

NUMERICAL INDICATORS OF THE VICTIMS OF THE JASENOVAC CAMP, 1941-1945 (ESTIMATES, CALCULATIONS, LISTS)

Vladimir GEIGER*

The unresolved and most controversial question of human losses for both Yugoslavia and Croatia in the Second World War is the number of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp. Name lists of human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, in the Second World War and estimates made by historians as well as calculations by demographers often differ considerably. This is because the tallies proffered by estimates, calculations and/or lists of fatalities in the Jasenovac camp fall within an excessively broad range from complete minimization to megalomaniacal claims and they differ greatly from scholar to scholar, and are often rather contingent upon the (current) political climate. Based on the most important sources, historiographic and publicistic, and also statistical/demographic and victimological works, the numerical indicators of the Jasenovac camp fatalities are presented. First the initial, most often arbitrary estimates and claims on the number of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp are shown, followed by statistical/demographic calculations on the Jasenovac camp fatalities. Finally, it is demonstrated that the numerical indicators based on individual names of the Jasenovac camp fatalities based on more systematic research are much more reliable.

Key words: Second World War, Independent State of Croatia, human losses, camps, Jasenovac

The consequences of the Second World War were considerable physical destruction, while the human losses were also immense.

* Vladimir Geiger, Ph. D., Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, Croatia

Previous research into the demographic and actual human losses of Croatia, and Yugoslavia, in the Second World War and the post-war years¹ has provided insight on the approximate, and also potential, number of fatalities, casualties and victims.² 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.

Research has ascertained different, and for many events and places, relevant indicators with possibly negligible deviations on the extent of the systematic repression against the Roma, Jews and Serbs and all of those proclaimed enemies of the “new order” in the Independent State of Croatia.

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The question of Yugoslavia’s, and Croatia’s, human losses in the Second World War became a first-class political issue in the immediate post-war phase in 1945, and has remained so to this day. The vast majority of the debates on the human losses of both Yugoslavia and Croatia in wartime and the post-war period have no basis in science and they are recognizably rooted in ideology and propaganda.

The human losses of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, in the Second World War and immediate post-war years, primarily the number and nationality/ethnicity, age and gender of the fatalities in the Jasenovac camp, despite many estimates, calculations and censuses,³ constitute one of the most controversial research tasks and, furthermore, one of the most sensitive (current) political topics.

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In June 1944, *Vjesnik*, the official newspaper of the Unified National Liberation Front of Croatia issued a booklet under the title “Documents on Ustasha Terror. Concentration Camps”, which contains the allegation that up

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ 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.

to 800,000 persons were killed in the camps of the Independent State of Croatia (known by its Croatian acronym NDH).⁴

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

The State Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators, formed by the National Committee of Yugoslavia's Liberation, submitted to the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg the claim that by the end of 1943 a minimum of 600,000 persons, mostly Serbs, followed by Jews, Roma and Croats, were killed in the Jasenovac camp (Table 8).⁵ In 1946, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia officially submitted to the International Reparations Commission in Paris a figure of 1,706,000 human losses in the Second World War.⁶ Such an unfounded estimate circulated in international circles and became the foundation for all later exaggerations of the number of Jasenovac camp fatalities.⁷

The report of the Territorial Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators, under the title *Zločini u logoru Jasenovac* [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp], released in 1946 asserts that 500,000 to 600,000 persons lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp (Table 8).⁸ The 1946 report of the Territorial Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and

⁴ *Dokumenti ustaškog terora. Koncentracioni logori* (s. l., 1944, Jasenovac, s. a.), p. 6.

⁵ *Izveštaj Jugoslovenske Državne komisije za utvđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Međunarodnom vojnom sudu u Nürnbergu* (Belgrade, 1947), p. 35. See Josip Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1998), pp. 42-47; Vladimir Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojiddbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 43 (2011), No. 3: 717; Vladimir Geiger, "Brojiddbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću", in Zorislav Lukić (ed.), *Represija i zločini komunističkog režima u Hrvatskoj. Zbornik radova* (Zagreb, 2012), p. 64.

⁶ See *Ljudske i materijalne žrtve Jugoslavije u ratnom naporu 1941-1945.* ([Belgrade], 1947); V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojiddbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 700-701; V. Geiger, "Brojiddbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću", p. 52.

⁷ Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945. Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac/Zagreb, 2003), pp. 117-118; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojiddbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 717-718. See Gunnar Heinsohn, *Lexikon der Völkermorde* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1999), pp. 193-194, 227-228, as well as the sources cited therein.

⁸ *Zločini u logoru Jasenovac* (Zagreb, 1946; Jasenovac, 1977; Jasenovac, 1980; Banja Luka, 2000), p. 38. See J. Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske*, pp. 34-42; Vladimir Mrkoci, Vladimir Horvat, *Ogoljela laž logora Jasenovac* (Zagreb, 2008), pp. 19-23; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojiddbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni,

Their Collaborators of the People's Republic of Croatia, compiled without documents and based on the testimony of witnesses and the minutes of three commissions which toured the Jasenovac camp on 11 and 18 May and 18 June 1945, is full of exaggerated, unbelievable and absurd statements and assertions, and it is the source upon which the myth of the Jasenovac camp is based.⁹

However, according to data on individual names compiled by the Territorial Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators from 1947, 25,773 persons from the territory of Croatia lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, while the number of fatalities from Croatia's territory in the Jasenovac camp was 15,792 and 2,927 in the Stara Gradiška camp (Table 8).¹⁰

The Yugoslav censuses of Second World War human losses conducted in 1944/1947, 1950 and 1964, like the later supplemented and revised censuses of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, do not confirm that hundreds of thousands or over one million people, as some stubbornly claimed or still claim.¹¹

Nevertheless, taking into account all unavoidable indicators and estimates in the calculation of Yugoslavia's human losses in the Second World War, the demographic losses may have been 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 calculation methodologies for the needs of *acceptable* demographic and actual losses for individual national/ethnic groups.¹²

Despite everything, the 1958 and 1958 editions of the *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda* (Lexicographic Institute Encyclopaedia) cited different

popisi)", p. 718; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 64.

⁹ J. Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske*, pp. 34-42; Mladen Ivezić, *Jasenovac. Brojke* (Zagreb, 2003), pp. 29-36; V. Mrkoci, V. Horvat, *Ogoljela laž logora Jasenovac*, p. 19; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 718.

¹⁰ Mihael Sobolevski, "Prilog metodologiji istraživanja stvarnih ljudskih gubitaka Hrvatske u tijeku drugoga svjetskog rata", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 24 (1992), No. 1: 189-190; N. Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945. Logor smrti i radni logor*, p. 119; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 718-719.

¹¹ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 717-725, 729; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 64.

¹² See V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 58-60, as well as the sources cited therein.

figures, first that 500,000 to 600,000 lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp¹³ and then that the number of Jasenovac fatalities was approximately 350,000.¹⁴ Later, the *Vojna enciklopedija* (Military Encyclopaedia) in 1967 and the *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia) in 1971 cited approximately 600,000 fatalities in the Jasenovac camp and approximately 75,000 fatalities in the Stara Gradiška camp (Table 8).¹⁵

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Three censuses of Second World War human losses were conducted in Yugoslavia, from 1944 to 1947, in 1950 and in 1964. These censuses dealt with those casualties and fatalities caused primarily by the occupying forces and their collaborators. The first census of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia was conducted by the State War Crimes Commission, i.e., the State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators of the National Committee of Yugoslavia's Liberation. In Croatia the census was conducted from 1944 to 1947 by the Territorial War Crimes Commission, i.e., the Territorial Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators. The second census of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia was conducted in 1950, organized by the Central Committee of the Alliance of Associated Veterans of the Yugoslav National Liberation War (SUBNOR). In Croatia the census was conducted by the Republic Committee of the Croatian SUBNOR, the Commission on Collection of Data on the Victims of the People's Liberation War. The third census of Yugoslav human losses in the Second World War was held in 1964 pursuant to the decision of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and conducted by the War Victim Census Commission of the Federal Executive Council of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, organized by the Federal Bureau of Statistics and the republic statistics departments with the aim of compiling a name list of fatalities and casualties for negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany, which under the provisions of peace treaties was obliged to pay reparations to Yugoslavia for human losses and wartime devastation.¹⁶

According to the data from the most systematic census of Second World War human losses conducted by the Wartime Victim Census Commission in 1964, 89,851 persons lost their lives in all camps in the territory of Yugoslavia

¹³ "Jasenovac", in *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda* vol. 3 (Zagreb, 1958), pp. 648-649.

¹⁴ "Konzentracioni logori", in *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda* vol. 4 (Zagreb, 1959), p. 322.

¹⁵ N.[ikola] Sl.[avica], "Ustaše", in *Vojna enciklopedija* vol. 10 (Belgrade, 1967), p. 321; Lj.[ubo] Bn.[oban], "Ustaše", in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* vol. 8 (Zagreb, 1971), p. 444.

¹⁶ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 702-709; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 52-56, as well as the sources cited therein.

during the Second World War.¹⁷ However, the fatalities of the Yugoslav, and Croatian, population in the camps of the Third Reich and in the camps of other occupying powers were also considerable.¹⁸ Namely, according to data compiled by the Commission in 1964, 24,752 persons lost their lives in the camps of the Third Reich, while an additional 19,861 persons lost their lives in the camps of the remaining occupying countries. Additionally, 134,464 persons lost their lives in all of the camps in which there were inmates from the territory of Yugoslavia during the Second World War (Table 1).¹⁹ According to the Wartime Victim Census Commission's data from 1964, most of the fatali-

¹⁷ See *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa* (Belgrade, 1966; Belgrade, 1992), pp. 47-55; Mihael Sobolevski, "Prešućena istina – žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 25 (1993), No. 2-3: 96-97; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 716, 719; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću", p. 64.

¹⁸ For example, see *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa*, pp. 47-55; Milorad Ašković, Blagoje Marinković, Ljubomir Petrović, *U logorima u severnoj Norveškoj* (Belgrade, 1979); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Koncentracioni logori talijanskog okupatora u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskom primorju (1941-1943)", *Povijesni prilozi* (1983), No. 2: 245-283; Nikola Živković, "Jugosloveni u fašističkim logorima u Drugom svjetskom ratu", *Vojnoistorijski glasnik XLVI* (1995), No. 1: 176-202; Tomislav Novak, *Buchenwald. Svjedočanstvo* (Zagreb, 1996); Dragan Cvetković, "Stradalo stanovništvo Hrvatske 1941.-1945. u njemačkim koncentracijskim logorima izvan područja Jugoslavije", in Igor Graovac, Dragan Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 77.-98. or Dragan Cvetković, "Pregled stradanja stanovništva Hrvatske u nemačkim koncentracionim logorima van teritorija Jugoslavije", *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 10/2 (2008), pp. 201-221; Tomislav Žugić, Miodrag Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Aušvic (1941-1945)* (Belgrade, 1989); Dragoljub M. Kočić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Buhenvald 1941-1945* (Belgrade, 1989); Ivo Kovačić, "Talijanski koncentracioni logori na području Hrvatskog primorja i dijela Istre (1941-1943)", *Jadranski zbornik XIV* (1991): 179-206; Ljubo Mladenović, *Pod šifrom Viking. Život, borba i stradanja jugoslovenskih interniraca u logorima u Norveškoj 1942-1945. Studijsko-dokumentarna monografija* (Belgrade, 1991); Miodrag Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen (1941-1945)* (Belgrade, 1992); Vladislav Rotbart, *Jugosloveni u mađarskim zatvorima i logorima 1941-1945* (Novi Sad, 1988); Ivan Kovačić, *Kampor 1942-1943. Hrvati, Slovenci i Židovi u koncentracijskom logoru Kampor na otoku Rabu* (Rijeka, 1998); Đuro Đurašković, Nikola Živković, *Jugoslovenski zatočenici u Italiji 1941-1945* (Belgrade, 2001); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce. L' internamento civile nell' Italia fascista (1940-1943)* (Torino, 2004) or Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Mussolinijevi logori. Internacija civila u fašističkoj Italiji (1940.-1943.)* (Zagreb, 2006); Josip Grbelja, *Talijanski genocid u Dalmaciji. Konkluzor Molat* (Zagreb, 2004); Mladen Grgurić, *Talijanski koncentracioni logori u Hrvatskom primorju, 1941.-1943./I campi de concentramento italiani nel litorale croato, 1941-1943* (Rijeka, 2005); Anna-Maria Gruenfelder, "U radni stroj Velikoga Njemačkog Reicha!" *Prisilni radnici i radnice iz Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 2007); Janež Herman, *Kampor na Rabu. Koncentracijsko taborišče – koncentracioni logor 1942-1943* (Ljubljana, 2008); Dragan Cvetković, "Nemački logori u Norveškoj 1942-1945. godine – numeričko određenje gubitaka jugoslovenskih zatvorenika", *Tokovi istorije* (2012), No. 2: 92-111, as well as the sources cited therein.

