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## THE EXPLOITATION OF YUGOSLAV INDUSTRY BY THE THIRD REICH DURING WORLD WAR II

The national resources of the country directed Yugoslavia towards the development of a strong industry, which would, undoubtedly, be an important factor in the development of the economy, rising her from her apathetic state and backwardness, as well as helping the rise of the standard of living of wide social layers.

The development of a strong industry was dictated, too, by a justly conceived interest of the community in totality. It is a fact that developed agrarian countries, the underdeveloped by all means, are, as a rule forced — due to low productivity in agriculture — to give in the exchange of goods with industrial countries more concentrated work in produce for less work in industrial products. Yugoslavia, for instance, with low productivity in agriculture, had to export the result of work of 10 - 15 workers, in order to buy the result of work of one single worker of an industrialized country, coming from an industrially developed country. In spite of these facts which pointed in favour of the development of a strong industry, the manufacturing policy of pre-War Yugoslavia did not trend towards the direction of a sophisticated and solid base on which industry could develop normally and evenly. Instead, there occurred an anarchic development, according to the opinion of certain domestic and foreign capitalists, in relations to the profit forseen.

The functional development of Yugoslav manufacturing industry was not to the advantage of foreign capital, which was invested at a rather high rate in the economy of Yugoslavia. The foreign capital found the country's backwardness rather suitable, for it permitted to receive raw materials for its industry, further assured a market for its products and, finally, received a very cheap labour, all these assuring a safe and good profit. The foreign monopolistic capital was dominating and carrying out its wishes through several monopolized organisations: trusts, cartels, including willy-nilly, the bigger local enterprises, and thus spreading their power also over the local industrial capital.

The cartels included the most important industries, the elite part of Yugoslav industry, while numerous small enterprises with insignificant capital were

the outsiders, just living along in the shadow of the big ones and had a much lesser participation in the total of industrial production. These monopolistic organisations had a negative effect on the development of the local industry and the economic potential as a whole. This might be best shown in the case of foreign trust companies — Standard Oil and Shell — which did not declare the oil-wells in the country and prevented their exploitation, in order to import at the best possible price Romanian oil into Yugoslavia.<sup>1</sup>

Such a slow industrial development might be confirmed by its small contribution to the total national income. As an example we shall quote its participation, including mining, forestry, artisanship etc., which in 1937 came up only to 32 p. c. Its backwardness reflected also in the low number of workers employed. According to a census of 1931, industry, together with artisanship, in a total of 3.254 industrial enterprises, employed only 10,7 p. c. of the total Yugoslav population.<sup>2</sup> In the literature published we might see the following data:

	in Dinars
Factories	4.257
Capital invested	12,254.000.000
Labour	300.613
Average labour working	196.977
Operational staff (not including electric power stations)	344.492 HP
Value of production	15,755.000.000 Dinars

According to this data, and due to the then population of Yugoslavia (15, 384, 798) it comes to the result that one factory covered 3.614 inhabitants; out of 1.000 inhabitants only 12,8 worked in factories. The annual value of the industrial wares produced per inhabitant amounted to, according to pre-war prices, to only 1,024 Dinars, and would even fall to 524 Dinars if the value of the industrial wares would be deducted from this sum, i.e. the value of goods to be exported and the value of means of production.<sup>3</sup>

These relations clearly point to the fact that the pre-war Yugoslav industrial production has been underdeveloped. However, its participation, including artisanship, was important if compared with the participation of agriculture which included the majority of population. Calculations showed that, according to the values produced in the country, industry was on the second place and, although handicapped by low productivity, took the second place, far overreaching agriculture. If the available data are consulted — i. e. those concerning the development of industrial production between the two

<sup>1</sup> M. Mirković, *Ekonomska historija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1958, 164.

<sup>2</sup> Statistički godišnjak 1940, Beograd 1941, knj. 10, 181.

<sup>3</sup> S. Lovrenović, *Ekonomska politika Jugoslavije*, Sarajevo 1960, 62.

wars, it may be seen that the average increase of capital invested in industrial production, amounted to 2 - 2,2 p. c. The development of industrial production between the two wars might be divided into three periods: 1918 - 1929, 1929 - 1935, and, along, to the beginning of World War II. In our case we are interested, here, mainly by the third period starting 1935, in which a lively development of manufacturing industry has been felt, connected with hurried preparations for the oncoming war and the political and economic push of Germany towards the Balkans. In this period several new plants have been built such as the Steel Mills in Zenica, the Lead Smeltery in Zvečevó, the Aluminium Works in Lozovac and the Copper Refineries in Bor.

With only 4.257 plants, included in 2.940 manufacturing enterprises, the Yugoslav industry showed a rather divided picture. However, the reality was quite a different one, for in this relatively high number of plants and enterprises a quite small number of big enterprises dominated, mostly being owned by foreign capital and/or being under its very efficient control.<sup>4</sup>

Under a detailed review it can be seen that on 1.108 factories with over 50 workers or 26 p. c. of the total of factories in the country, there were 75,2 p. c. of invested capital, 96,2 p. c. of labour and 51,3% of thrust, or on 107 plants in the country 31,3 p. c. of investment capital, 39,3 p. c. of labour and 25,4 p. c. of thrust.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the Yugoslav industrial production reached a rather high proportional concentration, although Yugoslavia, due to the totality of her economic structure really was just at the beginning of its capitalistic development. These proportions are even bigger if it is taken into consideration that in several cases several plants formed, legally, one industrial enterprise, as well as that the work in big plants is much more productive than in the smaller ones, and that, therefore, their participation in the value of production much more important. Such an imprint on the Yugoslav manufacturing industry was the result of the foreign capital invested for, by the concentration of industrial production it could easier eliminate any eventual competition and insured itself a monopolistic place on the market, still continuing at the same time strengthening its position by forming cartels with the local capital.

In order to give a total picture of how it has been destroyed and exploited, we shall start with the destruction and damage occurred during the April war of 1941.

Notwithstanding the preparations for war which have been undertaken in Yugoslavia, the sudden German attack without proclamation of war, brought immense damage to the Yugoslav industry. Early in the morning, unexpectedly, without any fore-sign of the attack, the German airforce

<sup>4</sup> S. Kukoleča, *Industrija Jugoslavije 1918 - 1938*, Beograd 1941, 64.

