81-146; Z. Dizdar, *Četnički zločini u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> M. Sobolevski, "Četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj u Drugom svjetskom ratu (1941.-1945.)", in Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 1999), pp. 25-79; M. Sobolevski, "Zločini četničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u Drugome svjetskom ratu", *Rijeka V* (2000), vol. 1-2, pp. 21-32.

<sup>27</sup> I. Graovac, "Otvara li demokracija mogućnost prestanka manipulacije stradalima? Primjer: razlike u utvrđivanju broja stradalih od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj", in I. Graovac, Dragan Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 186-187.

identifications by individual names, he established that the number of casualties and fatalities was not less than 2,786, or, based on a subsequent correction, an increased number of 2,905 persons,<sup>28</sup> and then he abruptly halted both his research and conclusions. For it is evident that Graovac, in an *old/new* work in 2011, did not consult the available archival materials and literature which became available in the meantime.<sup>29</sup>

That the number of fatalities and casualties in Croatia's territory caused by the Chetniks/JVuO should be different is also indicated by many published victim lists for Croatia and the report of the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims, which accorded attention in the determination of human losses primarily to Croats, particularly those not registered in the earlier censuses which were the foundation for the individual name list cited by Graovac. For in 1999, the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims registered 4,203 persons whose death in Croatia's territory was caused by the Chetniks/JVuO (*Table 9*).<sup>30</sup>

After all this, in 2012 Dizdar stated that Chetnik crimes were generally suppressed (sic!) after 1945 and that most victims were not registered, so that the exact number of casualties caused during World War II by the Chetniks/JVuO is unknown, and further claimed that up to the present over 50,000 slain Croats and Bosniaks, mostly civilians, have been documented, researched and registered. However, this figure of casualties caused by the Chetniks/JVuO of "over 50,000" is obviously a "guesstimate", for he does not indicate the victim lists and similar publications in which such figures were registered, how many casualties are registered in individual lists and whether and how a verification and audit of these data were done.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> I. Graovac, *Žrtve četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Sociološki aspekti* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Zagreb, 1995); I. Graovac, "Posljedice državotvorne ideje i nacionalno-integralističke ideologije četničkog pokreta na primjeru stradalih Hrvata i Srba od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj", *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara* 1 (Zagreb, 2000), pp. 207-224; I. Graovac, "Otvora li demokracija mogućnost prestanka manipulacije stradalima? Primjer: razlike u utvrđivanju broja stradalih od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj", *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara* 4 (Zagreb, 2001), pp. 553-564 or I. Graovac, "Stradali Hrvati i Srbi od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj", in I. Graovac, D. Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 161-178 and I. Graovac, "Otvora li demokracija mogućnost prestanka manipulacije stradalima? Primjer: razlike u utvrđivanju broja stradalih od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj", in I. Graovac, D. Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 179-196.

<sup>29</sup> I. Graovac, *Stradali od četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Prilog istraživanju: strukture stradalih* (Zagreb, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> *Izvešće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Z. Dizdar, "Opet će Srbija krenuti na Hrvatsku i Vukovar ne suprotstavi li se Hrvatska rehabilitaciji četništva", *Hrvatski list*, 29. March 2012, p. 41 (Interview/Marko Curuć).

The primary role of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland was to resist the occupiers in Serbia, and it mounted active resistance while avoiding wider-ranging conflicts. However, the Chetnik movement in the territory of the NDH was nonetheless something entirely different. Its members did not simply protect the Serb population, for they were also struggling against an independent Croatian state, whatever its nature. In the Italian occupation zone they managed to reach an arrangement with the Italian military authorities. Thus, they continued to wage battle against the NDH, Ustasha and Partisans, but not against Italian military forces. In the territory of the NDH, some Chetnik groups mounted resistance to the German forces and the armed forces of the NDH, while others made deals with them and engaged in joint military campaigns against the Partisans. Individual Chetnik groups in the NDH received equipment, arms and pay from the NDH, officially participated in celebrations of NDH statehood day (10 April), etc. The conduct of the Chetniks during the Second World War and their collaboration with German, Italian and Croatian armed forces and the authorities in NDH territory essentially showed that their primary adversaries were the communists and Partisans. Individual Chetnik groups in the NDH, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, exhibited marked anti-Catholic and anti-Muslim intentions and actions. There can be no question that the Chetnik movement advocated the continuity of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with Serbia's primacy. The Chetniks in the NDH protected Serbian populations from the Ustasha. However, in their vendettas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, many Catholics and Muslims who did not take part in Ustasha crimes were also killed. Among the Chetniks, there were many of those who deemed the Croats and Muslims collectively guilty for Ustasha crimes against the Serbs in the NDH. The Chetnik movement in the NDH was primarily aimed against the members of the NOV and PO Yugoslavia/ Yugoslav Army and their collaborators, regardless of nationality, and against the Croats and Serbs who cooperated with the Partisans, and against Serbs who demonstrated loyalty to the NDH.<sup>32</sup>

Among the fatalities and casualties, besides the civilian population there were also those who were killed on combat against the Chetniks/JVuO, and some of them were also killed as captives. However, it is notable that sometimes, in both original sources and in the secondary literature, the crimes perpetrated by the Italian and German armies, and even the Partisans, are ascribed to the Chetniks/JVuO.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See Jozo Tomasevich, *The Chetniks* (Stanford, California, 1975) or J. Tomasevich, *Četnici u Drugome svjetskom ratu, 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 1979); Fikreta Jelić-Butić, *Četnici u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine* (Zagreb, 1986), as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>33</sup> For example, see Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 1999); Petar Bezina, *Župljani župa povjerenih Franjevačkoj provinciji Presvetog Otkupitelja žrtve rata 1941.-1945., 1990.-1995.* (Split, 2003); Mira Pelikan, Miroslav Gazda, *Spomenar hrvatskim žrtvama Virovitičko-podravске županije stradalim 1941.-1945. i 1991.-1995. godine* (Osijek, 2003); I. Graovac, *Stradali od četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Prilog istraživanju: strukture stradalih* (Zagreb, 2011).

The question of how many deaths of Croats and Bosniaks during the Second World War were the responsibility of the Chetnik/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, despite the frequent and *fierce* debates on the methods for ascertaining this number, remains open. This is because there continues to be a stubborn insistence on differently derived indicators and numbers, whose advocates cite either lists of individual names or calculations or even estimates, while ignoring different indicators. It is noticeable that these are generally cases of *recycling*, while no systematic research is actually being conducted.

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In the citation of a high number of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, a neglected fact was that a certain number of them lost their lives on the enemy side, or were killed in combat against the People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army or were their victims during the war or post-war period.

Numerous allegations, data and documents have been published in both historiography and popular history which testify to how the NOV and POJ/JA dealt with and treated captured enemy soldiers and civilians during and, especially, at the end of the Second World War, and in the immediate post-war years.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, *Odmetnička zvjerstva i pustošenja u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj u prvim mjesecima života Hrvatske Narodne Države* (Zagreb, 1942, Zagreb, 1991); *Greuelthaten und Verwüstungen der Aufriührer im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien in den ersten Lebensmonaten des kroatischen Nationalstaates* (Zagreb, 1942); Konrad Hans Klaser, *Mörder am Frieden. Agonie der Balkananarchie. Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Zagreb, 1942); *Das wahre Gesicht der Partisanen im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien* (Zagreb, 1943); *Črne bukve. O delu komunistične osvobodilne fronte proti slovenskemu narodu* (Ljubljana, 1944, Ljubljana, 1990); *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, vol. V, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Jugoslawien* (Düsseldorf, 1961, München, 1984, Augsburg, 1994, München, 2004); *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, vol. I, *Ortsberichte über die Verbrechen an den Deutschen durch das Tito-Regime in der Zeit von 1944-1948* (München - Sindelfingen, 1991) or *Weißbuch der Deutschen aus Jugoslawien. Ortsberichte 1944-1948* (München, 1991); *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, vol. II, *Erlebnisberichte über die Verbrechen an den Deutschen durch das Tito-Regime in der Zeit von 1944-1948* (München - Sindelfingen, 1993) or *Weißbuch der Deutschen aus Jugoslawien. Erlebnisberichte 1944-1948* (München, 1993); *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, vol. III, *Erschießungen - Vernichtungslager - Kinderschicksale in der Zeit von 1944-1948* (München - Sindelfingen, 1995) or *Weißbuch der Deutschen aus Jugoslawien. Erschießungen - Vernichtungslager - Kinderschicksale in der Zeit von 1944-1948* (München, 1995); *Verbrechen an den Deutschen in Jugoslawien 1944-1948. Die Stationen eines Völkermords* (München, 1998); *Genocide of the Ethnic Germans in Yugoslavia 1944-1948* (München, 2003); *Genocid nad nemačkom manjinom u Jugoslaviji 1944-1948* (Belgrade, 2004); Jurij Štesl, *Pohorska afera. Krvavi ispadi štajerskih partizanov med jesenjo 1943 in pomladjo 1944* (Ljubljana 2009); Roman Ljeljak, *KNOJ 1944-1945. Slovenska partizanska likvidacijska enota* (Radenci, 2010); Jera Vodušek Starič, *Prevzem oblasti 1944 - 1946* (Ljubljana, 1992) or J. Vodušek Starič, *Kako su komunisti osvojili vlast 1944. - 1946.* (Zagreb, 2006); Juraj Batelja (ed.), *Crna knjiga o grozovitostima komunističke vladavine u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 2000); Tonči Erjavec, *Španovica. Kronika nastanka i nestanka* (Zagreb, 1992); Josip Jurjević, *Pogrom u Krnjeuši 9. i 10. kolovoza 1941.* (Zagreb-Banja Luka, 1999); *Izvišće o radu*

In a report (dated 15 January 1945) on the reasons for the liquidation of Croatian Home Guard officers and troops who responded to the “Last Call”, i.e., the amnesty proclaimed by Josip Broz Tito on 30 August 1944, the Third Sector of the People’s Protection Department (OZN) of the NOV and POJ 6<sup>th</sup> Corps proffered the view that “All of those whom we know are our enemies and who will oppose us tomorrow must be liquidated without qualms.”<sup>35</sup>