¹⁹ See *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa*, pp. 47-55; M. Sobolevski, "Prešućena istina – žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine", pp. 98-101; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i nji-

ties in the camps of the NDH lost their lives at Jasenovac. According to the census results: 49,874 + Gradina 128, while according to the individual name list: 49,602 and in the Stara Gradiška camp, according to the census results: 9,587, while according to the published name list: 9,586 (in total, according to the report on census results: 59,589, or according to the individual name list: 59,188),²⁰ of which, according to the individual name list, 33,944 Serbs, 9,044 Jews, 6,546 Croats and 1,471 Roma lost their lives in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps (Tables 2, 8 and 9).²¹

However, since the work of the Yugoslav government's Wartime Victim Census Commission in 1964 did not result in the expected and desirable (for the census takers and those who ordered the census) number of human losses of 1,706,000 in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, but rather a half the number of casualties and fatalities, and a far smaller number of fatalities in the Jasenovac camp that the official and public figures of 500,000 to 600,000, it was rather unconvincingly concluded – with the qualification that all of this was due to the incompleteness and *failure* of the census – that a series of oversights were committed in the compilation of census lists, that the census was incomplete and that the census encompassed 56 to 59%, or 60 to 65% of persons, without a valid explanation of just what manner of calculation made such a conclusion possible, if only the fatalities and casualties caused primarily by the occupation forces and their collaborators were recorded. The census was placed under an embargo.²² This resulted in the extreme multiplication of Yugoslavia's

hovi pomagači. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, pp. 716, 719; V. Geiger, “Brojdbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, p. 64.

²⁰ See *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa*, p. 47; M. Sobolevski, “Prešućena istina – žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine”, p. 96; *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998).

²¹ See *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998); Davor Kovačić, “Jasenovac – žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije, Sarajevo - Zürich, 1998, 1171 str.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 32 (2000), No. 1: 222-223 [Review].

²² *Žrtve rata 1941-1945. godine. Rezultati popisa*, pp. VII-XV, 5-7; Željko Krušelj, Đuro Zagorac, “Sporna knjiga mrtvih. Aktualne kontroverze u istraživanju broja poginulih i umrlih Jugoslavena naprosto tjeraju na analizu zbivanja oko popisa iz 1964. godine”, *Danas*, No. 405, Zagreb, 21 November 1989, pp. 24-25; Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992), p. 36; Srđan Bogosavljević, “Drugi svetski rat – žrtve u Jugoslaviji”, *Republika*, No. 117, Belgrade, 1 - 15 July 1995, pp. 14-15 or Srđan Bogosavljević, “Nerasvetljeni genocid”, in Nebojša Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* (Belgrade/Zrenjanin, 1996), p. 198, (Belgrade, 1996), p. 167; Srđan Bogosavljević, “Drugi svetski rat – žrtve. Jugoslavija”, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 4 (2001), pp. 499-500; D. Cvetković, “Stvarni gubici Hrvatske prema popisu *Žrtve rata 1941-1945. iz 1964. godine. Analiza trenutnog stanja prema do sada izvršenoj reviziji*”, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 5 (2002), pp. 481-482 or D. Cvetković, “Stvarni gubici Hrvatske 1941.-

(and Croatia's) human losses in the Second World War, particularly the Serb victims of the NDH and the Jasenovac camp.²³

An interesting and not negligible fact is that after the field verifications of the scope of the census of fatalities and casualties, which were conducted the most systematically in Croatia, all of the republic commissions (except the Macedonian one) which worked on the census of Second World War losses as components of the Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission in 1964 assessed the census as successful.²⁴

One common aspect of the Yugoslav censuses of Second World War losses from 1944/1947, 1950 and 1964 was their basis on personal identification of fatalities and casualties, rather than on estimates, and they were conducted at a time when those providing the data generally had sound recollections of wartime events and the persons who lost their lives. It is impossible to expect that these censuses could have encompassed all fatalities and casualties that they were intended to record and that all gathered data were accurate. But the similarity of the data gathered in the censuses of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, conducted in 1944/1947, 1950 and 1964 point to the conclusion that one should retain a high degree of confidence in them, with possible and necessary corrections that certainly should not deviate considerably from the consolidated results that these censuses of human losses established.²⁵

1945. godine, in Igor Graovac, Dragan Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 54-55; Dragan Cvetković, "Popis 'Žrtve rata 1941-1945' iz 1964. godine kao osnova za izračunavanje stradanja stanovništva Jugoslavije. (Neki pokazatelji stradanja srpskog stanovništva)", in Jovan Mirković (ed.), *Genocid u 20. veku na prostorima jugoslovenskih zemalja* (Belgrade, 2005), p. 77; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 707; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 54.

²³ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 700-736; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 52-73, as well as the sources cited therein.

²⁴ *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa*, pp. X-XI; S. Bogosavljević, "Drugi svetski rat - žrtve u Jugoslaviji", *Republika*, No. 117, Belgrade, 1-15 July 1995, p. 14 or S. Bogosavljević, "Nerasvetljeni genocid", in N. Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* (Belgrade/Zrenjanin, 1996), pp. 197-198, (Belgrade, 1996), p. 166; S. Bogosavljević, "Drugi svetski rat - žrtve. Jugoslavija", *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara* 4 (2001), pp. 499-500; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 707-708.

²⁵ M. Sobolevski, "Prešućena istina - žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine", p. 89; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 709; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 56.

Even though the census of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia conducted by the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission in 1964 organized by the Federal Statistics Bureau and the republic statistics departments *did not meet expectations*, it is difficult to accept that it was not conducted systematically. The 1964 census of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, besides not showing the human losses on the "enemy" side and the obviously numerous collateral fatalities among the civilian population, was flawed primarily due to the impact of faulty memory or forgetfulness (the memory effect), which could only be expected.²⁶

Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission recorded the human losses caused by the occupying powers and their collaborators. However, sometimes even those who lost their lives at the hands of the Western allies and Partisans were also recorded, generally proclaimed human losses that occurred at another time and/or at another place and/or in another manner. So even in the individual name data compiled by the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission, one may find among the fatalities of the Jasenovac camp persons who undoubtedly lost their lives during the Second World War, but due to the *need* for an immense and unrealistic number of victims of Nazism and fascism and their collaborators, a *transfer* of human losses from one category to another was carried out by means of falsifying times, places and circumstances. Therefore, among the fatalities of the Jasenovac camp there are persons who actually died at forced labour in the camps of the Third Reich, in Norway for example, who were killed during Allied bombardment, who died in the refugee camp in El Shatt or in similar camps in southern Italy, and then persons who were killed by the German or Italian armies, as well as the victims of Chetnik massacres, and Partisans slain at the battles at the Neretva and Sutjeska Rivers, and even those who died as members of the Croatian Home Guard and Ustasha.²⁷

²⁶ S. Bogosavljević, "Drugi svetski rat – žrtve u Jugoslaviji", *Republika*, No. 117, Belgrade, 1-15 July 1995, p. 14 or S. Bogosavljević, "Nerasvetljeni genocid", in N. Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* (Belgrade/Zrenjanin, 1996), pp. 196-198, (Belgrade, 1996), pp. 165-167; S. Bogosavljević, "Drugi svetski rat – žrtve. Jugoslavija", *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 4 (2001), pp. 497-499; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 708.

²⁷ For example, see Marica Karakaš Obradov, *Anglo-američka bombardiranja Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Saveznički zračni napadi na Nezavisnu Državu Hrvatsku 1943.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2008), p. 128; Mile Prpa, "Krađa žrtava kao politička manipulacija istinom", in Zvonimir Šeparović (ed.), *Žrtva znak vremena. Zbornik radova Petog Hrvatskog žrtvoslovnog kongresa* (Zagreb, 2011), pp. 789-801; Igor Vukić, "Zanemarene činjenice o jasenovačkom logoru", *Glas Koncila*, Zagreb, No. 25 (2035), 23 June 2013, p. 25 ["Na jasenovačkom popisu i umrli u Norveškoj"]; Igor Vukić, "Zanemarene činjenice o jasenovačkom logoru", *Glas Koncila*, Zagreb, No. 47 (2057), 24 November 2013, p. 25 ["Zatočenici - žrtve savezničkih bombardiranja"]; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 723, as well as the sources cited therein.

The data from the Yugoslav censuses of Second World War human losses, even the most systematic one conducted by the Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission in 1964, are incomplete primarily with reference to Roma human losses, which largely occurred in camps.²⁸ This was confirmed by later, more systematic research.²⁹ According to the data of the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission, the statements on persons who lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, primarily in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška, are incomplete and not final; some persons are cited twice or more, many fatalities are shown only numerically and some persons cited as fatalities only passed through the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps but lost their lives elsewhere, in the camps of the Third Reich for example. Many fatalities of the Jasenovac camp are not cited by nationality/ethnicity or their nationality/ethnicity is mistakenly specified. The data of the Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission from 1964, despite all of their shortcomings, are a sound foundation for the establishment of the Second World War human losses of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, including the fatalities at the Jasenovac camp, based both on the nationality/ethnicity of the fatalities, and for the establishment of the total number of Jasenovac fatalities.³⁰

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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

²⁸ See Narcisa Lengel - Krizman, "Prilog proučavanja terora u tzv. NDH. Sudbina Roma 1941-1945," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 18 (1986), No. 1: 29-42; *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998); Narcisa Lengel - Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima. Jasenovac 1942.* (Jasenovac/Zagreb, 2003); Rajko Đurić, Antun Miletić, *Istorija Holokausta Roma* (Belgrade, 2008); Dennis Reinhartz, "Genocid nad jugoslavenskim ciganima", in Donald Kenrick (ed.), *Završno poglavlje. Romi u Drugom svjetskom ratu*, vol. III (Zagreb, 2009), pp. 99-109, as well as the sources cited therein.

²⁹ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 704-705, 713-714, 717-722, 725, 728-729, 734-735, 746; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 64, 67, 69-71, as well as the sources cited therein.

³⁰ See *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998); M. Sobolevski, "Prešućena istina - žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine", pp. 89, 91, 111; D. Kovačić, "Jasenovac - žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije, Sarajevo - Zürich, 1998, 1171 str.", pp. 220-222; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 723; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 66.

