

Forced Soldiers II



People of Gorenjska and Koroška Mobilized into
the German Army 1943–1945

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Colophon

Forced Soldiers II – People of Gorenjska and Koroška Forcibly Mobilized into the German Army 1943–1945

Po sili vojak II: prisilno mobilizirani Gorenjci in Korošci v nemško vojsko 1943–1945

Electronic edition

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Kranj, 2021

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Introduction

The second instance of the exhibition *Forced Soldiers* cannot say everything that needs to be said about this major topic of the Second World War and Second Yugoslavia. In the three decades since the first exhibition, numerous memoirs have been published and many statements of those forcibly mobilised have been recorded, several scientific articles were published, a documentary was released and more. In 2001, Jože Dežman transformed the available resources, primarily diaries and memoirs of those forcibly mobilized, into an anthropological sketch of the generation. Then, the scientific review of the forcibly mobilized in Gorenjska was taken over by Monika Kokalj Kočever who partly completed it with her PhD thesis and its publication in 2017. For the exhibition, she selected wearable items, documents and photos from her collections. The sources for those mobilized from Koroška were reviewed and collated by Marjan Linasi. The collector and researcher Uroš Košir presents typical equipment of units containing those mobilized from Slovenia, and a precious collection of items, documents and photos that illustrate the lives and fates of those forcibly mobilized.



Planko Brance
Katerburg № 16
Finland

Spamny i nemiske
vojaki 1443-28-4
Lejst'lg
(Folost'no)

Stanko Brane

Mitterberg No 16

Komanda

Spominj in nemške
vojske 1943 - 28-4

Leipzig

(Folostava)

Wooden suitcase that belonged to Stanko Brane from Srednji Vrh with the inscription: »Memento from the German Army 1943-28-4 Leipzig (sad)«.
Stored by Uroš Košir.



Wooden suitcase that Janez Kožuh took with him to the German Army. Stored by family Kožuh. (above)

Identity disc or recognition sign - »Erkennungsmarke (EKM)« that belonged to Janez Kožuh (oval metal disc carried by soldiers around their neck, both sides were the same, displaying the unit, register and blood type). Stored by family Kožuh. (right)



2./Stammkop.

Gren. Ers. Btl. 61

Gren. Ers. Btl. 61

2./Stammkop.

848



Idorshich
yohann

*Military identity document (Soldbuch) with the name and surname Germanized
– Janez Kožuh became Johann Koschuch (page 12, 15).*

Soldbuch

zugleich Personalausweis

Nr.

2040

für

den

Grenadier

(Dienstgrad)

ab

1. 4. 44

(Datum)

Gefreiter

(neuer Dienstgrad)

ab

ab

Johann Kaschick

(Vor- und Zuname)

Beschriftung und Nummer der
Erkennungsmarke

7848

2. Stamm Rp./Gren. Inf. Btl. 51

Blutgruppe

0

Gasmaskengröße

2

Wehrnummer

24/8/7/5

Klein

People of Gorenjska Forcibly Mobilized into the German Army

Almost every Slovene family has at least one family member who was forcibly mobilized into the German Army during the Second World War. Our family from Gorenjska is no exception. Uncle Milan, born in 1926, was forcibly mobilized in August 1943. His older brothers Ivan, Viktor and Jože joined the partisans to avoid the German mobilization. The small baker's apprentice Milan was left at home because he was weak and with sick legs completely unsuitable for long marches and rapid movement in partisan units. Nevertheless, the German commission at the conscription centre in Kamnik determined that he was suitable for the German Army. Milan was sent to the state labour camp in Breitenwaida near Vienna and from there to his military unit in France. In June 1944, he found himself in battle near the town of Brehal in Normandy. He was captured by British troops and taken to Woodhouselee Prisoner-of-War Camp near Edinburgh, from where he returned to his homeland with comrades who had joined the Partisan 5th Overseas Brigade. At the end of the War, only three of the four brothers returned home. The family still doesn't know where Ivan's grave is.

History of research, publications, exhibitions

The topic of forced mobilization into the German Army is not only a Slovene topic, but exists also in Alsace, Lorraine, Luxembourg, part of Belgium and Poland; families at home tell stories of their fathers and uncles who had to serve the German occupier.

In Slovenia, for many years, forced mobilization into the German Army was mostly talked about only in the domestic environment and among comrades-in-arms. In 1991, Alojzij Žibert, a forcibly mobilized soldier and later long-time president of the Association of those Forcibly Mobilized into the German Army, published his memoirs of the Second World War, which were in fact the first memoirs of a soldier forcibly mobilized into the German Army published in Slovenia. With the establishment of associations in Celje, Kranj and Maribor in the early 1990s, the mobilized began to officially collect data on forced conscripts and write documentation for obtaining the status of victims of war and for receiving at least indirect personal satisfaction and recognition of the state that those forcibly mobilized were victims of the German occupier.

Männer und Frauen von Oberkrain!

Auf der Grosskundgebung in Krainburg am Sonntag, den 27. September 1942 an der Tausende von Oberkrainer teilnahmen und ein begeistertes Bekenntnis zum Grossdeutschen Reich ablegten, hat der GAULEITER und REICHSTATTHALTER folgende für die Zukunft Oberkrains bedeutsame PROKLAMATION erlassen:

PROKLAMATION

an die Bevölkerung von Oberkrain

Durch die Schuld verbrecherischer kommunistischer Elemente und ihrer Helfershelfer ist grosses Unheil über Oberkrain hereingebrochen. Die bolschewistischen We-lagerer und Mörder — zum grösseren Teil landfremdes Gesindel — rechneten damit, die Bevölkerung mit Lügen und Versprechungen ködern und das Land in Aufruhr versetzen zu können. Wer ihnen nicht gutwillig folgte, wurde gepresst oder gemordet. Zerstörungen, Brandzungen, ausgeraubte Geschäfte und Gehöfte, das Blut vieler hingemordeter Männer und Frauen sind die überall sichtbaren Spuren des kommunistischen Terrors. In dieser Not stellte sich, wie schon oft seit tausend Jahren, der Deutsche als Schutzwehr vor das Oberkrainische Land. Obwohl Millionen deutsche Soldaten im Osten und Westen, Norden und Süden Europas den grössten Entscheidungskampf der Geschichte in siegreichen Schlachten zu Lande, Wasser und in der Luft kämpften, hat der Führer über meine Bitte die zur Niederschlagung des bolschewistischen Blutterrors notwendigen Kräfte in das Land geschickt. **Der grösste Teil der Banden ist vernichtet, der Rest zersprengt und flüchtig. Die Bevölkerung** aber hat, von bedauerlichen Ausnahmen abgesehen, **in zunehmendem Masse sich zur Ordnung und zum Gesetz des Deutschen Reiches bekannt.** Die anfänglich passive und abwartende Haltung ist vielfach durch Mithilfe bei der Feststellung der feindlichen Schlupfwinkel und durch die Bereitstellung zu aktiver Abwehr abgelöst worden. Ich erblicke darin Anzeichen eines **Gerinnungswandels**, von dem ich hoffe, das er anhält. Die Erfolge der deutschen Verbände einerseits und die positive Haltung weiterer Bevölkerungskreise andererseits versetzen mich nun in die Lage, weitere Voraussetzungen für den Aufbau in Oberkrain zu schaffen.

Die Herstellung normaler Verhältnisse durch Aufhebung einschränkender Polizeiverfügungen ist eingeleitet.

Strafmassnahmen wie insbesondere Zwangs-Aussiedlungen sind angesichts der eingetretenen Ruhe nicht mehr nötig und gelten daher mit heutigem Tage als abgeschlossen.

Möge uns künftighin niemand mehr zu solchen härtesten Massnahmen zwingen! Als Zeichen meines besonderen Vertrauens habe ich beschlossen, alle Oberkrainer, die sich als Mitglieder des Kärntner Volksbundes angemeldet und in den vergangenen Monaten als positive und staatsreue Elemente erwiesen haben,

mit Wirkung vom 1. Oktober 1942 in den Volksbund aufzunehmen und ihnen die „Staatsangehörigkeit auf Widerruf“ zu verleihen.

Sie übernehmen damit dieselben Rechte, die alle **Bürger des Grossdeutschen Reiches** geniessen und sind diesen **in jeder Beziehung gleichgestellt**. Gleiche Rechte bedingen gleiche Pflichten! Als Angehörige des Grossdeutschen Reiches sind die Oberkrainer verpflichtet zur

Treue gegenüber Führer und Reich, zum Gehorsam gegenüber den vom Führer bestellten Organen, zur Bekämpfung aller staatsfeindlichen Bestrebungen, zur Leistung des Wehrdienstes und der Arbeitsdienstpflicht, zur Beobachtung der Gesetze und Verordnungen, zur Mitarbeit auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens.

Als Bewohner des Grenzgaues Kärnten verpflichte ich alle hier Ansässigen zu **besonderer Wachsamkeit gegenüber reichsfeindlichen Bestrebungen, zu Tapferkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft in der Verteidigung** der Südmark des Reiches, zu **Eifer und Fleiss**, bei den Bemühungen, mit der **Sprache** und den **Einrichtungen des nationalsozialistischen Grossdeutschen Reiches vertraut** zu werden.

Wer diese Pflichten erfüllt, wird hier im Schutze des Reiches leben können. Im steht über seine teure engere Heimat hinaus das ganze grosse Reich der deutschen Nation als Vaterland offen. Es kennen zu lernen und ihm an irgend einer Stelle dienen zu dürfen, wird Euer Stolz und das Glück Eurer Kinder sein. **Oberkrain wird teilnehmen an den kommenden Aufbauwerken des Führers, durch Regulierung und Verbesserungen** werden die Schäden der Vergangenheit ausgeglichen, eine **gesunde Existenz der Bauern, Gewerbetreibenden, Arbeiter und Angestellten** wird gesichert sein.

Strengste Strafe aber trifft denjenigen, der als Staatsfeind die Treue bricht und die Pflicht verletzt. **Jeder Schuldige** und mit ihm die durch dieselbe **staatsabträgliche Gesinnung verbundenen Familien- und Hausgenossen werden aus dem Lande entfernt**. Sie haben ihr Gut, in schweren Fällen ihr Leben verwirkt. **Auf jede Gewalttat steht der Tod.** Auch **versteckte Gegnerschaft, heimliche Sabotage oder unterirdische Wühlarbeit** werden nicht geduldet werden. Wer davon Kenntnis hat und schweigt, macht sich mitschuldig. Wer **feige abseits steht**, wo es gilt durch vereinigte Kraft räuberischen Überfall abzuwehren, ist **nicht würdig, dieses Land zu bewohnen.**

Damit, Oberkrainer und Oberkrainerinnen, ist Euer Weg klar. Es liegt an Euch, ob ihr ihn begeht. Nach Monaten schwerer Bedrängnis und bitteren Leides für viele von Euch tretet ihr mit heutigem Tage in ein gesichertes Rechtsverhältnis im Rahmen des Grossdeutschen Reiches. Die Zeit der Ungewissheit und Unsicherheit ist vorbei. Eure Existenz ist mit dem Schicksal des Reiches fest verbunden. Eure Rechte und Pflichten als Staatsbürger sind durch diese Proklamation klar umrissen. Ich verpflichte mich feierlich, für die Einhaltung dieser Bestimmungen zu sorgen, im Guten wie im Bösen. Möge Glück und Segen für Oberkrain daraus erströmen.

Krainburg, am 27. September 1942

Der Chef der Zivilverwaltung
gez. **RAINER**
Gauleiter und Reichsstatthalter

Thirty years have passed since the first exhibition on the forced mobilization of Slovenes into the German Army in 1990 which was opened in Celje and Kranj. It was prepared by colleagues Jože Vurcer from the Museum of Recent History of Celje and Dr. Jože Dežman from the Gorenjska Museum. For the first time, they museologically presented the forced mobilization of Slovenes into the German Army and gave the Slovene public an insight into the fates of tens of thousands of Slovene men during the Second World War. Even I, who was a museum trainee at the Gorenjska Museum at the time, remember how difficult it was to obtain the small number of objects and photographs because people were very distrustful. But the exhibition had an incredible response. People literally flocked to it and we all knew that there was a significant shift in the knowledge and acceptance of rather silenced events from the history of the Second World War in Slovenia. The response to the first official meeting of former German conscripts in Kranj at that time was also extraordinary. The men forcibly mobilized into German Army were addressed by the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. France Bučar.

Expert presentations of research of the total number and fate of forced mobilized in Slovenia have been taking place since 1992, when the first expert conference on mobilization into the German Army was organized in Maribor by the Association of Slovenes Mobilized into the German Army 1941-1945. Since then, several consultations, presentations and round tables have been organized, at which, in addition to experts, the mobilized themselves presented their life stories during the war. Several

In the summer of 1942, the Germans started a campaign of terror (persecuting partisans and partisan collaborators, mass shootings of hostages and exiling relatives of partisans and hostages to Germany) to quell the resistance. In a grand meeting in Kranj on 27th September, 1942, the regional leader Friedrich Rainer awarded people of Gorenjska temporary citizenship and announced that this included »military duty«. Stored by Gorenjska Museum. (left)

In January, 1943, the regional leader threatened that all who did not perform »their duties in the German Military or Reich Labour Services« would see that their »relatives in accordance to my announcement will be most severely punished.« Deserters were facing death penalty, and their relatives could be exiled to Germany. Stored by Gorenjska Museum. (page 22, 23)

books were published, the most important works being *The Mobilization of Gorenjska men into the German Army 1943-1945*, published in 1999, *The German Mobilization of Slovenes in the Second World War in 2001* and *The Forced Mobilization in Styria in 2003*.

In Gorenjska, Dr. Jože Dežman started researching the topic of mobilization and established contacts with those who were forcibly mobilized, and also published basic works related to mobilization in Gorenjska. It was only in 2012 that the topic, which until then had been researched and presented more or less in unrelated Slovene local contexts, obtained international scope. In autumn 2012, international conferences on forced mobilization into the German Army in the occupied countries: Alsace, Lorraine, Luxembourg, three districts in Belgium, part of the former Czechoslovakia, in so called annexed eastern areas of Poland and in Slovene Styria, Upper Carniola-Gorenjska, Carinthia were organized in Strasbourg and Ljubljana.

Experts from all over Europe presented the latest findings, and a joint international exhibition was opened at the new museum in Schirmeck, Alsace, where the European mobilization in the German Army and the specifics of individual countries were presented. In 2004, I started systematically collecting testimonies of German conscripts and started oral history collection at the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia (MNZS), and in 2005 a documentary was filmed on the basis of 43 video testimonies, which received positive reviews and repeated broadcast on national television. Already in 2005, we prepared a draft project of international cooperation within the framework of the Culture 2000 tenders, but at that time foreign institutions did not respond. Guy Wilson, the then director of ICOMAM, the International Association of Military Museums and weapons collections, answered in a short e-mail that the issue of forced mobilization into the German Army in Europe was still taboo. Despite this international setback, the museum continued to collect data on those mobilized by Germany. Associations and individuals began to show trust and affection, as evidenced by the donated material and the entire fund of censuses and materials of members of associations of mobilized Slovenes,

handed over by the League of Associations of Slovenes Mobilized into the German Army 1941-1945 and especially the Association of People of Gorenjska Mobilized into the Regular German Army during 1943-1945.

Due to the importance of studying forced mobilization into the German Army, statistical surveys and attempts to find out the actual number of forcibly mobilized, the MNZS prepared a documentation software MoBiL2008 in 2008, which is intended for entering and updating data on Slovenes mobilized into the regular German Army. The software allows one to enter, change and delete data. A special part of the program is a wide selection of file formats and printing or saving data according to the selected criteria. The data fields are: name, surname, German surname, father's name, mother's name, date of birth, place of birth, residence before conscription, last address, date of conscription, service in the German RAD, in military units, location of unit, location of service, wounded, destiny, decorated, deserted, emigrated, remained in emigration, source of data. The software enables searching by all enrolment fields, the regional division is also important - Gorenjec, Štajerec, Korošec. So far, 14,648 people have been entered with more or less complete data. The data are being supplemented and we are continuing with the entries. The list is also updated by studying and collecting documentation and personal items in the field. Until 2010, two collaborators worked on the program, and for the last ten years, data has been collected and entered by one curator. She presented the program at the international conference on forced mobilization in Ljubljana in October 2012.