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*Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, 1999); Joško Radica, *Sve naše Dakse. Hrvatski jug u vrtlogu Drugog svjetskog rata i jugokomunističke strahovlade* (Dubrovnik, 2003); Zvonimir Despot, *Vrijeme zločina. Novi prilozi za povijest koprivničke Podravine 1941.-1948.* (Zagreb - Slavonski Brod, 2007); Branko Kranjčev, *Crni potok. Najveće poratno stratište i grobište pripadnika Oružanih snaga Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u našičkom kraju* (Našice, 2009); Bojan Dimitrijević, *Građanski rat u miru. Uloga armije i službe bezbednosti u obračunu sa političkim protivnicima Titovog režima 1944-1954.* (Belgrade, 2003); Srđan Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića. Represija u Srbiji 1944-1953.* (Belgrade, 2006); S. Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića 2. Politička represija u Srbiji 1953 - 1985.* (Belgrade, 2011); Michael Portmann, *Die kommunistische Revolution in der Vojvodina 1944 - 1952. Politik, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Kultur* (Wien, 2008); J. Jurčević, *Bleiburg. Jugoslavenski poratni zločini nad Hrvatima* (Zagreb, 2005); J. Jurčević, *Crna knjiga komunizma u Hrvatskoj (zločini jugoslavenskih komunista u Hrvatskoj 1945. godine)* (Zagreb, 2006); Martina Grahek Ravančić, *Bleiburg i Križni put 1945. Historiografija, publicistika i memoarska literatura* (Zagreb, 2009); Florian Thomas Rulitz, *Die Tragödie von Bleiburg und Viktring. Partisanengewalt in Kärntner am Beispiel der antikommunistischen Flüchtlinge im Mai 1945* (Klagenfurt - Ljubljana - Wien, 2011) or F. Th. Rulitz, *Bleiburška i vetrinjska tragedija. Partizansko nasilje u Koruškoj na primjeru protukomunističkih izbjeglica u svibnju 1945.* (Zagreb, 2012); Mitja Ferenc, *Prikrito in očem zakrito. Prikrita grobišča 60 let po koncu druge svetovne vojne* (Celje, 2005); M. Ferenc, *Želimir Kužatko, Prikrivena grobišta Hrvata u Republici Sloveniji/Prikrita grobišča Hrvatov v Republici Sloveniji/Hidden Croatian Mass Graves in the Republic of Slovenia* (Zagreb, 2007); Janez Črnež, *Grobišča na Štajerskem* (Ljubljana, 2009); Poročilo Komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč 2005-2008 (Ljubljana, 2008, Ljubljana, 2009) or *Prikrita grobišča. Izvješće komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za rješavanje pitanja skrivenih grobišta 2005.-2008.* (Sarajevo, 2010); M. Ferenc, Mehmedalija Alić, Pavel Jamnik, Huda jama. *Skruto za enajstimi pregradami* (Ljubljana, 2011); Branislav Kovačević, *Stradanje crnogorskih četnika 1944-1945.* (Podgorica, 2005); Savo Gregović, *Pucaj, rat je završen. Zlim putem bratoubilaštva: slovenačko krvavo proljeće 1945.* (Budva, 2009); Z. Dizdar, V. Geiger, M. Pojić, M. Rupić (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti* (Slavonski Brod, 2005, Zagreb, 2009); V. Geiger (ed.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti. Slavonija, Srijem i Baranja* (Slavonski Brod, 2006); V. Geiger, *Partisan and Communist Repression and Crimes in Croatia 1944 - 1946. Documents. Slavonia, Sylvania and Baranya* (Bismarck, North Dakota, 2011); V. Geiger, M. Rupić, Mario Kevo, Egon Kraljević, Z. Despot (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti. Zagreb i središnja Hrvatska* (Slavonski Brod - Zagreb, 2008); M. Rupić, V. Geiger (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti. Dalmacija* (Slavonski Brod - Zagreb, 2011); V. Geiger, “Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Lici 1945.,” *Hereticus IX* (2011), no. 1-2: 54-71, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>35</sup> J. Jurčević, *Bleiburg. Jugoslavenski poratni zločini nad Hrvatima*, p. 333; Z. Dizdar, V. Geiger, M. Pojić, M. Rupić (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti*, p. 54; V. Geiger (ed.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti. Slavonija, Srijem i Baranja*, p. 103; V. Geiger, *Partisan and Communist Repression and Crimes in Croatia 1944 - 1946. Documents. Slavonia, Sylvania and Baranya*, p. 100.

The instructions issued by the First Army's OZN Third Sector to authorized subordinate division OZN sections on 6 May 1945, when Yugoslav Army units were preparing to liberate Zagreb, clearly demonstrate the procedures for captives. (“[...] all captives and other persons who are captured and sent to the division by brigades are to be processed and purged. This does not mean that brigades must send all captives to us, rather they are to sort on site, and those that remain who are gathered thereafter which the brigades will not have time to purge as a result of combat operations are to be sent to you. [...] The stance toward captured officers and captives applies in accordance with earlier instructions. Officers must be all be purged, unless you receive from the OZN or Party indication that a given individual need not be liquidated. In general, purges must be conducted energetically and mercilessly. [...]”)<sup>36</sup> The OZN's instructions on the liquidation of captured enemies were clear and unequivocal: “All Ustasha and SS troops must be liquidated, officers in particular. Also liquidate Home Guard officers, except those who, according to information from Party organizations or the OZN, cooperated with the People's Liberation Movement.”<sup>37</sup> Particularly notable was the brutal attitude toward captured enemy soldiers who were wounded or ill, who were subject to extrajudicial liquidation.<sup>38</sup>

The individual name data on human losses among the Croats, and others as well, during and particularly at the end of the Second World War and the immediate post-war years caused by the Chetniks/JVuO and primarily the Partisans, i.e., the NOV and POJ/JA and communist authorities, are provided by many victim lists, which register the casualties and fatalities from various parts of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>39</sup> There are also numerous works

<sup>36</sup> Military Archives, Belgrade, Vojnobezbednosna agencija, kut. 5, sv. 3, list 79, br. 1175, 6. maj 1945.; M. Ferenc, “(Zle) Huda Jama. Zločin u rudarskom oknu Barbara rov u Hudoj Jami kod Laškog”, *Hereticus IX* (2011), no. 1-2: 49.

<sup>37</sup> Military Archives, Belgrade, Vojnobezbednosna agencija, 1 – 6.3.03.2, Izveštaji OZN-e MNO, 6. armije, JRV i JRM za 1945. i 1946., p. 7.; DMITAR TASIĆ, “Sovjetski Savez i formiranje jugoslovenskih snaga bezbednosti (1944-1945), in Aleksandar Životić (ed.), *Oslobođenje Beograda 1944. Zbornik radova* (Belgrade, 2010), p. 276; M. Ferenc, “(Zle) Huda Jama. Zločin u rudarskom oknu Barbara rov u Hudoj Jami kod Laškog”, p. 48.

<sup>38</sup> For example, see ŽELIMIR ŽANKO, Nikola Šolić (ed.), *Jazovka* (Zagreb, 1990); Srećko Božičević, *Jame (kao) grobnice* (Zagreb, 1991); L. Šturm (ed.), *Brez milosti. Ranjeni, invalidni in bolni povojni ujetnici na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana, 2000); Milan Marušić, *Žrtve komunističkih zlodjela u Zagrebu svibanj 1945. i sljemenskim stratištima bolnica Brestovac i Gračani* (Zagreb, 2001); Blanka Matković, “Odvođenja i likvidacije ranjenih pripadnika Hrvatskih oružanih snaga (HOS) iz zagrebačkih bolnica u svibnju i lipnju 1945. kroz arhivsko gradivo Državnog arhiva u Zagrebu”, *Arhivski vjesnik* 54 (2011): 179-214, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>39</sup> For example, see Ivan Čičak, Andrija Zirdum, *Stradanje Hrvata plehanskog kraja 1941-1947* (Derвента, 1991); *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, vol. IV, *Menschenverluste - Namen und Zahlen zu Verbrechen an den Deutschen durch das Tito-Regime in der Zeit von 1944-1948* (München - Sindelfingen, 1994) or [www.totenbuch-donauschwaben.at](http://www.totenbuch-donauschwaben.at); Vladimir Krpan, Ivan Rizmaul, Davor Salopek, *Petrinjski žrtvoslov* (Petrinja, 1995); Luka Pavičić, *Kronika stradanja Hrvata Južne Like* (Zagreb, 1996); L. Pavičić, *Kronika stradanja Hrvata Južne Like. Dop-*

and victim lists testifying to the great suffering and fatalities sustained by the Catholic Church in the Second World War and the post-war period caused by the JVuO and primarily the NOV and POJ/JA and communist authorities.<sup>40</sup>

*una i ispravci* (Zagreb, 1997); Ivan Jurić, *Borbe i stradanja Hrvata kotara Metković 1918.-1945.* (Metković, 1997); Damjan Raguž, Jozo Ćirko, Milan Lauc (eds.), *Poginuli iz župe Studenci za vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata* (Studenci, 1997); Zvonko Farago, Ruža Lenac-Brleković, Zlatko Verhaz, Alojz Vragolović, *Garešnički žrtvoslov* (Garešnica, 1997); Florijan Boras (ed.), *Spomenica ljubuškim žrtvama* (Ljubuški, 1998); Josip Jozo Suton, *Posuški žrtvoslov. Ljetopis stradanja ljudi iz posušskog kraja u Drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1998); V. Geiger (ed.), *Radni logor Valpovo 1945.-1946. Dokumenti* (Osijek, 1999); Karlo Rotim, *Žrtvoslov Širokog Brijega u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču* (Mostar, 2000); Gordana Turić, *U temelju kamen. Spomenica žrtvama idealu hrvatske države. Imotska krajina (od 1941. do 1990.)*, vol. I (Zagreb, 2000); Željko Ceboci, Vlado Hajnić, Kazimir Sviben, Josip Škof, Franjo Škrlec, Stjepan Turk (eds.), *Žrtve zlatarskog kraja u temeljima hrvatske slobode* (Zlatar, 2000); Ivica Puljić, Stanislav Vukorep, Đuro Bender (eds.), *Stradanje Hrvata tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i poraču u Istočnoj Hercegovini* (Zagreb, 2001); Amleto Ballarini, M. Sobolevski (eds.), *Le vittime di nazionalità italiana a Fiume e dintorni (1939-1947)/Žrtve talijanske nacionalnosti u Rijeci i okolici (1939.-1947.)* (Roma - Zagreb, 2002); P. Bezina, *Župljani župa povjerenih Franjevačkoj provinciji Presvetog Otkupitelja žrtve rata 1941.-1945., 1990.-1995.* (Split, 2003); Mira Pelikan, Miroslav Gazda, *Spomenar hrvatskim žrtvama Virovitičko-podravске županije stradalim 1941.-1945. i 1991.-1995. godine* (Osijek, 2003); Vinko Šepić Čiškin, *Gubici liburnijskog kraja u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Pregled gubitaka ljudstva, stambenih i privrednih zgrada, škola i crkava na području Liburnije i Opatijskog Krasa u Drugom svjetskom ratu 1941.-1945. godine* (Rijeka - Opatija, 2003); Mirko Kovačić, *U potrazi za istinom. Martirij Hrvata u Vukovaru 1941.-1945.* (Vukovar, 2004); Katica Nevistić, Tomislav Brković, Janko Ljubos, *Svoju zemlju i oni su voljeli. Poginuli i nestali iz bugojanskog kraja: u Prvom svjetskom ratu (1914-1918), Drugom svjetskom ratu (1941-1945) i poraču te u ratu 1991-1995.* (Sarajevo - Zagreb, 2004); Ante Jurić-Arambašić, *Kijeovski žrtvoslov ratova dvadesetog stoljeća* (Kijevo, 2005); Marijan Karaula, *Knjiga bola. Stradanje Hrvata livanjskog kraja u dva posljednja rata* (Sarajevo - Zagreb, 2005); Ivan Stričić, *Žrtvoslov slunjskog kotara. Hrvatske vojne i civilne žrtve Drugoga svjetskog rata i porača* (Slunj - Zagreb, 2005); Adam Zahirović, *Saški žrtvoslov* (Sisak, 2006); Đuro Mikašek, *Našička spomenica žrtvama komunizma* (Našice, 2007); Mladen Šomek, Nikola Katić, Božidar Kovačević, Davorin Derda, Ivan Prekratić (eds.), *Zatajena grobišta i prešućene žrtve Drugoga svjetskog rata i porača u Karlovačkoj županiji* (Karlovac, 2007); Mato Lukačević, Mladen Đaković, Stjepan Jakab, Ivo Tubanović (eds.), *Prešućene žrtve Đakova i Đakovštine u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču* (Đakovo, 2007); Zdravko Brnjarski, Antun Potnar, M. Lukačević, M. Đaković, S. Jakab, I. Tubanović, Pero Šola (eds.), *Žrtvoslov Ruševa, Djedine Rijeke, Sovskog Dola, Pake i Imrijevac. Žrtve partizanskog pokreta i komunističkog režima. Drugi svjetski rat i porače* (Đakovo, 2007); V. Geiger, *Logor Krndija 1945.-1946.* (Zagreb - Slavonski Brod, 2008); Vinko Juzbašić, *Bošnjaci u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Vojno - politički zapisi i sjećanja* (Bošnjaci, 2008); Đuro Škvorc, *Križevački žrtvoslov* (Križevci, 2008); I. Tubanović, Stipo Pilić, Ivo Aščić, Mirko Blažević, Mara Crnoja, Zdravko Žunić, Branko Bungić (eds.), *Žrtve Drugoga svjetskog rata, porača i Domovinskog rata na području župa Dobretiči, Jajce, Korićani, Ključ, Liskovica, Podmilačje i Varcar Vakuf - Mrkonjić Grad* (Nova Bila, 2009); Zdravko Ivković, Josip Vusić, Anita Blažeković (eds.), *Jugoslavensko nasilje i prešućivane žrtve Drugoga svjetskog rata i porača s područja današnje Bjelovarsko-bilogorske županije* (Bjelovar, 2010); Alojz Buljan, Franjo Horvat, *Prešućivane žrtve Drugoga svjetskog rata i porača na području bivšeg kotara/općine Novska (Grad Novska, općine Jasenovac i Lipovljani, Grad Kutina - dio i Grad Sisak - dio)* (Novska, 2011); B. Matković, Josip Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov (1941.-1948.)* (Dugopolje, 2011), as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>40</sup> For example, see Lucijan Kordić, *Mučeništvo crkve u Hrvatskoj* (Chicago, 1988); Anto Bako- vić, *Drinske mučenice* (Sarajevo, 1990, Zagreb, 1990, Zagreb, 1991); P. Bezina, *Franjevci Provin-*



