



The changes of attitudes of German minority in Slovakia in course of World War Second

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During the existence of Slovak republic (1939 - 1945) Deutsche Partei was the only political representative of German minority in Slovakia. It was striving for thorough implementation of national socialistic program among German population. Tantalization of German society presented by Nazi ideologists as a result of German nation superiority and proof of Hitler's genius evoked groundswell of nationalism also among Slovak Germans. Considering previous German development and their previous position in Slovakia this ideology did not have deep roots, among many it was rather result of extreme influence than inner natural development. "Germanism" was among members of German minority new phenomena, which was sometimes surprising also for their Slovak fellow citizens and because that emphasized and manifested. Today it is difficult to assess the extent to which leaders of DP succeeded in making really deeply convinced and identified national socialist by means of "shirts of SS members" from variety of beliefs, opinions and religions of Germans in Slovakia. During Second World War attitude of German population in Slovakia to Nazi and nationalistic ideology was not stable. From 1943 apparent changes in attitude towards German Nazism in part of German population gradually came about. With the oncoming end of Second World War and proceeding eastern front to Slovak territory German minority found themselves in complicated situation. They were trying to find solution in evacuation during which almost all Germans with few exceptions left Slovak territory.

Deutsche Partei. Slovak republic. German population in Slovakia.

The political activities of Carpathian Germans in Slovakia during the period of pre-war Czechoslovakia (second and third decades of twentieth century) were gradually concentrated in two political parties. In Bratislava and Central Slovakia a decisive influence attained Carpathian German Party (CGP) and in region of Spiš pro-Hungarian oriented Spiš German Party (SGP). The inter-war years were a period of crystallization of two political platforms - an opinion that Slovak Germans should struggle for a close cooperation with other German communities in Europe, proposed by CGP and conception of renewal of pre-war Hungary, popular in ranks of SGP. The overcoming of Germany by Nazi Party and growing aggressiveness of fascist Germany in the second half of thirties had inevitably an influence also upon the situation in Czechoslovakia. Since his rise to power, Hitler openly declared determination to change the power balance in Europe in interest of Germany. One on the consequences of Germanys aggressive policy was also the increase of political activities of CGP. The party leadership implored German population of Slovakia to join the CGP and requested party members to uphold discipline and obedience. Promises, but also threats of future revenge against political opponents, repeatedly uttered by representatives of CGP, begun to bring results - a number of party members increased. After Munich, a German Party (GP) was established as a successor of CGP, led by F. Karmasin. F. Karmasin was nominated as "a High Commissioner for Resort of German Minority" in autonomous Slovak government. SGP which maintained in Spiš region traditionally strong position, succumbed to increased pressure of GP and eventually ceased to exist. During the existence of Slovak Republic, F. Karmasin stayed at the helm of GP which became the

only political representative of German minority and prepared Germans, according to Nazi ideology, to be a master race in Slovakia.

The status of Germans in Slovakia was for centuries characterized by confessional, economic and cultural diversity. Consequence of this heterogeneity was the absence of unified ethnic awareness, which was in direct opposition to the goals of GP. The German minority was unified only in year 1939. The process of unification, however, was not running smoothly, it was not natural, but it was a result of pressures generated by GP and F. Karmasin. The Constitution of Slovak Republic adopted by Slovak Parliament on 21. July 1939, in chapter 12 - "National communities" in § 91 - 95 expressed the basic attitudes of state toward minorities.¹ The ethnic communities were entitled to create cultural and political organizations and maintain relations with the "mother nation". In line with the Constitution they had a right for education in mother tongue and use of their mother language in official intercourse. Also any acts leading to assimilation were prohibited. The chapter 6 of Constitution - "Political parties", in § 59 stated, that ethnic community can take part on government power via registered political party, if this organization is perceived as the representative of the political will of whole community.² The broadly formulated individual paragraphs of the Constitution supposed adoption of further legal norms, which would implement Constitution into real political situation. The leadership of GP meantime interpreted Constitution as a starting point and not the final goal and declared that Germans living in Slovakia are ready to participate on establishment of "a new order" in line with the principles stated by A. Hitler.