The MNZS regularly includes data and life stories of conscripts in exhibitions. Testimonies are also represented at the permanent exhibition Slovenes in the 20th Century and in temporary exhibitions, in publications and in the radio program My Story on Radio Ognjišče. Stories and personal items of those forcibly mobilized are collected, recorded, documented, presented and stored in the collections Personal Objects and Documents, Forced Mobilization in the German Army and Oral History in MNZS. Audio and video testimonials are stored on various media in the Oral History collection. The MNZS also cooperates with private collectors.

KUNDMACHUNG

In meiner Proklamation vom 27. September 1942 habe ich allen aufbauwilligen und friedliebenden Bewohnern Oberkrains die gleichen Rechte und Pflichten, wie sie alle deutschen Staatsbürger geniessen, zugesichert. Dazu gehört auch die Dienstpflicht in der deutschen Wehrmacht und im Reichsarbeitsdienst.

Wer sich daher dieser Pflicht entzieht und es vorzieht, auf leere Versprechungen von Banditen und Räufern zu hören, beweist, dass er sich gegen meinen Aufruf stellt und den Frieden seiner Heimat sabotiert. Er verfällt daher mit seinen Angehörigen im Sinne meiner Proklamation der strengsten angedrohten Strafe.

Wer gegen seinen Willen von den Banditen gezwungen wird, sich gegen diese verschworene Pflicht zu stellen, dem ist Straffreiheit dann zugesichert, wenn er die erste sich bietende Gelegenheit benützt, um diesem Zwang zu entweichen. Andernfalls verfallen er und seine Angehörigen der gleichen Strafe.

Klagenfurt, den 8. Jänner 1943.

Der Chef der Z

Rai

RAZGLAS

V svojem proglasu od 27. septembra 1942 sem dal vsemu sodelovanju voljnemu in miroljubnemu prebivalstvu Gorenjske enake pravice in dolžnosti, ki jih uživajo vsi nemški državljani. K temu spada tudi službena dolžnost pri nemški armadi in državni delovni službi.

Kdor se torej odtegne tej dolžnosti in da več na prazne obljube banditov in roparjev, dokazuje, da je proti mojemu pozivu, in da sabotira miru svoje domovine. Vsak tak bo s svojci v smislu moje proklamacije najstrožje kaznovan.

Kdor bo proti svoji volji prisiljen od banditov, da prelomi zapriseženo dolžnost, bo kazni oproščen le v slučaju, če porabi prvo priliko, da se tej sili izogne. V nasprotnem slučaju bo zadela njega in svojce ista kazen.

Zivilverwaltung

ner

The basis for studying the topic of forced mobilization in Gorenjska and the preparation of statistical data was the material of the League of Associations of those Mobilized into the German Army 1941-1945, which is kept by the MNZS. More information is also stored in the data of Information service for relatives of fallen former members of the Wehrmacht, the Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht in Berlin (WASt), which has been a branch of the State Archives since the beginning of 2019. They keep basic information about German Army recruits in individual files. These are already digitized.

In addition to researching the data of the League and Associations of those Forcibly Mobilized, the study included a review of the material of the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, namely the material of the Carinthian People's Union (KVB), armed units of the KVB, NSDAP, Gendarmerie stations etc.; a lot of information, especially on recruits, is in the archives of the German provincial councillors. In the past, a strict selection of documents had to have been made, however, as the archives are rather sparse. Archives of IX Partisan Corps, archives of individual detachments and partisan city commands are important for the data on deserters from the German Army to partisan units. There are only a few documents of the 5th Overseas Brigade preserved. The National Archives in London keep documents about Slovenes in various prisoner-of-war camps, but we have not yet been able to find an archive of prisoner-of-war camps in Scotland, where the people of Gorenjska were and which would also link to the 5th Overseas Brigade. For the post-War history, the archives of the Local People's Committees, which are kept by the Historical Archives of Ljubljana - ZAL or its units are very interesting, however, there was an extraordinary censorship and removal of material. The post-war interrogations of former forced mobilized are preserved in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, namely in the former archives of the RSNZ (Republic Secretariat of Interior).



Leaving for the Reich Labour Service and the German Army, Kranj, 29th March, 1943. Preserved by MNZS. (page 25, 29, 30)

Post-War censuses of the Red Cross, which was supposed to compile lists of conscripts, could not be obtained. For data on returns through repatriation databases in Slovenia, an already computerized list of returnees kept at the Institute of Contemporary History is statistically important. Data on the fallen were also compared with the list of the Institute of Contemporary History and also with the list from the Gorenjska Museum, prepared by Dr. Jože Dežman and colleagues. Interviews were also an important source of data on recruits.

The study of the German Army, its organization, positioning and renaming of units was mostly done by the German military historian and archivist Georg Tessin, who published in his books the best overview of German units. In recent years, however, many German authors studying the German Army have published several fundamental works.

Given the number of active participants, only a few autobiographical testimonies of those forcibly mobilized have been published. In the search of Slovene databases, we come across only 52 published testimonies of those forcibly mobilized into the German Army. Most of them were published between 1991 and 1995, when the group gained the status of victims of war violence, which was also an important turning point for the individual and collective memory and self-awareness of the group. Most of the commemorative publications were self-published after 2000.

In 2017, the MNZS prepared a travelling exhibition on forced mobilization in the German Army in Gorenjska, which presaged a more extensive exhibition in 2019 at the Gorenjska Museum. Unlike the collection of items for the exhibition in 1990, when curators managed to obtain only a few photographs and personal items, it now turns out that a lot of material and personal items of forced recruits have been preserved. Most of them have been kept by the children and grandchildren of the mobilized, who experienced the fate of their fathers and grandfathers as family members and without being fully aware of the difficult experience and part of what their relatives actually were. The second generation or the grandchildren want as much information

as possible about their grandfathers, whom they got to know through the preserved photographs in the broader perspective of the Second World War. That is why the objects collected in the exhibition also speak of the wider histories of families.

Fieldwork includes collecting remnants of the War as well as discovering the fates of individuals and learning about family stories. Likewise, many war letters represent a preserved item and at the same time signify the soldier's bond with his family. Many times they are a reflection of the situation at the front and the related mood of the soldier, who was comforted by the thought of home which gave him support in difficult moments. The letters thus represent more than just written paper - the soldiers often drew strength for survival from the encouraging words of the relatives, and it was precisely because of this emotional power that the families kept these letters.

Basic facts about forced mobilization

After the beginning of the Second World War in Slovenia on 6th April, 1941 and the division of the territory, the German occupier established the civil administration in Lower Styria and in the occupied areas of Carniola and Carinthia, at so called southern Carinthia. This administrative unit consisted of six former Gorenjska districts, later transformed into three districts and the Dravograd district, whose municipalities were annexed to the Volšperk and Velikovec districts. The territory belonged to the XVIIIth military district. As early as 24th May, 1941, the denationalization organization Carinthian People's Union (KVB) was founded and almost the entire population got involved. A racial and political review was carried out and on this basis people from Gorenjska applied for membership in the KVB. Only German citizens received final membership, while those from Gorenjska received temporary membership. In Lower Styria, citizenship was finally regulated in the spring of 1942, and in Gorenjska only in the autumn of 1942. In the summer of 1941, according to the German model and following similar arrangements in the occupied lands with civil administration in Lower Styria and South Carinthia, Wehrmannschaft units subordinated to SA Südmark

group were established. After the organizational establishment and appointment of leaders, the registration of Gorenjska men aged 18 to 45 took place until October 1941. Although according to the decree on the establishment of SA-Wehrmannschaft units from 1939 service was voluntary, in Gorenjska it was presented as a duty and obligation.

The conscripts looked for various options to avoid serving, which was especially true for workers employed in the armaments industry, firefighters, and railroad workers. In contrast to the Wehrmannschaft in Styria, the Gorenjska units performed only paramilitary training, participated in various events and raised funds for various formations and groups. The members also did not carry weapons.

The leaders and deputies were trained at the school for leaders in Rogaška Slatina, together with the Styrians. By the spring of 1942, the number of them in Gorenjska did not exceed 17,000 men, and the largest number mentioned was 28,000.





According to the SA hierarchical system, the Wehrmannschaft men were included in the »Wehrmannschaftsbrigade Nordkrain«, which was renamed the »Wehrmannschaftsbrigade Oberkrain« in March 1942. From early spring, the Wehrmannschaft men were included in various local guard units, in the protective police, militia and emergency technical assistance, many of whom were also recruited into the labour service. As a result, the number dropped by thousands. On 1st January, 1942, the Nazi party (NSDAP) was founded in Gorenjska. As early as June 1942, the leadership of the NSDAP in Carinthia suggested that it was necessary to find men among the Wehrmannschaft who would become members of the NSDAP departments - SA, SS, NSKK or NSFK. It was already foreseen how many units would be established.

In the summer of 1942, the Wehrmannschaft units were granted leave until 15th September to take part in domestic farm work. Then the leadership extended the leave until 10th October, when the Wehrmannschaft was disbanded. In March 1942 volunteers for the Waffen SS mountain units were already being gathered in Gorenjska, but the response to the second inspection in November 1942 was very poor.

On 7th July, 1942, Gauleiter Dr. Friedrich Rainer introduced the so called duty to serve in the Reich Labour Service or Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD) and military duty. The orders were published in the Official Gazette. At a large event in Kranj on 27th September 1942, he granted people of Gorenjska citizenship on probation. He also announced that branches of the Nazi party would be established on 10th October. The transition of former Wehrmannschaft units to SA units was very slow after the dissolution of the Wehrmannschaft, as they were not yet German citizens and could only be documented in SA units as Wehrmannschaft men. With the conscription of former Wehrmannschaft men into the German Army, SA units were never strengthened to the number of the former Gorenjska Wehrmannschaft, and in February 1943 the SA-Standarte Oberkrain numbered only 1,165 men.

In October 1944, »Volkssturm« units were also established in Gorenjska. All men aged 16 to 60 years were included. The training took place under the supervision of SA. Only German citizens and those with German citizenship on probation were allowed to join the units. Self-defense units, so called Selbstschutz, were supposed to be the basis for the establishment of SS units. Gorenjska was never formally included in the Third Reich for various reasons, but with the granting of citizenship, the same laws came into force for the inhabitants of Gorenjska as in the territory of native Germany. Thus, the military registration offices, which were established in December 1941, called on the municipal offices to prepare records of the men to be drafted into the German Army. In Gorenjska, three military registration offices were established, in Kranj, Radovljica and Kamnik. Recruitment headquarters were set up to review recruits according to records.

From November 1942, conscriptions of men born from 1916 to 1926 took place, then recruiting of those born in 1923 and 1924 started, and finally in August 1943 they called up those born in 1926 to join the RAD. The first to be conscripted were men born in 1923 and 1924, they were sent to RAD camps in January 1943. The last to leave were recruits born in 1926, but throughout 1943 and also in 1944 the conscription of those whose conscription was postponed for various reasons took place, most often because they were employed in armaments factories, or other war critical industry. The German occupier mobilized eleven years worth of soldiers, but then the mobilization of the following years was stopped, only German citizens were called up. Those who had already served in the army did not have to go to RAD.

People of Gorenjska served in the RAD within the XVIII. military district. They were in the RAD departments together with Austrians, and were often looked down upon because of their ignorance of the language, but their elders forbade them to speak it. It was specifically emphasized that they are in the units ex officio and not voluntarily. Those conscripts who cared for families were also able to apply for family support ranging from 20 to 80 RM. After six months of service in the RAD, conscripts were sent to various reserve military units, where they were trained to

fight at the front. Already at the time of recruitment they were given a military booklet, which was kept in the unit, so called Wehrpass, and on arrival in the military units, the Soldbuch, which each soldier had with him. Most Gorenjska soldiers were sent to the eastern front.

The first partisan units in Gorenjska were established in July 1941. Against their activities, the German authorities sent reinforced police units. In January 1942, about 5,000 men from various formations were engaged to fight the partisans. In June 1942, an extensive anti-partisan offensive named Encian began and lasted until the fall of 1942. In response to partisan attacks, the occupying forces exiled their families and burned villages. From March to October 1942, 1,858 people were exiled and 474 hostages were shot. At the end of December 1942, there were only 309 partisans in Gorenjska. But individual partisan units began to mobilize as early as December 1942. With the arrival of newcomers who avoided German mobilization, the number of Gorenjska partisans at the beginning of 1943 increased to 500 to 600. Gauleiter Dr Friedrich Rainer, announced in a proclamation dated 8th January 1943, that if the conscript did not respond to the call up, his family would be expelled for disobedience and his property confiscated. Thus, conscripts chose to go into the military units rather than expose their families. In order to protect the families, however, those who decided to go to the partisans agreed with the unit to stage the departure as a forced mobilization.

The total number of those forcibly mobilized exceeded 11,000. The highest rank that the people of Gorenjska were able to achieve was the rank of Ober Gefreiter. Depending on the rank, they were assigned to the 16th or 15th pay group, which meant 30 to 36 Reichsmarks (RM) of monthly payment. The highest decoration achieved by the Gorenjska man was the iron cross of the first degree, which was awarded by the army for special courageous acts above military duty. Most soldiers, however, received a black wounded badge, which they received for wounds in one or two battles. Because the material that would allow us an insight into life on the front is limited, we were only able to obtain a small number of preserved documents. The soldiers were in contact with their families mainly through

letters, and some came to visit the relatives in the RAD and in the rearguard units. Many times, soldiers were given furlough just before leaving for the front. More than 1,700 Gorenjska men died on the battlefields and in captivity, many of them were Anglo-American or Soviet POWs. More than 2,000 Gorenjska men deserted, mostly during leave, which they could mostly use only north of the Drava river. Domestic gendarmerie and the Gestapo took part in the investigation of the desertions, and the unit, the local officer, the local police office, the unit's home barracks, the military district headquarters, the state police criminal office and the divisional court were also informed. The commander of SIPO and SD in Bled issued a warrant for the fugitive. The most desertions occurred in the autumn of 1944.

Among the Slovene POWs captured at the Normandy front, as many as 3,000 Slovenes were gathered at the Woodhouselee prisoner-of-war camp in Scotland and decided to return to their homeland. At the end of December 1944, they were transported in convoys to Gravina, Italy, where the 5th Partisan Overseas Brigade had already been formed. The unit then went to Split and across Velebit in Croatia. At Gospič, they clashed with Ustasha units, and reached Slovenia on 17th April, 1945. In Kolomna in the Soviet Union, Slovene, Serbian and Croatian prisoners of war established the 1st Yugoslav Brigade. There were more than 900 Slovenes among the fighters. They came to Yugoslavia in October 1944 and then lost a large number of fighters in the fighting. Later, also the Tank Brigade and the 2nd Yugoslav Brigade were established in Kolomna.

Many conscripts deserted at the front and joined the liberation movements across Europe. Most of them joined the resistance in France. More than a thousand managed to desert and join partisan units in Slovenia; they were mostly sent to the XXXI. Division which included more than 10 percent of former German soldiers. The deserters kept on joining the partisan units until the spring of 1945. About 360 of them also joined the Gorenjska self-defense. Most of these were for a short time with the partisans at first. Data on integration of former conscripts into Chetnik units are also collected.

Local KVB groups received notifications about their members in the military, and kept track of the situation for months. At the same time, they also took care of the occasional supply of soldiers at the front. Unfortunately, there is very little material preserved in this area and it would be extremely valuable to show the numerical state and situation. The soldiers' greetings to the relatives were published in the Karavanken Bote newspaper, which was the KVB newspaper, as well as in the Heimatgruss newspaper, which began publishing for soldiers at the front in November 1943.