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.³¹

Due to a biased division of human losses into *desirable* and *undesirable*, the Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia only recorded 2,238 fatalities of the Jasenovac camp (Table 8) and only 293 Jewish fatalities from Croatia's territory in total³² and explained this approach by the fact that there were several extensive censuses of Jasenovac fatalities, and that there are extensive lists in the Jewish Community Centre in Zagreb and in the Croatian State Archives, also in Zagreb.³³ However, despite all of the qualifications put forth by the Croatian Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims, this was in fact accurate, because until then the only more systematic census of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp was the individual name list compiled by the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission, which was released in 1992 and 1998,³⁴ while the name lists held by the Jewish Community in Zagreb and the Croatian State Archives (first and foremost the Dotrščina list), are incomplete and unprocessed. However, it is significant that an *outcry* was provoked among the Croatian and Serbian public by the numbers released by the Croatian Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims, primarily of the Jasenovac and Jewish fatalities, even though in the Croatocentric and selective approach adopted by the Croatian Commission and the list it produced, besides the aforementioned

³¹ *Izvjешće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, September 1999), pp. 15-16, 19. See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 710-712; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 56-58.

³² See *Izvjешće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, pp. 16, 20.

³³ Josip Kolanović, Milan Pojić, "Popis žrtava Drugoga svjetskog rata, porača i Domovinskog rata. Rezultati i perspektive", in Nada Kisić Kolanović, Mario Jareb, Katarina Spehnyak (ed.), *1945. - razdjelnica hrvatske povijesti* (Zagreb, 2006), p. 465; Josip Kolanović, "Svaka žrtva ima svoje ime. Poimenični popis žrtava Drugoga svjetskoga rata i porača u Hrvatskoj", in Zvonimir Šeparović (ed.), *Žrtva znak vremena. Zbornik radova Petog Hrvatskog žrtvoslovnog kongresa* (Zagreb, 2011), pp. 29-30; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 728; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 68-69.

³⁴ See *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998).

categories of human losses in Croatia in the Second World War and immediate post-war years, the numbers of human losses of other nationalities/ethnic groups besides were negligible, so with the exception of Croats at 79,318 and Serbs at 18,410, there were only 4 Austrians and 752 Germans, 701 Roma, 119 Hungarians and 65 Italians registered.³⁵

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The long duration and intensity of the Second World War in the territory of Croatia, or rather in the NDH, and the presence of considerable occupying forces from the Third Reich, Italy and Hungary and the operations of the armed forces of the NDH, the Chetniks and the Partisan movement 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.

Estimates, calculations and lists contain different numbers of the actual losses of Croatian Serbs in the Second World War. According to all indicators and research, the number of Serbs who lost their lives in the Second World War is extraordinarily high. Also undisputed are the clear indicators showing that most Serbs lost their lives during World War II in the NDH.

Serbian nationalists excessively enlarge the number of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp, while Croatian nationalists completely minimize the number of Jasenovac fatalities.³⁶ However, both the Serbian nationalist exaggerations on the number of Serb casualties and fatalities in the NDH, especially the victims in Jasenovac, and the Croatian nationalist minimization of these figures are equally unpleasant.

Stated simply, most often it is a matter of who and/or which side fabricates and lies more, more persistently and more convincingly.

In the one-upmanship surrounding the Jasenovac fatalities in the 1970s and 1980s, the Serbian side *barricaded* itself behind the figure of 700,000. But the number of Jasenovac camp fatalities cited at the time in Yugoslav historiography and popular history also exhibited – particularly among Serbian writers – a

³⁵ See *Izvjješće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine*, p. 16; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 712, 729; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću", p. 57.

³⁶ See Pål Kolstø, "The Serbian-Croatian Controversy over Jasenovac", in Sabrina P. Ramet, Ola Listhaug (ed.), *Serbia and the Serbs in World War Two* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York, 2011), pp. 225-246; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 724-727, as well as the sources cited therein.

growth tendency. Historians in Yugoslavia who, by using estimates and calculations based on the many relevant indicators, attempted to point out the scientific unsustainability of the *official* statements on the number of fatalities in the camps of the NDH, primarily at the Jasenovac camp, encountered significant unpleasantness, and even fierce public indictments and condemnations.³⁷

Despite the evident indicators from all lists of human losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, the long-term and persistent campaign to prove that hundreds of thousands were slain in the camps of the NDH, in which certain scholarly circles (historians first and foremost) simply served to transmit these claims, the number of Jasenovac camp fatalities escalated, and after the notorious Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science was released in 1986, this figure grew to over one million Serbs killed in Jasenovac alone.³⁸

In 1988, Dušan Lukač claimed that over one half of the civilian fatalities of Yugoslavia during the Second World War were slain in Jasenovac. Citing the *most reliable* data, i.e., the statements of certain officials of the German Reich, Lukač claimed that Vjekoslav Maks Luburić killed 10,000 Serbs in the Jasenovac camp “by his own hand” and that there were “dozens” of such villains in the camp.³⁹

On the other hand, according to the *precise* calculation done by Radomir Bulatović in 1990, 1,110,929 persons were killed in the Jasenovac camp, most of them Serbs (Table 8).⁴⁰ The foundation of Bulatović's *ingenious* calculation is anthropological research conducted in the area of the Jasenovac camp. But all of the completed field inspections, aerial photographs and anthropological research in the area of the Jasenovac camp, at the Gradina and Ciglana sub-

³⁷ For example, see Bruno Bušić, “Žrtve rata”, *Hrvatski književni list*, No. 15, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 2-3 or Bruno Bušić, “Žrtve rata”, *Hrvatska revija* XIX (1969), Vol. 4: 491-495; [Ivan Jelić], “Konzentracioni logori”, in *Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i kulture* (Zagreb, 1980), pp. 304-305; Franjo Tuđman, *Nacionalno pitanje u suvremenoj Europi. Dodatak: Pisac knjige pred sudom* (München/Barcelona, 1982); Franjo Tuđman, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti. Rasprava o povijesti i filozofiji zlosilja* (Zagreb, 1989, Zagreb, 1990); Ljubo Boban, *Kontroverze iz povijesti Jugoslavije*, vol. 2 (Zagreb, 1989); Milan Vuković, *Dr. Franjo Tuđman u sudskim dosjeima /11. siječnja 1972. – 10. lipnja 1990./* (Koprivnica, 2007); James J. Sadkovich, *Tuđman. Prva politička biografija* (Zagreb, 2010), pp. 341-348; V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 720; V. Geiger, “Brojdbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, p. 67.

³⁸ See V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 726; V. Geiger, “Brojdbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, p. 68.

³⁹ Dušan Lukač, “Denacionalizacija, iseljavanje i genocid na Balkanu u toku drugog svetskog rata”, *Istorija 20. veka* VI (1988), No. 1-2: 71-72.

⁴⁰ See Radomir Bulatović, *Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac, s posebnim osvrtom na Donju Gradinu. Istorijsko-sociološka i antropološka studija* (Sarajevo, 1990).

camps, resulted in the discovery of approximately 1,000 to a maximum of 1,500 human corporeal remains.⁴¹

In the systematic dissemination of the “Jasenovac myth”, the works of Vladimir Dedijer,⁴² Antun Miletić,⁴³ and Srboljub Živanović⁴⁴ are unavoidable. However, a special role in the preservation, enhancement and spread of the “Jasenovac myth” has been played by the Museum of Genocide Victims in Serbia, established in 1992,⁴⁵ under the directorship of Milan Bulajić, one of the

⁴¹ See *Zločini u logoru Jasenovac*, 39-42; Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb, 1966), pp. 151-153, 155-161, (Zagreb, 1990), pp. 221-228; Dušan Misirača, “Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac”, *Naše starine* XII (1969): 119-125; Lj. Boban, *Kontroverze iz povijesti Jugoslavije*, vol. 2, pp. 367-369; Vladimir Žerjavić, “Stradanja Jugoslavena u drugom svjetskom ratu”, *Viktimologija* 1 (Zagreb, 1990), No. 1-2: 46-47; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 53-57; Vladimir 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), pp. 21-22, 53-54, 85-86, 113-114; Vladimir Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997), pp. 79-82; Vladimir Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997), pp. 87-90; Antun Miletić, “O bilansu smrti u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac (1941-1945)”, in Radovan Samardžić (ed.), *Genocid nad Srbima u II svjetskom ratu* (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 213-214; J. Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske*, pp. 58-70; Jovan Mirković, *Objavljeni izvori i literatura o jasenovačkim logorima* (Banja Luka/Belgrade, 2000), pp. 238-240; M. Ivezić, *Jasenovac. Brojke*, pp. 57-60; Antun Miletić, *Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945. Dokumenta*, vol. IV (Jagodina, 2007), pp. 350-412; V. Mrkocić, V. Horvat, *Ogoljela laž logora Jasenovac*, pp. 23-26; Filip Škiljan, “Logorski sustav Jasenovac - kontroverze”, in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2009), p. 124; V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 727; V. Geiger, “Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču”, p. 68; I. Vukić, “Zanemarene činjenice o jasenovačkom logoru”, *Glas Koncila*, Zagreb, No. 11 (2021), 17 March 2013, p. 21; No. 12 (2022), 24 March 2013, p. 25; No. 13 (2023), 31 March 2013, p. 31; No. 14 (2024), 7 April 2013, p. 21, as well as the sources cited therein.

⁴² For example, see Vladimir Dedijer, *Vatikan i Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1987); Vladimir Dedijer, *Jasenovac. Das jugoslawische Auschwitz und der Vatikan* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987); Vladimir Dedijer, *The Yugoslav Auschwitz and the Vatican. The Croatian Massacre of the Serbs During World War II* (Buffalo, New York, 1992); Vladimir Dedijer, Antun Miletić, *Protiv zaborava i tabua (Jasenovac 1941-1991)* (Sarajevo, 1991).

⁴³ For example, see Antun Miletić, *Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945. Dokumenta*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1986 and 1987), vol. IV (Jagodina, 2007); Antun Miletić, *Ustaška fabrika smrti 1941-1945* (Belgrade, 1988); Vladimir Dedijer, Antun Miletić, *Protiv zaborava i tabua (Jasenovac 1941-1991)* (Sarajevo, 1991); Antun Miletić, *NDH - Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945.* (Belgrade, 2010); Antun Miletić, *Ubijeni u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac 1941-1945./ The Assassinated in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945.* (Jagodina, 2011).

⁴⁴ See Srboljub Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012).