From march 1940 new regulations of GP were adopted . On the basis of these F. Karmasin was elected as a leader of GP for life. This decision was reported to Volsdeutsche Mittelstelle - VoMi (a German office directing the activities of Germans living outside of Germany) and was, on 20. April 1949, confirmed by this institution. Upon his election F. Karmasin expressed his obedience and loyalty to A. Hitler. GP struggled to implement the Nazi programme into every aspect of life of German minority in Slovakia, especially the principle of "Herrenvolk" ("A master race") and thesis that the German minority is an integral part of German nation. GP functioned in the political system of Slovak Republic, however its whole activity was managed from Berlin, directly by chairman of SS, H. Himmler, or via so called Slovak Referate in VoMi. In light of the thesis perceiving Slovak Germans as an integral part of German nation, the fact that members of German minority were Slovak citizens, was ignored by leadership of GP. The leadership of GP refused to obey the Slovak laws and government authorities. One of the main requests of GP was the status of territorial and legal extraterritoriality for the German minority. GP was also a staunch propagator racism, anti-Semitism and repetitiously requested "a solution of the Jewish issue". By the combination of a nationalistic propaganda, exhortations to obedience and open threats, GP succeeded, shortly after creation of Slovak Republic, to include almost all adult members of the German minority into its ranks. Besides propaganda, the important tool in this process was the precise organization and stern discipline enforced on all levels of party structure. F. Karmasin succeeded in establishing an organization, which was, in Slovak political system a unique. GP had an exclusive right to organize and manage various German economic, social sport and cultural associations. As a result, practically all German were included into structures of GP and exploited for goals of Nazi Germany. GP as an official representative of the German community had an important place in political life of Slovakia. It could freely pursue its ideological and political objectives, was entitled to form military units - Freiwillige Schutzstaffel - FS (Militia).

The Slovak Government issued on 27th September 1939 a Decree in regard to FS, no. 240 and three months later, on 21th December 1939 Decree no. 311 in regard to FS and Deutsche Jugend - DJ (German Youth) which stated, that FS and DJ are "according to military principles the organizations in frame of GP".³ Both organizations were led by common person, delegated by Slovak president on the basis of suggestion of F. Karmasin. The activities of FS were concentrated mainly upon the guarding of railway stations, bridges, tunnels and military service in interior, including to chasing deserters and fugitives from Poland, who were transported to POW camps. In March 1940 FS had 5 622 members stationed in 127 localities, on the beginning of 1942 the number of its members increased to 7 500.⁴ The commandant of FS, till his departure th the Eastern front, was W. Donath, after him the leadership was given to commandant of DJ, F. Klug. Besides regular troops of FS, special air, horse and mechanical troops were formed. Elite formations, established in frame of FS, were so called Einsatztruppen - ES. They were formed in May 1940 with the aim to become a crack force of FS and to prepare the most suitable soldiers for service in units of SS. The leadership of GP, during the nationalistic euphoria after year 1939, was able to suppress the dissenting voices from its own ranks and also from ranks of socialists, conservatives and clergy. Outwards, in front of Slovak public, the GP posed as a monolithic force. Each and every German, including individuals who "did not know" that they are Germans was recruited into part and its subordinated organizations. The GP frequently organized marches and torch parades and open anti-Jewish manifestations. These activities were aimed to manifest a strength and determination and

unity of German community. So in Slovakia they organized activities which looked strange and foreign to Slovak environment and were a symbol of "new order" in the world.

After February 14th 1939, the Slovak public perceived the members of German minority, after centuries of co-existence, as a foreign element and carriers of unnatural system. The GP controlled also all periodicals printed in German language and submitted them to detailed censure. The main German newspapers were the *Grenzbote* and *Deutsche Stimmen*. The activities of GP culminated during years 1940-1941, when the Germany controlled almost the whole Europe. In ranks of German minority an euphoric sentiments ruled, combined with god-like reverence for A. Hitler. In April 1942 in connection with the pompous celebration of Hitlers birthday, *Deutsche Stimmen* stated, that "every new Fuhrers accomplishment in Germany, each new event in the new Nazi state is for us a tonic in our fight and is awakening Germans behind the borders of Germany".⁵ During in initial phase of was F. Karmasin was successful in unifying Germans in Slovakia under the leadership of GP. All means were used to build-up a mass party. In January 1940 GP had almost 60 thousand members, on 31 December 1942 the number of registered members reached 63 930.⁶ That means, that almost every adult person of German ethnic origin was recruited. In his New year speech, F. Karmasin proclaimed year 1942 as a "Year of armament" and exhorted all Germans in Slovakia to become a "one armed family, one armed community".⁷ The most exposed areas of German settlement (Bratislava with surroundings, Horná Nitra and Spiš) became also the main bases of GP.