The emphasis of most victim lists has been placed on wartime and post-war losses of Croats. This is an obvious reason for this. For the highest number of these persons, Croats first and foremost, were not registered in earlier censuses of Second World War human losses, for whatever reason. Regardless of their incompleteness and potential errors, the data provided on those who were killed, slain or who died as a result of injury or illness, on the thousands and tens of thousands of those who lost their lives, particularly on the “Way of the Cross” and in post-war detention, internment or imprisonment in camps, cannot be disputed.<sup>41</sup>

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In terms of the number of human losses, the case of Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” are prime examples of Partisan and communist repression and crimes, i.e., the “settling of accounts with the people’s enemy” in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, at the end of the Second World War and the immediate post-war years.

In historiography, the terms Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” mean the events at the end of the Second World War on the Yugoslav (Slovenian)-Austrian border in May 1945, particularly those events connected to the final combat operations and the activities of the Yugoslav Army, which surrounded and captured the military units of the Third Reich and the Independent State of Croatia and other Yugoslav anti-communist forces, mostly Serbian and Montenegrin Chetniks, who were withdrawing along the Celje-Slovenj Gradec-Dravograd-Bleiburg route, followed by the British extradition of captives from Austria to the Yugoslav Army, when an undetermined number of members of the armed forces, primarily those of the NDH and Third Reich, but also Slovenian Home Guards, Montenegrin and Serbian Chetniks, as well as civilians in the refugee camp, were executed next to Dravograd and Maribor, in Kočevski

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*cije Presvetog Otkupitelja žrtve rata 1942-1948* (Split, 1995); Stjepan Kožul, *Spomenica žrtvama ljubavi Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* (Zagreb, 1992) or S. Kožul, *Martirologij Crkve zagrebačke. Spomenica žrtvama ljubavi Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* (Zagreb, 1998); M. Karaula, *Žrtve i mučenici. Stradanje bosanskih franjevaca u Drugom svjetskom ratu i komunizmu* (Sarajevo, 1999); Anto Orlovac, *Banjolučki martirologij. Svećenici banjolučke biskupije – žrtve ratova dvadesetog stoljeća* (Banja Luka-Zagreb, 1999); P. Bezina, *Progoni biskupa, svećenika i redovnika Splitske metropolije i Zadarske nadbiskupije 1941.-1992.* (Split, 2000); Ivan Damiš, *Franjevci Hrvatske franjevačke provincije sv. Ćirila i Metoda žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata, poraća i jugokomunizma* (Zagreb, 2000); Miroslav Akmadža, *Katolička crkva u Hrvatskoj i komunistički režim 1945.-1966.* (Rijeka, 2004); Antun Jarm, *Pribrojeni zboru mučenika. Svećenici Đakovačke i Srijemske biskupije svjedoci i žrtve u vrijeme i neposredno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata* (Đakovo, 2007); A. Baković, *Hrvatski martirologij XX. stoljeća: Svećenici - mučenici Crkve u Hrvata* (Zagreb, 2008), M. Akmadža, Sladana Josipović Batorek, *Stradanja svećenika Đakovačke i Srijemske biskupije 1944. – 1960.* (Slavonski Brod - Đakovo, 2012) as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>41</sup> See V. Geiger, “Osvrt na važnije žrtvoslove o Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću objavljene u Republici Hrvatskoj 1991.-2004. godine”, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 9 (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 621- 639.

Rog and at some other Slovenian towns and during the so-called “death marches” or “Ways of the Cross”, whence the captives were returned to camps in Yugoslavia.<sup>42</sup>

In the abundant literature on Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross”, which provide various estimates, calculations and claims, the number of casualties and fatalities ranges from roughly 50,000 to – particularly among the Croatian but also Serbian émigré authors – most often 200,000, 250,000 and as much as 500,000 and 600,000, and even the unbelievable figure of over 1 million slain and killed captured Ustasha, Home Guardsmen, and civilians from the NDH.<sup>43</sup> The total actual losses tied to the Bleiburg case may be, based on the generally accepted and possible statistical calculations, a minimum of approximately 70,000 to 80,000, while the Croat losses may be roughly 50,000 to 55,000.<sup>44</sup> According to Žerjavić, at Bleiburg and on the “Way of the Cross”, it was mostly Croats, 45,000, and Muslims, 4,000 who lost their lives, or rather 45,000 to 55,000 Croats and Muslims, followed by 8,000 to 10,000 Slovenes and approximately 2,000 Serbs and Montenegrins.<sup>45</sup>

The most recent research into archival sources and the mass graves in Slovenia indicate that the final number of actual losses tied to the Bleiburg case could be higher than the above-cited calculations and – by all accounts – that the number of actual losses of certain national groups, primarily the Slovenes and Montenegrins, may be considerably higher than those indicated in the above calcula-

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<sup>42</sup> See M. Grahek Ravančić, *Bleiburg i Križni put 1945. Historiografija, publicistika i memoarska literatura* (Zagreb, 2009), as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>43</sup> For example, see George J. Prpic, *Tragedies and Migrations in Croatian History* (Toronto, 1975); Oton Knezović, *Pokolj hrvatske vojske 1945. Dokumenti o zvjerstvima Srba nad Hrvatima* (Chicago, 1960); John Ivan Prcela, Stanko Guldescu, *Operation Slaughterhouse. Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia* (Philadelphia, 1970, Pittsburgh, 1995); Danijel Crljen, “Bleiburg”, *Hrvatska revija* XVI (1966), vol. 2-4: 263-296; Borivoje M. Karapandžić, *The Bloodiest Yugoslav Springs 1945 - Tito's Katyn and Gulags* (New York, 1980) or B. M. Karapandžić, *Jugoslovensko krvavo proleće 1945. Titovi Katini i Gulazi* (Cleveland, 1976, Belgrade, 1990); Ivo Bogdan (ed.), *La Tragedia de Bleiburg. Documentos sobre las matanzas en masa de los croatas en Yugoslavia comunista en 1945* (Buenos Aires, 1963); Vinko Nikolić, Frano Nevistić, *Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskog naroda* (Barcelona, 1976, Barcelona, 1977, Zagreb, 1993); F. Th. Rulitz, *Die Tragödie von Bleiburg und Viktring. Partisanengewalt in Kärntner am Beispiel der antikommunistischen Flüchtlinge im Mai 1945* (Klagenfurt-Ljubljana-Vienna, 2011) or F. Th. Rulitz, *Bleiburška i vetrinjska tragedija. Partizansko nasilje u Koruškoj na primjeru protukomunističkih izbjeglica u svibnju 1945.* (Zagreb, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> See M. Grahek Ravančić, “Razmišljanja o broju pogubljenih i stradalih na Bleiburgu i križnom putu”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 40 (2008), no. 3, pp. 851-868; M. Grahek Ravančić, *Bleiburg i Križni put 1945. Historiografija, publicistika i memoarska literatura*, pp. 317-333, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>45</sup> V. Žerjavić, “Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.”, p. 161; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 75-79; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 95.

tions.<sup>46</sup> According to some calculations, such as those by Katalinić, the actual losses of Croats (including Muslims) tied to Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” are 85,000 at a minimum, probably 135,000 and 198,500 at a maximum.<sup>47</sup> Lists of individual names of those who lost their lives at Bleiburg and on the “Way of the Cross” are non-systematic and incomplete. The most extensive list of the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia in 1999 provides data on 13,300 persons who lost their lives at Bleiburg and on the “Way of the Cross”.<sup>48</sup> But M. Šimundić estimated that the total actual losses of Croats at Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” may have been approximately 125,000.<sup>49</sup> Based on a systematic comparison of the estimates, calculations and lists of human losses caused by the Partisans and communists in Yugoslavia during the war and post-war years conducted by M. Portmann, approximately 80,000 Croatian, Bosniak, Serbian, Montenegrin, Slovenian and German prisoners-of-war, mainly soldiers, but also civilians, lost their lives at Bleiburg and on the “Way of the Cross”.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, Dizdar, citing the numerous victim lists, stated that the Croatian fatalities of Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” exceeded 50,000, and then he noted that according to the victim lists, approximately 62,000 post-war Croatian fatalities were ascertained based on personal identification, mainly at Bleiburg and on the “Way of the Cross”. But these figures, although statistically possible, are obviously rough estimates, for he did not indicate which victim lists and similar publications were consulted, how many fatalities were specified in individual lists and how the verification and auditing of data was done (*Table 10*).<sup>51</sup>

According to the information provided by Yugoslav military historiography, during the final battles and operations preceding the final offensive in 1945, the Yugoslav Army inflicted great losses on the German and various “domestic” anti-communist forces of over 100,000 dead, while approximately 340,000 were captured, which means in Austria it managed to kill something

<sup>46</sup> See M. Ferenc, *Prikrito in očem zakrito. Prikrita grobišča 60 let po koncu druge svetovne vojne* (Celje, 2005); *Poročilo Komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč 2005-2008* (Ljubljana, 2008, Ljubljana, 2009); *Prikrita grobišča. Izvješće komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za rješavanje pitanja skrivenih grobišta 2005.-2008.* (Sarajevo, 2010); S. Gregović, *Pucaj, rat je završen. Zlim putem bratoubilaštva: slovenačko krvavo proljeće 1945.* (Budva, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> K. Katalinić, “Hrvatske i srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.,” pp. 15-63; K. Katalinić, “Broj bleiburških žrtava,” in Jozo Marević (ed.), *50 godina Bleiburga* (Zagreb, 1995), pp. 49-61.