At the end of the War, the former forcibly mobilized soldiers into the German Army were also included in the amnesty decree of 3rd August 1945. After the end of the war, they were returning from various prisoner-of-war camps until the mid-1950s. They firstly had to report to the repatriation camp where they were interrogated, and at their release they got so called objava, a proclamation proving their status. After coming home they had to report to the local offices.

After the War, the status of a forcibly mobilized man depended on the situation in the close home environment. Many of them were treated as second-class citizens, had problems with schooling, employment, obtaining credit, and were interrogated for several years, at least until the 1970s. After the War, former German soldiers were repeatedly listed by both the Home Office and the Red Cross, but no summary list has been preserved, and there are very few materials of the local offices kept in the archives. Those forcibly mobilized had no rights, and many of them had no citizenship rights for many years. It was especially difficult for many disabled people who did not have official war status. Already in the 1950s, groups of former mobilized were formed to help each other and looked for opportunities for recognition of their status. The state of Yugoslavia was not on their side and also hindered cooperation with Germany and the possibility of Slovene conscripts receiving German annuities or assistance. It was not until 1991 that several associations of Slovenes mobilized into German Army were established, namely in Celje, Kranj and Maribor, which in 1995 were connected into the Association

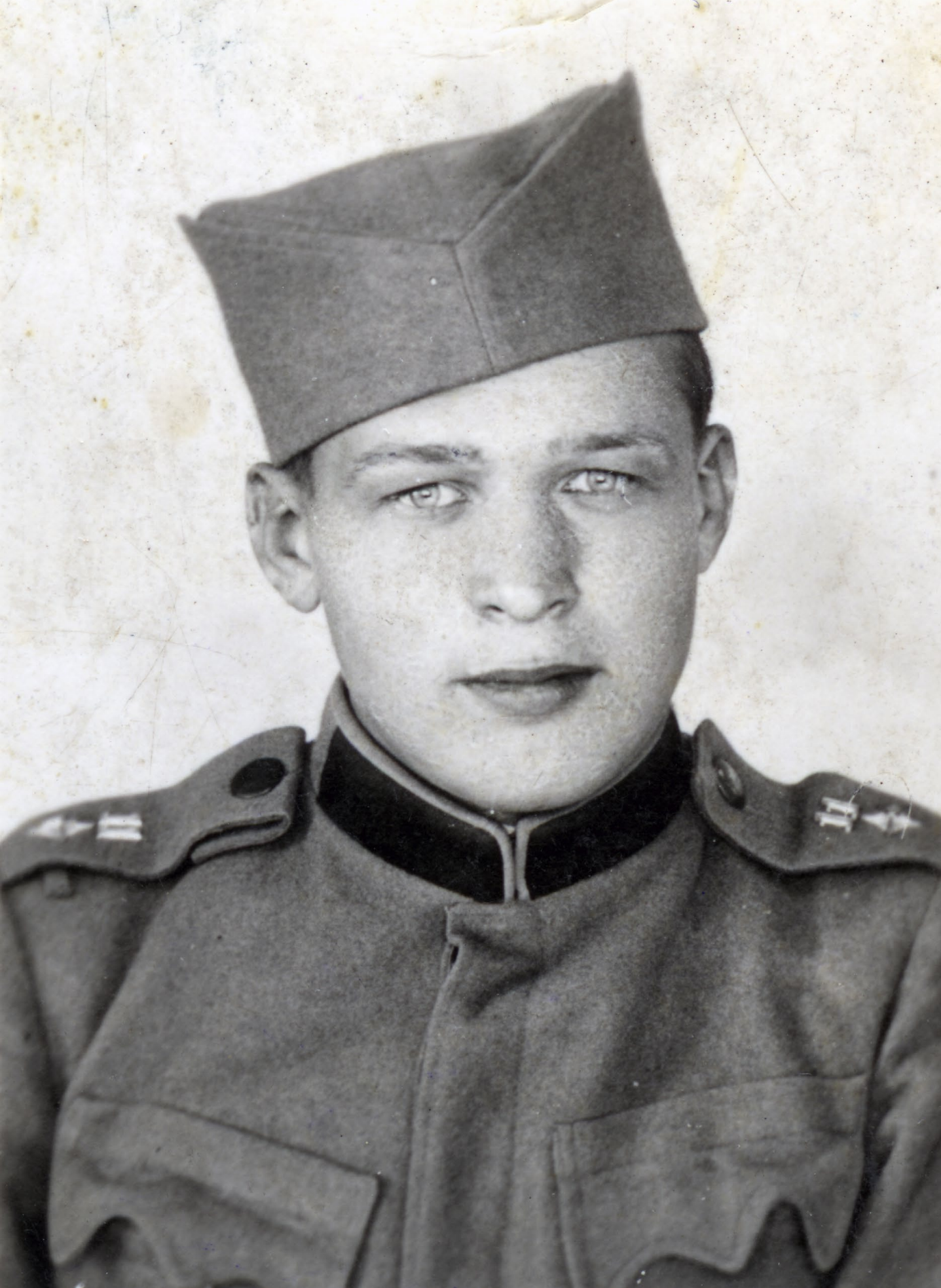
of Slovenes Mobilized into German Army in 1941-1945. In the same year, the mobilized were also included in the Victims of War Violence Act and were finally recognized as victims of war violence, thus earning them an annuity from 2010. The historians began to deal with the topic of forced mobilization in the mid-1980s. The societies of those forcibly mobilized also erected memorials and actively collected data on conscripts. However, former mobilized soldiers who were wounded on the battlefields and are disabled still do not have a regulated status of war invalids and related rights. In contrast to the forced mobilized in France, Belgium and Luxembourg, the mobilized in Slovenia failed to obtain compensation from the state of Germany as the successor to the Third Reich. The text is put together from the introduction and summary of the author's doctor dissertation Gorenjska forcibly mobilized in the German Army 1943-1945.

Milan Emil Valjavec

Milan Emil Valjavec, a skilled tailor from Brezje near Tržič, was sent to infantry to Ingolstadt and on the Russian front. He arrived in February 1944 by ambulance train back to Germany. After returning from furlough, he was sent to the front in France. During the fightings near Cherbourg he together with his friends deserted to the Allies. From the POW camp in the UK he joined the 5th Slovene Partisan Overseas Brigade and arrived in April 1945 on Slovene territory.

Milan Emil Valjavec, soldier in the Royal Yugoslav Army. Preserved by the Valjavec family. (right)

Valjavec in the German Army. (page 40)





Milan Emil Vajjavec as a soldier of the Slovene Partisan Army. (right)



Brothers Franc and Jakob Pazlar from Poljšica near Gorje

In April, 1943, a few days before his 19th birthday, Franc (1922) was conscripted to the German Army, in August he was followed by Jakob (1926). More than 200 letters and postcards they sent to the family have been preserved. Franc died from his wounds after several surgeries in a hospital in Sulz on 16th October, 1944.

Jakob died on the front on 16th August, 1944, near Lubla in Poland.

*»God's corner« set in memory of the brothers Franc and Jakob Pazlar.
Reconstruction at the exhibition Forced Soldiers II. Kept by Pazlar family. (left)*

Franc Pazlar in the infantry battalion 89. (right)

Jakob Pazlar in the infantry replacement battalion II/130 Amstetten. (page 48)





Items sent from the hospital where Franc Pazlar died to the Pazlar family. (right)



Leopold Cuznar

Leopold Cuznar was born on 22nd April, 1924, in Log near Kranjska Gora. He was conscripted into the German Army in January, 1943. After completing Reich Labour Service, he was given military training in Mulhausen and Oberhofen (Fr. Oberhoffen-sur-Moder) in France. During the War, he was wounded three times. First one was self-inflicted, as he shot himself in the leg to avoid serving in the army. Despite violating the military code, he was pardoned. The second time, he was wounded by mortar fire and the third time, he was wounded in May or June, 1944, in present-day Ukraine. While running across the road, he was shot in the ankle by a Russian soldier with an anti-tank rifle and he lost his entire foot. In August, 1944, he received the silver wounded badge, and in September, he was awarded the assault badge for the battles in the Eastern Front. Because his leg was healing poorly, he had to eventually undergo four separate amputations.

Items belonging to Leopold Cuznar, among them the assault badge and the silver wounded badge with a confirmation. Preserved by Anže Svrzikapa. (right)



1945

Ivan Mulej

Ivan Mulej, born in 1925 in Studenčice was in May, 1943, sent from the Reich Labour Service in Rankweil to join the infantry in the Adolf Hitler Barracks in Munich. Then he joined the 19th Grenadier Battalion and was wounded in October, 1944, and sent to the reserve hospital in Krotoschin in Poland and then to German Ilmenau. In December 1944, he did not return back to the unit from medical leave, but deserted and joined the partisan Kokra Detachment in Slovenia.

Ivan Mulej after the Second World War. Preserved by the Mulej family. (left)

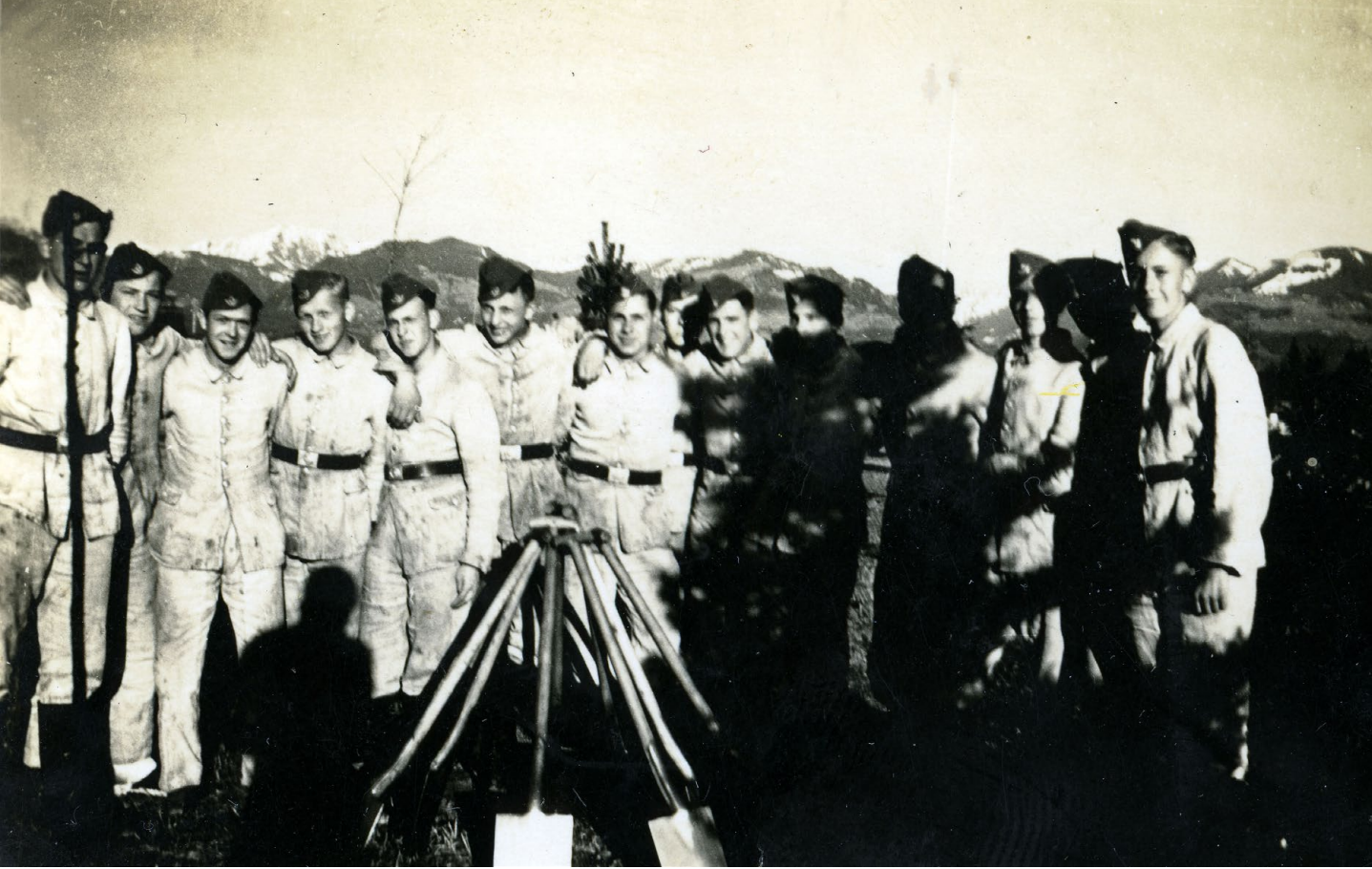
Cigarette case that intercepted the bullet meant for Ivan Mulej. Preserved by the Mulej family. (right)



In the Reich Labour Service in Rankweil. (right)

Before the mobilization. (page 60)

Visit of the family in the Reich Labour Service in Rankweil. (page 62)











Franc Rozman

Seventeen years old, Franc Rozman was conscripted into the RAD in August, 1943. From March, 1944, he served in the German Army in Czechia, Germany and Poland. In January, 1945, he was wounded in the head and taken to Vienna. During his medical leave in Klagenfurt he met his family, and then he was sent to Linz an der Donau. In April, 1945, he took the train to Klagenfurt, where he put on civilian clothes and walked home to Stražišče, where he stayed until the War ended.

From the diary of Franc Rozman:

»Grafenwöhr. Wednesday 26th July, 1944. Afternoon spent with Puhar, a pleasant little man from Šentvid, we sent home all our civilian stuff. It felt like breaking all ties with home. Only with difficulty I say goodbye to the camera who was my constant companion abroad. Before putting it away, I secretly take photos of the tank columns loaded with cranes onto the train, and a whole line of tracked vehicles. I would have gotten into so much trouble if I had gotten caught!«

*Franc Rozman in the Reich Labour Service in Rankweil.
Preserved by Franc Rozman's family. (right)*



*Three photos of Franc Rozman he took with his camera.
Preserved by the Rozman family. (right, page 68-71)*









Janko Rant

Seventeen year old Janko Rant was in August, 1943, mobilized into the RAD in Weissenbach and then into the German Army. His unit was sent to Southern France. He was captured by the French partisans and then handed over to the Americans who brought him to camp Aversa near Naples. In February, 1945, he was moved to the British, to camp Grumo near Bari. Based on the Tito Šubašić agreement, joining the Royal Army was no longer an option, even though most of the prisoners signed up. Soon after he came to the camp, two officers of the Yugoslav Army visited trying to convince the prisoners to join the Partisans. On 13th March, 1945, the British took them to Bari port, from where the Yugoslav ship Ljubljana took them to Split. After several days of interrogation, they were put on a smaller ship on 18th April, 1945, sailing towards Zadar. From there, they walked towards Karlobag–Senj–Novi–Kraljevica. They were attached to the penal battalion which was part of the 4th Army. On 24th April, they arrived to the base of Sveta Katarina above Sušak, where they took part in the last severe fights with the retreating German units. After the War he was amnestied and moved into the units of the 26th Division.

Reich Labour Service in Wiesenbach. Preserved by the Rant family. (right, page 74, 75)

In the German unit in Southern France. Preserved by the Rant family. (page 76)











Travails of Andrej Mertelj

The day after Germany invaded Yugoslavia, the firemen from Podkoren were assigned to protect their village. The Yugoslav border police ordered them to help prepare barricades on the Korensko Sedlo border pass. They were captured by the advancing Germany Army, and the prisoners were sent to a prisoners of war camp within the Reich. Amongst them was also Andrej Mertelj, born on 22nd July, 1924. After the Intervention by the then-mayor of Kranjska Gora, he and his fellow villagers were released in the second half of 1942. On 11th January, 1943, he was conscripted into the German Army, where he served his first three months in the Reich Labour Service in Tyrol - Dornbirn. His military training took place in French Mulhausen where he was visited by his father. As a machine gunner, he was sent to the Russian front. He was able to visit Podkoren on leave. On 12th July, 1944, after returning to the front, he was wounded. He was shot in the leg, and his fingers were blown away by a mine or grenade. He was sent to hospital in Krakow, and then to St. Pölten in Austria. He received the black wounded badge. Then he was sent to recover in Pörschach, and when he was discharged he was ordered to return to the barracks in France, but he escaped to Slovenia and joined the partisans. In 1948, he served 7 months of military duty in the Yugoslav Army and 2 additional months in 1958 in military exercises in Tolmin.

