

Consequences

World War II, as the largest conflict in the history of mankind, left behind numerous deep and indelible imprints. The goal of this chapter is to bring some of the consequences of war closer through the following sources, starting from the number of wounded and killed, through the forced migrations of population during and after the war, to the signs of political changes in the majority of countries in this area.

Due to a lack of space, some war consequences are only marginally noted or not even mentioned at all. This is the case with regard to the changes in the ethnic structure of the population, war destruction and post-war rebuilding, collaborators' punishments after the war, political changes after the war and the case of the civil war in Greece.

Va. War losses, war victims

V-1. Enver Hoxha at the peace conference in Paris about the casualties and material damage in Albania

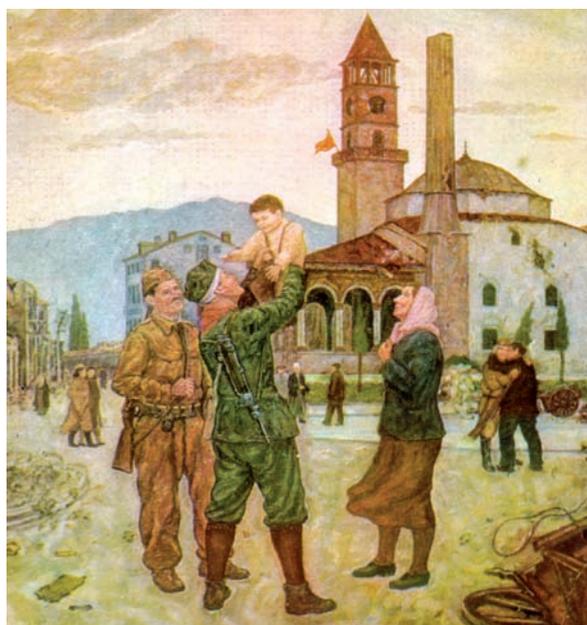
The sacrifices of our people were very great. Out of a population of one million, 28,000 were killed. 12,600 wounded, 10,000 were made political prisoners in Italy and Germany, and 35,000 made to do forced labour; of the 2,500 towns and villages of Albania, 850 were ruined or razed to the ground; all the communications, all the ports, miners and electric power installations were destroyed, our agriculture and livestock were plundered, and our entire national economy was wrecked. On the other side, the enemy suffered these losses: 53,639 Italians and Germans were killed, wounded or taken prisoner, about 100 tanks and armoured cars knocked out, 1,334 artillery pieces and mortars, 1,934 trucks and 2,855 machine-guns captured or destroyed, not to mention the rifles, munitions, and stores destroyed or captured.

O'Donnel, p.13.



Is this source completely reliable? Explain your position.

► v50. 17 November 1944



Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit Shqiptar, 1939-1944.



This painting by Bukurosh Sejдини commemorates and shows aspects of the liberation of the Albanian capital, Tirana, by the Partisans.

Tables

1. The number of people killed in Yugoslavia, arranged by nationality

Nationality	Kočović (1985)	Žerjavić (1989)
Serbs	487,000	530,000
Montenegrins	50,000	20,000
Croats	207,000	192,000
Muslims	86,000	103,000
Slovenians	32,000	42,000
Macedonians	7,000	6,000
Others	145,000	134,000
Total	1,014,000	1,027,000

Žerjavić, pp. 14, 57.



The first estimate of the number of the victims of World War II in Yugoslavia is the one which appeared in the report of the Reparations board of the Yugoslav government. The author of this estimate, a maths student (!) Vladeta Vučković was given a time limit of two weeks for the execution and completion of such a difficult task, together with the instruction that “the number must be outstanding and scientifically – statistically founded”. His estimate of the *demographic loss* (which included those killed in the war, the decline of the birth-rate caused by war and emigration) was 1,7 million, but

in his final review of the script, that number is titled victims, which has been taken to mean those killed in war.

The table is based on more recent estimates of Bogoljub Kočović and Vladimir Žerjavić (a Serbian and a Croatian author). The accuracy of these figures is still being examined. For example, the Slovenian Institute for Contemporary History is currently in the middle of a research project which already shows that the estimate of Slovenian victims is too low. The authors (T. Tominšek, M. Šorn and D. Dubaja) have already identified the names of 87,000 victims.