<sup>48</sup> *Izvješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> Mate Šimundić, *Hrvatski smrtni put (Prilog novijoj hrvatskoj poviesti)* (Split, 2001).

<sup>50</sup> See M. Portmann, “Communist Retaliation and Persecution on Yugoslav Territory during and after WWII (1943 - 1950),” *Tokovi istorije* (2004) 1-2, pp. 45-74.

<sup>51</sup> Z. Dizdar, “Stradanja Hrvata u II. svjetskom ratu i neposredno nakon njega,” in Vicko Kapitanović (ed.), *Crkva i društvo uz Jadran. Vrela i rezultati istraživanja. Zbornik* (Split, 2001), p. 179; Z. Dizdar, “Prilog istraživanju problema Bleiburga i križnih putova (u povodu 60. obljetnice),” *Senjski zbornik* 32 (2005), no. 32: 188.

more than 240,000 German and other soldiers. In inflicting these losses upon the enemy, the most efficient were the Third (25,000 dead and over 100,000 captured) and Fourth Armies (25,664 dead and 52,260 captured) which operated on the wings of the battlefields. Out of the approximately 340,000 prisoners-of-war, 221,287 were German soldiers, while approximately 120,000 were members of the NDH armed forces (Ustasha and Home Guardsmen), Serbian and Montenegrin Chetniks and others.<sup>52</sup>

However, some Croatian historians advocate the old *émigré* belief that only or mostly Croats were the victims of Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross”, and that “genocide” against the Croats had occurred in May 1945, i.e., they present everything superficially and schematically as *hatred of all that is Croatian*.<sup>53</sup> Croats were undoubtedly the most numerous among the fatalities at Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross”, but a fact that may not be overlooked is that among the captives and then slain there were many Germans, Slovenes, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bosniaks and others, both soldiers and civilians.

Today’s “Croatian anti-fascists”, although it may be said that often these are persons who never discarded the discredited communist worldview, generally members of the Alliance of Antifascist Veterans and Antifascists of the Republic of Croatia, actually former members of SUBNOR (Alliance of Associations of Veterans of the People’s Liberation War), and advocates of the *leftist* worldview in Croatia, go even farther, despite of their declarations condemning all crimes, in silencing and disparaging research into Bleiburg and the “Way of the Cross” that do not uphold their “antifascist” picture of the past. At the same time, they attempt to minimize events and crimes which have become publicly known and verified, and provide peculiar explanations for them.<sup>54</sup> It is noticeable that the Croatian media largely serve as a conduit for precisely such efforts.

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<sup>52</sup> Mladenko Colić, *Pregled operacija na jugoslovenskom ratištu 1941-1945* (Belgrade, 1988), p. 401.

<sup>53</sup> For example, see M. Ivezić, *Genocid nad Hrvatima zapovijeda Tito* (Zagreb, 1999); M. Ivezić, *Titova umjetnost mržnje* (Zagreb, 2001); J. Jurčević, *Bleiburg. Jugoslavenski poratni zločini nad Hrvatima* (Zagreb, 2005); J. Jurčević, *Crna knjiga komunizma u Hrvatskoj (zločini jugoslavenskih komunista u Hrvatskoj 1945. godine)* (Zagreb, 2006); Ante Milinović, *Kalvarija bosansko-hercegovačkih Hrvata* (Zagreb, 2012).

<sup>54</sup> V. Geiger, “Osvrt na istraživanja i odjeke problematike Bleiburga i Križnog puta 1945. u Republici Hrvatskoj”, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 8 (Zagreb, 2004), pp. 409-428; V. Geiger, “Josip Broz Tito i Bleiburg”, in Tomislav Jonjić, Zlatko Matijević (eds.), *Hrvatska između slobode i jugoslovenstva. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2009), pp. 339-366 or V. Geiger, “Tito i likvidacija hrvatskih zarobljenika u Blajburgu 1945”, *Istorija 20. veka XXVIII* (2010), no. 2: 29-52. For example, see Nikola Anić, *Antifašistička Hrvatska. Narodnooslobodilačka vojska i Partizanski odredi Hrvatske 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2005); Slavko Goldstein, *1941. Godina koja se vraća* (Zagreb 2007); Juraj Hrženjak (ed.), *Bleiburg i Križni put. Zbornik radova* (Zagreb, 2007); Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatska 1918 - 2008.* (Zagreb, 2008).

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Prisoner-of-war and forced labour camps in Croatia's territory were set up by the People's Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Croatia immediately after the establishment of their authority in individual areas, already during the summer and autumn of 1944, which would subsequently become quite frequent and common by the end of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period.<sup>55</sup> After their surrender and apprehension in the final battles and their extradition at Bleiburg, columns of captured soldiers and civilians set off, with the armed accompaniment of JA troops, on an exhausting return through Slovenia, toward Croatia and beyond to POW camps in Yugoslavia.<sup>56</sup> Numerous mass graves in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia testify to just how unconditional and unforbearing the goading of captives was.<sup>57</sup>

At the end of 1945, there was a total of 355,785 prisoners-of-war in POW camps in Yugoslavia, among whom most were Germans and Austrians, while among the 114,000 "Yugoslavs", obviously most were Croats, with 7,797 Yugoslav Germans (Volksdeutscher). The chairman of the National Committee of Yugoslavia's Liberation and the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army, Josip Broz Tito, ordered the release of Croatian and Slovenian Home Guardists in September 1945, while at the beginning of March 1946 he also ordered the release from camps of persons of "Yugoslav nationality – members of enemy

<sup>55</sup> V. Geiger (ed.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti. Slavonija, Srijem i Baranja*, p. 51; V. Geiger, *Partisan and Communist Repression and Crimes in Croatia 1944 - 1946. Documents. Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranya*, pp. 51-52; V. Geiger, M. Rupić, M. Kevo, E. Kraljević, Z. Despot (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti. Zagreb i središnja Hrvatska*, p. 74; M. Rupić, V. Geiger (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti. Dalmacija*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>56</sup> Z. Dizdar, V. Geiger, M. Pojić, M. Rupić (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti*, pp. 117-118; M. Grahek Ravančić, "V kolonah po štirje skozi Slovenijo", *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino XLVIII* (2008), no. 2: 95-116; M. Grahek Ravančić, *Bleiburg i Križni put 1945. Historiografija, publicistika i memoarska literatura*, pp. 203-316, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>57</sup> See *Izvjestice o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, 1999); M. Ferenc, *Prikrito in očem zakrito. Prikrita grobišča 60 let po koncu druge svetovne vojne* (Celje, 2005); M. Ferenc, Ž. Kužatko, *Prikrivena grobišta Hrvata u Republici Sloveniji/Prikruta grobišča Hrvatov v Republici Sloveniji/Hidden Croatian Mass Graves in the Republic of Slovenia* (Zagreb, 2007); Janez Črnež, *Grobišča na Štajerskem* (Ljubljana, 2009); *Poročilo Komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč 2005-2008* (Ljubljana, 2008, Ljubljana, 2009); *Prikruta grobišča. Izvjestice komisije Vlade Republike Slovenije za rješavanje pitanja skrivenih grobišta 2005.-2008.* (Sarajevo, 2010); M. Ferenc, "Istraživanje prikrivenih grobnica u Sloveniji", *Istorija 20. veka XXVIII* (2010), no. 1: 9-22; M. Ferenc, M. Alić, P. Jamnik, *Huda jama. Skrito za enajstimi pregradami* (Ljubljana, 2011); S. Cvetković (ed.), *Državna komisija za tajne grobnice ubijenih posle 12. septembra 1944. Godišnji izveštaj 2010* (Belgrade, 2010); J. Jurčević, *Prikrivena stratišta i grobišta jugoslavenskih komunističkih zločina* (Zagreb, 2012).

military formations”, except those against whom criminal prosecution was being conducted.<sup>58</sup> In the meantime, since the end of active combat in May 1945, thousands of soldiers, prisoners-of-war, were killed or died in prisoner marches, transitional camps and at forced labour.<sup>59</sup>

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Revolution implied and sought fatalities. In all areas, the establishment of communist authority in Croatia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia was followed by a wave of arrests and liquidations. Opponents or assumed opponents of communist authority, regardless of nationality/ethnicity, were removed in summary proceedings or after trials, usually show trials.<sup>60</sup>

The communist showdown with real and assumed opponents without qualification, institutional and extra-institutional, during the Second World War or the post-war period, was massive and merciless. Excessively broadly defined, real or imagined collaboration with the occupier was an exceptional instrument for eliminating class and ideological/political enemies.<sup>61</sup> Enemies and perceived enemies had to be removed. As the most significant force opposing the new system besides the Croatian Peasant Party, which found itself at odds with the new authorities in Croatia, was the Catholic Church. It was a threat to the communists in philosophical terms, for it gathered all anti-communists and the population in general, to which numerous events and documents testify.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Antun Miletić (ed.), “Prilog proučavanju istorije Jugoslovenske narodne armije kroz izabrana dokumenta maršala Jugoslavije Josipa Broza Tita u svojstvu ministra narodne odbrane i vrhovnog komandanta Oružanih snaga FNRJ u periodu 1945-1956. godine”, *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* XXXVIII (1987), no. 1, pp. 327, 350-351, 357-358; Jere Jareb, “Titove naredbe o hrvatskim ratnim zarobljenicima i uništavanju hrvatskih domovinskih pobunjenika od 30. lipnja 1945. do 2. ožujka 1946.”, *Hrvatska revija* XXXIX (1989), vol. 3: 609-610, 617-618.