Andrej Mertelj (wearing a brown uniform to the right) as a member of the Reich Labour Service in Dornbirn. Photos preserved by Uroš Košir. (right)





Father's visit to the Mülhausen barracks. (left)



Andrej Mertelj as a machine gunner on the Eastern Front. (above)

Wounded Andrej recovering in Austria. (right)



19.

85
86

30.





Photos from serving military duty in the Yugoslav Army. (above)

On holidays at home. (left)

Anton Tušek

Anton Tušák, born in 1922, was in March, 1943, mobilized into the German Army and sent to Schwecht an der Oder, Sttetin. Later he was sent to the South Front in Monte Casino. In May, 1944, he was captured by the French Foreign Legion and on 14th June he was already moved to North Africa, to Murano. He joined the Poles and the Czech and reached Algiers, where he first applied to the American Army, who was looking for volunteers to invade Japan. A few days later he applied to the English Army and joined the RAF in Bufarik in Algiers where he remained until 1945. Then the 1st pilot school in Zadar was formed, and later moved to Zrenjanin to a former airfield.

British and American Air Force designation. Kept by the family of Anton Tušek. (right)







*Cigarette case made by Janez Kuralt during his time in Soviet captivity.
Preserved by Janez Kuralt. (above)*

Janez Lapajne's Soviet captivity hat. Preserved by the Lapajne family. (left)

*Items of the fallen France Cuznar, sent home from the hospital in a box.
Preserved by the Cuznar family. (right)*



1944

AVGUST

20 Nedelja

Povoi ca 30 km
mokra!

21 Ponedeljek

hej 30 km, moker do
trise. 50 km od Parisa
Opoldne smo bili že pripravljene
za odhoda na Seine front.
Prva odlozba.

22 Torek

Zjutraj 2 arto
do Seine (30 km od Parisa
Efla stolp videti)
Popoldan ludje kopali

23 Sreda

Zocelj zjutraj odmor:
špali prc. Opoldne hoci,
nepadli tros. G. vecer m
rebo moč marširati naprej
po blatu in v dežju. Obupni!

Četrtek 24

Por mi prešli za
stori dreh dreh get malt
kollis in potem v noepad.
guyem kint. Poredom granat
je prek mri satopali

Petek 25

Do kisa miker spal v jarku, mas.
cel dan v posteli. And artileti
guy.

Spali v turoyah Dan Nitro

Sobota 26 X

Pozabili so v zvezi noepad.
z bitermantom gi Taly prek
potepanta. Jevrtcu prof vti.
sumbikaanki vrtke. Dobravocu
dohil Spitalerya. Od poneyi

Beležke

drshih. Troantir evale, da
v hie nita domaa uniuca
Prokete memoRe drusine je
veudazle. curkat kovee. Z Mr
premis jopas kati bi anpaj puda
dovod v 1.111 armjo.

Bogdan Ambrožič from Ljubno was reassigned to the 82nd Pioneer Battalion in Salzburg. In May he was in Dunkirk in the 35th Assault Battalion. In August he was near Amiens and then Paris. On 26th August, 1944, he was captured by the American Army. In October, he was placed in the prisoners of war camp in Cherbourg and in October moved to England, Southampton. 31st December, 1944, he signed the agreement to join the National Liberation Struggle. 27th January, 1945, they left Glasgow and on 7th February docked in Naples. 18th February he arrived in Split and on 16th April he crossed Velebit near Vinica and entered Slovenia. The 5th Overseas Brigade was dissolved, and he as assigned to the Assault Battalion of the 18th Division. On 10th May, he arrived in Ljubljana and made it home two weeks later.

From the diary of Bogdan Ambrožič:

»24th August. We rested for a few hours and ate a bit after almost two days, and then attack. Baptism of fire. Grenade greetings. We dug in overnight. Soaking wet sleeping in the trench. Cold. All day in the forest, artillery fire above us. Sleeping in foxholes.«

»26th August. Day of salvation. 7 pm attack. Osterman and I escaped across immediately. Excellent first impressions of the American Army. In the gathering area treated by medics. Later found out from other companions who came later that the troop was almost destroyed. Finally the curse of the Germans is over. Miha and I wonder how to get home and join Tito's Army as soon as we can.«

SA 7.18
SU 17.12

Februar - Hornung

MA 7.09
MU 17.29

8. Woche

Sonntag

14

Montag

15

Dienstag

16

Mittwoch

17

Donnerstag

18

Freitag

19

Sonnabend

20

*in der Generalität
hier die Thonstein
zu dem Gofet*

*zila für die Arbeit
Zepher + Kjer*

*Adams Stillezeit
So glade polnik
Lestrik gemis 18. XI.*

*die Post v. Kij Tords
Aind, Tsoj in vol
Zehyris do Braiser, Kjer*

*Freidens 1. deembre
So grad b. Jusschramon
Kjer die spet d. d. n. n. n.*

19. XI. Kri Mey.

So Bozic pol Kolato

So Bozic

SA 7.03
SU 17.25

Februar - Hornung

MA 10.12
MU 0.20

9. Woche
1945

9. Woche
Sonntag
21

11. Jan. ietatek

Montag
22

plik jugoslovanske
komisije 5 tagu u
kapetanovom

Dienstag
23

nam pidi se
zaga ot borbeno nam p
1930 Horst Wessel seinen Verletzungen erlegen

Mittwoch
24

pot. jugoslavija
kolje brana
mi p parjal, da p
umil dombo.

Donnerstag
25

31. Jan. mis, ob
oblasti karu in
skupine.

Freitag
26

28. dec. top k

Sonnabend
27

bil p
pici

Mihael Petek, born in 1922 in Podbrezje, was mobilized on 29th March, 1943, and assigned to the gunner unit in Küstrin which was assigned to near-by Genove. After they returned to the barracks, they were in December, 1943, moved to the Eastern Front, near Kirovograd, where the fighting was severe. In April, 1944, they were retreating through Romania, and in October, he surrendered to the Romanian Army. He was taken to the camp Feldiora near Kronstadt. In January, 1945, a member of the Yugoslav Commission visited the camp and was recruiting people for the National Liberation. Most Slovenes signed up. In February, Petek contracted typhus and had to remain in the camp. A gypsy from Vojvodina, called Gaga, saved his life by looking after him for weeks. In May, 1945, the Slovenes left the camp and arrived to Subotica on 26th May, and next day through Središče to Ormož and Ptuj. On 1st June, 1945, he returned home to the great surprise and delight of his family. He was considered missing from October, 1944, and in February, 1945, the family even received a military decoration for him.

From the diary of Mihael Petek:

1943 »19.XI. First snow. For Christmas half a cake and cabbage.«

1944 »11th January. Thursday. Visit of the Yugoslav committee to the camp. The captain's words make us tear up. We are assured a way to Yugoslavia and better food. Yesterday I dreamt I made it back home.«

»31st January. We got clothes, bread and a piece of bacon.«

»28th March. Went for confession with a Franciscan.«



While imprisoned, Mihael Petek made a wooden spoon. Preserved by the Petek family. (above)

Slavko Hribar

Slavko Hribar was born in 1925 in Križ near Komenda. After serving in the Reich Labour Service in Jennersdorf, he was assigned to the 7th Pioneer Battalion in Munich, and in June, 1943, he was sent to France. In September, 1943, the unit reached Grenoble, where he established contact with the resistance. After vacation in Munich, he was assigned to the 198th Pioneer Battalion and sent to Crimea. He was wounded near Sevastopol in May, 1944. He was put on a ship heading to Romania, and then taken by plane to Kecskemet in Hungary, and then on a hospital train to Wrocław via Vienna. When he was home on medical leave, he deserted and joined the Šlander Brigade in Logarska Dolina valley in September 1944. As a fighter of the Dolenjska Detachment, he was caught within a month by German police and sent to interrogation in Klagenfurt. He managed to escape from there as well, but he was stopped by Constables and identified as a deserter. Initially, he was sentenced to death, but then the sentence was commuted to 15 months of front service. He was sent to Italy, near Bologna. He was wounded again there and on 10th May, 1945, he was captured by American soldiers in a hospital in Merano. 23rd May, 1945, he was sent to an assembly camp in Brescia and then to Modena and Rimini. On 7th September, 1945, he and 95 other Slovenes reached the assembly camp in Baraga's Monastery in Ljubljana and he returned home the next day.

Slavko Hribar wearing the Reich Labour Service uniform in Jennersdorf. (right)





Slavko Hribar preserved more than two hundred letters and postcards that he wrote or received. Preserved by MNZS. (left)

Slavko Hribar's Reich Labour Service insignia and badge. (right)



Franc Erce

Franc Erce was in March, 1943, forcibly mobilized into the German Army in Litomeřice into the 513th Infantry Battalion. He went on leave from the Galician Front on 22nd December, 1944, and later joined the Smlednik Home Guards. After the war he and his unit retreated to Vetrinj in Koroška and on 30th May, 1945, he was returned to Slovenia. He was first imprisoned in Škofja Loka and then Šentvid. On 8th August, 1945, he was amnestied. In February, 1946, the authorities tried to arrest him again, but he was in hiding for seven months before his eventual capture. He was convicted of anti-state propaganda and attempted escape. He was sentenced to three years of forced labour. He was imprisoned in the Ljubljana Ozna prisons and the court prisons in Ig. He also worked on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. He returned home only in 1949.

Training grounds. Preserved by the Erce family. (right)
Marching. (page 110, 113)
In the 513th Infantry Battalion. (page 114, 116)















Stanko Kalan

Stanko Kalan, born in 1925, was sent to RAD in Schladming in February, 1943, and then he joined a unit in Lyon in Grenoble. He was sent to Byelorussia from there. With a comrade, he crossed the front and joined the Russian Army, where he spent 3 months. After he was wounded, he was sent to Kolomno and joined the tank school in Tula. He became a tank driver. Later, he entered Slovenia through Beigrade with the 2nd Tank Brigade and then Trieste. He received 5 Soviet decorations.





Peter Komovec

In the last days of the War, Peter Komovec deserted from the German Army and joined the Czech Resistance - the Jan Žižek Brigade. After the War, he remained in Czechia. When communists took power in Czechoslovakia in 1948, Komovec had to return to Yugoslavia. He received three Czechoslovakian decorations. Stored by Gorenjska Museum.

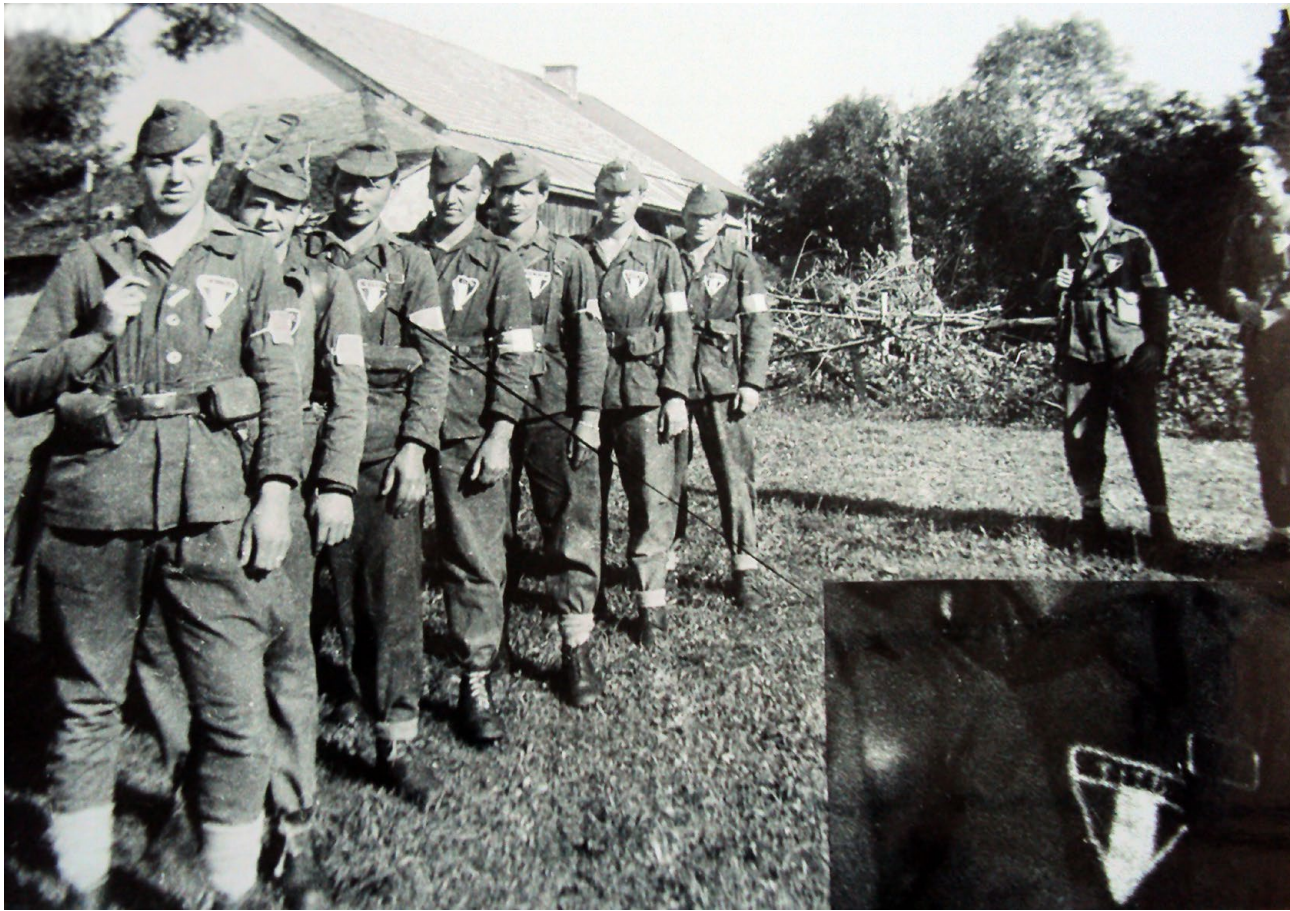
Peter Komovec with Dr. Jože Dežman. In 2019, Komovec donated his Czechoslovakian decorations to Gorenjska Museum. Photo by Jelena Justin. (right)



Ciril Šivic

After serving in the RAD in Tyrol, Ciril Šivic was assigned to an infantry unit in Munich and sent to Chambéry. He deserted and joined the local French partisans in the l'Ain department. Šivic brought a camera from the German Army and was able to take a few photos of his fellows. After the liberation in July, 1944, Šivic went to Lyon, where the Yugoslav delegation was based. He visited prisoners of war camps and gathered 250-300 people. They took the ship Ville d'Oran from Marseille to Naples and then to Gravina. As part of the 5th Overseas Brigade, they left Split and entered Slovenia. He was wounded on 1st May. 9th May, they marched into Ljubljana. He was only demobilized at the end of September, 1946. For his Service, the French government awarded him the War Cross with the Bronze Star (Croix de Guerre) in the 1950s, when the French Veteran Organisation visited Ljubljana.

Ciril Šivic with the French Partisans. Preserved by the Šivic family. (right)



One of Ciril Šivic's French decorations. Preserved by Ciril Šivic's family. (right)



Forced Mobilization in Koroška

The German occupiers mobilized the people of Koroška into the Wehrmacht, numerous were added to local armed formations: attack formations – SA, general attack groups – Allgemeine SS, land watch – landwacht.