2. Greece's losses during World War II

	Losses	Pre-war figures	% Lost
Human Losses			
Deaths (1940-1944)	475,000	7,335,000	6.5
Material Losses			
Labour animals	855,000	2,005,000	42.6
Sheep, pigs, poultry	12,305,000	24,840,000	49.5
Forests	5,000 km ²	19,180 km ²	25.0
Vehicles (passenger, trucks, buses)	11,300	17,200	65.7
Road bridges (over six metres long)			90.0
Railway rolling stock (engines, carriages, etc.)	6,080	6,502	93.5
Railway bridges (over 10m long)	96	96	100.0
Buildings	401,000	1,730,000	23.2
Merchant ships (until April 1945)	434	583	74.5

«Αι Θυσίαι της Ελλάδος στο Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο», *Ministry of Reconstruction, Athens 1946* (Istoria, vol.16, p. 63).

3. Greek merchant shipping losses during World War II⁵⁶

	Greek fleet on 1/ix/1939		Greek vessels lost by 2/ix/1945		Percentage Loss	
		Gross Tonnage		Gross Tonnage		
Cargo Vessels	500	1,766,352				
Passenger Vessels	55	49,995				
Ocean Cruiser	1	16,690				
Various	21	3,997				
Total	577	1,837,034	432	1,346,520	74.8%	73.3%
Sail & Pet Sail & Petrol Driven Vessels	713	55,057	551	52,634	77.3%	95.4%
Overall Total	1,290	1,892,091	983	1,399,154		



At the beginning of the war, the Greek merchant fleet was the ninth largest in the world, so its full involvement on the Allied side from the beginning of the war (even before 28 October 1940) was

an important factor. The Greek merchant navy lost the highest percentage of its gross tonnage in comparison with the other major flags: Great Britain followed with 54% of gross tonnage lost during the conflict.

Vb. Migration during and after the war

V-2. A fragment from the report of a federal official of the Ministry of Interior of Germany to the head of the civil administration of Lower Styria dated 30 May 1941 about the mass evictions of Slovenians⁵⁷

The most difficult problem that needs to be solved within Lower Styria is to cleanse the lower Styrian national body from the foreign Slav element, which cannot be submitted to the Germanising process. If the re-Germanisation of lower Styria is to succeed at all, and this south-eastern end of the German Reich is to become a reliable barrier against the ever tumultuous Balkans, the local population has to be

freed of every substance which either racially or behaviourally sabotages Germanisation. The task of the Styrian Patriotic Association can only succeed if the ground is accordingly cleansed.

Therefore a deportation (removal) of the population is planned, which will be carried out in four stages and in a way which has proved successful in similar activities in other regained territories of the Reich (especially in the east).

The historical suppositions for such measures are more than evident. A clear view of the actual need for this action has to leave aside the all too human emotions also characteristic of German nature, especially when considering the merciless destructive confrontations the German nationality was exposed to here in Lower Styria by those who now have to leave.

The deportations to Serbia and those partially to Croatia will be carried out in trains that can transport 1000 persons. The implementation date and the extension of the number of trains (for the time being,

⁵⁶ Data compiled by Christos E. Ntounias.

⁵⁷ Germany, between both world wars, considered Slovenian territory to be German and after its occupation they wanted to formally annex it to Germany as the south border of the Reich. This should have been done in six months (up to the end of 1941). Slovenians would have been deported or Germanised and the country inhabited by Germans.

one or two trains daily have been planned) has not been determined yet.

Ferenc, p. 43.



What is the aim of the planned deportation (removal) of the population? What were the consequences of this plan?

V-3. A report by the High Commissioner for the province of Ljubljana, 24 August 1942 on a programme of activities in the region

Regarding the confidential document No. 1362/2, dated August 16, I allow myself to give an outline of the programmes of activities I intend to carry out in this province. (...)

1. The problem of the Slovenian population could be solved in three ways:
 - a. By its destruction;
 - b. By deportations;
 - c. By the removal of opposition elements, which could be reached by carrying out a hard, yet fair policy of bringing people together, with the purpose of laying the foundations for a useful and fair cooperation. This would give us the possibility for assimilation, which could be achieved only with time. Thus we have to decide which method to follow.
2. For mass deportations of the population we would have to follow a programme prepared in advance, which would have to be carried out within the entire province. It would be better to set up work camps instead of internment camps in which people remain idle.
3. For the purpose of replacing the Slovenian population with the Italian population, the following has to be determined:
 - a. Where the Slovenian population should be moved to;
 - b. Where a suitable Italian population can be found, in which case, it must be considered that the people from the northern and the central areas are the most appropriate ones to be settled in Slovenian territories;

- c. If the area along the border is to be completely Italianised, its width is to be determined (20 to 30 km);
- d. If the entire Slovenian population is to be moved, the process should be started in the areas along the border where Slovenians live under Italian rule.