<sup>59</sup> See Boris Vlašić, Aleksandar Vojinović, *Križni put - povijest, svjedočanstva, dokumenti* (Zagreb, 1991); M. Grahek Ravančić, *Bleiburg i Križni put 1945. Historiografija, publicistika i memoarska literatura*, pp. 203-314, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>60</sup> For example, see N. Kisić-Kolanović, “Vrijeme političke represije: ‘veliki sudski procesi’ u Hrvatskoj 1945.-1948.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 25 (1993), no. 1: 1-23; J. Vodušek Starič, *Prezvem oblasti 1944 - 1946* (Ljubljana, 1992) or J. Vodušek Starič, *Kako su komunisti osvojili vlast 1944. - 1946.* (Zagreb, 2006); Rajko Danilović, *Upotreba neprijatelja. Politička suđenja u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.* (Belgrade, 2001, Belgrade, 2002, Belgrade, 2010); S. Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića. Represija u Srbiji 1944-1953.* (Belgrade, 2006), as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>61</sup> Ekkehard Völkl, “Abrechnungsfuror in Kroatien”, in Klaus Dietmar Henke und Hans Woller (eds.), *Politische Säuberung in Europa. Die Abrechnung mit Faschismus und Kolaboration nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (München, 1991), pp. 366-394; J. Vodušek Starič, “Kako se čistila Jugoslavija”, *Gordogan* II (XXI) (2004), no. 4-5 (48-49): 36-49, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>62</sup> For example, see Zdenko Radelić, *Hrvatska seljačka stranka 1941.-1950.* (Zagreb, 1996); A. Baković, *Hrvatski martirologij XX. stoljeća: Svećenici - mučenici Crkve u Hrvata* (Zagreb 2008); Z. Dizdar, V. Geiger, M. Pojić, M. Rupić (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti* (Slavonski Brod, 2005, Zagreb, 2009); V. Geiger (ed.), *Partizanska i*

Through the People's Protection Department (OZN – later the State Security Administration, or UDBa), the new Yugoslav communist authorities waged an uncompromising and merciless campaign in the post-war years against the so-called Crusaders (members of the defeated NDH armed forces who were mostly Ustasha, and much less Home Guardsman or Croats who were members of the Wehrmacht and Waffen SS, but also members of the Ustasha movement outside of military units who formed guerrilla formations after the war, and who fought against the new communist authorities to restore the NDH, or they were in hiding for fear of reprisals, as well as those who deserted from the Yugoslav Army and those who fled recruitment). Something similar occurred with members of the Chetnik movement, i.e., the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, who continued their struggle against the communist system in Yugoslavia after the war in an effort to restore the monarchist system and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>63</sup>

A notable role at the end of 1944 and the first post-war months of 1945 in Yugoslavia and Croatia was played by courts martial, which had jurisdiction over the most important criminal acts regardless of whether the perpetrators were military personnel or civilians, namely for war crimes, acts by enemies of the people and crimes perpetrated by military personnel and prisoners-of-war.<sup>64</sup> Guided by the same objective encapsulated in the slogan “Death to fascism – Freedom of the people!”, the courts martial uniquely exercised their purpose as revolutionary organs, believing that all who harmed the interests of “the people and the people’s liberation struggle” must be convicted.<sup>65</sup> The pas-

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*komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti. Slavonija, Srijem i Baranja* (Slavonski Brod, 2006); V. Geiger, *Partisan and Communist Repression and Crimes in Croatia 1944 - 1946. Documents. Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranya* (Bismarck, North Dakota, 2011); V. Geiger, M. Rupić, M. Kevo, E. Kraljević, Z. Despot (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944. - 1946. Dokumenti. Zagreb i središnja Hrvatska* (Slavonski Brod - Zagreb, 2008); M. Rupić, V. Geiger (eds.), *Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944.-1946. Dokumenti. Dalmacija* (Slavonski Brod - Zagreb, 2011), as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>63</sup> See Z. Radelić, *Križari: gerila u Hrvatskoj 1945.-1950.* (Zagreb, 2002, Zagreb, 2011); B. Dimitrijević, *Građanski rat u miru. Uloga armije i službe bezbednosti u obračunu sa političkim protivnicima Titovog režima 1944-1954.* (Belgrade, 2003); Ivica Lučić, “Hrvatska protukomunistička gerila u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1945. do 1951.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 42 (2010), no. 3: 631-670, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>64</sup> Marko Kalodera, *Vojni pravosudni organi i pravne službe JNA*, (Belgrade, 1986), pp. 13-25, 34-35; J. Jurčević, Katica Ivanda, “Ustrojavanje sustava jugoslavenskih komunističkih vojnih sudova tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća”, *Društvena istraživanja* 15 (2006), no. 4-5: 891-914; Tomislav Sabljak, “U redu za smrtnu kaznu. Egzekutori Vojnog suda II. armije Koče Popovića u Zagrebu, godine 1945.”, *Hrvatska revija* XLIII (1993), vol. 4: 432-441; Tatjana Šarić, “Osuđeni po hitnom postupku: uloga represivnih tijela komunističke vlasti u odnosu na smrtnu osudu u Hrvatskoj u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću, na primjeru fonda Uprava za suzbijanje kriminaliteta Sekretarijata ua unutrašnje poslove SRH”, *Arhivski vjesnik* 51 (2008): 341-361, as well as the sources cited therein.

<sup>65</sup> M. Kalodera, *Vojni pravosudni organi i pravne službe JNA*, pp. 13-14; Miloš Gojković, *Istorija jugoslovenskog vojnog pravosuđa* (Belgrade, 1999), pp. 127-128.

sage of the Court Martial Organization and Jurisdiction Act in August 1945 limited courts martial to military personnel and prisoners-of-war,<sup>66</sup> while non-military persons were tried only for “the act of diminishing the people’s defence and divulging military secrets”. For all other crimes, the standard people’s courts were accorded jurisdiction.<sup>67</sup> According to official Yugoslav information, the courts martial in Yugoslavia pronounced 5,484 death sentences during the course of 1945, of which 4,864 were handed down to civilians.<sup>68</sup>

The post-war forced-labour prison camps in Yugoslavia were established during the period of most intense repression by the communist authorities, from 1945 to 1951. Security for the forced-labour prison camps was provided by the Yugoslav Army and the People’s Defence Corps of Yugoslavia (KNOJ). Special forced-labour prison camps were also set up under the exclusive administration of the People’s Defence Department. It was only in the summer of 1945 that jurisdiction over the forced-labour prison camps was transferred from the military authorities to internal affairs.<sup>69</sup> Labour camps in Croatia were established in the summer of 1945 for those who were sentenced to detention with forced labour. They were first called “penal camps”, and then, as of early 1946, “forced labour institutes”. After the forced labour camps/institutes were abolished in the summer/autumn of 1946, the convicts served out their sentences in penal/correctional halls (Stara Gradiška, Lepoglava, Slavon-ska Požega, Glina, and elsewhere).<sup>70</sup> From 1945 to 1951, during the period of “people’s democracy”, courts martial, tribunals for the protection of the national honour of the Croats and Serbs in Croatia sentenced thousands of persons, men, but also women, to detention with forced labour. The work performed by

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<sup>66</sup> See Jelena Đ. Lopičić (ed.), *Ratni zločini protiv ratnih zarobljenika. Sudska praksa* (Belgrade, 2005); Đorđe N. Lopičić (ed.), *Nemački ratni zločini 1941-1945. Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade, 2009); Jelena Đ. Lopičić-Jančić (ed.), *Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji 1941-1945. godine. Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade, 2010); Đ. N. Lopičić (ed.), *Mađarski ratni zločini 1941-1945. Presude jugoslovenskih sudova* (Belgrade, 2010).

<sup>67</sup> Konstantin Bastaić, “Razvitak organa pravosuđa u novoj Jugoslaviji”, in Ferdo Čulinović (ed.), *Nova Jugoslavija. Pregled državnopravnog razvitka. Povodom desetogodišnjice Drugog zasjedanja AVNOJ-a* (Zagreb, 1954), p. 109; M. Kalodera, *Vojni pravosudni organi i pravne službe JNA*, pp. 34-35; M. Gojković, *Istorija jugoslovenskog vojnog pravosuđa*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>68</sup> M. Kalodera, *Vojni pravosudni organi i pravne službe JNA*, pp. 256-257.

<sup>69</sup> J. Vodušek Starič, *Prezvem oblasti 1944 - 1946*, pp. 192-194, 269-271 or J. Vodušek Starič, *Kako su komunisti osvojili vlast 1944.-1946.*, pp. 216-217, 302-304.

<sup>70</sup> See Augustin Franić, *KPD Lepoglava mučilište i gubilište hrvatskih političkih osuđenika* (Zagreb, 2000, Dubrovnik, 2010); A. Franić, *KPD Stara Gradiška mučilište i gubilište hrvatskih političkih osuđenika* (Dubrovnik, 2009); Željko Marenić (ed.), *Kazneno popravni dom - Dom za preodgoj maloljetnica Slavonska Požega 1946-1986* (Slavonska Požega, 1986); Kaja Pereković, *Naše robijanje. Hrvatske žene u komunističkim zatvorima* (Rijeka - Zagreb, 2004); V. Geiger, “Lišavanje slobode i prisilni rad u hrvatskom/jugoslavenskom zakonodavstvu 1945.-1951.”, in V. Geiger, M. Grahek Ravančić, M. Karakaš Obradov (eds.), *Logori, zatvori i prisilni rad u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1941.-1945./1945.-1951. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2010), pp. 151-166, as well as the sources cited therein.



these convicts was generally the most difficult physical labour, so when serving out their sentences of detention with forced labour, many had their health permanently impaired, while many lost their lives as well.

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Well-founded figures for the number of those who lost their lives in Yugoslavia's territory at the hands of the NOV and POJ/JA and the communist authorities during the Second World War and post-war years are generally around 200,000, with some minor lower or higher deviations, depending on the various calculations and/or estimates.

According to Žerjavić's calculations/estimates, a total of 209,000 Yugoslavs on the *enemy* side lost their lives during World War II, most of them from Bosnia-Herzegovina with approximately 70,000, followed by those from Serbia, at approximately 69,000 (ca 27,000 from Vojvodina, ca. 7,000 from Kosovo), Croatia with approximately 52,000, Slovenia with approximately 10,000, Montenegro with approximately 7,000 and Macedonia with approximately 1,000 (*Table 11*).<sup>71</sup> According to the estimates of Austrian historian M. Portmann, based on previous information, there were approximately 180,000 fatalities in Yugoslavia's territory during the Second World War and post-war period, from the end of 1943 to the beginning of 1948, caused by the NOV and POJ/JA and the communist authorities, among whom a minimum of one third of those who lost their lives may have been Croats (*Table 12*).<sup>72</sup>

According to Žerjavić's calculations/estimates, 1,027,000 Yugoslavs lost their lives during the Second World War, of whom 947,000 lost their lives in Yugoslavia, and the remainder abroad under various circumstances, while 271,000 persons lost their lives in Croatia, of whom 66,000 were members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 52,000 were members of collaborationist and Quisling forces, and 153,000 were civilian fatalities (*Table 13*).<sup>73</sup> According to Žerjavić, during the

<sup>71</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 116; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 214; V. Žerjavić, "Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.", p. 160; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 554; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 186.

<sup>72</sup> M. Portmann, "Communist Retaliation and Persecution on Yugoslav Territory during and after WWII (1943 - 1950)", pp. 45-74. See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugome svjetskom ratu i u poraču koje su prouzročili Narodnooslobodilačka vojska i Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije/Jugoslavenska armija i komunistička vlast. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi). Case study: Bleiburg i folksdojčeri", p. 718.