According to so far collected data more than a thousand people (at least 1008) who lived in the area of Mežiška Dolina valley and Dravograd (between the Koroška regional border and the Austrian border) were mobilized into the armed forces of the Third Reich (German Army – Wehrmacht, armed attack groups – Waffen SS). Most were Slovene. The mobilizations started at the end of 1942 and at the start of 1943.

The most complete – but definitely not completely accurate – list of those mobilized was made soon after the end of the war for municipality Črna¹. Based on this list, 224 people from the municipality were drafted into the German Army and the Reich Labour Service (RAD), 81 of those into the army (usually the two were connected). At the time, it was known that 5 died, 5 were missing (this data later changed). The archives of the Koroška Regional Museum, Slovenj

Gradec Museum (KPM MSG), contain a photocopy of the list of those mobilized, employed in the Mežica mine (undated, but likely from the end of 1944), which contains 153 people, but it is unknown if all are local (the mine also employed people from other regions), when they were born or where they are from. The list only contains surnames and names, military mail numbers (these allow identification of the military branch they served in for some of the listed) and the amounts credited for Christmas by the mine, not relevant to our research. The list refutes the generally held belief that the German occupier did not mobilize miners from the Mežica mine because they were required workfrocce in the industry important for the War. In the 1990s, the Society of People Mobilized from Mežiška Dolina also created a list of those mobilized from Mežica based on their personal memories, with a note that it was not complete yet, it contains 87 names and surnames. Štefan Lednik lists 88 people mobilized from municipality Mežica and 21 of those were killed.² For municipality Prevalje we

1 KPM MSG, letter from the Local National Liberation Committee of Črna to the Commission for establishing the crimes of the occupier and his helpers, 23rd November 1945 - transcript.
2 Lednik, Mežica 1994, p. 172.

also have an undated list of people mobilized into the German Army, Waffen SS and RAD, however, based on the dates of people escaping to the partisans, it is likely from the end of April, 1944. It contains 238 names, 18 for RAD and 220 for the Army and Waffen SS. For Prevalje, there is also a list of people born in 1927 who were called to the draft, dated 15th December, 1943, containing 53 surnames and names.³ The Society of People Mobilized from Mežiška Dolina collated the data about its members. The list that the president of the society, Ignac Fajmut, forwarded to the author, contains 341 names and surnames of members that were on 9th June, 1993 registered in Mežiška Dolina and Dravograd. The list also includes those that moved from other areas after the war (luckily the list also contains place of birth) There are 226 locals (those still alive on that day) born and living in the Mežiška Dolina area on the list. The most useful data regarding those mobilized can be found in the collections of the Regional Committee for War Damages.⁴ Soon after the War, records started regarding war damage and war victims. There are 72 boxes of documents just for the three Koroška valleys, and the ones relevant are forms A (casualties) and B (survivors who suffered a bodily injury, or were imprisoned, interned etc.). Both also include data on the forcibly mobilized, including those who fell or were missing (some data on those killed by the partisans is also included, but no mention of people removed or liquidated after the War). I also found a large number of data on the mobilized in documents regarding post-War hearings carried out by UDBA (secret police), especially with those who were imprisoned in Soviet POW camps (suspected collaborators with NKVD). This also includes those who joined the Yugoslav partisan units established in the Soviet Union, especially the First Yugoslav Brigade. I received a photocopied list that includes people from Koroška a few years ago from its Slovene committee, who received it from the Belgrade Military Archives and I have it preserved (its collection and folder are not indicated). A large amount of data on those mobilized, especially those that joined or were mobilized by the partisans after their leave is also included in the collections of police reports of SZI, Laeberichte and in copies of police reports stored by KPM MSG in the collections of occupier materials, folder 23 and also in the memorial materials. So far I have not had the opportunity to find materials on those mobilized in foreign archives. Only few of

those who died were entered into the registry of deaths after the war, but a few were. The data on the fallen can also be found in the materials on declarations of deaths that the Regional Court of Slovenj Gradec recently forwarded to the Regional Archives of Maribor, Unit Ravne.⁵

The list of names of people of German nationality (Volksdeutsche) who became fully fledged members of the Carinthian People's League and thus citizens of the Nazi Third Reich⁶ includes 566 people, and 59 could be considered for mobilization into the Wehrmacht (born in at least 1908), but my list only includes 7 of those; 3 of those died. I collated the data into a table stored in my personal archives. Another source shows that the occupier mobilized 44 men and boys from the area of the former municipality Libeliče, 10 of those died, 10 were missing, 24 returned (by 1948), 4 of those disabled.⁷

Many more would have been mobilized if not for the start of organised resistance. Thus – as can be seen in numerous preserved reports of the occupier – many that were drafted escaped to the partisans or were mobilized by them. The reason why more were not mobilized was also (just as in the exiling of the population in 1941) the war-critical industries and mining and the related need for workers. Like other occupier's measures, mobilization was a gross violation of international war law. To bypass the law, they awarded citizenship to the inhabitants, mostly temporary. Most of the mobilized were assigned to the Wehrmacht and some to the SS. It must be stressed that the latter were mostly forced into it. Forced entry into the SS can be seen in two letters. Filip Delalut from Podpeca, father of two sons who were mobilized into the RAD and then into the Wehrmacht, and then one of them, Emil, was forced to join the SS, wrote to

3 Both SI AS 1828, folder 806/II/4.

4 Preserved for the Slovenj Gradec region in the Regional Archives in Maribor; cf Simona Velunšek, Okrajna komisija za vojno škodo [Regional Commission for War Damages] 1945–1946. Gornja Radgona, Murska Sobota, Slovenj Gradec. Maribor, 1997.

5 PAM, enota Ravne, Okrožno sodišče Slovenj Gradec, proglasitve za mrtve – do 1954, od tu pa v zveznih uradnih listih pod rubriko Sodne objave.

6 SI AS 1827, folder 908/II.

7 KPM MSG, Collection NOB, folder 16, survey to collect materials about the history of the national liberation struggle, Libeliče, 15th June, 1948, Author Ivan Močnik.

the cell leader of KVB, Slovene Gvido Zvonar. The letter shows that he already submitted an oral complaint about the draft and had problems with the Gestapo (i.e. that he was reported to the Gestapo). He felt it was contentious that the boys – before the inhabitants of Mežiška Dolina became fully fledged citizens of the German state and before the land was officially annexed – were drafted into the RAD abroad, where something could happen to them, while there was no unemployment at home. Both sons were fully employed, up to ten hours per day, and then they were sent to the military, where they forced them to join the SS. Zvonar passed the letter to the leader of the regional group, teacher Paul Roland, who replied to Delalut on the back of his letter in German and refuted all his arguments. He told him that as a fully fledged member of the KVB, he is also a German citizen, even if temporary, and as such he has all rights and also all duties that the German State determines (and this is also true for his children); that RAD is part of military duty (6 months in RAD and 6 months in the military); that SS is part of the military, and therefore it does not matter whether you serve in the military or Waffen SS, and that the postcard the son wrote indicates he is doing well (nb: he could not have written anything else, the mail was censored), military training is tough, but it would not harm him, but turn him into a real man. And to speak further to the regional head of KVB.⁸ Incidentally, Emil was killed later. Gvido Zvonar was court-martialled after the War in Maribor, but received amnesty.⁹

A similarly shocking letter was sent home by Valentin Smrečnik, a farm worker from Gorče near Libeliče (a copy is preserved). He was drafted into the RAD, but already a few weeks later (28th January, 1943) a commission came to the camp and gathered all tall and handsome men, took them to the mess hall, and pressured them to volunteer to join the SS. Only two Germans signed up, then all of them (half were German and half Slovene) were shoved to the table and literally forced to sign. Two men from Prevalje continued to refuse, and were forced to sign at gunpoint. They all cried, he the most, but it did not help.¹⁰ His fate was similar to Delatut's; he wrote home last on 28th March, 1945, and then all traces disappeared.

Unfortunately the only accurate data exists regarding the number of those mobilized, all other data is lacking. They were mostly sent to the Eastern Front. At least 212 people, 21% of those mobilized, died in combat, because of wounds, diseases injuries or other reasons, two died in the RAD. 95 survived were wounded, sick or injured, at least 20 with permanently visible injuries (mostly limb amputations) who were unable or less able to work. 223, 22%, deserted and joined the partisans, 35 of those outside of Slovenia, most (27) joined the First Yugoslav Brigade established in the Soviet Union. Another 47, 20%, lost their lives in some way in the partisans. 125 somehow became prisoners of war (most were captured, some deserted). Those who were imprisoned in Soviet POW camps became suspect after 1948, after the split between Yugoslavia and Informbiro, due to the possibility of working with NKVD and were subject to short interrogations by UDBA (some admitted that they agreed to collaborate with the Soviet secret service, which they did not feel was a problem while the countries were allies).

8 SI AS 1828, folder 806/III/4.

9 PAM, Court Department, judgment nr. 6/2, Gvido Zvonar.

10 PAM, collection War Damages, Gorče.

Uniforms, Equipment and Armaments of the Slovenes Mobilized into the German Army

Slovene boys and men found themselves in various armies in the Second World War. Many were forced to wear uniforms of German armed forces and were sent to various ends of Europe and beyond. At least 12,000 people from Gorenjska and 1,000 from Koroška were mobilized (Kokalj Kočevar 2017, 197).

Mobilized Slovenes served in various branches of the armed forces (Wehrmacht), which were split into army (Heer), air force (Luftwaffe) and navy (Kriegsmarine). Some individuals also found themselves in uniforms of police units (Polizei) and the SS (Schutzstaffel). Most of them served in the army and a few in the air force or the navy (Kokalj Kočevar 2017, 188).

Preserved photos and documents enable us to learn about the uniforms, equipment and weapons of the Slovenes in the German military and the testimonies of the survivors supplement the information. This contribution succinctly reviews only the basic types of uniforms, equipment and weapons that were used by mobilized Slovenes, any exhaustive description or even just listing of all types of uniforms, equipment and weapons would require a

number of monograph publications. The uniforms, equipment and weapons of the army are given more attention than those of the other military branches.



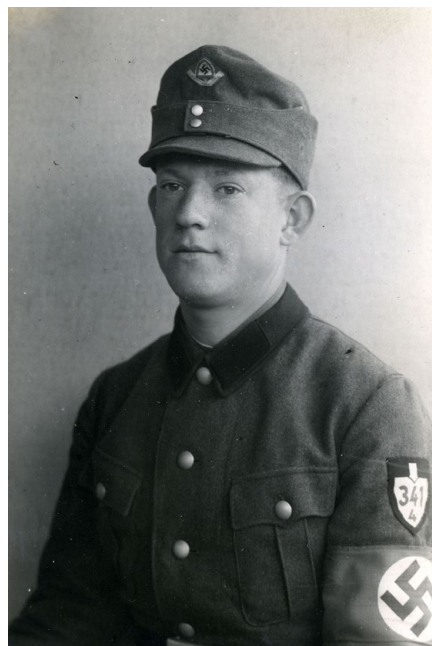
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Uniforme

The uniforms of the German armed forces are probably the most recognizable from the Second World War, especially their individual elements such as helmets or insignia. Generally, all soldiers, regardless of the branch of the military, could wear jackets, trousers, shorts, coats, anoraks, helmets, hats, caps, boots, shoes etc. The many variants of the basic pieces of clothing and specialized clothing for individual military branches and purposes represent a very complex selection of uniforms and clothes of various colours and models (Davis 1980, 8) that are not mentioned or described herein. Nevertheless, a general look of the uniforms of most mobilized Slovenes is presented.

Reich Labour Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst)

Reich Labour Service developed from the previous National-socialist Voluntary Labour Service (NS Freiwilligenarbeitsdienst) which was established in 1931 (Davis 1980, 133; Kokalj Kočevar 2017, 162). From 1935 onwards, all male citizens of the Reich between 17 and 25 years of age had to serve six months in the Reich Labour Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst - RAD), later

this included people from annexed areas, such as Gorenjska, Koroška and Štajerska. After the war started, RAD represented a significant support for German armed forces, and the men and boys were adjusted to military life. In the second half of the war, RAD members were also tasked with building fortifications and trained in anti-air fighting and similar duties (Davis 1980, 133–135; Kokalj Kočevar 2017, 162).

After entering the RAD, the men received light work or training uniforms (Drillichrock) and thicker brown uniforms. The work uniform, consisting of trousers and jacket, did not have any insignia, and it came with leather boots or shoes, a belt with a buckle with the RAD emblem (grain ears and a shovel with swastika) and a cap with RAD emblem (image 1). The head cover was mostly a peakless cap (Schiffchen) (image 1 and 6), or a model M43 cap with a peak (image 2) or a version of such cap (images 3 and 4). Alongside these, typical RAD caps with a peak were used that did not exist in other organisations (image 5).

The thicker earthy brown uniform had a chocolate brown collar (Davis 1980, 135) with black collar tabs (for lowest ranks – Arbeitsmann) and four pockets. The lower pockets were either external or only had external flaps (images 1 and 2). On the left sleeve of the jacket above the elbow, a red armband with a black swastika on white background was worn (NSDAP emblem), and above it the unit emblem was stitched, in the shape of a shovel with added unit number. The uniform was complemented with leather boots and a belt with an RAD buckle. The coat with brown collar, armband and unit emblem (image 6) was made from the same material as the jacket. The other clothes received included shorts and sleeveless sports shirts and other parts of clothing, also remembered by one of the many people mobilized into the

Image 1: Two RAD members. Left is wearing a typical work uniform, the right (Andrej Mertelj) an earthy brown uniform with the accompanying sleeve ribbon and unit marking. Both are wearing peakless caps.

Image 2: RAD members with M43 caps. The arrow indicates Janez Belehar. Preserved by his family.

Image 3: Franc Rozman with a variant of the RAD cap with a peak and a single button. Preserved by his family.

Image 4. Unknown Slovene with a version of the RAD mountain cap. Typical for the cap are mostly its height and the peak which is shorter than the M43 model ones. Preserved by Franc Rozman's family.

RAD from Gorenjska: »Right after arrival, we received a linen work uniform, boots, underwear, tracksuits, exercise shoes and later a parade uniform.« (Kokalj Kočever 2017, 179).

Army (Heer)

During the mobilizations of Slovenes into the German military, four types of uniforms or jackets were in use. These were the combat jacket (Feldbluse),¹ combat jacket for armoured and anti tank units (Feldjacke), parade jacket (Waffenrock) and training jacket (Drillichbluse) (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 56).

Training or work uniforms were made out of dark green fabric knitted in fishbone pattern (HBT) (image 7). The trousers and in some cases various types of caps were also made from the same materials. Such jackets with two or four pockets (1942 model) might also have an emblem stitched above the right upper pocket – an eagle with a swastika. During the war some models of combat jackets were also made from such light material (Davis 1980, 147–148).

Parade uniforms were used for parades and leave, they were introduced in 1935. Characteristic for such uniforms were dark emerald green collar and cuffs with cuff tabs, and primarily coloured piping that indicated the branch of the military. For example white meant infantry, red artillery, pink armoured units, gold-yellow cavalry, light-green mountain and Jäger units etc. (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 14). The characteristic outside appearance of the jacket also included densely arranged buttons in the front (eight buttons), and the jacket had no external pockets. The two collar tabs and the two shoulder boards all included piping with the branch colours (image 8). The uniform also included trousers, belt, shoes and a peaked cap. The caps were often made out of gabardine, and the piping of the top of the cap and around the arch above the peak displayed branch colours. The chin strap that was mostly worn above the peak was made from black lacquered leather for soldiers and NCOs. The cap also had a cockade in state colours,² around which there was an oak leaf wreath and above the cockade a metallic eagle with a swastika was attached to the top of the cap (image 9).