The German Army counted with members of German minority to be recruited into military service. In the end a principle of voluntary entry was adopted, however, this gradually was replaced by strong pressures from GP leaders. Till end of February 1943 6 464 recruits were listed in ranks of military and further recruits were prepared. Three thousands recruits joined units of SS in the first stage and later their number increased.⁸ To the threatening development on fronts A. Hitler reacted by declaration of a total war, which meant a mobilization of the all reserves, including the national minorities. These measures should change unfavorable course of military operations. Following Hitlers declaration, F. Karmasin in April 1943 announced a total inclusion of Germans from Slovakia into military service. On this base, all men in age 16-60 years should have been prepared in case the GP will call them to service. At that time a very strong-handed tactics was necessary to use. in reason to gain further volunteers. With aim to motivate ethnic Germans to join military, A. Hitler issued in May 1943 a decree on basis of which Slovak Germans, serving in military units obtained German citizenship, without loss of Slovak citizenship - so they become dual citizens. This was a fulfillment of GP aspirations, which endeavored to get this. However, this came too late, because the contingent of ethnic Germans suitable for military service was already depleted. In November 1943 F. Karmasin asked the supreme commander of Slovak Army, general F. Čatloš, to allow the recruitment of ethnic Germans also in formations of Slovak Army. The Slovak government succumbed to German pressures and on 7th June 1944 signed with Nazi Germany an agreement, according to which ethnic Germans in Slovak Army were obliged to serve in SS units. The agreement was concluded with the aim "to enable German soldiers with Slovak citizenship to serve in German Army during this war".⁹ According to article 3 of cited agreement soldiers serving in Slovak Army had German nationality if they were "counted" as Germans during the last census in 1940.¹⁰ At the end of June 1944 the ethnic Germans serving in Slovak Army were, on the basis of order of Slovak Ministry of Defense transferred (including reservists in active duty) to units SS. These men were concentrated in Bratislava and on 7th July 1944 transferred to Germany.¹¹

The year 1943 the states of anti-Hitler coalition undertake a military initiative on all fronts. There were growing indication that Germany will loose the war. These developments affected also Slovakia, where ruling Hlinkas Slovak Peoples Party was loosing ground. The broad public was in increased measure indifferent to official propaganda and distanced itself from the regime. Slovak Germans felt initially the war course only marginally. After German victories, which were celebrated, the growing part of German minority members started to realize diminishing fortunes of Nazi war machine. The euphoria was replaced by worries and lethargy. According to report elaborated by a member of Slovak resistance movement, V. Radakovič, on February 1943, "when came to German defeats, and Fuhrer ordered Slovak Germans voluntarily to enlist into military service, many members of German party resigned as Party members...Also cases of desertions of German soldiers from Slovakia from latest military transports were reported".¹² A month later, V. Radakovič reported, that after the period of compulsory entry of almost all Slovak Germans into German Party, lately "the morale in this party considerably decreased in line with the misfortunes of German Army. This is manifested especially by protests during meetings and by worries what happens when Germans will lose the war".¹³

In similar spirit was written a report dispatched by colonel M. Kolpak to London, who stated that members of German minority during the time of Nazi victories behaved provocatively, communicated