<sup>5</sup> S. Lovrenović, op. cit. 64.

attacked the unprotected Yugoslav cities, desorganising their whole life. In this assault of the German airforce, the majority of industrial plants has been destroyed, too, while the rest was desorganised and unable for production, because of the great number of workers killed, the cutting of electric power lines and other conditions necessary for work. It is very difficult today to establish which factories have been destroyed or partially damaged in the April war, for never any data for such statistics were collected, to this day. The Quisling authority did not care about, the German occupation forces even less. Some data might be established according to German documents, but only for those plants and enterprises for the production of which the Germans had some interests. Such was the case of the Bor Mines Plant, Trepča, as well as with some factories around Beograd, for which the Germans insisted with Nedić's Quisling Government to be put into work as soon as possible. It is interesting to mention that, in these cases, the German occupation forces, although interested in the production of the plants, did not invest in their reconstruction, but demanded the Quisling Government to do so. The reconstruction of the Bor plant was made possible through the money received from the sale of Jewish immovable proprieties.<sup>6</sup>

Parallely the German occupation forces undertook all measures in order to put into working shape the most important plants. With this aim a serial of ordinances has been issued, regulating the most important questions concerning the organisation of production; the right of the Occupant to the production has been sanctioned and the sale of machinery and parts thereof was forbidden. Through these ordinances and regulations the Occupant assured themselves the right of propriety and free handling with the plants. They could dismantle them and move to other places. Germany had, for these aims, for each occupation zone, thus for Yugoslavia, too, a particular organisation. On the territory of occupied Yugoslavia there were put to work three special units, with the task to collect machinery from Yugoslav factories and enterprises and to transport them to Germany. At the head of such a group — Bergungstupp 1 — was Sonderführer Ritter, Bergungstupp 2 was led by Sonderführer Josef Keller, while the third — Bergungskolonne 333 was under the leadership of Major Fritz Telz.<sup>7</sup> The task of these groups — units was to collect machinery from various Yugoslav plants into special storehouses called *Sammellager*, from where the transport to Germany was carried out. Before loading the machines were marked by special numbers and put in warehouses. From data collected after the war by Reparations commissions and the Commission for War Damages, as well as from literature

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<sup>6</sup> A-SUP SRS, Neuhausen's declaration before the court of inquiry, May 19 th, 1947. godine, fasc. 3, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> J. Marjanović, *Ekonomska politika*, 79.

at hand, it may be seen that this stolen machinery has been forwarded to different places: *Sammellager Wien*, which was headed by Franz Stych, *Sammellager Freis'adt a. d. Orla*, headed by eng. W. Burkhard, *Sammellager Jesenice*, under the command of eng. Müller, *Sammellager Neukirschen*, under the leadership of eng. Otto Obelgaus, *Sammellager Strassburg Elsass*, headed by R. Brommel and *Sammellager Prostberg* under eng. Böhme. By such organised transportation a great number of machinery from various plants have been take out of Yugoslavia.

In the Military-Technical Plant in Kragujevac there was a warehouse for the dismantled machinery from Serbia, from where, these were transported during the war to Germany.<sup>8</sup> From the diary of the Commander of the Military — Economic Staff for South-East it may be seen that the transport was carried out monthly or periodically. During 1941 from the Kragujevac warehouse there arrived to Jesenice 268 freight cars with with 4.488 machines. During December 1941 there were carried away 59 tons of steel, 172 tons of steel scrap. In March 1943, 43 freight cars of machinery, 11 freight cars of various spare parts, 17 freight cars of material for railroads, and in April 37 freight cars of various machines. From the Vistad-Valjevo plant 3 freight cars of various machines were taken straight to Germany.<sup>9</sup> During the second half of 1943 there were carried away from Kragujevac 94 cars of machines, from the Military — Technical Plant in Čačak 96 freight cars. From the Grunpowder and explosives plant in Obilićevo — 88 freight cars. From the Plant for the Production of explosives and gas-masks in Ravnjak, near Kruševac — 140 freight cars. From the Military-Technical Plant in Lazarevac 75 freight cars, from the Vistad-Valjevo plant 84 freight cars etc.<sup>10</sup> According to the order of Major Dr. Jungfer (Wehrmacht High Command-Department for armament and equipment) during March 1944 the most important equipment was dismantled and transported to Germany. During the same period there were carried away the equipments for the production of infantry ammunition from the stores of the Zemun „Zmaj” factory, and by the end of March there started the dismantling and loading of infantry ammunition equipments of the Vistad-Valjevo; later on the same thing happened in the „AD Dinamit Nobel” plant for the production of TNT and dynamite.<sup>11</sup>

While withdrawing from Macedonia, the German officer component for military-economic questions informs the Military-Economic Staff for the South-East that 125 powermotors<sup>12</sup> have been dismantled and prepared for

<sup>8</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 466 - 521.

<sup>9</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 900 - 905.

<sup>10</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 466 - 521.

<sup>11</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 969 - 974.

<sup>12</sup> NAW, T-77, R-613, frame 1600376 - 8.

transportation, while the units of the Second Armoured Army, on their way out of Šid, took along 9 carloads of cars out of order as well as the most important equipment from the Šid slaughterhouse and the „Bata” shoe factory in Borovo.<sup>13</sup>

In Mostar, at several times, on March 19, July 13, August 28, 1944, 12 MAN lorries, 14, trailers and 4 trucks of various makes were taken away from the „Hrvatsko aluminijumsko DD Zagreb”. The Germans, together with the Italians, robbed in 1943 the „Fabrika aluminijuma AD — Zagreb” (central offices in Beograd). Long would be the list of single items taken away from this factory, but it seems quite sufficient to mention that the factory equipment and spare parts have been loaded on several ships leaving the port of Zadar. One of these ships could not find its way in the Adriatic, docked in Venice, where it was unloaded in the storehouse of one city factory.<sup>14</sup> From the „Elin DD”, Zagreb plant the Germans took in 1944, 4.5 freight cars of various electro-material, and from the mechanic workshop of Petrić Radosav from Zagreb, all the mechanic equipment, spare parts and various other material. From the accumulator plant „Munja” — Zagreb, they took away the most valuable machines, so that the factory was unable to continue work. The coal mines „Paklenica” in Mursko Središte was relieved of all industrial equipment and spare parts,<sup>15</sup> and on May 15, 1944, the Aluminium Plant in Lozovac was dismantled and transported to Germany.<sup>16</sup> A good number of this equipment was used and produced goods in Germany, while a good deal left for unknown destinations, and could not be located to this day. Similar fate came upon other enterprises not mentioned here.