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Combat jackets were mostly made out of grey green or field grey (Feldgrau) wool fabric. During the War, the shades changed from blue green to green brown, and the proportion of wool in the fabric itself changed as well (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 46). Some privately made uniforms were also made of other types of fabrics, but these were rarer among soldiers than officers. The colour of the uniform differed based on the areas in which the soldiers fought. This is true especially for Africa and South Mediterranean, where sand coloured uniforms were worn.

Combat uniforms were made in several variants, today we recognize six basic models. Some names remain from the Second World War, and some are modern inventions to help

*Image 5: Janez Kožuh with a typical peaked RAD cap model. Preserved by his family.
Image 6: Stanko Grabner in the RAD in 1943. Wearing a coat and a peakless cap.
Image 7: An example of the fabric training uniforms were made out of.*

1 The direct translation of the German word Bluse is blouse which in English most often indicates a female garment, so the text uses the word jacket, even though for uniforms, blouse is often used.

2 Red, white, black.

Image 8: Vinko, mobilized from Gorenjska, wearing a parade uniform, photographed November, 1943. The photo nicely illustrates the branch colour piping. (right)





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classify and differentiate types of uniforms. Generally, we speak about models M36, M40, M41, M42, M43 and M44. There were also different models of trousers, which are not presented here.

Typical for M36 jackets, which were in use during the whole war, were a dark green collar, dark green shoulder boards, five buttons on the chest and four pockets with outer folds and flaps with extensions under the buttonhole. The collars had two collar tabs (Litzen) with branch colours,³ there was an eagle with a swastika stitched above the upper right pocket (images 10 and 11). If the soldier served in a mountain unit (Gebirgsjäger), the right sleeve (on the upper arm) of the uniform had a mountain unit emblem stitched on – an edelweiss patch (image 12). Jäger unit members had an oak leaf patch stitched in the same spot. Sleeves could also have arm shields, specialization markings and armbands (Ärmelband).⁴ Locations of such patches did not differ across different types of uniforms.

Mountain units also had anoraks with three typical chest pockets (Windjacke) or anoraks with two lines of chest buttons. Some studio photos of Slovenes serving in mountain units also show converted parade uniforms, with cuffs removed, and the



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collars replaced with a classical combat uniform collar (image 13). The reason behind such conversions was mostly a shortage of combat uniforms for soldiers.

M40 jackets were similar to the previous model, only the dark green collar and shoulder boards were replaced with boards and collar in the same colour as the rest of the uniform (images 12 and 14). They entered use in spring of 1940, and already next year, they started producing the same model with an additional button, so the chest side had six buttons. This model is now known as M41 (image 15). In autumn 1942, the pocket

Image 9: Franc Mertelj (1919–1944) in parade uniform with a cap.

Image 10: Model M36 jacket.

Image 11: Anton Kapus in model M36 jacket. You can clearly see the dark green collar, and the eagle on the uniform and the epaulettes are the newer versions. These were original dark green, and the same colour for the background of the stitched eagle.

Image 12: M40 jacket with mountain unit insignia.

Image 13: Mountain unit soldier Dušan Majnik in a converted parade uniform, The collar typical for combat uniforms is especially noticeable.

3 During the war they started using collar tabs with neutral colours that did not indicate the branch anymore, but the colours on the epaulettes remained throughout the war.

4 Arm shields and armbands were given to soldiers that fought in certain battlefields. Arm shields include Narvik, Cholm, Crimea, Demyansk, Kuban, Warsaw and Lapland, and armbands Africa, Crete, Courland and Metz 1944 (Kokalj Kočevar 2017, 213).

folds were removed from the uniforms (model M42) (image 16), in 1943 pocket flaps with straight edges were introduced (model M43) (image 17). All these changes, with the exception of the additional button from M41 onwards, were introduced to reduce costs and simplify production (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 59).

The most obvious change happened with model M44, which at first sight copied the famous British battledress. They had 6 buttons in the front and two external pockets with straight covers (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 59–60). The uniform was slimmed in the waist, and it had a characteristic triangular patch with an eagle above the right pocket.

Tank and antitank units were exceptions, as they wore battle jackets with no external pockets and with diagonal closings with covered buttons (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 62–63). Uniforms and caps for tank units were mostly black, and antitank units had greenish uniforms.

Soldiers were also given coats of various models which only had shoulder boards attached, and for lieutenants (Gefreiter, Obergefreiter in Stabsgefreiter) also a rank patch on the left sleeve.

Each soldier's uniform also included a cap. The German military changed several cap models during the war, but the older models remained in use even after newer ones were introduced. In limited quantities, even converted Dutch or captured Czechoslovakian military caps were used. Initially, M34 caps were in use, without a peak and twice folded rim (images 15, 16 and 18). Such caps were also worn by Slovenes, even though when mobilization started, newer models were already in use. The front of the cap had a cloth cockade and above it an eagle patch. Between the lower rim of the cap and the upper part of the cockade there was an edge with branch colours. Such branch identification was removed from the caps from 1942 onwards by decree (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 54), even though not everyone followed it, and we can find unchanged caps in later periods. The first caps for tropical uniforms were the same model as M34, but they were made from sand coloured



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material. Tropical uniforms later also received caps with peaks, now known as model M40. In 1942, M42 caps were introduced (image 19). In shape they were similar to M34, but they had two smaller buttons in the front, buttoning the twice folded cap rim that could be unbuttoned and pulled down across the ears and buttoned under the chin. Most such caps had a single T-shaped patch showing a cockade and an eagle. Similar patches were in use on mountain caps (Bergmütze), worn by mountain units. Left side of these caps had a metallic edelweiss – symbol of mountain units (images 20 and 21). The cap mostly differed from later M43 model in having a shorter peak and additional air vents, even though it was not uncommon to use privately made caps, different from the regular ones. Similar to M42, in case of cold or wind, the folded mountain cap rim could also be unbuttoned and pulled over the ears and buttoned under the chin. In June 1943,

Image 14: Mobilized soldier Maks wearing a M40 model jacket.

Image 15: Janez Kožuh wearing a M41 model jacket. Compared to model M40, M41 has one more button, which is in this photo hidden behind the belt. Preserved by his family.

Image 16: Ivan Mulej wearing a M42 model jacket. The characteristic pockets without folds are noticeable. Preserved by his family.

Image 17: M43 model jackets introduced pockets with straight flaps. The photo shows a group of Slovenes wearing them in Oslo on 27th September, 1943. (page 146)







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the M43 peaked cap was introduced (Einheitsfedmütze), it was similar to mountain unit caps. The differences were the somewhat longer peak and absence of side vents (image 22). Most often it had a triangular patch with a cockade and eagle (Recio Cardona, González Sánchez 2002, 56).

In the battlefields, soldiers mostly wore steel helmets that came in three models: M35, M40 and M42. German helmets were mostly known by their characteristic shape that is in some elements copied by modern military helmets. The helmets looked similar to M16 and M18 helmets from the First World War, with some changes. The additional bulletproof plate holders were removed (Stirnpanzer/Stirnschilde), and the size of the helmet was reduced. M35 helmets were officially introduced on 26th June, 1935 and were meant to replace all previous helmet types (Bell 2004, 12). Helmets had an insignia on the right side – emblem (decal; sticker) shaped as a shield with national colours and an eagle on the left.⁶



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In March, 1940, a patent by engineer Erich Kisan was implemented, replacing the riveted air vents with stamped ones. The aluminium rim of the padding was replaced with a cheaper and more durable ring. Helmets of this type were slightly heavier and had a more rounded shape than their predecessors (Bell 2004, 13). The same year they also started using paint that made the surface of the helmet slightly rough. There were also changes in the emblems on the helmets, as they stopped using national colours (Niewiarowicz 2009, 71–72).

Image 18: Model M34 cap.

Image 19: A man mobilized from Gorenjska wearing a model M42 cap, which was characterized by the front buttons and no peak.

Image 20: A typical mountain unit cap with a short peak, two air vents on each side, a T shaped patch and a metallic edelweiss in the left side of the cap.

Image 21: Privately made cap used by the mountain unit soldier Radko Valjavec.

5 It must be stressed that there are no documentary sources about the naming of model M40, so it's primarily a modern designation to help differentiate between various types.

6 The eagle differed between the military branches (Heer, Luftwaffe, Kriegsmarine), SS helmets also had runes on the right and the NSDAP emblem on the left (swastika in a white circle on red background).



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In August, 1942, the high command issued an order regarding the new M42 model (Bell 2004, 13; Niewiarowicz 2009, 114). Because of simplified production, the helmets no longer had a rounded edge that can be seen in the M35 and M40 models, but a sharp straight edge at the bottom rim of the helmet (Bell 2004, 13). In August, 1943, they stopped using emblems on the army helmets and this was meant to be true by the end of the year for Luftwaffe, Waffen SS and Kriegsmarine, but they did not comply in full everywhere (Niewiarowicz 2009, 124, 132). In spite of the various regulations, all types of helmets were used during the War, and auxiliary and police units also wore repainted helmets of older and foreign models. Some of those serving in Africa also wore special tropical helmets (Tropenhelm).

Air Force (Luftwaffe)

Characteristic for the air force which included not only flying units, but also anti-aircraft ground forces, paratroopers and some other land units (Luftwaffen-Felddivision), were primarily blue grey uniforms; in southern battlefields, desert colour uniforms were in use as well.

The uniforms were different from the army models, especially those used by paratroopers and aviators. A typical uniform was represented by an air force version of the flying jacket (Fliegerbluse). For this type of uniform, covered buttons and inside pockets with external diagonal flaps with visible buttons were typical. On the right chest side, an Luftwaffe eagle was sewn, the collar had collar tabs with rank designations in branch colours (image 23). The aviators were recognizable by their yellow collar tabs and shoulder boards piping, and anti-aircraft artillery units' colour was red. Because of the shortage of such jackets, they introduced jackets with four pockets with external creases and straight flaps and five visible buttons and pocket buttons (Waffenrock) in 1938. They were meant to be replaced by air force and work jackets (Tuchrock), which were similar to the new uniforms, having one fewer button and the collar could not be buttoned. All three models were in use until the end of the war (Davis 1980, 165–166). The uniform also included a coat.

Paratroopers and aircrews had special duty clothes that were made in many varieties, not highlighted herein, as only few Slovenes served in these military units (for more, see Davis 1980).

The basic cloth headgear of the air force soldiers was a peakless cap (Fliegermütze), which was different in shape from the previously mentioned M34 model and was similar to caps worn by coast artillery, SS and police units. The cap had an embroidered cockade in national colours stitched on, and the typical Luftwaffe eagle attached above it (image 24). During the war they also introduced caps with peaks, model M43. Like other units, air force soldiers also had steel helmets of various types and caps for leave, while air crews also had various pilot caps. The most distinctive head cover was a tropical hat, or soft cap with a long peak and a detachable neck shade that was used before the M43 caps were introduced. Rarely seen was also a tropical helmet with the air force emblem. Like the army, air forces also used all types of steel helmets, characterized by blue tones and air force insignia. Special helmets were made for paratroopers.

Image 22: Ivan Mulej with a M43 model cap. The photo nicely shows the typical triangular patch. Preserved by his family.

Image 23: A man from Gorenjska in the German air force. He's wearing an air force model jacket and wearing a peakless cap.

Navy (Kriegsmarine), SS (Schutzstaffel) and camouflage uniforms

A smaller part of mobilized Slovenes served in the Navy, and some in the SS. Both of these branches of armed forces used unique uniforms, but some models were the same or similar to the ones used by the army. Detailed descriptions are beyond the topic of this text, and we only mention the most typical examples of some clothes also worn by Slovenes.

For the navy double breasted dark blue uniforms with a parallel row of decorative breast buttons were primarily typical. A flat navy cap with a cockade and an eagle was also characteristic and the rim of the cap had a ribbon with the name of the vessel or the inscription Kriegsmarine. Navy also included coast artillery, but they used the same uniforms as the army, only their caps were similar to police or air force ones. Clothes also included a large number of work, submarine and parade models which are not covered in this text.

SS members wore various models of combat uniforms related to the ones used by the army, usually differing in some details, especially the insignia. The eagle with a swastika, which was shaped differently from the classical army eagle, was attached to the left sleeve of the uniform and not on the right side of the chest. Collar tabs were black and often the right side displayed SS runes or unit symbols. Caps were similar to the ground force ones, especially caps with peaks (M43), but the cockade was replaced with a skull, and an SS eagle above it. All other SS caps also displayed a skull instead of the cockade.

One of the characteristics of the German military were also camouflage clothes, especially double-sided ones, which could be worn on both sides, depending on the time of year or the environment. Winter coats were often green on one side and white on the other, with white buttons. Winter coats with multi-colour camouflage patterns were in use as well, these came in several types and camouflage materials were used to make helmet covers, trousers, gloves, anoraks and simple camouflage covers worn over uniforms.



24



25

The army mostly used patterns called Splittermuster 31 (green and brown geometric patterns on grey or beige background) (image 25), and later also models Sumpfmuster 43 and 44 (green and red-brown geometric patterns with soft edges on dark beige background). Air force units (mostly paratroopers) used primarily Luftwaffe Splittermuster 41 (smaller and more frequent geometric patterns compared to the previous Splittermuster 31). Camouflage clothing was most often used by the SS, and they mostly used their own camouflage patterns: Platanenmuster, Rauchtarnmuster, Palmenmuster, Eichenlaubmuster, Erbsenmuster, Leibermuster and from 1943 onwards also the Italian Telo Mimetico 1929 (Farnworth) (image 25 and 26).

Image 24: Peakless cap for the air force.

Image 25: German camouflage pattern Splittermuster 31 (below) and Italian camouflage pattern Telo Mimetico 1929, which was somewhere also used by German armed forces (above).

Image 26: Camouflage pattern Erbsenmuster, used by SS units. (right)



Equipment

The military equipment used by mobilized Slovenes depended on the army branch and the duties of each individual. The basic equipment of a foot soldier was different from that of a machine gunner, equipment of tank units differed from that used by pioneers and so on (image 27). Herein only the basic equipment used by most soldiers and a few possible combinations depending on various common military duties is presented.

Part of the basic equipment of people in the labour service was a straight edged shovel, replaced by a rifle in the military. Each individual had to look after their shovel carefully, cleaning it thoroughly and carrying it in formations. The equipment could also include a knapsack (Tornister), breadbag (Brotbeutel M31) and water bottle (Feldflasche M31), which did not differ from the military ones, and they could potentially be recognized by unit markings on the objects. The exception were the non-military unit knapsacks (model M07/13) which differed slightly from the typical military ones (models M34 and M39). Each individual also wore an identity disc (Erkennungsmarke) with imprinted unit designations and the individual's number, and military unit ones included blood type as well.

Generally, the basic element of the military uniform was the belt which usually had equipment that was not in the knapsack attached to it. The belt was made out of leather and included a metallic belt buckle, knitted materials were also in use for belts in southern battlefields. Army belt buckles, which were made out of aluminium or iron, displayed an eagle with a swastika in a circle, oak leaves at the bottom and the inscription Gott mit uns (God is with us) above. Air force belt buckles displayed an ellipsoid laurel wreath and in the middle an eagle in flight with a swastika – the air force symbol. SS buckles displayed an eagle with spread wings under which there was a circle with the inscription Meine Ehre heißt Treue (My honour is called loyalty) (image 28).

Because the belt supported a lot of equipment, the soldiers needed harnesses or »Y straps« to hold it up and spread the weight to their shoulders. The belt was also attached to the

hooks on the uniform and when a backpack was used, the belt could be attached to the straps. »Y straps« were originally only used by the army, but later cavalry received several versions as well.

The belt also carried cartridge pouches. For the Kar 98k rifle, that meant two triple cartridge pouches (Patronentaschen), that could carry 60 bullets in total. If the soldier was equipped with other weapons, he would also carry the relevant cartridge pouches or a pistol holster. The belt also carried a bayonet (model SG 84/98) and a holder with a regular (Kleines Schanzzeug) or foldable spade (Klappspaten).