exclusively in German language, all of them were wearing the Nazi insignia and at the time of celebrations displayed Nazi flags. However during year 1943 this type of behavior was losing intensity and at the beginning of 1944 Germans, in relations with Slovaks, professed that they are not Nazis. Also in Bratislava, where bombastic show of Nazi adherence was common, at the start of 1944 presentation of fascist symbols receded.¹⁴ The shift in attitudes of Germans noticed also Slovak authorities. The chairman of District Office in Dobšina, in report dealing with ethnic relations, reported "a considerable dissatisfaction with the recruitment of ethnic Germans into units of SS." According to this report "Numerous cases of absence to report for duty occurred".¹⁵ Two months later, the District Office in Dobšina reported, that in activities of German community "a certain lethargy is noticeable. There are no meetings, celebrations, nothing. This ethnic group concentrates on the innermost affairs. It is, in my judgement, because many its members for fears of enlistment into German Army became very shy and are seeking to get themselves out of German Party".¹⁶ In October of the same year the Dobšina District Office reported, that "the decline of this ethnic group is becoming deep and permanent character".¹⁷ A similar development of the situation indicate reports from other regions inhabited by members of German minority. In reports of chairman of District Office in Levoča is stated that German population stopped to salute "Heil Hitler" and is saluting in Slovak language "A good day".¹⁸ The chairman of District Office in Gelnica reported, that "Germans themselves are bereft of any hope of German victory and many German local exponents - initially very vocal - are now trying to depart from public life, or are taking a contrary stand to previous sentiments and are critical to the same thing which they before praised".¹⁹ The chairman of District Office in Poprad in September 1943 reported, that the threatening "development at fronts has an impact upon the attitudes of local population...The self-confidence of many Germans considerably decreased and the most popular segment of public life is Hlinka Party with its moderate program".²⁰ The district Office in Senica in June 1944 also informed, that German community is passive and many its members are trying to get out of German Party.²¹ The negative attitude to military service on large part of ethnic Germans to fight in German Army reported the District Office in Kežmarok. In report from April 1944 is reporting that "among the population rumors are spreading, that military personnel of German nationality will be released from Slovak Army and will be included into German Army. This rumors are causing a considerable uproar and Slovak Germans are not willing to enter ranks of German Army".²² There were cases of refusal to call to service in units SS on part of ethnic Germans in District of Kremnica in July 1944. When these Germans were arrested, this event "caused a great attention among inhabitants of District of Kremnica, who profess the reluctance to take a part on war already lost".²³ In District of Nová Baňa "the ethnic Germans who were transferred to SS units are taking the this service with great reluctance, and are condemning the leadership of GP for selling them out, especially those who should also join army and stay at home".²⁴

A growing reluctance to join army reported F. Karmasin to H. Himmler on August 1944, when he wrote, that "in some villages the Germans released from Slovak Army succumbed to Bolshevik propaganda and escaped to mountains instead join units of SS".²⁵ The option leading to shirk the duty to join German Army was the change of nationality. This fact is mentioned also in report of V. Radakovič, who reported that some members of German minority requested at statistical office to change their nationality from German to Slovak. They justified their request on the grounds of mistake committed by census commissaries.²⁶ The District Office in Kremnica in April 1944 reported, that "there is a considerable degree on nervousness noticeable among members of German minority, because allegedly the German males in age up to 45 years will be drafted into ranks of SS. There is evident a interest to terminate their membership in GP and change of nationality from German to Slovak".²⁷ An occurrence of "a characteristic case of person who reported at last census German nationality and now requested to change his nationality to Slovak" was reported also from Senica.²⁸ During the summer months of 1944 requests of this type were in growing numbers submitted to district offices throughout Slovakia. A specific situation existed in Spiš, where traditionally strong pro-Hungarian sentiments were popular.²⁹ From 1943 a growing number of Spiš Germans proclaimed to be Hungarians. The resignations of membership in GP were also growing and transfer of membership to Hungarian National Party.³⁰ The chairman of District Office in Gelnica, in his report from September 1943 informed, that many ethnic Germans are changing their nationality to Hungarian, especially in Smolník, Smolnícka Huta, Nižný a Vyšný Medzev.³¹ The chairman of District Office in Poprad in January 1944 reported, that many of local Germans who were during the last census "marked as Germans, are requesting to correct the record, with argument, that this was done by mistake".³²