Except machines and tools the German occupation forces took along all other available material, equipment and raw materials. Thus, shortly after the occupation they took away from various storehouses, important quantities of material: 363.000 tons of iron scrap, 40.000 tons of iron ore, 37.00 tons of scrap brass, 23 tons of scrap copper, 3.000 tons of various chemical raw materials, 8.000 tons of non-ferrous metals, 4.000 tons textiles, 500.000 tons of oil, great quantities of various construction materials (lumber, building stone, bricks, lime, cement, pebble). Great stocks of various textiles (ready-made clothes, blankets, covers, towels), raw wool etc.<sup>17</sup>

In various military stores they seized enormous quantities of food: grain,

<sup>13</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 898 - 900.

<sup>14</sup> AJ. Iond Drž. komisije za reparacije, Popisnik odučene imovine po neprijateljima i njihovim pomagačima. fasc. 25, doc. 7 - 94.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> AH, fond Jinist. šumarstva i rudarstva NDH, izvještaj o demontiranju fabrika od 19. maja 1944. g. „kut. 42, dok. 73.

<sup>17</sup> War book of the German war economic staff for southern east. NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 466 - 521.

flour, canned goods etc. All these beforehand appointed crews loaded their plunder on to carriers or lorries and transported them to warehouses over the border. This was, in fact, the best organised looting known in history, not caring for any international law rules, neither respecting whatsoever rights of the defeated. They simply took along everything they needed, and concerned as more economic to plunder and take over to Germany, than to use it on the occupied Yugoslav territory. The remaining industrial equipment on Yugoslav territory, the Germans tried to put into activity as soon as possible and to organise, with the assistance of Quisling authorities, a maximally intensive production. By the beginning of May 1941, an ordinance has been issued that all factories, workshops and retail shops, have to be opened and working, and as far as the owners should be absent, representatives i. e. „*Kommissars*” under whose direction all factories had to be working, even the smallest retail shop, have been appointed. For the bigger plants Germans, for the smaller shops Germans of Yugoslav origin (*Volksdeutscher*), have been appointed. All manufacturing plants were proclaimed as necessary for the German war-potential. The first place was, of course, given to the metal industry, further came the manufacture of leather, textiles, the food and agrarian plants: sugar-producing plants, flour produce, starch and oil plants, slaughterhouses, canned food factories etc.

„*Sartid*” in Smederevo, with 1.000 hands and „*Jesenica*” in Smederevska Palanka with 315 workers, were the most important plants working in Serbia. And when order was received in 1943 to manufacture 20 streetcars, 44 railway cars, 70 railway carriers, install generating motors for mining plants, and construct 500 tons of iron supports for bridges, the number of workers has been increased to over 1.000.<sup>18</sup> Further the Cosmetics and Soap Factory in Kruševac with 350 workers, the Avio-motors plant in Rakovica with 755 hands, the „*Rogožanski*” plant in Beograd with 120 employed, the Shoe-plant in Beograd with 250 hands, the Textile plants in Leskovac with 120 workers, the Textile manufacturing plant „*Milan Ristić i Sinovi*” in Niš with 160 employed, the Kragujevac plants (up to their evacuation), the Vistad-Valjevo factory, also up to its evacuation, the Vistad—Bariš plant with 80 workers, the Čašak plants, up to their evacuation, the Armaments and ammunition Factory in Užice, which for some period has been in the hands of the National Liberation Movement, the State Aircraft factory in Kraljevo with 920 workers, the Factory for Pipes’ Bolts for the Aircraft Industry in Beograd, „*Mikron*” a precise mechanic plant with 130 workers, „*Nestor*”, also a precise mechanic plant employing 70 persons in Beograd, „*Signal AD*”, Beograd, with only 25 hands, „*Sartid*” — High Furnaces in Majdanpek with 20 workers,

<sup>18</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 994.

the Railways Repair Shop in Kraljevo with 630 employed. The Railway-carriages Factory in Kruševac with 220 workers, "Zorka".

Šabac with 730 employed, the Leather manufactures in Niš, Beograd, Knjaževac and Zaječar, with a total of 960 workers, the Lumber plants and factories of other building materials with 860 employed, the Cement factories in Popovac and Ralja with 320 hands, the Textile factory in Paraćin with 96 workers, the Sugar refining plants in Beograd, Čuprija and Zrenjanin with 145 hands and other smaller enterprises not mentioned here, had to fulfill the order given.<sup>19</sup>

All these plants on the territory of occupied Serbia were included in 29 big enterprises, and their total production, as Neuhausen said "was used for the army, police, factory guards, miners and village population, primarily in the Banat as well as for exports to the Reich."

During 1941, due to war damages, lack of raw materials and the general chaos provoked by the war, many factories, even whole industrial branches did not work, but by the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 serious repairs of the damaged plants has been undertaken, so that production reached in the second half of 1942 and first half of 1943 a considerable level. However, due to the lack of coal for the steam boilers for producing electric power, as well as because of the development of the war events, by the end of 1943 and onwards productivity started to decrease in all branches of industry. The most interesting metal production was in Serbia only in the smelting and rolling mill "Sartid" directed by Otto Wolf. This smelting mill covered, in a great quantity, the Wehrmacht's needs in Serbia, while the iron, as raw material came mainly from the Kranjska industry of iron and steel. The increasing economic development in 1942 and 1943, and the important military construction works carried out because of the military situation in South-East Europe, asked for ever larger quantities of all sorts of iron. The development of mines and separation of ores demanded mine railings, cables and iron for reinforced concrete. A more active agricultural production requested the manufacture agricultural machines and tools, pumps, grain elevators, refrigerating equipment, while for a more efficient collection and storage of agricultural produce and lumber, horseshoes, pikes and iron hubs were needed. All these demanded an increase of iron products, so that only "Sartid" manufactured in the first half of 1943 5.800 tons of various kinds of iron. Very noticeable was, also, the production of plows in the "Vistad" plant (about 1.000 plows per month), and at that time, too, the production furnaces in the "Brothers Bon Foundries" in Kikinda. A particular success was achieved by the railroade cars factories "Jasenica" and "Kruševac" which, in this period, produced 140 railroade cars. However, in autumn 1943, when a lack

<sup>19</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 466 - 521.



of coal was felt, the production started to decrease, and such was the case particularly in December, when all the coal intended for "Sartid" was shipped to the Beograd power station.<sup>20</sup>