Any type of backpack would get in the way in combat, and yet all soldiers had to have some food, drink and supplies with them. They used bread bags for this purpose (Brotbeutel M31),⁷ which were attached to the belt with two loops and a hook. Aside from food, they also contained weapon cleaning tools, cap, grease (butter) container (Fettbüchse), collapsible cooker, cutlery, chocolate, toilet and sewing kit, wallet, towel, spare socks and similar supplies. The outside of the bread bag sported two metal rings and leather belts where the water bottle and a cup were attached (Feldflasche M31) and often also a mess tin (Kochgeschirr M31). Both pieces came in several varieties, differing in colour, material and other details. Most leather parts of the equipment also came in »tropical« versions, made out of green or sand green knitted materials. The water bottles were made out of aluminium or enamelled sheet metal and they were covered with a cover made of felt and later other materials as well. Two types of cups were most common (Trinkenbecher), made out of painted aluminium, enamelled sheet metal or Bakelite, and there were also older types of cups present, similar to those from the First World War. The mess tins were also made out of painted aluminium or enamelled sheet metal.

⁷ The later M44 model differed only in a few details.







Image 27: Part of the equipment of German soldiers: mess tin, cutlery, bayonet, and two cartridge pouches for rifle Kar 98k, bread bag, belt, water bottle, gas mask and a bag with an anti-gas cover. (page 158)

Image 28: Belt buckles of the Heer (above) and the SS (below). (above)

An important part of military equipment was a gas mask which every soldier had, especially because of the experiences with chemical weapons in the First World War. The gas mask (Gasmask M30 and M38) was stored in a metallic container worn across the shoulder and attached to the belt on one side. The masks were made out of rubberised canvas (model M30) or rubber (model M38) (image 29). The box also contained a lens cleaning cloth and spare lenses. There was also a small bag attached to the belt or the container with an anti-gas covering (Gasplane mit Tasche).

Each soldier also had a backpack containing necessary spare clothes, blanket and other equipment. Some were given typical knapsacks (Affe or Tornister) – backpacks with external hide covers. They came in two basic models (M34 and M39), and there were also other versions. The model M39 was most different from its predecessor in the absence of shoulder straps and was directly attached to the metallic rings of the Y straps. Similarly, the soldiers also attached an A-frame or Gurtbandtragegerüst to the Y straps in order to carry a smaller bag, mess tin and tent canvas. The bag would often contain items that were usually in the bread bag. Such »backpack« was mostly used for shorter combat missions, as it was not as restrictive as a full backpack. Whoever did not have a knapsack would get one of the many versions of canvas backpacks that differed based on the branch of the military. For example, mountain unit backpacks were significantly larger than the ordinary ones, and they had more loops for attaching mountaineering equipment.

Of course not all soldiers had the same equipment, it depended also on their duties. Machine gunners had a pistol instead of cartridge pouches, as they did not carry a rifle with the machine gun, they also carried a pouch with basic tools and a spare bolt (Maschinengewehr Werkzeug Tasche Modell 34). Those in medical units for example carried medical bags with first aid and additional water bottle, pioneers additional explosive bags and a saw, etc.

Armaments

Just like equipment, the armaments differed based primarily on the individual's duties. Most soldiers were armed with a standard bolt-action rifle Mauser Kar 98k, calibre 7.92 mm, which could be loaded with five 7.92 × 57 mm calibre cartridges. The rifle also included a bayonet (SG 84/98). Few individuals carried automatic or semi-automatic weapons. The most common semi-automatic rifle was Gew 43 (Gewehr 43), which could be loaded with the same calibre as the 98k. It's very likely that only a few Slovene soldiers were armed with one of the 9 mm calibre submachine guns (MP 38, MP 40, MP 41 – Maschinenpistole) or assault rifles STG 44 (Sturmgewehr 44), which fired 7.92 × 33 mm calibre cartridges. On the Eastern battlefields, soldiers sometimes used captured weapons, such as the Russian submachine gun PPhs-41, in calibre 7.62 × 25 mm.

Many Slovenes were machine gunners, using primarily the machine guns MG 34 and MG 42 (Machinengewehr), which fired the same cartridges as the Kar 98k or Gew 43. Machine gunners also carried a pistol, mostly Walter P 38, 9 mm (9 × 19 mm) calibre. The same calibre was also fired by the legendary pistol Luger P 08, which was in time replaced by the above-mentioned Walter. There were the most differences in pistols, as the German military did not only use their own models of different calibres, but also confiscated foreign pistols. After conquering Poland, France and Belgium, they continued the production of foreign pistols, such as the famous Polish Radom Vis (pistolet WZ. 35 Vis), which was renamed by the Germans to 9 mm Pistole 35(p), or the Belgian Browning Hi-Power with the German name Pistole 640(b).

It is certain that mobilized Slovenes were also armed with other weapons, but much more rarely than with the above mentioned ones.



Image 29: Janez Kosel's gas mask (M30 model). (left)

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Photos from the archives of Uroš Košir, families of Janez Belehar, Franc Rozman, Ivan Mulej and Janez Kožuh.

** all objects and photographs are kept by Uroš Košir, unless otherwise stated.*

New Times for People of Gorenjska and Koroška born between 1916-1926

Forced Soldiers 2 is being made three decades after the first Forced Soldiers exhibition and catalogue. It focuses on presenting the forced mobilization in the German-occupied territories of Gorenjska, Mežica Valley and Dravograd.

This text highlights thematic questions which will help alleviate the destructive effects of the taboos of Titoism, which used systemic discrimination, segregation and stigmatization to violate basic human rights of those forcibly mobilized and their relatives which further also concealed one of the worst National Socialist crimes. Presently, the most topical question is how to remedy the lack of knowledge in public and scientific discourse caused by Titoist taboos, which violated the mobilized people's right to be remembered and to have a grave.

The ongoing process of exercising their human rights and including them into public memory and scientific discourse in the Republic of Slovenia shows that democracy has a liberating power, enabling a creative search for truth and generating discourse.

The project Forced Recruits 2 is primarily the result of the work of Dr Monika Kokalj Kočevar in the last decade and a half. I believe it will continue fruitfully.

Suffocated Talents in Titoism

During Titoism, children learned about history through day to day life which taught us what we are allowed to speak about and what we are not. From my own childhood, I remember two men who were forcibly mobilized into the German Army.

Albin Švab, who was discharged as disabled from the Germany Army, was entered into the 1946 census of the forcibly mobilized as number 54: »Born on 22nd February 1920, Lesce, tailor. Lesce 15. In Wehrmacht from Feb 43 to Nov 45, in Ulm. Was not in National Liberation Front. Now member of the Liberation Front.« Švab was more than half a century ago seen as someone who did something unpardonable.

The other was my primary school history teacher, Lado Gatej, who was listed in the same census as number 256: »born on 6th November 1925. Hlebce, pupil, mobilized into the Wehrmacht 11th February 1943. In Danzig until 25th October 1943. Joined National Liberation Front on 10th November 1943. Current behaviour is good.« Gatej deserted the German Army and joined the French Partisans. Nevertheless, there were rumours about him being suspicious somehow.

Gatej was not the only one with such a reputation. Number 226 on the census was Janez Svoljšak: »born on 26th May 1926, Mojstrana, pupil, address Mojstrana 145. Served in the Wehrmacht from 13th January 1943 – infantry, Ukraine. Joined the NLF on 19th February 1944, until 18th January 1946. Now in a teaching course.«

Janez Svoljšak's complaint from 1983 shows that segregation and stigmatization did not spare even those who deserted the Wehrmacht and joined the Partisans:

»I am fed up of being told that I am a »Nazi soldier« and that anyone can bash me as a consequence.«

This shows that in the Partisan or Communist imagination anyone who – no matter for how short a time – served in the Wehrmacht was marginalized and seen as inferior. After Stalin in 1948 excluded the Yugoslav Communists from Informbiro, this became true especially for those who served in Yugoslav units established in the Soviet Union. They were systematically monitored and interrogated all the way into the 1960s.

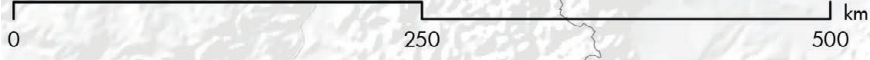
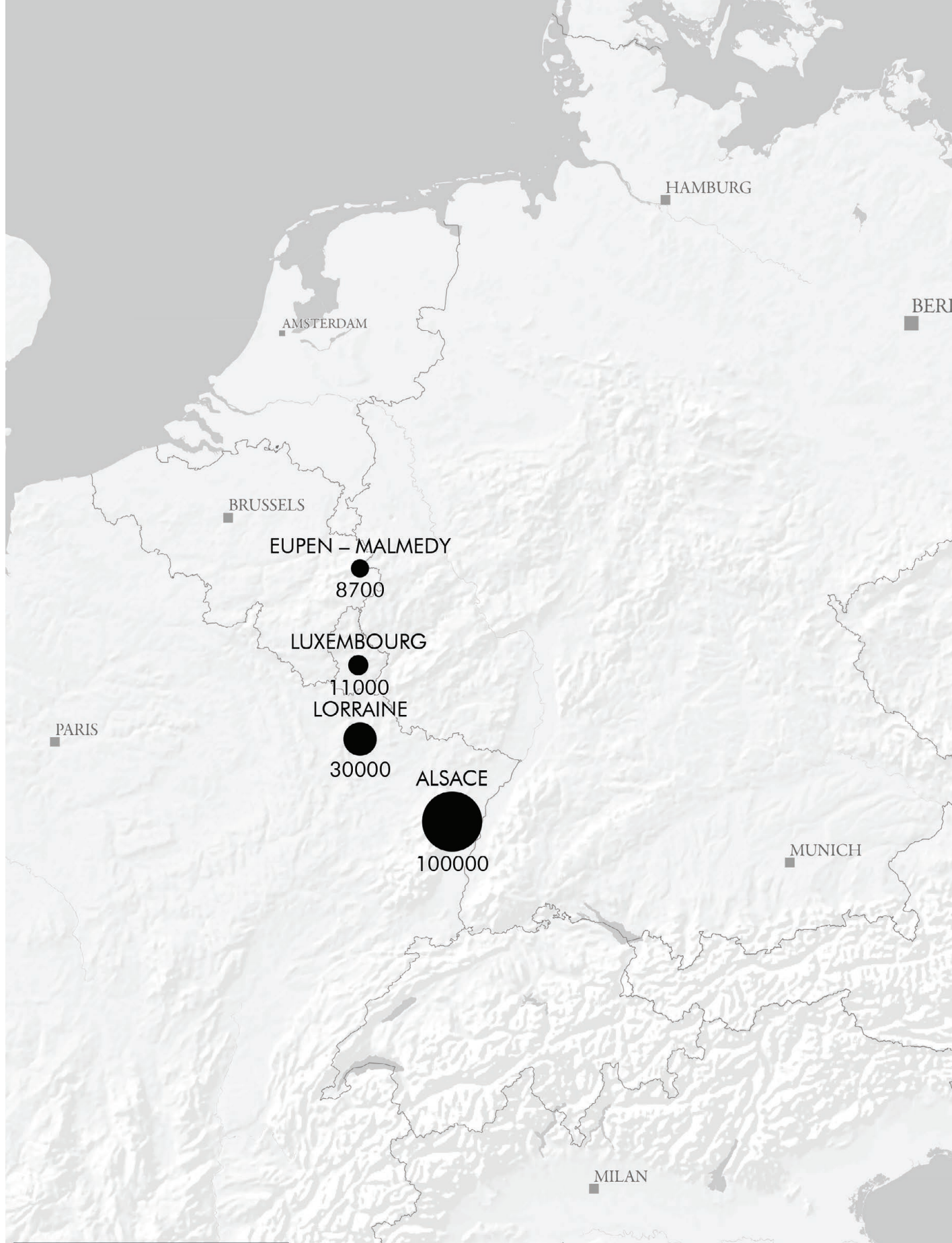
Among those who were forcibly mobilized by the Germans and managed to escape to the partisans, Tone Svetina and Miha

Klinar wrote about their experiences. The first was a successful writer of propaganda-romantic works about the Partisan struggle, and the second a renowned poet. In politics, those who were forcibly mobilized and later deserted into the Partisans were only able to attain lower ranks of power, and very few became mayors (e.g. France Jeret, Tine Tomazin). Janez Polda and Rudi Finžgar, who also founded the sports equipment factory Elan, distinguished themselves as ski jumpers. Very few of those who remained in the Wehrmacht until the end distinguished themselves – professor of geography, Dr Vladimir Klemenčič, urologist, Dr Ludvik Jereb, who became an honorary citizen of Bled, and Igor Slavec, director of the newspaper Gorenjski Glas (his brother was a Partisan national hero, Ivo Slavec).

That this »failure« of a whole generation of those who were forcibly mobilized is primarily the fault of the systemic stigmatization, segregation and discrimination can be seen in the fates of two who escaped Titoism: In the draft list of the Bled municipality, number 1 was: »Peter Florianschitz /Florjančin/ Geburtsdatum 5.3.1919, Veldes-Retschitz 77.«. Before he could be mobilized, Florjančič fled to Switzerland, where he became a famous inventor, a member of high society, and he is justified in describing his life as »jumping into cream«. For his hundredth birthday, there were several ceremonies in Slovenia to commemorate his life.

Franc Grmek escaped the Wehrmacht and joined the Yugoslav Army. At the end of the War he was in Koroška with the Home Guards and was returned to Škofja Loka. He climbed down a lightning rod and escaped the castle where he was held, and then fled across the border. He moved to Canada where he became an Olympic athlete, a world-renowned bridge builder and probably one of the best Slovene hunters.

The answer to the question why Florjančič and Grmek were able to succeed in the free world, but in Second Yugoslavia the tens of thousands of those forcibly mobilized were not able to, is simple: Yugoslavia was not a free country, the population was segregated based on an ideology which was founded on a racist principle of dividing people into suitable and unsuitable (the principle of socio-political (un)suitability).





POLAND

WARSAW

700000

PRAGUE

VIENNA

BUDAPEST

SLOVENIA

70000

ZAGREB

BELGRADE

FORCED MOBILIZATION INTO THE GERMAN ARMY ACROSS EUROPE

German Forced Mobilizations across Europe

In the official gazette of the head of civil administration in the occupied areas of Koroška and Gorenjska, two decrees of the head of civil administration, Friedrich Rainer, were published on 7th July 1942 (Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt nr. 16, p. 146), announcing the introduction of obligatory military duty and the Act on State Service in the occupied areas of Koroška and Gorenjska. Each decree had two articles. The contents were the same. They permit the head of civil administration to draft people into the State Service or the Wehrmacht in accordance with the rules of the Ministry of the Interior or the Wehrmacht High Command. Then on 27th September 1942, at a general meeting in Kranj, Rainer awarded people of Gorenjska temporary German citizenship and explained that this also includes »obligatory military duty«.

In January 1943, he threatened that everyone who will not respond to »their duties in the Wehrmacht or the State Service« will be together »with their families most strictly punished«. For deserters that could mean death penalty, and for their relatives being forcibly relocated to Germany.

Monika Kokalj Kočevar has also been presenting her new findings in international conferences on such topics. These also include presentations of fates of those forcibly mobilized from Belgium, Alsatia, Loren, Luxemburg, Poland and Slovenia. Just like the rest, the forcibly mobilized Slovenes were victims of the National Socialist violation of international law. Kokalj Kočevar stresses that while other countries also reproached those forcibly mobilized for serving in the Wehrmacht, they did not systematically violate their basic human rights like they did in Second Yugoslavia.

Forcibly mobilized Slovenes were the only ones not allowed access to German payments and repatriations. Yugoslav authorities also made their lives difficult in many other ways. They were called to serve additional military duty, attend military exercises, they were not allowed access to scholarships, loans, and their careers were derailed. In general, they had to live in a toxic environment, in which they were »Nazi soldiers«, branded as traitors, as inferior members of society.