⁴⁵ See Jovan Mirković, *Objavljeni izvori i literatura o jasenovačkim logorima* (Banja Luka/Belgrade, 2000); Jovan Mirković, “Izdanja Muzeja žrtava genocida i građa o ljudskim gubicima u tim izdanjima”, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 7 (2003), pp. 573-591.

most unwavering advocates of the theory of the anti-Serbian orientation of the Catholic Church, the genocidal nature of the Croats and the hundreds of thousands of victims of the Jasenovac camp, most of them Serbs.⁴⁶

The virtual Jasenovac Research Institute based in Brooklyn, New York (USA), another proponent of the mystification and obscuration of the facts on Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia and Croatia, stubbornly presents the data from the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission on the total of 597,323 fatalities and casualties of the Second World War in Yugoslavia's territory registered by name as its 'Victims List' for the Jasenovac camp.⁴⁷

The myth of hundreds of thousands, and even over one million, fatalities at the Jasenovac camp, mainly Serbs, was toppled in 1998, when the Bosnian Institute released an individual name list in a publication entitled *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije* [Jasenovac. War Victims Based on the Data of the Statistics Bureau of Yugoslavia];⁴⁸ these were the strictly protected data from the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council's Wartime Victim Census Commission from 1964. Despite all of the speculation as to how a list under official embargo was obtained by the Bosnian Institute, as well as the contradictory reactions to the publication of this list, much became clear and apparent in its aftermath.⁴⁹

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Advocates of the belief in the genocidal character of the Croats readily overlook the fact that in the territory of the NDH during the Second World War, a rather high number of Serbs were killed as members of the Partisan and

⁴⁶ For example, see Milan Bulajić, *Ustaški zločini genocida i suđenje Andriji Artukoviću 1986. godine*, vol. I-IV, (Beograd, 1988-1989); Milan Bulajić, *"Jasenovački mit" Franje Tuđmana - Genocid nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Ciganima* (Belgrade, 1994) or Milan Bulajić, *Tuđman's "Jasenovac Myth". Genocide against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies* (Belgrade, 1994); Milan Bulajić, *Jasenovac. Ustaški logor smrti. "Srpski mit?"*. *Hrvatski ustaški logori genocida nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Ciganima* (Belgrade, 1999); Milan Bulajić, *Jasenovac na sudu. Suđenje D. Šakiću (Jasenovac - sistem ustaških logora genocida, balkanski Aušvic)* (Belgrade, 2001) or Milan Bulajić, *Jasenovac. Balkan Auschwitz. System of Croatian Nazi-Ustasha Genocide Camps for Serbs, Jews and Gypsies* (Belgrade, 2001).

⁴⁷ V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 724. See www.jasenovac.org.

⁴⁸ *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998).

⁴⁹ See Bogoljub Kočović, *Nauka, nacionalizam i propaganda (Između gubitaka i žrtava Drugoga svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji)* (Paris, 1999), pp. 143-144; D. Kovačić, "Jasenovac – žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije, Sarajevo - Zürich, 1998, 1171 str.", pp. 219-224; V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 723; V. Geiger, "Brojdbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", p. 68.

Chetnik movements, and that the German and Italian occupying forces were responsible for the death of a high number of Serbs, and that a considerable number of Serbs lost their lives as collateral fatalities, in various outbreaks of epidemics, especially typhus, so it follows that the Serbs were only or mostly the victims of the Ustasha, with special emphasis on the Jasenovac camp.⁵⁰

However, in response to the old and old/new Serbian interpretations of the crimes perpetrated in the NDH, and particularly the fatalities at the Jasenovac camp, many more or less scientifically grounded, albeit revisionist, opponents of the thesis on the genocidal nature of the Croats and the “Jasenovac myth” came to the fore in Croatia.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Dragan Cvetković, “Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac”, *Tokovi istorije* (2007), No. 4: 154; V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 726; V. Geiger, “Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, pp. 72-73.

⁵¹ For example, see Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1992); Vladimir 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); Vladimir Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997); Vladimir Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997); Josip Jurčević, *Nastanak jasenovačkog mita. Problemi proučavanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1998) or Josip Jurčević, *Die Entstehung des Mythos Jasenovac. Probleme bei der Forschungsarbeit 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); Josip Pečarić, *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu*, vol. II, *O Bulajićevoj ideologiji genocida hrvatskih autora* (Zagreb, 2000); Mladen Ivezić, *Jasenovac. Brojke* (Zagreb, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945. Logor smrti i radni logor (Jasenovac/Zagreb, 2003)*; Tea Benčić Rimač (ed.), *Spomen područje Jasenovac* (Jasenovac, 2006); Vladimir Mrkoci, Vladimir Horvat, *Ogoljela laž logora Jasenovac* (Zagreb, 2008); Tomislav Vuković, *Drugačija povijest (o Srbu, Jasenovcu, Glini ...)* (Zagreb, 2012); V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 727; V. Geiger, “Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću”, p. 68.; Tomislav Vuković, “Jasenovac. Velikosrpski mit kojemu služi hrvatska vlast”, *Hrvatski tjednik*, No. 451, Zadar, 16 May 2013, 38-44.; I. Vukić, “Zanemarene činjenice o jasenovačkom logoru”, *Glas Koncila*, Zagreb, No. 11 (2021), 17 March 2013, p. 21; No. 12 (2022), 24 March 2013, p. 25; No. 13 (2023), 31 March 2013, p. 31; No. 14 (2024), 7 April 2013, p. 21; No. 15 (2025), 14 April 2013, p. 21; No. 16 (2026), 21 April 2013, p. 21; No. 23 (2033), 9 June 2013, p. 21; No. 24 (2034), 16 June 2013, p. 21; No. 25 (2035), 23 June 2013, p. 25; No. 26 (2036), 30 June 2013, p. 21; No. 27 (2037), 7 July 2013, p. 21; No. 28 (2038), 14 July 2013, p. 21; No. 29 (2039), 21 July 2013, p. 21; No. 30 (2040), 28 July 2013, p. 21; No. 43 (2053), 27 October 2013, p. 25; No. 44 (2054), 3 November 2013, p. 21; No. 45 (2055), 10 November 2013, p. 21; No. 46 (2056), 17 November 2013, p. 21; No. 47 (2057), 24 November 2013, p. 25; No. 48 (2058), 1 December 2013, p. 21; No. 49 (2059), 8 December 2013, p. 21; No. 50 (2060), 15 December 2013, p. 21.

In 2010, a *credible*, although not at all confirmed and difficult to prove, *precise* figure on the number of internees in the Jasenovac camp emerged in Croatia. Ilija Barbarić, a former Ustasha now living in Brazil, claimed that on 1 May 1945 he had in his hands the “registration logs of the Jasenovac camp” and that all persons who passed through the camp from its establishment until its closure were recorded in these logs. Furthermore, Barbarić claimed that these logs with lists of internees “were burned before we retreated from Zagreb, on 7 May 1945”. According to these “registration logs”, Barbarić asserted, a total of 18,600 internees passed through Jasenovac, including those who were transferred to the German Reich for forced labour.⁵²

Sometimes statements and claims appear which rather drastically inflame passions. In 2012, Stjepan Razum called for a revision of the overriding claims promoted for decades on the proportions of the human losses during the NDH, and particularly those on the Jasenovac camp fatalities. But he also advocated an earlier contention only accepted in certain Croatian nationalist circles – and one that is difficult to prove and highly unlikely – that in the post-war years Jasenovac “endured even longer than during the war. In the post-war [Jasenovac] camp there were inestimably more casualties than in the wartime camp”. Additionally, Razum claimed that Jasenovac during the time of the NDH was a “labour and transit camp. No killings were carried out there”, and he concluded without hesitation that “there is no evidence of mass killings in the Jasenovac camp”, and that the “precise number of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp is lower than the lowest official communist estimates”.⁵³

But according to all indicators, during the Second World War the human losses and tragic fate of the Roma and Jews, as well as the Serbs, in the NDH were immense. For the NDH had racial laws to institute its relationship primarily toward the Jews and Roma, while the Serbs were subject to various forms of discrimination, persecution and violence. Those Croats and others who were proclaimed enemies of the “new order” and who ran afoul of the interests of the *Croatian state* were not spared persecution and repressive measures.⁵⁴ According to numerous and diverse indicators, repression and terror against all enemies and opponents of the NDH and the German Reich resulted in high population losses and many individual and mass killings, particularly during the course of forced labour or in camps.

⁵² See Ilija Barbarić, *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska bilo je pravo ime* (Split, 2010), p. 100.

⁵³ See “Intervju. Dr. Stjepan Razum, povjesničar i arhivist: Vrijeme je da srušimo velikosrpski mit o jasenovcu. Nema dokaza za masovne ustaške zločine u Jasenovcu, ali ima za partizanske!”, *Hrvatski list*, No. 411, Zadar, 9 August 2012, pp. 28-35 (Interview/Andrea Černivec); Stjepan Razum, “Mučenici i žrtve u Zagrebačkoj nadbiskupiji”, in Mile Bogović (ed.), *Hrvatski mučenici i žrtve iz vremena komunističke vladavine. Zbornik radova* (Zagreb, 2013), pp. 464.-465.

⁵⁴ See *Zbornik zakona i naredaba NDH*, I, vol. I-XII, No. 1-1258 (Zagreb, 1941); *Zbornik zakona i naredaba NDH*, II, vol. I-XXXVII, No. 1-1427 (Zagreb, 1942).

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The list of fatalities at the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps which were compiled, or rather revised, on the basis of data from the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission by the Museum of Genocide Victims and the Federal Statistics Bureau of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1997 contains data for 78,163 persons, of which most, 47,123, were Serbs, followed by Jews with 10,521, Croats with 6,281 and Roma with 5,836 (Tables 3, 8, and 9).⁵⁵

According to the data from the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission, the supplemented and revised list of fatalities of the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps compiled by the Jasenovac Memorial Zone in 2007 contains data on 72,193 persons, of whom 59,376 (or 59,403) persons lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp, while 12,790 lost their lives in the Stara Gradiška camp. According to this list, most fatalities were Serbs with 40,251, followed by Roma with 14,750, Jews with 11,723 and Croats with 3,563 (Tables 5, 6, 8 and 9).⁵⁶ However, the latest supplemented and revised list of fatalities of the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps compiled by the Jasenovac Memorial Zone in 2013 contains data for 83,145 persons who lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp (and Stara Gradiška). According to this list, most victims were Serbs, with 47,627, followed by Roma with 16,173, Jews with 13,116 and Croats with 4,255 (Tables 7, 8, and 9).⁵⁷

In his latest “research” in 2010/2011, Antun Miletić, a long-time and unrelenting advocate of the claim that a minimum of 700,000 persons lost their lives at Jasenovac, tallying the current indicators of the partially supplemented and revised name list of the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission, i.e., the data from the Museum of Genocide Victims, and the names and numerical indicators from numerous and diverse sources, *hastily* concluded that a minimum of 146,401 or 146,248 persons lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp (81,408 or 80,192 according to the name list and 64,900 or 66,056 fatalities established by number), of whom 98,252 or 97,972 were Serbs, 26,268 or 26,535 were Roma, 15,759 or 15,707 were Jews and 3,637 or 3,668 were Croats (Tables 8 and 9).⁵⁸

⁵⁵ See *Jasenovac. Koncentracioni logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) or *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustaschas identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997).

⁵⁶ See *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, ed. Jelka Smrekar i Đorđe Mihovilović (Jasenovac, 2007).

⁵⁷ See www.jusp-jasenovac.hr.

⁵⁸ See A. Miletić, *NDH - Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945.*, p. 123; A. Miletić, *Ubijeni u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac 1941-1945./The Assassinated in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945.*, p. 27.