All the other manufacturing industries worked, too, for Germany and her occupation forces in Serbia and other occupied Yugoslav regions. The textile industry, considered as the most developed manufacturing branch in pre-war Yugoslavia, covered primarily the needs of the Reich and its collaborators. According to German sources at our disposal, during 1942 and the first half of 1943, the occupied regions of Serbia, Banat, Sandžak and Macedonia delivered 1.860 tons of wool. Out of these 900 tons were taken to the Reich, and the remaining quantity was manufactured in the plants of the a/m regions. During this period 2.150 tons of hemp prepared for spinning has been manufactured, out of which 850 tons were transported to the Reich, and 1.300 tons given to the manufacturing industry on the occupied territory. From cotton imported from Italy and other necessary raw material received from Germany, of the wool and hemp left to the local manufacturers, in the a/m period the following quantities of textiles have been produced: 1,051.700 meters of fabrics, 306.100 pieces of blankets, 74.000 hemp sacks, 48.000 hand-towels, 45.000 straw mattresses and pillows, 54.700 hemp belts, 346.000 meters of ropes. All the a/m goods were transported to Germany, while for the covering of the needs of the Nedić Government, the volunteer units and various civil services, requesting 276.600 meters of fabric, 18.000 blankets and 24.000 straw mattresses and pillows, remained uncovered.

Owing to the insufficient quantities of raw materials this branch of industry did not show particular results during the following years of the war. The supply of troops was decreased by 71 p. c. of the regular requests, while the supply of workers in war important industries has also been decreased to the lowest possible degree, thus 100 workers receiving only 40 sets of underwear, 12 suits and 24 overalls. The region of Banat recived textiles for the civilian population valued at one million Marks, while the population of bigger cities was supplied through retail shops, but was allowed to buy only after the needs of the Wehrmacht and the Volksdeutschen were covered.

In order to alleviate, at least partly, the lack of raw material an action for the collection of rags was organised in the second half of 1943, which, however, was soon stopped, for only 67 tons were collected.<sup>21</sup>

The leather manufacturing industry was in a very similar situation. Before the war 40 p. c. of the raw material requested came from imports,

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<sup>20</sup> F. Neuhausen's Report on the State of Economy on the occupied territory of Serbia, Banat, Macedonia and Sandžak for the Plenipotentiary General for the metal mines, in Vienna on Dec. 31. 1943. NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 88 - 98.

<sup>21</sup> NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 99 - 100.

while during the war this branch had at its disposal only the raw material received on the occupied territory of Serbia, where only during 1942, 153.00 kgs of small hides, 80.000 kgs of bigger hides, 21.500 kgs of sole leather were produced, all of which was exported to the Reich. It has been planned to export 30.000 kgs of small hides and 350.000 kgs of bigger hides more. In the course of 1943, there were manufactured 300.000 pieces of small animal hides, out of which 250.000 were exported to the Reich, and 50.000 handed over to the local industry for the manufacturing of shoe-linings. Cattle gave 100.000 pieces of hides a month, but the greatest part was exported to Germany, while only a small quantity remained in Serbia so that, according to Neuhäusen, shoes could be made for every sixth inhabitant of Serbia, and every third resident in the Banat. Of the hides which remained on the occupied territory the security units, miners and workers in war important industry received: 26.000 pairs of working shoes, 42.000 pairs of shoes with wooden soles, 1.600 pairs of "opanci" (type of shoes worn by peasants in Serbia), 5.750 kgs of soles, 17.000 pairs of shoes with leather soles, while nobody cared about civilian footwear, and the population had to find its own way in solving this problem.<sup>22</sup>

Because of the shortage of coal and lumber, in 1941 and during the first part of 1942, the production of building material, cement, bricks, tiles, glass etc. had stopped. Only in 1943 production started again, as by then the coal supply became more regular. The biggest cement factory of the region, in Popovac, produced during the summer period 2.500 tons of cement per month. Beside, the Rajka cement factory started again to work, with a monthly capacity of 900 tons. In June 1943, the glass factory in Pančevo started to work. By the end of 1943, 1.900.000 sq. meters of glass have been manufactured, and as this quantity was over the needs of the occupied territory, the whole was exported to the Reich. During the summer of 1943 in Serbia and Banat 67,940.000 bricks and 24,282.000 tiles have been manufactured.

The most important chemical plant "Zorka" which belonged to the association "*Aussiger Verein*" increased its production of sulphuric acid from 3.700 tons in 1942 to 5.950 tons in 1943, while the production of oleum rose from 670 to 1.240 tons. Further increase, which was technically possible, had to be cancelled, for there was no market for the products. During the following production year, in agreement with the Department for Chemicals, "Zorka" instead of providing the Reich with sulphuric acid and oleum, exported them to Roumania, Bulgaria and the Independent State of Croatia. Magnezium pyrite, received by the flotation of plumb and zinc ores, which is very inflammable and, therefore, could not be exported to the Reich, was used for the production of sulphuric acid.

<sup>22</sup> NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 28.

“Zorka” was also producing an acid used for smoke-screening up to 60 tons monthly. The big equipment for the production of copper-sulphate, whose production had to cover the “Zorka” plants obligations towards Germany, Roumania, the Free State of Croatia and Bulgaria, worked with decreased capacity for shortage of raw materials. The Bor mines copper and acid remained from the manufacture of oleum were, mainly, used for the production of copper sulphate. Although there was acid enough, because of the lack of copper, only small quantities of acid were used, and the rest was thrown into the Sava river. It was even tried with the sale of copper sulphate to consumers in exchange for copper scrap. This action gave quite good results in the course of 1942. In Banat there were distributed 580.000, and in Serbia 332.000 kgs of sulphuric acid for the same quantities of old copper. However, this was of no avail and could not make possible a higher production of sulphuric acid.<sup>23</sup>

The production of glue and gelatine was taken over in January 1943 by the Beograd “Hemos” plant, the only of its kind in Serbia. Because of the shortage of bones it was working with decreased capacity — only 23 tons of glue per month. Till the end of the year 53.000 kgs of gelatine have been produced. The production of varnishes and dyes was somewhat larger, but not sufficient to cover the Reich’s needs, particular in dyes, much needed by the Wehrmacht for camouflage.