<sup>73</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 116; V. Žerjavić, "Stradanja Jugoslavena u drugom svjetskom ratu", *Viktimologija* 1 (1990), no. 1-2, p. 44; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 214; V. Žerjavić, *Yugoslavia - manipulations with the numbers of Second World War victims/Yougoslavie - manipulations sur le nombre des victimes de la Seconde guerre mondiale/Jugoslawien - Manipulationen mit Kriegsopfern des zweiten Weltkriegs/Jugoslavija -*

Second World War and post-war years, 175,000 or 178,000 Croats lost their lives as members of the NDH armed forces, 69,000 or 71,000 lost their lives as members of the NOV and POJ/JA and 46,000 or 43,000 lost their lives as civilians, while 60,000 or 64,000 lost their lives in direct terror or in camps (*Table 14*).<sup>74</sup>

If Croatian collateral victims in the Second World War, that is, persons who died of starvation and infirmity and in epidemics, mostly typhus, and persons killed by explosive devices, mostly in air raids, are added to these calculations/estimates, it follows that the actual losses of Croats in the Second World War and post-war years may have been roughly 200,000, with minor higher or lower deviations.

According to Žerjavić's more systematic and detailed calculations/estimates, 106,000 Croats from Croatia lost their lives during the Second World War and post-war period, 28,000 as members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 45,000 as members of the NDH armed forces and 33,000 as civilians, followed by 5,000 Croats from eastern Srijem, 1,000 as members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 2,000 as members of the NDH armed forces and 2,000 as civilians, as well as 2,000 Muslims from Croatia, 1,000 as members of the NDH armed forces and 1,000 as civilians. Out of this number, the Chetniks/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland caused the deaths of 20,000 persons, 8,000 members of the NOV and POJ/JA and 12,000 civilians. The NOV and POJ/JA caused the deaths of 56,000 persons, 48,000 members of the NDH armed forces and 8,000 civilians. According to Žerjavić, 64,000 Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina lost their lives during the Second World War and the post-war period, 17,000 as members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 22,000 as members of the NDH armed forces and 25,000 as civilians. Out of this number, the Chetniks/JVuO caused the deaths of 12,000 persons, 6,000 members of the NOV and POJ/JA and 6,000 civilians. The NOV and POJ/JA caused the death of 28,000 persons, 22,000 members of the NDH armed forces and 6,000 civilians. According to Žerjavić, 75,000 Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina lost their lives during the Second World War and post-war period, 11,000 as members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 28,000 as members of the NDH armed forces and 36,000 as civilians. Out of this number, the Chetniks/JVuO caused the deaths of 33,000 persons, 2,000 members of the NOV and POJ/JA, 11,000 members of the NDH armed forces and 20,000 civilians. The NOV and POJ/JA caused the deaths of 17,000 persons, 15,000 members of the NDH armed forces and 2,000 civilians. During the Second World War and post-war period, out of the 175,000

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*manipulacije žrtvama Drugog svjetskog rata*, p. 61; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 554; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 186.

<sup>74</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 75-76; V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/ [Croats and Muslims in NDH territory] [Tabular overview] (Zagreb, 1994)*; V. Žerjavić, "Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 556-557; V. Žerjavić, *Population Losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, p. 94.

Croats and 77,000 Muslims from the NDH who lost their lives, the Chetniks/JVuO caused the deaths of 68,000 and the NOV and POJ/JA 101,000 persons. If the 17,000 Croats and Muslims from the NDH who lost their lives in various ways outside of the NDH as members of the NDH armed forces, members of the NOV and POJ/JA or as civilians, it follows that during the Second World War and immediate post-war period, 189,000 Croats and 80,000 Muslims from the NDH lost their lives (*Table 15*).<sup>75</sup>

However, individual researchers who assert the inevitability of using identification of casualties and fatalities by individual names have raised serious objections to Žerjavić's calculations/estimates of human losses by using standard statistical methods and consolidation of data from various sources, pointing out that such an approach is insufficient and unreliable in determining the number and character of casualties and fatalities, as well as the affiliation of the perpetrators of the crimes, i.e., those who caused the loss of lives.

The calculations of statisticians/demographers, the estimates of historians and lists of individual names of human losses in both Croatia and Yugoslavia during the Second World War and post-war years are often quite different.

According to Katalinić's calculations/estimates, which differ considerably from those of Žerjavić and Kočović, the demographic losses of Croats (Catholic and Muslims) in the NDH during the Second World War and post-war period were 543,000 (Croatia 279,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 264,000), of whom 384,000 were Catholic Croats (Croatia 274,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 110,000), and 159,000 were Muslim Croats (Croatia 5,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 154,000). The actual losses of Croats (including Muslims) in the NDH during the Second World War and post-war period, according to Katalinić, were 427,000 (Croatia 228,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 199,000), of whom 307,000 were Catholic Croats (Croatia 225,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 82,000), while 120,000 were Muslim Croats (Croatia 3,000, Bosnia-Herzegovina 117,000). According to Katalinić, the actual losses of Croats (including Muslims) in the NDH during the Second World War and post-war period were a minimum of 326,000, probably 427,000 and a maximum of 553,000 persons. The actual losses of Croats in Croatia during the Second World War and post-war period, according to Katalinić's calculations, are a minimum of 168,000, probably 225,000 and a maximum of 323,00 persons (*Tables 16 and 17*).<sup>76</sup>

According to V. Stipetić's calculations, Croatia's human losses during the period from 1931 to 1948, with emphasis on the events of the Second World

<sup>75</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/* [Croats and Muslims in NDH territory] [Tabular overview] (Zagreb, 1994). See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojiddbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 743-744.

<sup>76</sup> K. Katalinić, "Hrvatske i srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.", pp. 15-63; K. Katalinić, *Argumenti. NDH, BiH, Bleiburg i genocid*, pp. 91, 137.

War, are: total demographic losses of 716,000, of which most were Serbs, 227,000, followed by Croats at 190,000, Germans and Austrians at 102,000 and Italians at 83,000, while total actual losses were 337,000, of which most were Croats, with 149,000, followed by Serbs with 130,000, Roma with 20,000 and Jews with 18,000 (*Table 18*).<sup>77</sup>

Due to a lack of systematic research, even today many figures are arbitrary estimates, in which individual categories of human losses in Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and post-war years are either exaggerated or minimized. The exaggeration or minimization, or even concealment, of individual categories of human losses, are most often due – besides a lack of knowledge of the relevant facts – to personal, national or political reasons, for casualties and fatalities are “ours”, while the perpetrators are “theirs” or, conversely, the casualties and fatalities are “theirs” while the perpetrators are “ours”.

There are even differences, sometimes considerable, among the statistical calculations of human losses in both Yugoslavia and Croatia during the Second World War, although most calculations of demographic and actual losses were done using a similar methodology. But in their calculations/estimates of Croatia's human losses in the Second World War, Croatian demographers did not, as a rule, resort to classifying the number of casualties and fatalities based on ideological/military affiliation and the ideology or military formation of the perpetrators or parties responsible for the deaths.<sup>78</sup>

There are various estimates, calculations and even name lists on the human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and post-war period and their national/ethnic structure. However, not even the lists of individual names of casualties and fatalities can be deemed final. Changes are also possible based on the reduction in the number of individual categories of casualties and fatalities. Together with the requisite and unavoidable supplements and corrections to the data in name lists, also notable are the more significant *changes* in the number and structure of casualties and fatalities and the *transfer* from one national/ethnic and ideological/military group to another, and even one site of loss of lives to another, which indicates potential manipulations.

Additionally, there is actually no scholarly dialogue on the matter of human losses in Croatia during the Second World War and post-war period.

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<sup>77</sup> V. Stipetić, “Jedno stoljeće u razvoju nacionalne strukture stanovništva na teritoriju SR Hrvatske (1880 - 1981)”, pp. 81, 119-120. See V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 746.

<sup>78</sup> For example, see Jakov Gelo, *Demografske promjene u Hrvatskoj od 1780. do 1981. godine* (Zagreb, 1987), p. 192; V. Stipetić, “Jedno stoljeće u razvoju nacionalne strukture stanovništva na teritoriju SR Hrvatske (1880 - 1981)”, pp. 81, 119-120; I. Nejašmić, *Depopulacija u Hrvatskoj. Korijeni, stanje, izgledi*, p. 141 or I. Nejašmić, *Stanovništvo Hrvatske. Demografske studije i analize*, p. 56.

However, in research into the human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, in the Second World War and post-war years, *confronting the past* is inevitable. Thus far, we have not demonstrated a readiness and capacity for such thinking. The question remains as to how much today's Croatian society and its individual members, rather obsessed with "victimomania", are capable of *confronting the past*, or the extent to which they are intentionally prevented from doing so by politics.

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The establishment of human losses in Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and post-war period, including soldiers and civilians, those who died, were killed or lost their lives as a result of the war, and missing persons, cannot be approached on the basis of improvisation and speculation, but rather on the basis of specific actual indicators, in order to reach the most accurate possible data on the number and names, national/ethnic, age, gender, and ideological/political and military or even civilian character of casualties and fatalities. Establishing human losses is not only a scholarly and research pursuit, it is a civilizational necessity. The question of the human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and post-war period is one of the most complex research themes which must be constantly re-examined and supplemented.

**Table 1**

Structure and number of actual losses of Croatia during the Second World War and the post-war period based on data Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 1999 <sup>1</sup>			
Lost lives as		Lost their lives, by nationality	
Partisans	38,732	Croats	79,318
Civilians	38,000	Serbs	18,410
Ustasha soldiers	18,814	Germans	752
Croatian Home Guard	13,908	Roma	701
NDH armed forces	9,133	Jews	293
German army	1,621	Hungarians	119
Italian army	206	Czechs	98
Yugoslav Army	147	Slovaks	94
Kingdom of Yugoslavia Army	101	Italians	65
Chetnik units	85	Rusyns	26
Allied military forces	22	Slovenes	16
Axis powers	9	Poles	11
Serbian paramilitaries	2	Ukrainians	10
Unknown	32,920	Russians	7
total	153,700	Austrians	4
		Greeks	3
		Albanians	1
		Bulgarians	1
		Montenegrins	1
		Romanians	1
		Vlachs	1
		Unknown	53,768
		total	153,700

<sup>\*</sup> *Izvješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, September 1999.)

<sup>1</sup> These are previous indicators. The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia was dissolved in 2002, and recording of Croatia's human losses during the Second World War and the post-war period was not completed.

**Table 2**

Most represented categories of actual losses in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Second World War and post-war period based on data Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 1999			
Croatia		Bosnia-Herzegovina	
153,700		99,228	
Lost lives as			
members of NDH armed forces	31,855	members of NDH armed forces	12,924
members of NOV and POJ/ Yugoslav Army	38,732	members of NOV and POJ/Yu- goslav Army	5,259
as civilian	38,000	as civilian	44,027

\* *Izvješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine, (Zagreb, September 1999)*

**Table 3**

Human losses in Croatia during the Second World War and in the post-war period, caused by the Chetniks/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland and the Partisans/People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army according to data Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 1999	
Caused human losses	
Chetniks/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland	4,203 1,628 civilians
Partisans/People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army	37,881 7,404 civilians

\* *Izvješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine, (Zagreb, September 1999)*

**Table 4**

Human losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War according to B. Kočović and V. Žerjavić		
Kočović	demographic losses	1,985,000
Žerjavić		2,022,000
Kočović	actual losses	1,014,000
Žerjavić		1,027,000
Kočović	reduced natality	333,000
Žerjavić		326,000
Kočović	emigration	638,000 / 654,00
Žerjavić		669,000

\* B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985, Sarajevo, 1990) – V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1989) – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992) – V. Žerjavić, “Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 24 (1992), no. 3, – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3, – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997).