A similar situation existed in District of Levoča, where, according to report, many Germans tried to join the ranks of Hungarian Party, but they were refused.³³ The pro-Hungarian sentiment in Spiš were growing and German Security Service (Sicherheitdienst) in February 1944 reported, that Spiš Germans are divided to two groups - the second group has under German cross Hungarian heart.³⁴ In July 1944 in several towns and villages of Spiš region the Germans openly manifested the reluctance to join the ranks

of the German Army. Upon his visit of Spiš F. Karmasin, denounced this reluctance and proclaimed, that "several miserable creatures are running around and trying to change their nationality".³⁵ He exhorted the German public to show in, according to F. Karmasin, historic moments a loyalty and said that "it was easy to play staunch Germans and national socialists, when victorious fanfares were sounding from radios".³⁶ However, the newspaper Karpathenpost became a focus of anti-Karmasin opposition and exposed the "führer" of Slovak Germans to sharp criticism. The negative attitude against GP F.Karmasin, despite his great effort, could not reverse. Till summer 1944, approximately one thousand members of GP terminated their membership.³⁷ A report in regard to activities of propagandist unit dispatched by Nazi authorities in Prague in November 1944, included statement, that "the spirits of majority of members of German community sank absolutely...which is leading so far that individual Germans are switching their nationality to Slovak as is convenient to them".³⁸ The report cited the "a decrease of German national awareness" in ranks of Slovak Germans and pointed to the fact, that "the GP leadership was unable to led the Slovak Germans to stand which is important for Germany. It seems that only formal attitudes of National Socialist ideology were adopted, and nothing was done for spiritual focus and security of individual parts of German community".³⁹

The drafting document, which ethnic Germans called to German Army received, contained warning that only valid basis for proof of Slovak nationality is so called Attest of nationality issued by Statistical Office of Slovak Republic. This information was based on census from 1940.⁴⁰ The researched archive documents contained no positive reaction to requests for change of nationality, despite relevancy of such requests in some cases. It is necessary to take into consideration, that in several cases the German nationality reported also persons, who in previous times did not adhere to German origin. For illustration is presented a case preserved in "Annals of Slovak national Uprising from village Bušovce", where local writer recorded, that "among Germans approximately 50-60 persons were counted, whose parents did not know German language and who under pressure of several negative circumstances (poverty, lack on national awareness, various dependencies etc.) and especially to the point of madness enhanced aggressiveness of local Germans, lost their nationality".⁴¹ A local teacher in Smolník recorded, that during the census in 1940 Nazi exponents insisted to count every person who speaks German language, as a German. On the basis of this rule, census commissioners arbitrary recorded nationality of individual persons and pressure them to signed the census lists. In reality the inhabitants of this locality were able to communicate in three languages - Slovak, Hungarian and German, irrespective of their nationality, and frequently reported their nationality in dependence on circumstances. lastly, many persons reported German nationality for opportunistic reasons.⁴² The leadership of GP consciously welded the destiny of Slovak Germans with the fortunes of Nazi Germany. According to ideology of GP, the words of German and national Socialist were synonymous. During the tie of World War II against tus formulated policy, with exception of German communists, there were no active resistance from ranks of Slovak Germans. Communists, however, counted only for small minority among members of German minority and had no support from broader strata of German community. A small group of German communists was active in Bratislava, led by F. Zinnbauer.⁴³ They published a German language paper Der Hammer. Stronger positions held communists among German inhabitants of region Horná Nitra - Hauerland. Several illegal communists units operated in this region.⁴⁴ Even F. Karmasin was coerced to admit the existence of communists resistance in Hauerland. In report dispatched to Berlin, F. Karmasin acknowledged this phenomena, but belittled the significance and activities of communists. He acknowledged the existence of communist organizations in two localities and informed, that "Neither in region of Spiš, Bratislava and Kremnica has a problem with communists. In some villages are occurring ridiculous individuals who are saying that they are communists. However, it is a laughing matter. The difficulties were encountered only in region of Hauerland (villages Cajch, Gajdl - presently Malinová, Kľačno in vicinity of Nitrianské Pravno). A violent clutches occurred in these localities with communists. In last days Slovak authorities apprehended several leading perpetrators and these ridiculous occurrences are liquidated".⁴⁵