The production of paper was rather low during 1941 and 1942, and the consumption of the occupation area was covered by the reserves existing or by imports. In the course of 1943 production was somewhat enlarged: 3.500 tons of paper and cardboard, while the delivery of cellulose and wood-shaving to the Reich increased from 2.000 tons in 1942, to 2.600 in 1943, and 2.300 tons of paper were also delivered.<sup>24</sup>

In all these plants special production for the Wehrmacht has been introduced. From the diary of the Commander of the German Military-Economic Staff for the South-East it may be seen that according to orders made by the OKM in the course of 1941, this area delivered various goods in the value of 37,875.000 RM and 18 tons of textiles,<sup>25</sup> and in the course of 1942 the deliveries amounted to 989,465.592 Dinars. During 1943, on the same base, the value of the goods delivered amounted to 1,079,475.780 Dinars.<sup>26</sup>

Such a degree of production and the state of equipment in the area under Command (Serbia, Banat, Macedonia, Sandžak and part of Albania) forced the representatives of the German occupation forces to study more seriously

<sup>23</sup> NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 99 - 105.

<sup>24</sup> NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 28.

<sup>25</sup> NAW, T-75, R-69, frame 151.

<sup>26</sup> Dnevnik Vojnoprivrednog štaba Jugoistok, NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 466 - 521

the problem of how to increase production, a problem closely related with the delivery of fuel, coal etc. They struck upon the idea which was not a new one, but the only possible, to introduce in all plants where it was possible — generating motors. Thus the Central direction for generators of the Military-Economic Staff for the South-East, organised at the beginning of January 1943 in Beograd a course for the training of personnel which was supposed to introduce generators. The training was attended by representatives from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Slovakia and Hungary. The representatives of the German power particularly interested in the introduction of gas-generators in the industry of Serbia, and tried to ready the Motors Factory in Rakovica for these aims. In view of this a Transportation School has been opened in Beograd, and to increase the influence of the whole affair, as well as in order to have a larger number of people interested for and trained in the application of generators in industry, Dr. Prof. Faedisch, of the Central for generators and Reichsminister — Schper gave several conferences in the big Hall of the *Kolarčev Univerzitet* in Beograd on the topic of “Reserve fuel in the War”. However, neither this action did bring the wished results.<sup>27</sup>

On the territory of the so called Independent State of Croatia, right after the taking of power by the Ustashi, upon demand of the German plenipotentiary general, the most important industries have been handed over to the Germans: the Military-Technical plant in Vogošće, near Sarajevo, Ilijaš, some plants in Slavonski Brod and Zenica, while the Airplane factory in Zemun, with 50 workers, the “Bata” shoe-factory in Borovo, with 150 workers, the plants “Ikarus” and “Zmaj” in Zemun with 120 employed, “Teleoptik” — Zemun with 50 workers, Knebl-Ditrich — Indjija with 100 workers, the Hides factory in Zemun with 40 men, the Shipyard on the Sava-Bežanija with 552 workers and 454 other personnel, which worked very actively, the Hides factories in Zemun with 40 workers and in Sarajevo with 50 workers, the Wood processing industries in Zavidovići, Sanski Most and Prijedor, the Aluminium plant in Lozovik, the Cement plant in Beočin near Novi Sad, the Leather processing factory — Visoko, the factories for Hides processing in Tuzla, Bosanska Krupa, Prijedor, Bosanski Brod and Prnjavor. Further the Oil refinery, the Adriatic Shipyards AD — Split with all its equipment and plant sections, the “Ključ” stockings factory — Sarajevo, the State Textile and Spinning Mill in Iliđča — Sarajevo, the Textile industry “Šik”, the “Dara” underwear factory — Sarajevo, “Leda” the Factory for knitted fabrics — Sarajevo, the “Altarac” Stockings factory, the carpets and towel plant “Breiner and Company” — Tuzla, the Linen textile plant “Vitković” — Mostar, the Threads factory “Alkalaj” — Sarajevo, the Lace and knitted fabrics “Tehta” — Sarajevo, the Jeličin Grad Foundry near

<sup>27</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 888 - 936.

Banjaluka, the Braća Ferhatovići Factory for Ploughs and the thereto attached Foundry in Bosanska Kostajnica, the Metal goods factory "Triumf" — Sarajevo, the Foundry Aničić and Company, the Metal Goods Factory — Sarajevo, the Foundry and Factory of Agricultural Machinery — Zenica, the Iron Foundry — Tuzla, a great number of grain mills, about 20 electrical power stations, "Kreka DD" — factory for refining denaturated alcohol and acids — Tuzla, "Solway DD" near Tuzla, the State salt mines Kreka — Simin Han, "Wood distillation DD" — Teslić, the Breweries Ltd — Teslić, Sarajevo, Mostar, the Town Gas Works in Sarajevo, further an important number of industrial equipment for the manufacture of bricks and tiles, the Osijek iron foundry and machines plant, the Osijek sugar factory, the State Sugar Factory — Belje, the Sweets Factory Ltd. Županja—Zagreb, the Mitrovica Steam Sawmill of Veneer and Plywood — Sremska Mitrovica, "Drava Ltd" — manufacture of matches, Osijek, the Flax Industry Ltd — Osijek, the Textiles Industry — Karlovac, The Canned Food Plant — Indjića, the Osijek Leather Factory, "Sardina Ltd" — Split, the Asbestos and Cement Factory in Vranjic, the Pipes Manufacturing Plant in Vranjic, the Textile Mill "Ivanišević and Company" in Makarska, the Fishery Cooperative — Bol, "Neptun Ltd" — Split, the factories for fish manufacturing and canning in Split, Postire, Zadar and Crikvenica and a great number of smaller enterprises, which are not mentioned here, have been under the control of German specially detached units in the Free State of Croatia, while the most important part of their products served for the covering of the needs of the German Army.<sup>28</sup> By an agreement signed between Germany and the Independent State of Croatia for the first economic year, it has been fixed that the a/m and other plants deliver to Germany goods valued at 81,000.000 RM, including 850.000 lamb, sheep and goat hides, which had to be tanned beforehand in the a/m plants of leather production; the agreement covered, further, a serial of other products such as lumber ready for manufacture in the value of 35,000.000 RM and manufactured wood for 60,000.000 RM. However, due to the capacity of production of the a/m plants the German demands could not be honoured, although due to special efforts — according to the Report on Foreign Exchange and Economic Policy of the Independent State of Croatia, in the a/m and other industrial plants in the period April, 1941 — May, 1943 goods valued at 180,000.000 Kunas<sup>29</sup> were produced and exported to Germany, in the second half of the same year the amount came to 60,000.000 and during 1944 to 78,364.000 Kunas.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> NAW, T-77, R-886, frame 315 - 316.