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Estimates, calculations and lists cite different numbers of Roma who lost their lives during the Second World War, a considerable portion of them in the camps of the NDH.⁵⁹ The most systematic Yugoslav, Serbian and Croatian name lists of Second World War human losses contain drastically different data on Roma fatalities at the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps. The 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission specified 1,471 Roma,⁶⁰ while the Museum of Genocide Victims and the Yugoslav Federal Statistics Bureau in 1997 specified 5,836 Roma⁶¹, In 2007 the Jasenovac Memorial Zone cited 14,750 Roma,⁶² and then in 2013 it cited 16,173 Roma (Tables 2, 3, 6, 7 and 9).⁶³ According to Bogoljub Kočović, during the Second World War approximately 27,000 (or possibly 20,000 to 35,000) lost their lives, while according to Vladimir Žerjavić, approximately 18,000 Yugoslav Roma lost their lives, and out of this number, both of them calculated approximately 15,000 Croatian Roma.⁶⁴ Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, doing research based on the individual name identification of fatalities, specified 5,611 Croatian Roma, while including those not identified by name she estimated a possible total number of 8,570 Croatian Roma who lost their lives during the Second World War, mostly in the Jasenovac camp.⁶⁵ According to research conducted by Rajko Đurić and Antun Miletić and individual name lists and numerical indicators, 23,000 Roma lost their lives at the Jasenovac camp (17,960 ascertained by name and 5,273 estab-

⁵⁹ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 704-705, 713-714, 717-722, 725, 728-729, 734-735, 746; V. Geiger, "Brojidbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču", pp. 64, 67, 69-71, as well as the sources cited therein.

⁶⁰ See *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998); D. Kovačić, "Jasenovac – žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije, Sarajevo - Zürich, 1998, 1171 str.", pp. 222-223.

⁶¹ See *Jasenovac. Koncentracioni logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) or *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustasas identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997).

⁶² See *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, ed. Jelka Smrekar i Đorđe Mihovilović (Jasenovac, 2007).

⁶³ See www.jusp-jasenovac.hr.

⁶⁴ B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985), pp. 121, 173, 182, (Sarajevo, 1990), pp. 107, 163, 172, (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 107, 163, 172; Vladimir Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb, 1989), pp. 63, 73, 101; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 159, 168, 198; V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, pp. 151, 156, 176; V. Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945*, pp. 159, 164, 183-184.

⁶⁵ See N. Lengel-Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima. Jasenovac 1942.*, pp. 60-62; Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Genocid nad Romima – Jasenovac 1942.", in Tea Benčić Rimay (ed.), *Spomen područje Jasenovac* (Jasenovac, 2006), pp. 168-169.

lished by number), of whom 5,273 were Croatian Roma.⁶⁶ According to the estimate of the Museum of Genocide Victims, between 22,200 and 23,800 Roma lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, of whom most lost their lives at Jasenovac: 18,000 to 20,000 (Tables 4 and 9).⁶⁷

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Estimates, calculations and lists cite different numbers of Jews who lost their lives during the Second World War, mostly in the camps of the Third Reich and in the NDH.⁶⁸ The most systematic Yugoslav, Serbian and Croatian name lists of Second World War human losses contain drastically different data on Jewish fatalities at the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps. The 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission specified 9,044 Jews,⁶⁹ while the Museum of Genocide Victims and the Yugoslav Federal Statistics Bureau in 1997 specified 10,521 Jews,⁷⁰ and the Jasenovac Memorial Zone cited 11,723 Jews in 2007,⁷¹ and then in 2013 it specified 13,116 Jews (Tables 2, 3, 6, 7 and 9).⁷² According to Jaša Romano, during the Second World War, approximately 67,000 Yugoslav Jews lost their lives in the Second World War, among whom approximately 20,000 were Jews from Croatia and Srijem, and approximately 10,000 were from Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁷³ According to Bogoljub Kočović, during the Second World War approximately 60,000 Jews lost their lives, while according to Vladimir Žerjavić approximately 57,000 Yugoslav Jews lost their lives; out of these figures, according to Kočović approximately 17,000 and according to Žerjavić approximately 10,000 to 16,000 were Croatian Jews.⁷⁴ According to

⁶⁶ See R. Đurić, A. Miletić, *Istorija Holokausta Roma*, pp. 203-424.

⁶⁷ D. Cvetković, "Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac", p. 161; D. Cvetković, "Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje", p. 48.

⁶⁸ See V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", pp. 704-707, 713-715, 717-720, 725, 728-729, 735, 746; V. Geiger, "Brojdbeni pokazatelji o ljudskim gubicima Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraću", pp. 53-55, 61, 64, 67, 69-72, as well as the sources cited therein.

⁶⁹ See *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992); *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. Meho Visočak i Bejdo Sobica (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998); D. Kovačić, "Jasenovac – žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije, Sarajevo - Zürich, 1998, 1171 str.", pp. 222-223.

⁷⁰ See *Jasenovac. Koncentracioni logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) or *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustaschas identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997).

⁷¹ See *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, ed. Jelka Smrekar i Đorđe Mihovilović (Jasenovac, 2007).

⁷² See www.jusp-jasenovac.hr.

⁷³ Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade, 1980), p. 201.

⁷⁴ B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London, 1985), pp. 120, 182, (Sarajevo, 1990), pp. 106, 172, (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 106, 172; V. Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u*

the name list provided by Melita Švob, approximately 12,500 Croatian Jews lost their lives.⁷⁵ According to some estimates, during the Second World War, out of the approximately 14,000 Jews from Bosnia-Herzegovina, approximately 12,000 lost their lives, and of these 11,000 in the camps of the NDH and in Auschwitz.⁷⁶ According to the data gathered in the immediate post-war period by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Commission on Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators, during the Second World War approximately 10,600 Jews from Bosnia-Herzegovina lost their lives during the Second World War.⁷⁷ Ivo Goldstein maintains that most estimates, calculations and name lists are inaccurate and too low, and using an excessively simple calculation/estimate he concluded that there were approximately 17,000 Jewish fatalities in the Jasenovac camp,⁷⁸ which some cite without hesitation.⁷⁹ According to the estimate of the Museum of Genocide Victims, between 27,800 and 29,900 Jews lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, out of which number the most died in Jasenovac, 18,000 to 19,000 (Tables 4 and 9),⁸⁰ while during the Second World War 29,00 to 31,000 Jews from the NDH lost their lives.⁸¹ Even according to the most recent estimate by Slavko Goldstein, 31,000 Jews lost their lives in the NDH. However, S. Goldstein's claim of up to 25,000 Jewish fatalities in the Jasenovac camp is more than excessive and rather hastily proffered.⁸² Even the risible International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac and its chairman Srboljub Živanović, the most tireless promoter of

drugom svjetskom ratu, pp. 63, 73, 101-102; V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 159, 168, 198-199; Vladimir Žerjavić, "Demografski pokazatelji o stradanju Židova u NDH", in Narcisa Lengel - Krizman, Ivo Goldstein (ed.), *Antisemitizam, Holokaust, Antifašizam* (Zagreb, 1996), pp. 133-138; V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, pp. 151, 156, 176; V. Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945*, pp. 159, 164, 183-184.

⁷⁵ See Melita Švob, Zoran Mirković, *Židovi u Hrvatskoj – židovske zajednice/Jews in Croatia – Jewish communities*, vol. II (Zagreb, 2004).

⁷⁶ *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade, 1952), p. 64.

⁷⁷ Samuel Pinto, *Zločini okupatora i njihovih pomagača nad Jevrejima u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo, 1952), pp. 299, 306, 309, 312, 314, 326, 331, 342, 353, 358, 361, 373, 380, 384, 387, 390, 395, 402, 413, 424, 426, 430, 432, 433, 435, 450, 453, 457, 458 [manuscript].

⁷⁸ Ivo Goldstein, Slavko Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 2001), p. 648; Ivo Goldstein, "Istraživanje židovskih žrtava: razmatranja o Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj", *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 5 (2002), p. 461; Ivo Goldstein, "Židovi u logoru Jasenovac", in Tea Benčić Rimay (ed.), *Spomen područje Jasenovac* (Jasenovac, 2006), p. 138.

⁷⁹ See Mišo Deverić, Ivan Fumić, *Hrvatska u logorima 1941.-1945.* (Zagreb, 2008), p. 126.

⁸⁰ D. Cvetković, "Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac", p. 161; D. Cvetković, "Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje", p. 48; D. Cvetković, "Holokaust u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj – numeričko određenje", pp. 172, 174-175.

⁸¹ D. Cvetković, "Holokaust u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj – numeričko određenje", p. 172.

⁸² See Ulrich Schiller, *Njemačka i "njezini" Hrvati. Od ustaškog fašizma do Tuđmanovog nacionalizma* (Zagreb, 2013.), p. 79.

unfounded allegations about the Jasenovac camp, put forth a somewhat smaller estimate of 23,000 Jewish fatalities at Jasenovac (Table 9).⁸³

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Serbian, Roma and Jewish children suffered a particularly tragic fate in the pogroms of populations and in the camps of the NDH during the Second World War. However, the original archival materials to ascertain both the number and ethnicity/nationality and religion and regional and gender structure of child fatalities in the NDH is insufficient, while the post-war Yugoslav sources, as well as Croatian and Serbian historiography and popular history tend toward a subjective approach and differing and contradictory interpretations, as well as numbers of child fatalities in the camps of the NDH and their fate in orphanages/foster homes.⁸⁴ According to individual name indicators, which are still not based on actual names but on number designated with NN (no name), among the fatalities at the Jasenovac camp – according to Dragoje Lukić and the individual name list of the Jasenovac Memorial Zone – there were over 19,000 or over 20,000 children up to 14 years of age,⁸⁵ while according to Antun Miletić there were over 19,000 or 29,000 children up to 15 years of age,⁸⁶ mostly Serbian, followed by Roma and Jews.

The International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac and its chairman, Srboљub Živanović, the newest promoters of the theory on the genocidal nature of the Croats and the Catholic Church, claim that among the fatalities of the Jasenovac camp there were 110,000 “small children”.⁸⁷

⁸³ See http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Међународна_комисија_за_утврђивање_истине_о_Јасеновцу; Srboљub Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012).

⁸⁴ For example, see Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, Zemaljska komisija za ratne zločine, Glavni urudžbeni zapisnik, 1768/45.; Voja Jovanović, *Deca i rat. Jugoslavija 1941-1945* (Belgrade, 1962); Dragoje Lukić, *Rat i djeca Kozare* (Belgrade, 1979, Belgrade, 1984, Belgrade, 1990); Petar Stanivuković, Jurica Kerbler, *Deca u logorima smrti* (Belgrade, 1986); Ćiril Petešić, *Dječji dom Jastrebarsko 1939-1947. Dokumenti* (Zagreb, 1990); *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Deca*, vol. I-II (Belgrade, 1994); Dragoje Lukić, *Bili su samo deca. Jasenovac – grobnica 19.432 devojčice i dečaka*, vol. 1-2 (Belgrade, 2000); Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević, *Fontes* 8 (2002), pp. 11-306 or Diana Budisavljević, *Dnevnik* (Zagreb/Jasenovac, 2003); Dušan Bursać, *Anđeli u paklu* (Banja Luka, 2006); Rade Milosavljević, *Dečji ustaški koncentracioni logor Jastrebarsko* (Jagodina, 2009); Ivan Ott, *Djeca žrtve rata i poraća optužuju!* (Split, 2010); Ivan Fumić, *Djeca – žrtve ustaškog režima* (Zagreb, 2011), as well as the sources cited therein.

⁸⁵ See Dragoje Lukić, *Bili su samo deca. Jasenovac – grobnica 19.432 devojčice i dečaka*, vol. 1-2 (Belgrade, 2000); *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, Jelka Smrekar and Đorđe Mihovilović, eds. (Jasenovac, 2007) or www.jusp-jasenovac.hr.

⁸⁶ See A. Miletić, *NDH - Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945.*, p. 123; A. Miletić, *Ubijeni u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac 1941-1945./The Assassinated in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945.*, p. 27.

⁸⁷ See http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Међународна_комисија_за_утврђивање_истине_о_Јасеновцу; Srboљub Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012).