The growth of anti-fascist activities in Slovakia was monitored by GP with anxiety, because it was clear, that these could threaten German minority. Besides of official German organization, in Slovakia operated secret nazi agents. This activity of German intelligence officers increased since summer of 1944. The German secrets agents were roaming Slovakia and gaining information from members of German minority.⁴⁶ The status of German minority and German - Slovak relations were dramatized by Slovak national Uprising (SNU). The past six years were a period of gradual worsening of Slovak - German relations. The SNU led to open armed struggle. unlike of situation in Czechland, the relations between Slovaks and Germans were, even in period of satellite Slovak Republic relatively good. The deep animosity, characteristic for mutual for Czech - German relations in Slovakia was absent. There were several reasons for it. unlike Germans living in Czechland, Slovak Germans due to their small numbers and geographical heterogeneity were not threat to integrity of Slovakia. Even though during Slovak Republic Slovak Germans occupied in many spheres a privileged position, Nazi German did not interfered

directly into affairs of Slovak "ally" and Slovakia was not occupied by German Army and oppressive foreign was not established which would coarsely represented German yoke as this was in Czechland. In addition, Germany was keen to present Slovakia as a equal ally and an example of functioning and mutually satisfying relation of Germany with a small European nation and in this sense a n example of future arrangement of relation of a new Nazi Europe.

During the World War II the attitudes of members of German minority in Slovakia toward nazi ideology were not stabile. Totalization of of German community, presented by ideologues of Nazism as a result of superiority of German race and proof of Hitlers genius, caused among Slovak Germans a wave of nationalism. However, due to previous developments, this ideology had no deep roots and in many instances it was rather a result of extreme external influences , that a result of natural development. The "Germaness" was a new phenomenon for members of German minority as well as was new for Slovaks, especially in fashion as this new phenomenon was manifested and accentuated. To what degree was German party successful to transfer diversified motley of political preferences, confessions and societal orientations professed by Slovak Germans into unified, stalwarts of National Socialism is today difficult to tell. However, since 1943 a gradual shift in attitudes toward Nazi ideology on part of German population is evident. For decisive majority of German this change came though too late. The approaching front and inevitable entry of Red Army into Slovakia put Slovak Germans into a complicated and difficult situation. The only solution, though drastic, was evacuation. The decisive majority of Germans took this recourse.

Notes

- ¹ In the paper terms "German community", "German minority" are used simultaneously, covering the contemporary usage of term "národná skupina" and presently used term "narodnostná menšina".
- ² Slovenský zákonník, čiastka 41, vydaná 31. júla 1939, ročník (roč.) 1939, strana (s.) 375-384. Ústavný zákon zo dňa 21. júla 1939 o ústave Slovenskej republiky.
- ³ Slovenský zákonník, čiastka 68, vydaná 21. decembra 1939, roč. 1939, s. 604.
- ⁴ Lipták, L.: F. Karmasin opäť na scéne. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry 1962, s. 24.
- ⁵ Deutsche Stimmen, 25. apríla 1942, s. 4.
- ⁶ Slovenský národný archív (SNA) Bratislava, fond (f.) DP 126-37. Citované podľa: Sulaček, J.: Kežmarskí Nemci koncom druhej svetovej vojny. In.: Chalupecký, I. (ed.): Z minulosti Spiša. Ročenka spišského dejepisného spolku v Levoči. II. roč. Spišský dejepisný spolok Levoča. Levoča 1994, s. 37.
- ⁷ Deutsche Stimmen, 3. januára 1942, s. 1.
- ⁸ Lipták, L.: c. d., s. 47.
- ⁹ Slovenský zákonník, čiastka 46, vydaná 3. novembra 1944, roč. 1944, s. 451.
- ¹⁰ Tamže, s. 452.
- ¹¹ Štátny okresný archív (ŠOKA) Žiar nad Hronom so sídlom v Kremnici, f. ONV Nová Baňa 1945-1960, krabica (kr.) 37, prezidiálne (prez.), D1 - 651/44.
- ¹² Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny Slovenského národného povstania 1944 (Dejiny SNP 1944). Zväzok (zv.) 3. Dokumenty. Bratislava: Pravda 1984, s. 164-165.
- ¹³ Tamže, s. 175.
- ¹⁴ Archív Ministerstva vnútra (MV) SR, Levoča, f. B 10, inv. j. 2.
- ¹⁵ Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny SNP 1944. Zv. 3., s. 154.
- ¹⁶ Tamže, s. 171.
- ¹⁷ Tamže, s. 247.
- ¹⁸ Tamže, s. 229.
- ¹⁹ Tamže, s. 307.
- ²⁰ ŠOKA Poprad, f. OÚP D1 - 1/45 prez. Citované podľa: Chalupecký, I. (ed.): Dejiny Popradu. Poprad: Oriens 1998, s. 277.
- ²¹ Štátny oblastný archív (ŠOBA) Bratislava, f. Župa Bratislavská III. 1940-1945, Župný úrad 1940-1945, kr. 54, prez.
- ²² Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny SNP 1944. Zv.3., s. 328.
- ²³ ŠOKA Žiar nad Hronom so sídlom v Kremnici, f. OÚ Kremnica 1923-1945, kr. 65, prez., D1 - 520/44.
- ²⁴ Tamže, f. ONV Nová Baňa 1945-1960, kr. 37, prez, D1 - 651/44.
- ²⁵ Prečan, V. (ed.): Slovenské národné povstanie (SNP). Dokumenty. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry 1965, s. 304.
- ²⁶ Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny SNP 1944. Zv. 3., s. 164.
- ²⁷ ŠOKA Žiar nad Hronom, OÚ Kremnica 1923-1945, kr. č. 64, prez.
- ²⁸ ŠOBA Bratislava, f. Župa Bratislavská III. 1940-1945, Župný úrad 1940-1945, kr. 54, prez.
- ²⁹ To the issues of pro-Hungarian sentiments among the Spiš Germans: Olejník, M.: Transformácia identity spišských Nemcov v závislosti na meniacich sa štátoprávných a sociálnych podmienkach Slovenska v 20. storočí. In: Bačová, V. - Kusá, Z. (eds.): Identity v meniacej sa spoločnosti. Košice: SvÚ