<sup>29</sup> A. Tinti, *Izveštaj o valutnogospodarskoj politici Hrvatske državne banke od aprila 1941. do...maja 1943*, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> AH, fond Minist. privrede NDH, *Izveštaj o valutnogospodarskoj politici Hrvatske državne banke za drugu polovinu 1943. i 1944*, kut. 18.

The Sava — Bežanija Shipyards carried out 253 bigger and 505 smaller repairs on ships.<sup>31</sup>

By the division of Slovenia into Occupation Zones, Germany received the territory with the greatest industrial centers: Trbovlje, Jesenice, Maribor, Kranj, Celje and other towns, which had the most important industrial plants, such as: The Iron Works Store and Guštanj, Jeklarna — Guštanj, the Kranjska industrijska družba (Kranj industrial association) in Jesenice, the Zink Mills — Celje, "Aga Ruše Ltd" — Acetylene and Oxygene factory Ruše near Maribor, the Maribor Foundries, the "Sirac" industry in Kanj, "Jiteks" in Zalec near Celje, "Huter" in Maribor, the Textile Mills in Maribor and the Textile Factory in Kranj. Light metal plants were also located in the region such as: "Peng" in Maribor, "Splošna stavba" in Tezno near Maribor, "Stajersko železo" near Celje, the "Westen" plant in Celje. Further: came the leather industry: "Pirih" in Ptuj, "Freud" in Maribor, "Laurich" in Konjice near Celje, "Woschong" in Šoštanj. Further the Yugoslav Tires Factory in Kranj, the Chemicals Industry "Zlatorog" in Maribor, the Refinery in Dravograd near Maribor, the Gas-Works in Maribor, the Glass Factory in Rogaška Slatina, "Hubertus" in Celje, the Paper Mills in Krško and Vevče near Ljubljana, the Food Industry and Brewery in Laško, the Local Slaughter House in Maribor, the "Union" Brewery in Maribor, further the Printing House ("*Tiskarna*") in Maribor and the "Tiskarna Mohorjeve družbe" in Celje etc. As soon as the Germans enforced their occupation powers in this region, they took over all the enterprises and put at their head mostly Austrians, while the production capacities were re-orientated for war production.

According to sources at our disposal, during the period these plants were under the control of German occupation forces, the production rose to the value of 4,996,947.202 Dinars, the majority of which was exported to Germany, and the lesser part left on occupied territory for the needs of German units.<sup>32</sup>

It is of interest to mention that the Germans have, in the course of 1943, when certain German factories were exposed to constant Allied bombing, transferred part of their important production into factories of countries under their occupation. This was the case with plants producing nets for submarines and torpedoes. From a writing by director M. Feuerhoke from the "Dillinger Hüttenwerke AG" it came to our knowledge that the following plants were engaged in the manufacture of submarine-nets: the "Prva Podunavska predionica pamuka i konca", Pančevo the "Kosta Ilić and Sons" Cloth processing

<sup>31</sup> NAW, T-77, R-886, frame 315 - 316.

<sup>32</sup> AJ, fond Komis. za utvrđivanje ratne štete počinijeno od okupatora i njihovih pomagača, fasc. 12, documents I - 29.

plant in Beograd, the Shoe Factory Ltd in Niš, the "Gligorije Petrović" textile factory — Leskovac, the Textile plant in Smederevska Palanka — Niš, the Cloth industry — Karlovac and the Textile industry in Sarajevo. All these plants were large enough, suitably located, and the majority of them, due to the importance of their work, under the direct command of the German Army: thus re-orientation of production has been possible right away. There was enough labour force, for out of 2.000 workers, requested for this process (knitting of nets etc.) 60 p. c. could be women.<sup>33</sup>

The persons responsible for industry in Neuhausen's Staff, as well as those in the Military-Economic Staff, tried their best to process the maximal quantities of reserves requested for the imperialistic war, using thereby cheap labour who got some only symbolic remuneration. In this head over heels Marathon for increased production nobody cared about the problem called "man", even less about the machinery, which brought about to the almost total destruction of industrial potentials. A very small number of the a/m factories could start work after the Liberation.

The data collected by the Commission for the Establishment of Crimes Committed by the Occupation forces and their Collaborators, the Commission for War Damages and Reparations, as well as the Institute for Reparations which continued the activity of the Reparations Commission, availed ourselves of the opportunity to get an insight into the volume Yugoslav industry has been destroyed or partly damaged.

According to branches of industry:

### *Metal Industry*

"Industrija AD Rakovica" — Beograd, "Utva AD", "Aircraft Factory" — Pančevo, "Teleoptik Ltd" — Zemun, "Carriages, bridges and machine Factory" — Slavonski Brod, "Mikron" — Beograd, "Nestor Ltd" — Beograd, "Zmaj Ltd" — Zemun, Prva srpska fabrika aeroplana "Živojin Rogožarski Ltd" — Beograd, "Ikarus Ltd" — Zemun, "Jasenica Ltd" — Smederevska Palanka, "Kruševac Ltd" — Kruševac, "Osiječka ljevaonica željeza i tvornica strojeva" (The Osijek Foundry and Machinery Factory) in Osijek, "Bata Ltd". — Borovo, "Braća Ferhatović" — "Plough and Chain Factory" — Kostajnica, "The Jelićin Grad Foundries" near Banjaluka. "Triumf" metal works in Sarajevo, the "Ančić and Co" — Sarajevo, the "Vladimir Merfet" Metal Wares Factory — Sarajevo, the "Foundry and Agricultural Machines Plant" — Zenica, the "Iron Foundry and Agricultural Machines Plant" —

<sup>33</sup> NAW, T-77, R-1298, frame 946 - 954.

Zenica, the Iron Foundry in Tuzla, as well as a serial of smaller enterprises processing metal wares, such as "Ferolin", an association for production of tin and iron wares in Vinkovci.