Despite the frequent and fierce debates on the method for ascertaining the number and fate of Serbian, Roma and Jewish children in the pogroms and in the camps of the NDH, the question of how many children lost their lives in the camps of the NDH and in the Jasenovac camp remains open. For differently derived indicators and numbers are still persistently used, and their proponents cite either individual name lists or calculations or estimates, and ignore different indicators. It is notable that generally everything is *recycled*, while there is in fact little systematic research.⁸⁸

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The individual name lists of Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, and the estimates of historians and calculations of demographers often differ considerably. There are also opposing views on the reliability of individual name lists of Second World War casualties and fatalities in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, i.e., there is some dispute as to whether it is possible to ascertain actual losses based on identification by personal names. The call for caution when dealing with individual name lists of human losses during and immediately after the Second World War, which were generally compiled on the basis of witness testimony rather than documents, rests on the fact that many witnesses who gave information on casualties and fatalities were in no position to know the circumstances, time and location of the loss of life, and sometimes not even the actual perpetrator of the crime. Besides the necessary and inevitable supplementation and correction of data on the individual name lists of Second World War human losses in both Croatia and Yugoslavia, also notable are significant *changes* in the number and structure of the casualties and fatalities, or rather their *transfer* from one national/ethnic and ideological/military group to another, and even from one location of loss of life to another, which points to possible manipulations.

The individual name lists of Jasenovac camp fatalities cannot be deemed final. Possible changes include increases or decreases in the total number of fatalities, and also the number of individual categories of fatalities.

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There are differing estimates and calculations of Second World War human losses in Croatia and Yugoslavia, and the fatalities at the Jasenovac camp and their national/ethnic structure.

According to Vladimir Žerjavić, approximately 85,000 persons lost their lives at Jasenovac (Žerjavić's initial estimates was 100,000), of whom 45,000 to 52,000 were Serbs, 13,000 Jews, 10,000 Roma, 10,000 Croats and 2,000 were Muslims (Tables 8 and 9).⁸⁹

⁸⁸ V. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači'. Brojdbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)", p. 736.

⁸⁹ V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 72; V. Žerjavić, "Manipulacije žrtvama drugoga svjetskog rata 1941.-

It is noticeable in Croatia that those for whom the numbers from the individual name lists of Jasenovac camp fatalities seem too low put forth a “*guess-timate*” of up to 100,000 persons who lost their lives at Jasenovac.⁹⁰

Some Croatian historians cited without verification Žerjavić’s inaccurate statement⁹¹ that Bogoljub Kočović estimated/calculated 70,000 persons who lost their lives in the Jasenovac camp.⁹² But Kočović, as he stressed himself, never estimated/calculated the number of Jasenovac camp fatalities. Kočović only estimated the possible total number of Serbian fatalities in the camps of the NDH, which he put at 150,000 to 200,000.⁹³

However, those who accept the conclusion of the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission that the census encompassed approximately 56 to 59% of the persons who had to be recorded (deeming lower estimates acceptable and credible), such as, for example, the Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade, estimate that there were 122,300 and 130,100 fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps (Table 8), of whom 77,000 to 81,000 were Serbs, 18,000 to 19,000 were Jews, 18,000 to 20,000 were Roma, 7,000 to 7,500 or 6,000 to 6,400 were Croats, 1,300 to 1,500 were Muslims and 1,000 to 1,200 or 2,000 to 2,200 were others or those of indeterminate nationality/ethnicity (Table 9).⁹⁴

1945.”, p. 161; V. Žerjavić, “Demografski i ratni gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu i poraču”, p. 556; V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, p. 92; V. Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945*, p. 101.

⁹⁰ N. Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945. Logor smrti i radni logor*, pp. 120-122; M. Deverić, I. Fumić, *Hrvatska u logorima 1941.-1945.*, p. 126.

⁹¹ V. Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga. Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, p. 74.

⁹² For example, see Igor Graovac, *Žrtve četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Sociološki aspekti*, [vol.] 1, Doctoral thesis (Zagreb, 1995), p. 46 or Igor Graovac, *Stradali od četnika u Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945. godine. Prilog istraživanju: strukture stradalih* (Zagreb, 2011), p. 28; N. Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945. Logor smrti i radni logor*, p. 123; Filip Škiljan, *Politički zatvorenici u logorima Jasenovac i Stara Gradiška* (Zagreb, 2009), p. 204; F. Škiljan, “Logorski sustav Jasenovac - kontroverzē”, p. 125.

⁹³ See B. Kočović, *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (Sarajevo, 1990), p. XVI, (Belgrade, 2005), p. XVI; B. Kočović, *Nauka, nacionalizam i propaganda (Između gubitaka i žrtava Drugoga svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji)*, pp. 87-88, 147-148.

⁹⁴ Dragan Cvetković, “Jasenovac u sistemu stradanja civila u NDH – kvantitativna analiza (ili, ponovo o brojevima)”, in Zdravko Antonić (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova Četvrte međunarodne konferencije o Jasenovcu* (Banja Luka, 2007), pp. 76-77; D. Cvetković, “Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac”, pp. 160-161; Dragan Cvetković, “Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje”, in Vladimir Geiger, Martina Grahek Ravančić, Marica Karakaš Obradov (ed.), *Logori, zatvori i prisilni rad u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1941.-1945./1945.-1951. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2010), p. 53; Dragan Cvetković, “Holokaust u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj – numeričko određenje”, *Istorija 20. veka XXIX* (2011), No. 1, p. 175. See V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači’. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, pp. 723-724.

Additionally, in 2009 the Museum of Genocide Victims also estimated that between 173,800 and 184,800 persons lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, among whom the most were Serbs, 101,400 to 106,700. According to this same estimate, 11,900 to 13,100 Croats lost their lives in the camps of the NDH, with the note that “quite a few individuals” who were specified by the 1964 Wartime Victim Census Commission as fatalities in the camps of the NDH were ascertained as Roma and Jews in preliminary analyses, and not Croats, so that the number of Croats shown as losing their lives in the camps of the NDH should be taken with some reserve (Table 4).⁹⁵

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Not even the newest Serbian history textbooks have moved away from the obstinate promotion of “massacre mania” and *mythical* numbers of Jasenovac fatalities, so they continue to cite – along with graphic descriptions of the Jasenovac camp – the estimate of 600,000 persons killed at Jasenovac put forward by the State Commission on Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators,⁹⁶ or the estimate of 500,000 to 600,000 persons who lost their lives at Jasenovac made by the Territorial Commission on the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators of the People’s Republic of Croatia, while the historiographic sources most often cited a figure of 700,000 slain.⁹⁷ Only exceptionally do Serbian history textbooks mention, alongside the aforementioned and most often cited estimates, that by individual names “thus far recorded” there were only about 73,000 fatalities at the Jasenovac camp.⁹⁸

The megalomaniacal number of 700,000 fatalities at the Jasenovac camp has remained, despite everything, omnipresent and the only acceptable statistic in many circles to this day.

Long-time advocates of the “truth about Jasenovac” in Serbia, the Republic of Srpska, Europe, the United States and elsewhere in the world, such as the International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac, established in 2000 with its headquarters in Banjaluka,⁹⁹ and its chairman, Serbian academy member

⁹⁵ D. Cvetković, “Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje”, p. 48.

⁹⁶ Predrag M. Vajagić, Nenad Stošić, *Istorija 8. Udžbenik za osmi razred osnovne škole* (Belgrade, 2010), p. 159.

⁹⁷ Radoš Ljušić, Ljubodrag Dimić, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole* (Belgrade, 2010), p. 179.

⁹⁸ Đorđe Đurić, Momčilo Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole* (Belgrade, 2010), p. 153; Đorđe Đurić, Momčilo Pavlović, *Istorija za treći razred gimnazije prirodno-matematičkog smera i četvrti razred gimnazije opšteg i društveno-jezičkog smera* (Belgrade, 2010), p. 206.

⁹⁹ See http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Међународна_комисија_за_утврђивање_истине_о_Јасеновцу.

Srboljub Živanović,¹⁰⁰ have been the most relentless in the promotion of preposterous claims about the Jasenovac camp.¹⁰¹

Živanović's "truth about Jasenovac", as encapsulated in the Declaration on the Genocide Committed Against the Serbs, Jews and Roma by the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War "ratified" on 25 May 2011 by the International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac,¹⁰² is, stated mildly, perverse: "The International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac [in which none of the members are from the territory of the former Yugoslavia] has established that the Croatian state, together with the Roman Catholic Church, carried out genocide against the Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Roma in the period from 1941 to 1945. After horrifying and terrible torture, they slaughtered over 700,000 Serbs, 23,000 Jews and 80,000 Roma. Among the victims there were 110,000 small children [Tables 8 and 9]. The victims were slain by bludgeoning, slaughtered by knife, thrown into the super-heated depths of Pacili's furnace, soap was manufactured from the victims' bodies, unborn children were torn from their mothers' wombs, children were skewered on bayonets, the breasts of women were sliced off, women and adolescent and small girls were raped, and the Croats sold 'Serbian meat – 1 dinar per kilogram', etc. We could go on counting all of the ways they tortured and killed indefinitely. According to American sources, over 1,400 Roman Catholic priests in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina personally engaged in torture, killings, plunder and forced conversions. The crimes were perpetrated by ordinary Croat citizens,

¹⁰⁰ See Srboljub Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012).

¹⁰¹ See Vladimir Geiger, "Sumanuti i bolesni navodi i tvrdnje Međunarodne komisije za utvrđivanje istine o Jasenovcu (*The International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac*)", *Politički zatvorenik*, No. 253, Zagreb, 2013, pp. 13-17.

¹⁰² See 5. međunarodna konferencija o Jasenovcu, Banja Luka, 24. i 25. 05. 2011. godine [transcript of audio recording], pp. 73-74 ["Usvajanje Deklaracije o genocidu nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Romima u Drugom svjetskom ratu"]; Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik izlaganja, saopštenja i svjedočenja, Banja Luka, 24. i 25. maj 2011. godine / Peta Međunarodna konferencija o sistemu koncentracionih logora i stratišta hrvatske države za istrebljenje Srba, Jevreja i Roma u Drugom svjetskom ratu* (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka, 2011), pp. 108-112, 311-313, 331-333 or Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac: the speeches, proceedings and memories/ Fifth International Conference on the Systems of Concentration Camps & Execution Sites of the Croatian State for the Extermination of Serbs, Jews & Gypsies in WWII, Banja Luka, 24th & 25th May 2011* (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka, 2011), pp. 123-127, 343-345; *Deklaracija o genocidu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Romima tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. Peta međunarodna konferencija o Jasenovcu, 24-25. maj 2011. Banja Luka / Declaration on the genocide committed against the Serbs, Jews and Roma by the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War. The Fifth International Conference on Jasenovac, May 24-25, 2011 Banja Luka*, Kosta Čavoški, Smilja Avramov, Vasilije Krešić (ed.) (Banja Luka, 2011).

Home Guardsmen, Crusaders, teachers, peasants, clerks, intellectuals and everyone else".¹⁰³

In order for the figure of a minimum of 700,00 fatalities in the Jasenovac camp to be convincing, and for the description of the Jasenovac camp to be complete, in Serbia the sham about the existence of Pićili's furnace was resurrected and once more put into circulation.¹⁰⁴

At the commemoration in the Gradina Memorial Centre in 2012, Jakob Danon, a representative of the Jewish Community in Banja Luka, concisely asserted: "[...] all international commissions with a global reputation have literally said that in the largest complex of the Jasenovac death camp over 700,000 men, women, and children, Serbs, Jews, Roma and those who did not agree with the regime were killed".¹⁰⁵

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Serbian nationalists and like-thinkers from abroad gathered in the International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac¹⁰⁶ continue to consider revisionists all of those, from Franjo Tuđman to Slavko Goldstein, who do not support the number of 700,000 or at least 600,000, if not 1,000,000 and more fatalities at the Jasenovac camp,¹⁰⁷ as well as the distinctive descriptions of the

¹⁰³ See <http://www.objektivno1.rs/region-gradovi/cacak/3070/tribina-dveri-u-cacku-istina-o-jasenovcu.html>.