**Table 5**

Human losses in Croatia during the Second World War according to B. Kočović and V. Žerjavić		
Kočović	demographic losses	605,000
Žerjavić		604,000
Kočović	actual losses	295,000
Žerjavić		271,000 / 295,000

\* B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985, Sarajevo, 1990) – V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, (Zagreb, 1989) – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992) – V. Žerjavić, “Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 24 (1992), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997).



**Table 6**

Migrated from Yugoslavia during the Second World War and post-war period according to B. Kočović and V. Žerjavić	Kočović	Žerjavić
		638,000 / 654,000
Germans	396,000	425,000
Italians	4,000 <sup>1</sup>	163,000
Serbs	60,000	80,000
Croats	57,000	39,000
Hungarians	33,000	32,000

<sup>\*</sup> B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985, Sarajevo, 1990) – V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1989) – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992) – V. Žerjavić, “Doseljavanja i iseljavanja s područja Istre, Rijeke i Zadra u razdoblju 1910 - 1971.”, *Društvena istraživanja* (1993), no. 6-7 – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997).

<sup>1</sup> Data are shown for the areas inside the borders of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

**Table 7**

Actual losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War according to B. Kočović						
	Serbs and Montenegrins	Croats	Muslims	Jews	Others	total
Bosnia-Herzegovina	209,000	79,000	75,000	10,000	9,000	382,000
Montenegro	45,000	-	4,000	-	1,000	50,000
Croatia	125,000	124,000	-	17,000	29,000	295,000
Kosovo	4,000	-	-	1,000	5,000	10,000
Macedonia	7,000	-	1,000	6,000	11,000	25,000
Slovenia	-	-	-	1,000	34,000	35,000
Serbia	114,000	1,000	5,000	8,000	13,000	141,000
Vojvodina	33,000	3,000	1,000	17,000	22,000	76,000
Total	537,000	207,000	86,000	60,000	124,000	1,014,000
Out of the total number of actual losses of Serbs and Montenegrins, 537,000, Serbs were 487,000, and Montenegrins were 50,000 In the total number of actual losses of Others there were: 6,000 Albanians, 5,000 Hungarians, 7,000 Macedonians, 26,000 Germans, 27,000 Roma, 32,000 Slovenes and 21,000 others						

<sup>\*</sup> B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985, Sarajevo, 1990).

**Table 8**

Actual losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War according to V. Žerjavić							
	Serbs	Montenegrin	Croats	Muslims	Jews	Others	total
Bosnia-Herzegovina	164,000	-	64,000	75,000	9,000	4,000	316,000
Montenegro	6,000	20,000	1,000	4,000	-	6,000	37,000
Croatia	131,000	-	106,000	2,000	10,000	22,000	271,000
Kosovo	3,000	-	1,000	2,000	-	17,000	23,000
Macedonia	6,000	-	-	4,000	-	7,000	17,000
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	-	33,000	33,000
Serbia	142,000	-	-	13,000	7,000	5,000	167,000
Vojvodina	45,000	-	6,000	-	7,000	25,000	83,000
abroad	33,000	-	14,000	3,000	24,000	6,000	80,000
total	530,000	20,000	192,000	103,000	57,000	125,000	1,027,000
In the total number of actual losses of Others there were: 18,000 Albanians, 2,000 Hungarians, 6,000 Macedonians, 28,000 Germans, 8,000 Roma, 42,000 Slovenes and 11,000 others							

\* V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1989) – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992) – V. Žerjavić, *Yugoslavia - manipulations with the numbers of Second World War victims/Yougoslavie - manipulations sur le nombre des victimes de la Seconde guerre mondiale/Jugoslawien - Manipulationen mit Kriegsoffern des zweiten Weltkriegs/Jugoslavija – manipulacije žrtvama Drugog svjetskog rata* (Zagreb, 1993) – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997).

**Table 9**

Actual losses of Croats and Muslims caused by Chetniks/Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland during the Second World War, 1941-1945 based on various lists, calculations and estimates			
	Croatia	Bosnia- Herzegovina	Independent State of Croatia
Territorial Commission on War Crimes of the People's Republic of Croatia, 1945	1,729	-	-
F. Tuđman, 1989	1,372	-	-
M. Sobolevski, Z. Dizdar, I. Graovac, S. Žarić, 1993	3,500	-	-
V. Žerjavić, 1994/1995→	20,000	45,000 12,000 Croats 33,000 Muslims	65,000
	-	-	47,000 18,000 Croats 29,000 Muslims
Z. Dizdar, 1995/1996→	3,750	-	-
	20,000	45,000 12,000 Croats 33,000 Muslims	65,000
M. Sobolevski, 1999/2000→	3,000	-	[20,000 Croats] <sup>1</sup>
	3,000	-	-
I. Graovac, 1995/2000/2011	3,500	-	-
	2,905	-	-
Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 1999 <sup>2</sup>	4,203	-	-

\* Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, ZKRZ, GUZ, 2624/45. – F. Tuđman, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti. Rasprava o povijesti i filozofiji zločinja* (Zagreb, 1989., Zagreb, 1990) – M. Sobolevski, Z. Dizdar, I. Graovac, S. Žarić, *Zločini četničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1993 [manuscript]) – V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/ [Croats and Muslims in NDH territory] [Tabular overview]* (Zagreb, 1994) – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997) – V. Žerjavić, “O stradanjima u Drugom svjetskom ratu: stradali Hrvati od četnika, stradali Srbi i broj stradalih u Jasenovcu”, *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara*, 5 (Zagreb, 2002) – Z. Dizdar, M. Kujundžić, *Doprinos Hrvatske pobjedi antifašističke koalicije* (Zagreb, 1995) – Z. Dizdar, “Četnički zločini genocida nad Hrvatima i Muslimanima u Bosni i Hercegovini i nad Hrvatima u Hrvatskoj tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata (1941.-1945.)”, *Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 1995.-1996.* (Zagreb, 1996) – Z. Dizdar, “Četnički zločini nad Hrvatima i Muslimanima u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata (1941.-1945.)”, in: Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 1999) – Z. Dizdar, *Četnički zločini u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2002) – M. Sobolevski, “Četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj u Drugom svjetskom ratu (1941.-1945.)”, in: Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.*, Zagreb, 1999. – M. Sobolevski, “Zločini

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četničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u Drugome svjetskom ratu”, *Rijeka*, year V, vol. 1-2, *Rijeka*, 2000. – I. Graovac, *Žrtve četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Sociološki aspekti*, Doctoral thesis, Zagreb, 1995 – I. Graovac, “Posljedice državotvorne ideje i nacionalnointegralističke ideologije četničkog pokreta na primjeru stradalih Hrvata i Srba od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj”, *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara*, 1, Zagreb, 2000 – I. Graovac, “Otvara li demokracija mogućnost prestanka manipulacije stradalima? Primjer: razlike u utvrđivanju broja stradalih od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj”, *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara*, 4, Zagreb, 2001. – I. Graovac, “Stradali Hrvati i Srbi od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj”, in: I. Graovac, D. Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...*, Zagreb, 2005. – I. Graovac, “Otvara li demokracija mogućnost prestanka manipulacije stradalima? Primjer: razlike u utvrđivanju broja stradalih od četnika 1941.-1945. u Hrvatskoj”, in: I. Graovac, D. Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...*, Zagreb, 2005. – *Izvješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, Zagreb, rujna 1999. – I. Graovac, *Stradali od četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Prilog istraživanju: strukture stradalih*, Zagreb, 2011.

<sup>1</sup> M. Sobolevski later explained that this number published in the book by Z. Dizdar, M. Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.*, Zagreb, 1999 was not his figure.

<sup>2</sup> These are previous indicators. The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia was dissolved in 2002, and recording of Croatia's human losses during the Second World War and the post-war period was not completed.

**Table 10**

Bleiburg and the "Way of the Cross", 1945 estimates, calculations and lists		
G. J. Prpic estimate	over 1,000,000	mainly Croats
O. Knezović and J. I. Prcela estimate	600,000	mainly Croats
D. Crljen estimate	500,000	mainly Croats
B. M. Karapandžić estimate	250,000	Croats, Slovenes, Serbs and Montenegrins
I. Bogdan i V. Nikolić estimate	ca. 200,000	200,000 Croats and 12,000 Slovenes
V. Žerjavić calculation	ca. 70,000	45,000 to 55,000 Croats and Muslims 8,000 to 10,000 Slovenes ca. 2,000 Serbs and Montenegrins
K. Katalinić calculation	minimum 85,000 probably 135,500 maximum 198,500	Croats and Muslims
M. Šimundić estimate	ca. 125,000	Croats
Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia name list	13,300 <sup>1</sup>	mainly Croats
M. Portmann estimate	ca. 80,000	Croats, Bosniaks, Serbs, Montenegrins, Slovenes and Germans
Z. Dizdar estimate	over 50,000 ca. 62,000	Croats

<sup>1</sup> G. J. Prpic, *Tragedies and Migrations in Croatian History*, Toronto, 1975 – O. Knezović, *Pokolj hrvatske vojske 1945. Dokumenti o zvjerstvima Srba nad Hrvatima*, Chicago, 1960. – J. I. Prcela, S. Guldescu, *Operation Slaughterhouse. Eyewitness Accounts of Post-war Massacres in Yugoslavia*, Philadelphia, 1970, Pittsburgh, 1995 – D. Crljen, "Bleiburg", *Hrvatska revija*, year XVI, vol. 2-4, Paris, 1966 – B. M. Karapandžić, *The Bloodiest Yugoslav Springs 1945 - Tito's Katyn and Gulags*, New York, 1980 – B. M. Karapandžić, *Jugoslovensko krvavo proleće 1945. Titovi Katini i Gulazi*, Cleveland, 1976, Belgrade, 1990. – I. Bogdan (ed.), *La Tragedia de Bleiburg. Documentos sobre las matanzas en masa de los croatas en Yugoslavia comunista en 1945*, Buenos Aires, 1963 – V. Nikolić, F. Nevistić, *Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskog naroda*, Barcelona, 1976, Barcelona, 1977, Zagreb, 1993 – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1992 – V. Žerjavić, "Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, year 24, no. 3, Zagreb, 1992 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, Zagreb, 1997 – K. Katalinić, "Hrvatske i

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srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.”, *Republika Hrvatska*, year XXXVIII, no. 160, Buenos Aires, 1988 – K. Katalinić, “Broj bleiburških žrtava”, in: J. Marević (ed.), *50 godina Bleiburga*, Zagreb, 1995. – M. Šimundić, *Hrvatski smrtni put (Prilog novijoj hrvatskoj povijesti)*, Split, 2001. – *Izješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, Zagreb, September 1999 – M. Portmann, *Kommunistische Abrechnung mit Kriegsverbrechern, Kollaborateuren, “Volksfeinden” und “Verrätern” in Jugoslawien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs und unmittelbar danach*, Magisterarbeit, Vienna, 2002 – M. Portmann, “Communist Retaliation and Persecution on Yugoslav Territory during and after WWII (1943 - 1950)”, *Tokovi istorije*, 1-2, Belgrade, 2004 – Z. Dizdar, “Stradanja Hrvata u II. svjetskom ratu i neposredno nakon njega”, in: V. Kapitanović (ed.), *Crkva i društvo uz Jadran. Vrela i rezultati istraživanja. Zbornik*, Split, 2001. – Z. Dizdar, “Prilog istraživanju problema Bleiburga i križnih putova (u povodu 60. obljetnice)”, *Senjski zbornik*, year 32, no. 32, Senj, 2005.