According to the appraisal of the Reparations Commission, the value of damage in this branch of industry, calculated in Dinars, amounts to 526,030.058 Dinars (i.e. 11,955.993 US \$), while the profit lost due to damaged and destroyed installations comes up to 557,326.093 Dinars (US \$ 12,661.957).<sup>34</sup>

### *Food Processing Industry*

The "State Sugar Factory on Čukarica" — Beograd, the "Sugar Factory Petrovgrad", Zrenjanin, the "Osijek Sugar Factory", the "State Sugar Factory Osijek" — Belje near Osijek, the "Serbian-Czech Sugar Factory" — Čuprija, "Sladarna Ltd", Županja, the "Oil Processing Plant" — Beograd, "LTD Co for Maize Processing Jabuka" — Beograd, "National Vines and Cellars" — Zagreb, the "Sugar Factory" Bačka, Novi Vrbas, "Zorka" sweets factory — Sarajevo, "Čokić" Crackers and Sweets Plant — Prijedor, "Brothers Gošić", the "Preserved Meat Freezing Plant", "Pasta" — Banjaluka — Prijedor, the "Yeast and Carbohydrates Plant" — Teslić, the "Zagreb Breweries Ltd" — Zagreb, the "First Croatian Salami Plant Gavrilović", "Chocote and Sweets Plant" — Slavonska Požega, the "Alcoholic Beverages Factory" — Slavonska Požega, "Nektlaar" — Nova Gradiška, the "State Grain Mills" — Vinkovci, the "Civic Brewery Ltd" — Daruvar, the "State Oil Processing Plant" — Podravska Slatina, the "Osijek First Cylinder Grain Mill" — Osijek, Karolina Ltd" — producers of cookies, noodles and marmelade in Osijek the "Croatia Steam Mill and Noodles Factory", the "Steam Brewery and Malt Factory" — Osijek, the "Central Direction of the Belje State Estate" — Belje, "Tinned Produce Plant" — Čakovec, the "Čakovec Steam Winepress Ltd" — Čakovec, and a number of food processing equipment from all over the regions.

Except the a/m industries during the four years' long war, a great number of steam mills, storehouses etc. have been exploited and partially or completely destroyed.

The Commission for War Damages, which collected data right after the end of the war, made a detailed register of all machinery disappeared or damaged, as well as of all missing or destroyed spare parts, accompanying constructions and material disappeared. On the grounds of this register the total damage to this branch has been established. The 1939 prices were taken as basis of value and thus the sum of 255,079.715 (US \$ 3,115.425) has been reach-

<sup>34</sup> AJ, fond Komisije za reparacije, fasc. 14 documents 12 - 32, 48, 53, 96 - 143, 150 - 178.



ed as war damages, while the loss of national income made up the sum of 379,269.702 Dinars (US \$ 8,619.766).<sup>35</sup>

### *Construction and Lumber Industry*

The "Mitrovačka Steam Saw Mill and Furniture Factory, Veneer and Plywood Plant" — Sremska Mitrovica, the "Beočin" Cement Plant, the "Bricks Plants in Tuzla and Bosanska Dubica", 9 bricks producing plants in Sarajevo, 4 large bricks producing plants in Travnik, "The Bricks and Tiles Ltd" — Sisak, the "State Saw Mills" — Delnice, the "Woodcarving Ltd" — Vrbovsko, the "First Steam Bricks Plant" — Slavonska Požega, the "Bricks Plant in Županja", the "Steam Bricks Plant Ivan Kuman and Sons" — Vinkovci, "Slavonija" — Saw Mill and Veneer, Flooring and Processed Lumber Plant, the "Steam Saw Mill" — Okučani, the "Bricks Factory Marković Nikola" — Pčelić, the "Greta Karol Brick-Works", Osijek, the "Tokoč Karol Brick-Works" — Vukovar, the "First Brick-Works of the First Croatian Savings Bank" — Gornje Tužno, are only a number on the list of German occupied plants, working for the German war effort.

To the a/m industrial plants and their equipment, there should be added here a whole series of smaller plants, brick-works, stone quarries etc. mostly in private property. This branch of industry, except the lumber plants, has been rather underdeveloped before the war, with small industrial equipment, and the little existing has been destroyed by the Germans. According to data of the Commission for War Damages, the losses in this industrial branch would amount to 152,110.355 Dinars (US \$ 3,457.055) and the loss of income to 79,760.146 Dinars (1,812.730 US \$).<sup>36</sup>

### *Chemical Industry*

"Zorka" — Chemicals Industry Ltd — Šabac, "Zorka" — Chemical Industry Ltd — Subotica, "Drava Ltd Production of Matches" — Osijek, "Glass Factory Ltd" — Paraćin, "Milan Vapa Ltd" Paper Mills — Beograd, "Aga Ruše Ltd", first Acetylene and Asphalt Factory — Ruše near Maribor, the "First Mechanical Windowpanes Factory Ltd" — Pančevo, "Munk Ltd" for Chemical Processing of Bones — Zemun, "Yugoslav Solway Ltd". Sodium Plant — Leskovac, the "Paper Mill Ltd" — Čačak, near Beograd, the "State Salt Mines Kreka" — Simin Han, "Kreka Ltd" Spirit Refinery, Yeast and Carbonic Acid Plant — Tuzla, "Solway Ltd" near Tuzla, "Lumber Distillation Ltd", "Breweries Ltd" — Sarajevo, "Breweries Ltd" — Sarajevo, "Bre-

<sup>35</sup> AJ, fond Drž. komisije za utvrđivanje ratne štete pričinjene od strane okupatora i njihovih pomagača 1941 - 1945, fasc. 14, documents 7 - 61.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, fasc. 17, documents 8, 14, 21 - 42, 69.

weries Ltd" — Tuzla, "City Breweries Sarajevo", the "Asphalt Industry" — Sarajevo, "City Waterworks" — Sarajevo, "Tanine Factory" — Sisak, "Drach" Sarajevo, "City Waterworks" — Sarajevo, "Tanine Factory" — Sisak, "Drach", "Lumber Industry Ltd", "Yugoslav Shell Ltd" — Zagreb, "Metan Ltd" Factory of Industrial Soot — Purovica — Zagreb, "Uljanik" Oil factory — Pakrac, "Uljanik Petroleum Ltd" — Zagreb, "Mechanic Tanning Mills" — Djurdjenovac, "Soap and Washing Powder, Perfumery and Cosmetics Factory" — Osijek, the "Textiles Dyers" — Osijek, "Ipoli Ltd", Refinery of Mineral Oils, "Petroleum Ltd" — "Fertilizers" near Kutina, "Danica Ltd" (Chemical Products) near Zagreb, "United Glass Factories Ltd" — Pregrada, "S. Neumann and Heirs, Dyers and Spinners" — Čakovec.