It is my opinion that a complete or even a partial relocation of the Slovenian population would hardly be possible during the war.

Ferenc, pp. 73-74.



While the Italian's "soft" occupational policy was unsuccessful, the military and civil authorities, following the instructions of Mussolini, took the same measures as the Germans in their occupational zone: i.e. shooting hostages and executing captured partisans on a massive scale, shooting illegal activists of Liberation Front, the inhabitants of places suspected of allegiance to the liberation movement but who were completely innocent (in the total period of the Italian occupation of the Ljubljana Province, the Italian armed forces shot at least 416 individual persons and 238 groups with 1,153 persons, a total therefore of 1,569 persons, not taking into account those convicted by the military court in Ljubljana, and those deported). The final goal was to "cleanse" the Slovenian national territory and prepare it for Italian settlement after the war.



What are the similarities and differences between the German and the Italian plan (compare this source with the previous one)?

V-4. Persecution of the German minority in Romania after the war

1. All men between 17-45 years are liable to be interned.
2. Also, all women between 18-30 years of age.
3. There is no exception to the above-mentioned categories where admission is concerned, except for women with infants less than one year old and for those who suffer from an infirmity which deprives them of their capacity to work (...).

6. All those liable to be interned are to be delivered to the respective Gendarmes Legion that will lead them to the gathering places established priory by the police and local gendarmerie authorities. It should be noted that these gathering places must be located next to a railway station,
7. Those liable to be interned must provide their own food until they reach the gathering places. From then on, food will be served to them by the Romanian authorities (gendarmes and police) for a period of two to six days whereby they will be provided with at least one warm meal daily.

Deportarea etnicilor germani din România în Uniunea Sovietică (1945), pp. 38–39.

 Romania's occupation by the Red Army led to the start of the persecution of the German minority in Romania. Many ethnic Germans were deported to the USSR. This document is order No. 32.475-S from the General Director of the Police, containing specifications regarding the internment of the ethnic Germans (3 January 1945).

 Did the Soviet occupation bring liberty and democracy to Romania? Do you find it normal to deport people purely on the grounds of their ethnic profile? Were all of those who were deported guilty? Was anybody interested in identifying the guilty people, who should have been punished, from the others? Do you know of any other examples of collective guilt from the history of the 20th century?

► v51. Refugees from Bosnia in Serbia, 1941



Milošević, Izbeglice i preseljenici, pr. 246.

 More than 400,000 Serbian refugees from all the Yugoslav territories found shelter in the territories of occupied Serbia.

V-5. Personal minute of the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, addressed to the British Minister of External Affairs, regarding the deportation of Romanian citizens of German ethnic origin to Russia (19 January 1945)

Personal minute of the Prime Minister
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall
19. I 1945

Series No. M. 91/5

TO THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

It seems to me that we take a very active position against the deportation of Austrians, Saxonians and other Germans or quasi-German elements from Romania to Russia on working purposes. Taking into consideration everything Russia suffered, and the premeditated attacks of Romania against it, and the vast armies that Russia uses on the front at present, and the terrible conditions of the people in many parts of Europe, I don't understand why it is said that Russians are making a mistake when requesting for 100 or 150 thousand people of this kind to work in their underground. Also, we must remember that we promised to leave Romania's destiny mostly in the hands of the Russians. I cannot consider it to be wrong for the Russians to take over Romanians of any origins they desire, for them to work in Russian mines, considering everything that has happened.

19.1.1945

Deportarea etnicilor germani din România în Uniunea Sovietică (1945), p. 31.

 Characterise, from a moral point of view, the attitude of Winston Churchill. Does this attitude respect the Declaration of Human Rights, promoted by the United Nations?