SAV 1997, p. 145-154.

³⁰ Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny SNP 1944. Zv. 3., s. 175.

³¹ Tamže, s. 229.

³² ŠOKA Poprad, f. OÚP D1 - 1/45 prez. Citované podľa: Chalupecký, I. (ed.): c. d. 1998, s. 277.

³³ Plevza, V. (ed.): Dejiny SNP 1944. Zv. 3., s. 229.

³⁴ NA SR, f. 116, 25-1/20, 10/63. Citované podľa: Kováč, D.: Politická aktivita nemeckej menšiny na Slovensku v poslednom období druhej svetovej vojny. In: Bystrický, V - Fano, Š. (eds.): Slovensko na konci druhej svetovej vojny (stav, východiská a perspektivy). Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV 1994, s. 224.

³⁵ Slovenská pravda, 3. augusta 1944, s. 2.

³⁶ Tamže.

³⁷ Lipták, L.: c. d., s. 48.

³⁸ Prečan, V. (ed.): c. d., s. 819.

³⁹ Tamže.

⁴⁰ ŠOBA Levoča, f. OLS Levoča, kr. 13., Tlud 176/47.

⁴¹ ŠOKA Poprad, f. ONV Kežmarok 1945-1948, kr. 3, prez. Kronika národného povstania v Bušovciach v okrese kežmarskom v mesiacoch august, september a október roku 1944.

⁴² ŠOKA Spišská Nová Ves, f. ONV Gelnica 1945-1960, kr. 2, prez., 791/45.

⁴³ Melzer, R. (ed.): Erlebte Geschichte. Rückschau auf ein Menschenalter Karpatendeutschum. Teil 2: Von 1939 bis 1945 und wie es weiterging. Wien: Karpatendeutsche Landsmannschaft in Österreich 1996, s. 501.

⁴⁴ Na ich čele stáli J. Luprich, P. Minnich, obaja z Nitrianskeho Pravna, ďalej L. Hogh-Kreml z Hornej Štubne a Š. Zimmermann z Kľačna.

⁴⁵ Prečan V. (ed.): Slovenské národné povstanie (SNP). Nemci a Slovensko 1944. Dokumenty. Bratislava: Epoque 1970, s. 152.

⁴⁶ Jablonický, J.: Povstanie bez legiend. Bratislava: Obzor 1990, s. 178.