¹⁰⁴ For example, see Srboľjub Źivanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervijui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012); Jaša Almulji, *Jevreji i Srbi u Jasenovcu* (Belgrade, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ Jakob Danon, "Gradina 2012. Da se nikad ne zaboravi i oprost, a kamoli desi", *Jevrejski glas. Glasilo Jevrejska zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine*, No. 53, Sarajevo, July 2012, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ See V. Geiger, "Sumanuti i bolesni navodi i tvrdnje Međunarodne komisije za utvrđivanje istine o Jasenovcu (*The International Commission for the Truth on Jasenovac*)", pp. 14, 16.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see Zdravko Antonić (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova Prve međunarodne konferencije i izložbe o jasenovačkim koncentracionim logorima, 29-31. oktobra 1997. godine, u Njujorku* (Banja Luka, 2007); Źana Ateljević (ed.), *Druga međunarodna konferencija Jasenovac – sistem hrvatskih ustaških logora genocida (1941-1945), 8-10. maj 2000. godine, Banja Luka – Donja Gradina* (Banja Luka, 2002); Zdravko Antonić (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik XI međunarodna konferencija o holokaustu Holokaust iz perspektive 21-og veka / Treća međunarodna konferencija o Jasenovcu Jasenovac – anatomija zapostavljenih koncentracionih logora, Jerusalem, Izrael 29-30. decembar 2002.* (Banja Luka, 2007); Zdravko Antonić (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova Četvrte međunarodne konferencije o Jasenovcu, Banja Luka – Donja Gradina, 30-31. maj 2007.* (Banja Luka, 2007); Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova, Banja Luka, 24. i 25. maj 2011. godine / Peta Međunarodna konferencija o sistemu koncentracionih logora i stratišta hrvatske države za istrebljenje Srba, Jevreja i Roma u Drugom svjetskom ratu* (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka, 2011) or Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac : The Proceedings, Banja Luka, 24th & 25th May 2011. / Fifth International Conference on the Systems of Concentration Camps & Execution Sites of the Croatian State for the Extermination of Serbs, Jews & Gypsies in WWII* (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka, 2011); Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik izlaganja, saopštenja i svjedočenja, Banja Luka, 24. i 25. maj 2011. godine / Peta Međunarodna konferencija o sistemu koncentra-*

Jasenovac camp, for which there has persistently and continually been an affinity in the public discourse of Serbian politics to this day, especially in the Republic of Srpska, most Serbian media and a considerable share of Serbian historiographic and scholarly circles.¹⁰⁸

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The most significant and least honourable mystification of Yugoslav politics and scholarship, particularly historiography and demography, was the mystification of the Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, and the fatalities and casualties caused by the occupying powers and their collaborators, particularly in Croatia, in the territory of the NDH, with particular emphasis on the Jasenovac camp.

Proponents of the mystification and obscuration of the facts about Second World War human losses in Yugoslavia, and Croatia, did not waver even after the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Due to the lack of systematic research, even today many, both “from the left” and “from the right”, make arbitrary claims, increasing or decreasing individual categories of Second World War human losses in Croatia, and Yugoslavia. Exaggeration or diminishment, or even concealment, of individual categories of human losses, accompanied by ignorance of the facts, most often emerged as a result of personal, national or political motives.

The primary problem in research into the number and names and ethnicity/nationality and religious and social and regional and gender and age structure of camp fatalities in the NDH is the lack of original archival materials. But in research into the Second World War human losses in Croatia, and Yugoslavia, including the number of fatalities at the Jasenovac camp, the problem is most often not simply a lack of source documents and reliable indicators, but also the “good will” and even “common sense” to properly analyze specific matters.

cionih logora i stratišta hrvatske države za istrebljenje Srba, Jevreja i Roma u Drugom svjetskom ratu (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka), 2011 or Smilja Avramov (ed.), *Jasenovac : the speeches, proceedings and memories / Fifth International Conference on the Systems of Concentration Camps & Execution Sites of the Croatian State for the Extermination of Serbs, Jews & Gypsies in WWII, Banja Luka, 24th & 25th May 2011* (Kozarska Dubica/Banja Luka, 2011); Srboљub Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012); Jaša Almulji, *Jevreji i Srbi u Jasenovcu* (Belgrade, 2009); <http://www.krajinaforce.com/jasenovac.html>.

¹⁰⁸ V. Geiger, “Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili ‘okupatori i njihovi pomagači. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi)”, p. 730.

Table 1

Yugoslav fatalities in camps during the Second World War according to the data of the Wartime Victims Census Commission of the Federal Executive Council, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1964	
Camps in Yugoslavia's territory	89,851
Camps of the Third Reich	24,752
Camps in the remaining occupation countries	19,861
total camp fatalities	134,464

* *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945 rođenih na teritoriji Hrvatske* (Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade, 1992) – *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa* (Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade, 1992) – M. Sobolevski, "Prešućena istina – žrtve rata na području bivše Jugoslavije 1941.-1945. prema popisu iz 1964. godine", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 25 (1993), no. 2-3

Table 2

Fatalities at the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps the Wartime Victims Census Commission of the Federal Executive Council, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1964												
Serbs	Jews	Croats	Muslims	Roma	Slovenes	Montenegrins	Macedonians	Hungarians	nationality undetermined	Others	total	
JASENOVAC camp												
26,170	8,121	5,900	789	1,471	174	35	7	59	6,792	84	49,602	
STARA GRADIŠKA camp												
7,774	923	646	160	-	20	3	-	1	58	1	9,586	
Total JASENOVAC and STARA GRADIŠKA												
33,944	9,044	6,546	949	1,471	194	38	7	60	6,850	85	59,188	

* *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992) – *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, M. Visočak and B. Sobica, eds. (Zürich/Sarajevo, 1998)

Table 3

Fatalities of the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps according to the list of the Museum of Genocide Victims and the Federal Statistics Bureau of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1997	
Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška	78,163
Serbs	47,123
Jews	10,521
Croats	6,281
Roma	5,836
Others and unknown	8,402

* *Jasenovac. Koncentracijski logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) – *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustasas identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997)

Table 4

Fatalities who lost their lives in the camps of the NDH according to the estimate/computation of the Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade, 2009							
	Croatia	%	Bosnia-Herzegovina	%	Srijem	%	total
Serbs	45,800 – 48,300	45.22	50,000 – 52,500	49.25	5,600 – 5,900	5.53	101,400 – 106,700
%	46.35	%	75.59	%	57.50	%	58.03
Croats ¹	10,700 – 11,700	89.60	1,000 – 1,200	8.80	ca. 200	1.60	11,900 – 13,100
%	11.03	%	1.62	%	2.00	%	7.56
Jews	15,900 – 17,000	57.02	10,800 – 11,700	38.99	1,100 – 1,200	3.99	27,800 – 29,900
%	16.21	%	16.59	%	11.50	%	16.09
Roma	17,600 – 19,000	79.57	2,000 – 2,100	8.91	2,600 – 2,700	11.52	22,200 – 23,800
%	18.03	%	3.02	%	26.50	%	12.83
Muslims	–	-	1,600 – 1,800	100.00	–	-	1,600 – 1,800
%	-	%	2.51	%	-	%	0.95
Others and unknown	8,300 – 8,700	92.39	400 – 500	4.89	ca. 200	2.17	8,900 – 9,500
%	8.37	%	0.66	%	2.00	%	4.55
total	98,300 – 104,700		65,800 – 69,800		9,700 – 10,300		173,800 – 184,800
%	56.61	%	37.81	%	5.58	%	100.00

¹ D. Cvetković, “Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje”, in V. Geiger, M. Grahek Ravančić, M. Karakaš Obradov (ed.), *Logori, zatvori i prisilni rad u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1941.-1945./1945.-1951. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2010)

² According to the Museum of Genocide Victims “quite a few individuals” which the 1964 Wartime Victims Census Commission registered as victims of the camps of the NDH were ascertained as Roma and Jews, and not Croats, such that the number of Croats shown who lost their lives in the camps of the NDH must be taken with reserve.

Table 5

Fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camp according to the list of the Jasenovac Memorial Zone, 2007	
Jasenovac	59,376
Stara Gradiška	12,790
unknown	27
total	72,193

³ *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, J. Smrekar and Đ. Mihovilović, eds. (Jasenovac, 2007)

Table 6

Fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps national/ethnic and gender structure according to the list of the Jasenovac Memorial Zone, 2007				
	children	men	women	total
Serbs	11,968	17,591	10,692	40,251
Roma	5,391	5,120	4,239	14,750
Jews	1,444	7,345	2,934	11,723
Croats	135	2,393	1,055	3,583
Muslims	49	834	180	1,063
Slovenes	3	178	52	233
Czechs	2	81	16	99
Slovaks	1	86	12	99
Ukrainians	3	47	5	55
Montenegrins	1	16	9	26
Hungarians	1	15	4	20
Italians	-	12	1	13
Germans	-	4	2	6
Russians	-	3	3	6
Poles	-	3	1	4
Unknown	8	132	122	262
Total	19,006	33,860	19,327	72,193

* *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, J. Smrekar and Đ. Mihovilović, eds. (Jasenovac, 2007)

Table 7

Fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps national/ethnic and gender structure according to the list of the Jasenovac Memorial Zone, 2013				
	children	men	women	total
Serbs	12,683	21,738	13,206	47,627
Roma	5,608	5,688	4,877	16,173
Jews	1,601	7,762	3,753	13,116
Croats	140	2,866	1,249	4,255
Muslims	52	897	179	1,128
Slovenes	6	195	65	266
Czechs	2	96	16	114
Slovaks	1	92	13	106
Ukrainians	4	52	8	64
Montenegrins	-	33	11	44
Hungarians	1	20	6	27
Italians	-	18	1	19
Russians	-	12	6	18
Rusyns	1	8	1	10
Germans	-	4	6	10
Poles	-	5	4	9
Albanians	-	1	-	1
Austrians	-	1	-	1
Georgians	-	1	-	1
Romanians	-	1	-	1
Unknown	2	80	73	155
Total	20,101	39,570	23,474	83,145

* <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr>

Table 8

Fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps according to different estimates, computations and lists			
	Jasenovac	Stara Gradiška	total
estimate of the State Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators of the People's Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia in 1945	600,000	-	600,000
estimate and (for Croatia) individual name list of the Territorial Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and Their Collaborators in 1946/1947	500,000 to 600,000	-	500,000 to 600,000
	15,792	2,927	18,719
estimate N. Nikolić, 1948	600,000 to 700,000	-	600,000 to 700,000
Lexicographical Institute Encyclopaedia, 1958	500,000 to 600,000	-	500,000 to 600,000
Lexicographical Institute Encyclopaedia, 1959	350,000	-	350,000
individual name list of the Wartime Victims Census Commission of the Federal Executive Council, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1964	49,602	9,586	59,188
Military Encyclopaedia, 1967 and Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia, 1971	600,000	75,000	675,000
estimate A. Miletić, 1986/1987	700,000	-	700,000
estimate M. Bulajić, 1988	700,000	-	700,000
estimate F. Tuđman, 1989	30,000 to 40,000	-	30,000 to 40,000
computation R. Bulatović, 1990	1,110,929	-	1,110,929
computation/estimate V. Žerjavić, 1992	85,000	-	85,000
name list 1997 and computation/estimate Museum of Genocide Victims	78,163	-	78,163
	122,300 to 130,100	-	122,300 to 130,100
estimate G. Heinsohn, Lexikon der Völkermorde, 1999	650,000	-	650,000
name list Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia, 1999	2,238 ¹	-	2,238
name list, 2007/2013 Jasenovac Memorial Zone	59,403	12,790	72,193
	83,145 ²	-	83,145
estimate S. Živanović, 2008/2012 International Commission for the Truth about Jasenovac, 2011	700,000	-	700,000
name list and estimate A. Miletić, 2010/2011	146,401	-	146,401
	146,248	-	146,248