<sup>1</sup> These are previous indicators. The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia was dissolved in 2002, and recording of Croatia's human losses during the Second World War and the post-war period was not completed.

**Table 11**

Yugoslavs who lost their lives on the <i>enemy</i> side during World War II, 1941-1945 according to V. Žerjavić	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	70,000
Serbia	69,000
Croatia	52,000
Slovenia	10,000
Montenegro	7,000
Macedonia	1,000
total	209,000

<sup>1</sup> V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1989 – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1992. . – V. Žerjavić, “Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-1945.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, year 24, no. 3, Zagreb, 1992 – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, year 27, no. 3, Zagreb, 1995 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, Zagreb, 1997.

**Table 12**

Fatalities caused by the NOV and POJ/JA and communist authorities in Yugoslavia, 1943 to 1948 according to M. Portmann			
1943 to 1945	Dalmatia, Istria Croatian Littoral	Italians, generally civilians, but also soldiers, Italian and German prisoners-of-war and other "people's enemies" and political opponents	10,000
Autumn 1944	Belgrade	Serbs, Quislings, collaborators, "people's enemies" and political opponents	10,000
autumn 1944	Serbia and Vojvodina	Serbs, Quislings, collaborators, "people's enemies" and political opponents	10,000
since autumn 1944	Vojvodina	Hungarians, mainly civilians	5,000
from end of 1944 to beginning of 1948	Banat, Bačka, Baranja, Srijem, Slavonia and Slovenia	German civilians, killed or generally lost their lives in camps	50,000
from January to March 1945	Kosovo	Albanians, generally civilians	2,000
from May to August 1945	Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina	Croat, Bosniak, Serb, Montenegrin, Slovenian, and German prisoners-of-war, mainly soldiers, but also civilians	80,000
May 1945	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbian and Montenegrin Chetniks, prisoners-of-war	10,000
from May 1945 to 1948	in Yugoslavia's territory	Quislings, collaborators, "people's enemies" and political opponents	3,000
			total 180,000

\* M. Portmann, *Kommunistische Abrechnung mit Kriegsverbrechern, Kollaborateuren, "Volksfeinden" und "Verrätern" in Jugoslawien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs und unmittelbar danach*, Magisterarbeit, Vienna, 2002. – M. Portmann, "Communist Retaliation and Persecution on Yugoslav Territory during and after WWII (1943 - 1950)", *Tokovi istorije*, 1-2, Belgrade, 2004.

**Table 13**

Structure of actual losses of Yugoslavia during the Second World War and post-war period according to V. Žerjavić						
Republic or province	total	fallen soldiers	total fatalities	of this		Quislings and collaborators
				in settlements	in camps	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	316,000	72,000	174,000	89,000	85,000	70,000
Montenegro	37,000	15,000	15,000	14,000	1,000	7,000
Croatia	271,000	66,000	153,000	105,000	48,000	52,000
Macedonia	17,000	14,000	2,000	2,000	-	1,000
Slovenia	33,000	12,000	11,000	8,000	3,000	10,000
Serbia	273,000	58,000	146,000	67,000	79,000	69,000
Serbia proper	167,000	42,000	92,000	39,000	53,000	33,000
Vojvodina	83,000	10,000	46,000	20,000	26,000	27,000
Kosovo	23,000	6,000	8,000	8,000	-	9,000
Yugoslavia	947,000	237,000	501,000	285,000	216,000	209,000

\* V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1989 – V. Žerjavić, “Stradanja Jugoslavena u drugom svjetskom ratu”, *Viktimologija*, year 1, no. 1-2, Zagreb, 1990. – V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1992 – V. Žerjavić, *Yugoslavia - manipulations with the numbers of Second World War victims/Yougoslavie - manipulations sur le nombre des victimes de la Seconde guerre mondiale/Jugoslawien - Manipulationen mit Kriegsopfern des zweiten Weltkriegs/Jugoslavija - manipulacije žrtvama Drugog svjetskog rata*, Zagreb, 1993. – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, year 27, no. 3, Zagreb, 1995 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, Zagreb, 1997.

**Table 14**

Structure of actual losses of Croats in the Second World War and post-war period according to V. Žerjavić		
NDH armed forces	69,000	71,000
NOV and POJ/JA	46,000	43,000
civilians, direct terror and camps	60,000	64,000
total	175,000	178,000

\* V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb, 1992 – V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/ [Croats and Muslims in NDH territory] [Tabular overview]*, Zagreb, 1994 – V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, year 27, no. 3, Zagreb, 1995 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945*, Zagreb, 1997.



**Table 15**

Structure of actual losses of Croats and Muslims in the NDH according to V. Žerjavić				
Croatia + eastern Srijem	total	as members of NOV and POJ/JA	as members of NDH armed forces	as civilians, casualties of direct terror and camps
Croats	106,000	28,000	45,000	33,000
Croats in Srijem	5,000	1,000	2,000	2,000
Muslims	2,000	-	1,000	1,000
total	113,000	29,000	48,000	36,000
death caused by				
Germans	12,000	8,000	-	4,000
Italians	6,000	3,000	-	3,000
NDH armed forces	19,000	10,000	-	9,000
Chetniks	20,000	8,000	-	12,000
NOV and POJ/JA	56,000	-	48,000	8,000
total	113,000	29,000	48,000	36,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats				
death caused by				
Germans	5,000	2,000	-	3,000
Italians	3,000	1,000	-	2,000
NDH armed forces	16,000	8,000	-	8,000
Chetniks	12,000	6,000	-	6,000
NOV i POJ/JA	28,000	-	22,000	6,000
total	64,000	17,000	22,000	25,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims				
death caused by				
Germans	10,000	5,000	1,000	4,000
Italians	5,000	1,000	1,000	3,000
NDH armed forces	10,000	3,000	-	7,000
Chetniks	33,000	2,000	11,000	20,000
NOV and POJ/JA	17,000	-	15,000	2,000
total	75,000	11,000	28,000	36,000
death caused by Croats and Muslims in NDH				
Germans	27,000	15,000	1,000	11,000
Italians	14,000	5,000	1,000	8,000
NDH armed forces	45,000	21,000	-	24,000
Chetniks	68,000	16,000	11,000	41,000

V. GEIGER, Human losses of the Croats in World War II and the immediate post-war period caused...

NOV and POJ/JA	101,000	-	85,000	16,000
Croats and Muslims lost lives in NDH	252,000	57,000	98,000	97,000
Croats and Muslims from NDH who lost lives abroad	17,000	4,000	1,000	12,000
Croats	14,000	4,000	-	10,000
Muslims	3,000	-	1,000	2,000
Croats and Muslims from NDH overall total lost lives	269,000	61,000	99,000	109,000

\* V. Žerjavić, *Poginuli, ubijeni i umoreni 1941-1945 /u tisućama/* [Croats and Muslims in NDH territory] [Tabular overview], Zagreb, 1994.

**Table 16**

	Catholic Croats			Muslim Croats			Croats – Catholics and Muslims		
	maximum	minimum	probable	maximum	minimum	probable	maximum	minimum	probable
Croatia	373,000	216,000	274,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	378,000	221,000	279,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	122,000	101,000	110,000	171,000	117,000	154,000	293,000	218,000	264,000
total	495,000	317,000	384,000	176,000	122,000	159,000	671,000	439,000	543,000

\* K. Katalinić, "Hrvatske i srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.", *Republika Hrvatska*, god. XXXVIII, no. 160, Buenos Aires, 1988. – K. Katalinić, *Argumenti. NDH, BiH, Bleiburg i genocid*, Buenos Aires-Zagreb, 1993.

**Table 17**

	Catholic Croats			Muslim Croats			Croats – Catholics and Muslims		
	maximum	minimum	probable	maximum	minimum	probable	maximum	minimum	probable
Croatia	323,000	168,000	225,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	326,000	171,000	228,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	94,000	74,000	82,000	133,000	81,000	117,000	227,000	155,000	199,000
total	417,000	242,000	307,000	136,000	84,000	120,000	553,000	326,000	427,000

\* K. Katalinić, "Hrvatske i srpske žrtve 1941.-1945.", *Republika Hrvatska*, god. XXXVIII, no. 160, Buenos Aires, 1988. – K. Katalinić, *Argumenti. NDH, BiH, Bleiburg i genocid*, Buenos Aires-Zagreb, 1993.

**Table 18**

Structure of human losses of Croatia during the Second World War and post-war period from 1931 to 1948 according to V. Stipetić						
	population 1931	estimate of expected population			actual number	demographic losses
		1941	1945	1948	1948	
Croats	2,680,900	3,025,300	3,063,000	3,180,600	2,990,600	-190,000
Croatia	3,785,300	4,235,000	4,326,900	4,495,000	3,779,900	-716,100
	emigration from Yugoslavia	migrations within Yugoslavia		losses of life	assimilation	total
		immigration	emigration			
Croats	40,000	6,000	7,000	149,000	-	190,000
Croatia	239,000	15,000	91,000	337,000	62,000	716,000
demographic losses				actual losses		
Croats		190,000		Croats		149,000
Serbs		227,000		Serbs		130,000
Germans and Austrians		102,000		Roma		20,000
Italians		83,000		Jews		18,000
Croatia total		716,000		Croatia total		337,000

\* V. Stipetić, "Jedno stoljeće u razvoju nacionalne strukture stanovništva na teritoriju SR Hrvatske (1880 - 1981)", *Suvremeni ekonomski problemi*, no. 8, Zagreb, 1987.

**Die menschlichen Verluste der Kroaten im Zweiten Weltkrieg  
und in der Nachkriegszeit, verursacht von Tschetniks,  
bzw. der Jugoslawischen Armee im Vaterland, von Partisanen,  
bzw. der Volksbefreiungsarmee und Partisaneneinheiten  
Jugoslawiens/von der Jugoslawischen Armee und jugoslawischen  
kommunistischen Macht  
*Zahlenangaben***

**Zusammenfassung**

Aufgrund der wichtigsten historiographischen, demographischen und viktimologischen Studien werden in dieser Arbeit die menschlichen Verluste der Kroaten dargestellt, verursacht von Tschetniks, bzw. der Jugoslawischen Armee im Vaterland, von Partisanen, bzw. der Volksbefreiungsarmee und Partisaneneinheiten Jugoslawiens/von der Jugoslawischen Armee und der neuen kommunistischen Macht. In dieser Arbeit werden die ersten, meistens willkürlichen Schätzungen und Angaben, dann die viel genaueren späteren statistischen/demographischen Rechnungen und schließlich die neuesten, auf den systematischen Forschungen basierten Namen- und Zahlenangaben dargestellt und miteinander verglichen.