► **v52. Return of the Slovene Home Guard (domobranci) in June 1945**



The Slovene Home Guard was established in September 1943 in Ljubljana, to fight against the Liberation front. It was organized by Germans, and its members were mostly Catholic and anticommunist. The Germans, who did not trust the Home Guard, demanded that they confirm their loyalty with a public oath-taking ceremony on the Hitler's birthday (20 April 1944). At the end of the war, members of Home Guard together with the German Army retreated to Austria where the British disarmed them as German collaborators. In June

1945, the British returned them. Between 7,000 and 11,000 were murdered at several locations in Slovenia. Massacres were kept secret from the public in Slovenia until 1975. In the 1980s, the subject of mass killing, the responsibility for them, and their painful consequences for the Slovene nation came to be discussed openly by intellectuals. After the first democratic elections in 1990, a reconciliation ceremony was held in Kočevski Rog, where the largest mass graves are.

Vc. Changes in political systems

V-6. Winston Churchill's offer for a "Percentage" agreement⁵⁸

Romania	Russia	90%
	Others	10%
Greece	Great Britain	90%
	Others	10%

Yugoslavia		50/50	
Hungary		50/50	
Bulgaria	Russia	75%	90%
	Others	25%	10%

⁵⁸ Presented to Stalin on 9 October 1944.

Bulgaria - the Unacknowledged Enemy of the Third Reich,
p. 96.

► **v53. The people of Athens cheer the arrival of the British army after liberation**



Istoria, 101.

Key The British and American flags can be seen next to the Greek ones, together with the symbols of EAM and the Communist Party (KKE).

V-7. Strengthening of the authorities of the National Liberation Movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Proposal of a decision on instituting the Constitution of State Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the highest legislative and executive national representative organisation of Federal Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1st of July 1944

Paragraph 1

Based on the freely expressed will⁵⁹ of the nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, according to the decisions made, in the second session of Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia in Jajce on 29 and 30 of November 1943, the State Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes itself as the supreme

⁵⁹ There were no democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time.

organ of state authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an equal federal unit in the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.

Zgonjanin et al. (ed.), p. 399.

Key During 1944, the Partisan-communists troops consolidated their authority over the whole of Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the decisions made by the State Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can see how they worked systematically to achieve a communist monopoly on the authorities after the war.

? Comment on the fact that the source mentions the “freely expressed will of the nations” even though there were no elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Is there a similar example from your country?

V-8. In May 1945, Josip Horvat, a journalist and a historian, witnessed the departure of the Ustasas and the arrival of the Partisans in Zagreb

8 – I walked through Tuškanac. On the way there, I was as cheerful as a child – we hadn’t been allowed to pass this way for four years and a month. Such a small thing made me feel that freedom had come, that we were entering a new life. I had such a strange feeling in my heart, a man’s brain can’t grasp that the fear is gone. (...)

9 – The arriving army is still passing through the town, torn up, but excellently armed, real fighters. (...) *A propos* torn up and dirty fighters: what lies are all those paintings of war scenes. In them, the warriors are always clean, natty, well-combed and shaved. It’s not even idealisation or stylisation any more but poor stupidity. (...)

14 – Due to the hot weather I slept badly. I saw mum and went for a walk. I was asked to go to the HIBZ (Croatian Publishing Bibliographic Institute) to fill in some personal data. The atmosphere there was depressing. A teacher was appointed political officer at HIBZ and he doesn’t have the slightest idea of what it is about. I went home with

Fricika; and there there was some panic as a couple of uniformed people took away Cigo; but the incident ended happily, Cigo was released after half an hour. Only his precious toolkit was lost.

Josip Horvat, *Preživjeti u Zagrebu*, pp. 229-231.

► **v54. Partisans entering Zagreb on 8 May 1945**



Museum of the City of Zagreb.

❓ Describe the photograph: Is it obvious that the photo shows the historical event? Why is the main Zagreb square empty?

V-9. Fragment from the report of a Bulgarian Workers' Party (communist) session, where the judgments on the members of the former regime are disputed

20 January 1945

Agenda: Exchanging ideas and opinions about the judgments in the two trials. (...)

Minister Mincho Neichev: The comrades, who are the people's prosecutors, are acting in a completely wrong way. They are looking for the gravest crime and then they continue grading the other crimes downwards. They want capital punishment only

❓ What do you think of the actions of the new Partisan government as described above? In your opinion, was Horvat's diary submitted to self-censorship?

► **v55. The meeting at Ban Jelačić square in Zagreb, after the Partisans took over the authorities, May 1945**



Gallery of the State Archives, Zagreb.