^ Izvještaj Jugoslovenske Državne komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Međunarodnom vojnom sudu u Nürnbergu (Belgrade, 1947) – *Zločini u logoru Jasenovac* (Zagreb, 1946, Jasenovac, 1977, Jasenovac, 1980, Banja Luka, 2000) – N. Nikolić, *Jasenovački logor* (Zagreb, 1948) – *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa* (Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade, 1992) – *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992) – *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. M. Visočak i B. Sobica (Zürich - Sarajevo, 1998) – Jasenovac, in *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda*, vol. 3 (Zagreb, 1958) – “Konzentracioni logori”, in *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda*, vol. 4 (Zagreb, 1959) – N.[ikola] Sl.[avica], Ustaše, in *Vojna enciklopedija*, vol. 10 (Belgrade, 1967) – Lj.[ubo] Bn.[Boban], “Ustaše”, in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 8 (Zagreb, 1971) – A. Miletić, *Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945. Dokumenta*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1986 and 1987) – M. Bulajić, *Ustaški zločini genocida i suđenje Andriji Artukoviću 1986. godine*, vol. I-IV (Belgrade, 1988 – 1989) – F. Tudman, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti. Rasprava o povijesti i filozofiji zlosilja* (Zagreb, 1989, Zagreb, 1990) – R. Bulatović, *Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac, s posebnim osvrtom na Gradinu. Istorijsko-sociološka i antropološka studija* (Sarajevo, 1990) – 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 poraču*, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 27 (1995), no. 3 – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 - 1945* (Zagreb, 1997) – V. Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997) – *Jasenovac. Konzentracioni logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I - III (Belgrade, 1997) – *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustashes identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) – G. Heinsohn, *Lexikon der Völkermorde* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1999) – *Izvjesteće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine* (Zagreb, September 1999) – D. Cvetković, *Jasenovac u sistemu stradanja civila u NDH - kvantitativna analiza (ili, ponovo o brojevima)*, in Z. Antonić, J. Velimirović (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova Četvrte međunarodne konferencije o Jasenovcu* (Banja Luka, 2007) – D. Cvetković, *Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac, Tokovi istorije* (2007), no. 4 – S. Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012) – http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Međunarodna_komisija_za_utvrđivanje_istine_o_Jasenovcu – *Deklaracija o genocidu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Romima tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. Peta međunarodna konferencija o Jasenovcu, 24-25. maj 2011. Banja Luka / Declaration on the genocide committed against the Serbs, Jews and Roma by the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War. The Fifth International Conference on Jasenovac, May 24-25, 2011 Banja Luka*, glavni urednici/editors in chief K. Čavoški, S. Avramov, V. Krestić, Banja Luka, 2011. – D. Cvetković, *Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima* – numeričko određenje, in V. Geiger, M. Grahek Ravančić, M. Karakaš Obradov (ed.), *Logori, zatvori i prisilni rad u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1941.-1945./1945.-1951. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2010) – *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, ed. J. Smrekar i Đ. Mihovilović (Jasenovac, 2007) – <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr> – A. Miletić, *NDH - Konzentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945.* (Belgrade, 2010) – A. Miletić, *Ubijeni u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac 1941-1945./The Assassinated in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945.* (Jagodina, 2011)

¹ These are previous indicators. The Commission on Establishment of Wartime and Post-war Victims of the Republic of Croatia was dissolved in 2002, and the registration of human losses in Croatia during the Second World War and immediate post-war years has not been completed.

² Fatalities in the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps are shown together.

Table 9

Jasenovac camp fatalities Roma, Jews, Serbs and Croats based on lists, computations and estimates							
	Wartime Victims Census Commis- sion, 1964	V. Žerjavić computa- tion/esti- mate	Museum of Genocide Vic- tims and Fed- eral Statistics Bureau of the Federal Repub- lic of Yugosla- via list, 1997	Museum of Genocide Victims computa- tion/esti- mate	Jaseno- vac Mem- orial Zone list, 2007/ 2013	S. Živanović International Commission for the Truth about Jaseno- vac estimate, 2008/2012	A. Miletić name list and estimate 2010/ 2011
Roma	1,471	10,000	5,836	18,000 to 20,000	14,750 16,173	80,000	26,268 26,535
Jews	8,121	13,000	10,521	18,000 to 19,000	11,723 13,116	23,000	15,759 15,707
Serbs	26,170	45,000 to 52,000	47,123	77,000 to 81,000	40,251 47,627	700,000	98,252 97,972
Croats	5,900	10,000	6,281	7,000 to 7,500 6,000 to 6,400	3,563 4,255	-	3,637 3,668

* *Žrtve rata 1941 - 1945. godine. Rezultati popisa* (Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade, 1992) – *Spisak žrtava rata 1941 - 1945. Ustaški logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade, 1992) – *Jasenovac. Žrtve rata prema podacima Statističkog zavoda Jugoslavije*, ed. M. Visočak and B. Sobica (Zürich - Sarajevo, 1998) – 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 pokazatelji o stradanju Židova u NDH*, in N. Lengel-Krizman, I. Goldstein (ed.), *Antisemitizam, Holokaust, Antifašizam* (Zagreb, 1996) – V. Žerjavić, *Population losses in Yugoslavia 1941 – 1945* (Zagreb, 1997) – V. Žerjavić, *Pertes de la population en Yougoslavie 1941-1945* (Zagreb, 1997) – *Jasenovac. Koncentracijski logor 1941-1945. Spisak ustaških žrtava identifikovanih do 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) – *Jasenovac. Concentration camp 1941-1945. List of victims of ustashes identified up to 30. X 1997.*, vol. I-III (Belgrade, 1997) – *Poimenični popis žrtava koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac 1941.-1945.*, ed. J. Smrekar and Đ. Mihovilović (Jasenovac, 2007) – <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr> – D. Cvetković, *Jasenovac u sistemu stradanja civila u NDH - kvantitativna analiza (ili, ponovo o brojevima)*, in Z. Antoni, J. Velimirović (ed.), *Jasenovac. Zbornik radova Četvrte međunarodne konferencije o Jasenovcu* (Banja Luka, 2007) – S. Živanović, *Jasenovac. Odabrani radovi, članci, intervjui, govori i diskusije* (Belgrade/London, 2008, Belgrade, 2012) – http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Међународна_комисија_за_утврђивање_истине_о_Јасеновцу – *Deklaracija o genocidu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nad Srbima, Jevrejima i Romima tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. Peta međunarodna konferencija o Jasenovcu, 24-25. maj 2011. Banja Luka / Declaration on the genocide committed against the Serbs, Jews and Roma by the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War. The Fifth International Conference on Jasenovac, May 24-25, 2011 Banja Luka*, glavni urednici/editors in chief K. Čavoški, S. Avramov, V. Krestić, Banja Luka, 2011. – D. Cvetković, *Stradanje civila Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u logoru Jasenovac, Tokovi istorije* (2007), no. 4 – D. Cvetković, *Stradanje stanovništva NDH u logorima – numeričko određenje*, in V. Geiger, M. Grahek Ravančić, M. Karakaš Obradov (ed.), *Logori, zatvori i prisilni rad u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1941.-1945./1945.-1951. Zbornik* (Zagreb, 2010) – A. Miletić, *NDH - Koncentracijski logor Jasenovac 1941-1945.* (Belgrade, 2010) – D. Cvetković, *Holokaust u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj – numeričko određenje, Istorija 20. veka XXIX* (2011), no. 1 – A. Miletić, *Ubijeni u koncentracionom logoru Jasenovac 1941-1945./The Assassinated in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945.* (Jagodina, 2011)

Zahlenangaben über die Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac 1941-1945 (Schätzungen, Rechnungen, Verzeichnisse)

Zusammenfassung

Die Zahl der Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac ist die umstrittenste und noch nicht geklärte Frage der menschlichen Verluste sowohl Jugoslawiens als auch Kroatiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Die Namensverzeichnisse der menschlichen Verluste Jugoslawiens und Kroatiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Schätzungen der Geschichtsschreiber und Rechnungen der Demographen unterscheiden sich häufig bedeutend voneinander. Die betreffenden Zahlen in Schätzungen, Rechnungen und/oder in Verzeichnissen der Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac bewegen sich in zu breiter Spannweite von völliger Minimalisierung bis zur stark übertriebenen Zahlenangaben, unterscheiden sich von einem Autor zum anderen in bedeutendem Maße und sind ziemlich stark von politischer bzw. tagespolitischer Atmosphäre beeinflusst. Während serbische Nationalisten die Zahl der Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac enorm vergrößern, minimalisieren auf anderer Seite kroatische Nationalisten die Zahl der in Jasenovac gestorbenen Opfer vollkommen. Gleich unangenehm sind sowohl serbische nationalistische Übertreibungen mit der Zahl der Umkommenen und der Serbenopfer im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien, was besonders für die Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac gilt, als auch kroatische nationalistische Minimalisierungen dieser Zahlen.

Auf Grund von den wichtigsten Quellen, historiographischen und publizistischen sowie statistischen, bzw. demographischen und viktimologischen Beiträgen werden hier die Zahlenangaben über die Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac angeführt. Zuerst werden anfängliche, meistens beliebige Schätzungen und Angaben über die Zahl der Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac angeführt, dann folgen statistische bzw. demographische Rechnungen über die Jasenovac-Opfer und schließlich werden viel genauere Namensverzeichnisse der Opfer des Lagers Jasenovac zitiert, die auf systematischen Forschungen basieren.

Wegen ungenügender systematischer Forschungen des genannten Themas führen Viele, gleich von "Links" wie von "Rechts", auch heutzutage beliebige Zahlenangaben an, indem sie gewisse Kategorien der menschlichen Verluste sowohl Jugoslawiens als auch Kroatiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg vergrößern oder vermindern. Vergrößerung oder Verminderung, ja sogar Verschweigung von einzelnen Kategorien menschlicher Verluste, neben Unkenntnis von Fakten, gehen meistens aus persönlichen, nationalen oder politischen Gründen hervor.

Das wichtigste Problem in Erforschung von Zahl und Namen, ethnischer/nationaler Zugehörigkeit sowie Religions-, Sozial-, Regional-/Heimatstruktur,

Geschlechts- und Alterstruktur der Lageropfer im USK ist vor allem Mangel an relevante originelle archivarische Quellen. Bei der Forschung der menschlichen Verluste sowohl Jugoslawiens als auch Kroatiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg und auch der Zahl der Jasenovac-Opfer besteht das Problem meistens nicht nur in Mangel an Quellen und glaubwürdigen Angaben, sondern auch in Mangel an "gutem Willen", um bestimmte Fragen gründlich zu erforschen.