The a/m are only the more important industrial plants from this branch, while, when making the accounts of the total damages some smaller enterprises have also been included, not mentioned here, and thus the sum of 976,424.588 Dinars (US \$ 22,282,377) has been reached as damages, and 633,899.158 Dinars (US \$ 14,406.572) for loss of income.<sup>37</sup>

#### *Textiles, Leather and Rubber Industry*

The Factory of wool fabrics "Kosta Ilić and Sons" — Beograd, the Linen Works "Kosta Ilić and Sons" — Beograd, the "Beogradska tekstilna industrija" ("Beograd Textile Industry"), the "State Enterprise for Wool Processing" — Paraćin, the "Processing of Plants and Plant Fibres Ltd" — Mladenovac, "Jovanović and Popović — Fabric Factory" — Grdelica, the "First Serbian Textile Factory" — Niš, "Stela Ltd", Zemun, the "Pančevo Textile Mills" — Pančevo, the "First Industrial Spinning Mill" — Pančevo, the "Flax Industry Ltd" — Osijek, "Živojin Vukojčić and Sons Ltd" — Zemun, "Nebojša Ltd" — Zemun, "Bata" — Beograd, "Indjija Fur Processing", "Leather Factory" — Zaječar, "Eterna Leather Factory" — Niš, the "Osijek Leather Factory" — Osijek, the "Leather Factory" — Niš, the "Ropes and Cords Plant" — Odžaci, "Franjo Benderek" — Kula, the "Silva Salom Hand-Made and Manufacturing Linen Plant", Sarajevo, the "Ključ Stockings Factory" — Sarajevo, the "Vila Linen and Carpets Mill" — Sarajevo, the "State Weaving and Spinning Mill" — Sarajevo, the Textile Industry "Šik" — Sarajevo, the "Weaving and Linen Spinning Mill" Ukrina-Derventa, "Knitting Mills Beneion Goan" — Sarajevo, "Dara Underwear Plant" — Sarajevo, "Knitting Mill Leda" — Sarajevo, the "Altarac Stockings Plant" — Sarajevo, the Factory for usage of raw materials "Sirovina Ltd" — Sarajevo, the "Linen and Embroidery Mills" — Sarajevo, 14 smaller knitting mills in Sarajevo and Banjaluka, 16 smaller cloth mills and blankets factories in Sarajevo

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, fasc. 17, documents 5 - 14, 17, 20, 36.

and other towns, leather processing plants in Tuzla, Bosanski Brod, Visoko, Prijedor, Prnjavor, Bugojno and other smaller leather processing workshops, the "First Croatian Headwear Factory Ltd" — Godovo near Sisak, the Vinkovae fabrics industry "Viteks", the "State Factory of Woolen Goods" — Vinkovci, the "State Estate" — Belje, "Hemp Processing", Osijek, the "Osijek Plant for Headwear and Brushes", the "RIS mill for underwear and knitted articles" — Osijek, the "Silk Mills Ltd" — Osijek, "Mara stockings and underwear Ltd" Vukovar, "Bata" Yugoslav Factory of Rubber and Shoewear Ltd — Borovo, "Weaving and Spinning mills" — Kutina, "Brothers Gramer — Stockings, Gloves etc. Factory" — Čakovec, "Mariborska tekstilna Industrija" (Weavery) — Varaždin.

Due to the fact that this branch of industry was more developed in pre-war Yugoslavia in comparison to other processing or producing plants, the damage done is greater as well as the loss of national income. Therefore, we listed — higher number of industries in this group, but it could not be ascertained that even this list is complete. A whole line of small plants and various industrial workshops has not been listed, but has been taken into consideration when the total of war damages has been taken into account. According to appraisals made by the Commission for War Damages, the total damage to this branch amounts to 686,167.272 Dinars (US \$ 15,594.710) while the revenue lost makes 825,348.650 Dinars (US \$ 18,757.924).<sup>38</sup>

When the final account was made, the Commission did not take into consideration only the industrial plants, but also the accompanying equipment and means of transportation belonging to the plant in question or assisting its production: machinery, installations, means of transportation (trucks and cars, tractors, motorbicycles, horse carts etc.), further raw materials and re-production materials, semi-produced ware, ready-made products as well as factory and housing buildings.

The Commission for War Damages included into its final calculations also some plants from the territories occupied by Hungary and Italy, for Germany, as the leading Occupation Force of the Tripartite Pact, exploited all key enterprises producing goods necessary for the German war economy; after the capitulation of Italy, in September 1943, and Hungary's capitulation in March, 1944, Germany, as leading Occupation Power, took over these regions and exploited the totality of their economy.

If, finally all data on war damages should be added, for this branch

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, fasc. 14 i 18. Collection of information on these problems as well as their management and estimates of war damages were made according to instructions of the International Commission for war damage and Reparation Commission. The directives of these commissions were appropriately changed in case of Yugoslavia which ensures to us the most objective possible work of the commission and truthfulness of the results which it obtained.

of economy, the important sum of 2,595.811.987 Dinars could be reached, but even this sum does not completely express the total destruction of the Yugoslav industry. If it is taken into consideration that the Yugoslav industry was underdeveloped and unsufficiently equipped, according to the sum mentioned above, it could be rightly stated that this industry was completely destroyed. It is important to mention that the Yugoslav industry was not only damaged by the destruction of the existing potentials, but also by the stopping of its growth and modernisation. Expressed in numbers, it would be much more than the sum expressed by the destruction of the industrial potential existing. According to our data received from the Commission, as well on the base of our further research, we came to the sum of 2,475.587.749 Dinars. Both amounts show the great destruction and exploitation of the Yugoslav economy, the enormous plunder and robbery of the most valuable equipment which, during the two wars, Yugoslavia managed to install with great difficulties. By a more detailed analysis of sources an inview may be received of the scale of plunder, exploitation and damages suffered by the Yugoslav economy and industry, which, if summed up, represents a unique example in the history of relations between victors and defeated, for the most elementary rights of the defeated were not respected by the victorious power. Proclaiming various regulations and ordinances, the German Occupation Forces, allegedly, sanctioned their rights and the rights of the occupied territory, while taking them into account only if convenient to them.

Finally, if summing up the a/m amounts, we get the total sum of 5,071.399.376 Dinars (US \$ 115,259.085) of war damages to the Yugoslav industry.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

NAW — National Archives Washington

AJ — Arhiv Jugoslavije

AH — Arhiv Hrvatske

A-SUP-SRS — Arhiv Sekretarijata unutrašnjih poslova Socijalističke Republike Sribije

NDH — Nezavisna Država Hrvatska