❓ Why was the main town square crowded with people a couple of days after the Partisans entered Zagreb? What were the possible motives for their arrival at the meeting organized by the new authorities?

for the guiltiest ones, and for the rest (who are not as guilty compared to the previous ones) they want lighter sentences. They are not looking for enough evidence to prove that there is a serious crime that must be given the capital punishment, but they are looking for others, who have committed graver crimes.

Georgi Chankov: The line of action of our prosecutors is not one of people, who care for striking this camarilla, but as people staying apart from the whole struggle of the Bulgarians and are now only measuring the guilt. Our prosecutors are not acting as people, who are looking even for the slightest evidence, which will prove that these criminals are guilty...

Traicho Kostov: In no way can we agree with the line of action of our comrade prosecutors. I propose: for the regents - the death penalty for all three... For the counsellors - Sevov and the other four - capital sentences... For the first cabinet of Filov - it is clear - death. (...)

For the second cabinet of Filov: the same. (...)
Carried.

After Chrestomathy of Bulgarian History 1944-1948, pp. 484-485.



How are the sentences decided upon – by actual guilt or other criteria? Were the political leaders supposed to make these decisions, or should they have been carried out by the relevant judicial institutions?

V-10 and V-11.

Excerpt from the report of the minister of justice about the number of people sentenced by the People's court in Bulgaria

From a Report of Dr Mincho Neichev - Minister of Justice

To The National Committee of the Fatherland Front:

(...) From 23 December 1944 to 31 March 1945 the People's Court tried 145 cases with 10, 907 accused. They were sentenced as follows: 2, 680 - sentenced to death; 1,921 - life sentence; 1,376 - 19-20 years imprisonment; 962 - 15 years; 727 - 10 years; the rest 3,241 - less than 10 years. The property of almost all the convicts was confiscated.

Manov, p. 21.

British memorandum concerning the trials and the execution of the sentences against the so-called war criminals in the liberated and satellite countries

British Embassy in Washington, 31 March 1945

2. Although the individuals, executed as a result of the recent trials in Bulgaria, are ranked among the "war criminals", it is obvious from the indict-

ment and from all the circumstances around the trials, that these trials are actually political in character. A special ex post facto law was passed for this purpose and they took the opportunity to get rid of many politicians hostile to those in power at the moment.

3. Such a purge, although partially carried out, would easily cause a vacuum in the country's political life, thus enabling a certain one-party government to take over the power and to establish a dictatorship.

Bulgaria - the Unacknowledged Enemy of the Third Reich, pp. 222-223.



When you know that dozens of people were convicted to death during the Nuremberg's trials, and that there were fewer convictions in Japan, how can you explain the large number of people executed by the People's court in Bulgaria? How did the British Embassy in Washington react to these trials?

► v56. A warm reception of the Yugoslav Macedonian military, political and state leaders in liberated Skopje (13 November 1944)



V-12. A fragment describing the Red Army invasion of Bulgaria and the seizure of power by the Fatherland Front

For four and a half decades, the date 9 September 1944 was celebrated and worshipped as a 'people's anti-Fascist uprising', and a 'Socialist revolution'. In

fact, it was a coup d'état with the help of another country, whose army entered Bulgaria, after having declared war on us. No bullet was fired against Stalin's Red Army in Bulgaria. On the contrary, it was welcomed as our liberator... The guerrillas 'triumphantly' started to come out of the forests, going to towns and villages, waving scarlet banners and chanting slogans. DEATH TO FASCISM, LIBERTY TO THE PEOPLE! The most commonly used and heard word those days was DEATH!

(...) There was no uprising, because the Fatherland Front government had taken power without any bloodshed. But it was they, the new people in power, who started shedding blood on the first day of their rule. All of this happened with the silent approval of the "bratushki – brothers" (the Russians).

Manov, pp. 11-12.



How does the author view the change of regime? What is the role of the Red Army in this event and that of the Partisans and the Fatherland Front? How do the victors present it?

► **v57. Belgraders welcoming the Bulgarian army**



"Long live brotherly Bulgarian army" – this is how the Belgraders welcomed their neighbours. Bulgaria took part in World War II on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition between September 1944 and May 1945. The Bulgarian army, together with the Yugoslav guerrillas and parts of the Third Ukrainian front, fought on Yugoslav, Hungarian and Austrian territory.



Overall questions on subchapter Vc.

What were the changes in the political system of your country after World War II? Did any other major political changes occur in the decades that followed and for what reason? Compare your country with neighbouring countries.