Living in a Lie

In 1944, the Partisan political police representative for Gorje near Bled wrote:

»The fact that such a high number of people responded to the German mobilization in sector 4 is mostly the fault of the parents who believed the occupator's threats that if the sons join the Partisans, the families would be relocated and their houses razed.«

This attitude reflects the change after the War. Thus, the forced mobilization is no longer the fault of the occupator, but the fault of those mobilized and their families, for giving in to the occupator. The records of one of those mobilized show that he was in 1943 »suddenly drafted into the Wehrmacht while he was in Koroška and he could not escape to join the NLF (National Liberation Front). On 20th July, 1944, he was on leave in Celovec (Klagenfurt) and did not take the opportunity to join the NLF. He served in the infantry in France. His mother stated: He is not able to join the Partisans; he was wounded in the head and went crazy. However, if he is fit enough for the Wehrmacht, he is fit enough for the NLF. I think his mother prohibited it.«

When the forced mobilization started, there were only around 300 Partisans in Gorenjska. They were not able to prevent the mobilization or even to accept everyone who wished to avoid it and join the Partisans.

Even the few hundreds who joined the Partisans to escape the mobilization significantly strengthened the Partisan Army. With the decline of German power, the Partisans strengthened and started to actively compete for the mobilized. Thus if the German mobilization strengthened the Partisans by forcing people to join them to avoid the mobilization, then the strengthened Partisan units, political police and Partisan political organisations increased

the pressure on those mobilized to take advantage of leave or any other means to desert and join the Partisans in Slovenia or Partisan allies abroad.

In 1944, in the villages Zagorice, Želeče, Mlino, Bodešče, Bohinjska Bela, Koritno, Obrne, Ribno and Selo, the partisan political police made a list of 55 forcibly mobilized people who were still in the Wehrmacht and of 39 who already deserted and joined the Partisans. Of the 55 in the Wehrmacht, ten had died fighting, and 24 were not on leave. One joined the Partisans in France, two were sent to the »Gestapo«, one made a failed desertion attempt and one deserter from the Partisans who was missing. There was one American prisoner (likely prisoner of the American Army). Two joined the SS, one of which was on leave. There were 15 of those who were on leave but returned to the Wehrmacht, four of those twice. One was on leave, but »unfit to serve« The list was not perfect, as there were more than 130 people mobilized from those villages.

Similarly, elsewhere in Gorenjska, the people forcibly mobilized who were able to desert, or who could not avoid Partisan pressure, also mostly joined the Partisans. Desertions were a matter of life and death, where significant help was required from both the families of the deserters as well Partisan collaborators. The percentage of people forcibly mobilized from Gorenjska and Koroška who deserted is probably significantly higher than of those in other countries. This heroic rebellious act has still not been fully recognized.

After the War, the Communist authorities built a society with the goal of establishing and maintaining absolute authority of the Communists, Partisans and the proletariat. One of the basic tools to achieve this goal was the rent and privilege system based on war roles aligned with the ideological priorities of the Communist leadership. The positions in this system also defined the fates of the participants in the symbolic mythology of Titoism.

The highest were the military and political leaders, soldiers and activists. This »new class« was always a minority. In Slovenia, there were 8500 communists in 1945 (0.6% of

the population), 49,000 in 1954 (3.6% of the population). The highest number of communists was in 1982 – 126,000 (6.7% of the population).

The League of Associations of Veterans was a loyal transmitter of Communist politics. It was established in 1948, with 120,000 members across 792 local associations. According to the data in 1953, fewer than 45,000 members served in Partisan units. The number of members grew to 157,000 by 1973, and 86,000 had their years in the Partisans recognized for their retirement age (singly or doubly). The system of privileges consistently developed during Titoist times had numerous advantages for the Partisan veterans.

The core interest of both Communists and Partisan veterans was to maintain the thousands of positions held in politics, police, military, state service, economy etc. that allowed the minority to rule the majority.

Below this »new class« the communist side of the social pyramid continued with lower rents and fewer privileges for groups of victims of occupator and collaborator violence – internees, prisoners, exiles, other civil victims of the War.

Barred access to rents and higher positions were people forcibly mobilized into the German, Italian and Hungarian Armies or other occupying units, and soldiers in the Slovene anti-Communist units. As the class war and the war against religion and church developed, nobles, bourgeois, clerics and the faithful were added to this list. Systemic discrimination, segregation and stigmatization harmed hundreds of thousands of casualties, survivors and even their families – many of the measures harmed not only the stigmatized but also their families. In most cases there was no effort made to identify any personal responsibility of the individual, only an ideological-political evaluation was made.

All these measures of segregation worked by isolating the victims from one another, so that in the end each victim must shoulder the blame of the group and could not do anything but live in a lie. What a burden this was for the people who were

mobilized can be seen in the number of testimonies that came out after the collapse of Second Yugoslavia.

Legally, the people forcibly mobilized could not count the War years towards their retirement. For example in 1972, a person who was forcibly mobilized was not able to count the 2 years working for the Railway Agency Celje from December 1942 to June 1944, because he was in the Wehrmacht from June 1944 to May 1945: »According to the 163rd Article of the Core Act of Retirement, the period between 6/4-1941 to 15/5-1945 does not count for those who actively served on the occupators' side during the National Liberation Struggle.« This ignored the occupator's crime, and the responsibility was put solely on those forcibly mobilized; they were seen as co-conspirators.

The attitude of the government became even harsher after the disabled and the relatives of the fallen started to self-organise to get financial help that was provided by Federal Republic of Germany. On 6th January 1949, the headquarters of the League of Slovene War-Disabled Military replied to Alojz Žibert, who was disabled while serving in the Wehrmacht:

»In regards to your letter, we are informing you that the Law on the War-Disabled Military does not acknowledge those disabled in the Wehrmacht, and they cannot access the protection and rights the Law provides to those from the NLF and those who were disabled before the War.«

Žibert did not give up. The Office for Protection of Yugoslav Property Abroad which was part of the State Secretariat for External Affairs replied on 19th April 1954:

»Your request to allow you access to the disability pension from the German state is denied. If our social state deems that you satisfy the requirements for disability support, only it can provide it to you. It is not possible for our citizens to get disability support from the occupator for serving in their army.«

The disabled started to organise to exercise their rights in Germany. On 29th March 1953, a call for information was published in order to file the requests to the German Embassy. On 7th December 1953, a request was sent to the Slovene Council for Public Health and Social Policy. The estimate said that in Slovenia »there are around 7,000 disabled and more than 10,000 relatives of fallen soldiers who were forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht.« They asked the authorities to allow them access to the pensions paid by Federal Republic of Germany. The authorities passed the request to the State Secretariat for Internal Affairs. This completely reasonable request by the disabled and the relatives of the fallen was turned into a political-police matter. In a report to the Slovene Executive Council, the State Secretariat estimated that »the number of applicants will rise to around 15,000 which is around 1/3 of the total number of recipients of war disability rents in our republic.« German authorities considered the forcibly mobilized as German citizens. Yugoslav authorities refused to allow the beneficiaries to contact Germany individually and considered this hostile activity. »These phenomena, especially these tendencies to get German nationality give rise to the idea that Germanizing elements are at work again in Štajerska, trying to use the problem of those disabled in the Wehrmacht to the detriment of our country.«

Primarily, they wanted to protect the privileged position of those in the Partisan movement:

»This would not align with the gains of the National Liberation Struggle, if our war-disabled would be equalized with the Wehrmacht disabled, who fought against national liberation during the Second World War and thus they would be given the same status as our war-disabled. Even according to our laws, these people cannot have the status of war-disabled because they served as Yugoslav citizens in enemy units. Even more so, if those disabled in the Wehrmacht were given German disability pensions, they would be in better position than our disabled, as the German state would have a political-propaganda interest to provide them pensions higher than those of our disabled.«

Even though the Yugoslav authorities did acknowledge that forced mobilization was a war crime, they did not agree to individuals getting pensions. »Forced mobilization of population of occupied territory is against international law. The consequence of the German violation of international law by mobilizing the people in occupied Gorenjska and Štajerska is a collective material responsibility that is demanded from Germany by Yugoslavia. Because this concerns our citizens, it is the duty of Yugoslavia to identify what support should be given to individual disabled. Any attempt by the disabled to resolve this matter individually goes against the principle of state sovereignty and is used by Germany for political propaganda.« It was concluded regarding the disabled themselves that »there is no need to agree to the demands of the Wehrmacht disabled to get individual pensions, as socialist society gave most of these people work and revenue.« However, Yugoslav authorities did accord this right to Italian war-disabled, either through the Act of War Damage Repatriation or the Decree on Temporary Help of War-Disabled Military, point 8, addendum XIV to the Peace Treaty with Italy in 1953.

In September 1954, all Agencies for Internal Affairs with local People's Committees were ordered to prevent any

congregating of the forcibly mobilized disabled, to prevent any receipt of pensions from Germany and to track and monitor »any critiques or hostile responses« from those eligible for German pensions. They were also informed that those who were imprisoned by Germans may congregate in a similar way and they will also be blocked from receiving German pensions.

Yugoslavia did not come to an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany. They only made sure that the German payments did not exceed the ones received by the privileged disabled. For example, the Slovene Complaints and Filing Office on 25th August 1975 rejected a demand for a disability pension from a person disabled in the Wehrmacht, but they added »with great reluctance, we must tell you that as a member of the Wehrmacht, you can exercise your disability rights with the relevant German authorities in Fulda. Yugoslavia has not yet received compensation for this matter.«

According to German data, the German payments mentioned above were in 1973 sent to several thousands of »victims of War in Yugoslavia«. The fact that only several thousand of the hundreds of thousands affected could exercise their rights is a direct consequence of regime pressure. Yugoslavia refused to validate the required documents for the applicants. On 18th April 1963, the Republic Judiciary Secretariat ordered the »presidents of local courts to not validate documents that could be used to get disability support for those who served in the Wehrmacht and became disabled there.«

All the documents that prove how Yugoslavia actively hindered the forcibly mobilized in getting German payments are published in anthologies from various consultations about the fates of those forcibly mobilized that were published in the first decade of the Republic of Slovenia. Nevertheless, even in 2015, Božo Repe claimed that »Germany refused to provide repatriation for forcibly mobilized.« What can be further from the truth? The truth is that Tito's Yugoslavia marginalized the forcibly mobilized, systematically hindered them and deprived them of German pensions and repatriations, while simultaneously depriving itself of a significant source of foreign currency.

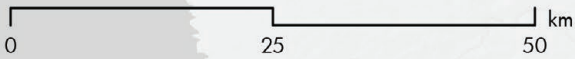


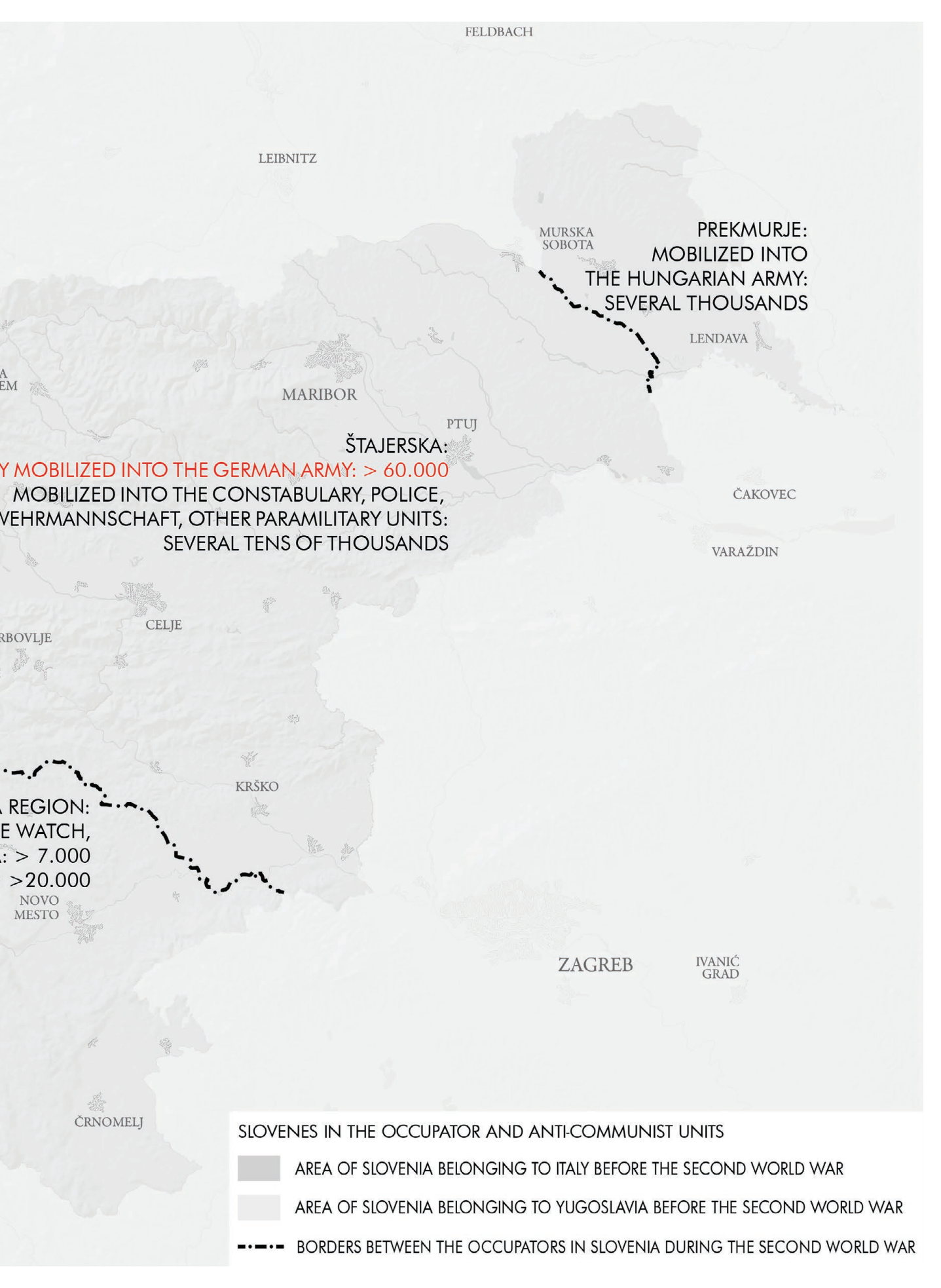
GORENJSKA AND KOROŠKA:
FORCIBLY MOBILIZED INTO THE GERMAN ARMY: > 12.000
MOBILIZED INTO THE CONSTABULARY, POLICE,
WEHRMANNSCHAFT, OTHER PARAMILITARY UNITS: > 10.000
GORENJSKA HOME GUARDS: > 3.500

FORCIBLY

ITALY:
MOBILIZED INTO THE ITALIAN ARMY: > 30.000
PRIMORSKA HOME GUARDS -
THE SLOVENE NATIONAL DEFENSE CORPS:
> 2.000

LJUBLJANA VILLAG
VOLUNTARY ANTI-COMMUNIT MILITIA
SLOVENE HOME GUARDS:





FELDBACH

LEIBNITZ

MURSKA SOBOTA

**PREKMURJE:
MOBILIZED INTO
THE HUNGARIAN ARMY:
SEVERAL THOUSANDS**

LENDAVA

MARIBOR

PTUJ

**ŠTAJERSKA:
MOBILIZED INTO THE GERMAN ARMY: > 60.000
MOBILIZED INTO THE CONSTABULARY, POLICE,
VEHRMANNSCHAFT, OTHER PARAMILITARY UNITS:
SEVERAL TENS OF THOUSANDS**

ČAKOVEC

VARAŽDIN

ROVLJE

CELJE

**REGION:
WATCH,
> 7.000
>20.000
NOVO
MESTO**

KRŠKO

ZAGREB

IVANIĆ GRAD

ČRNOMELJ

SLOVENES IN THE OCCUPATOR AND ANTI-COMMUNIST UNITS

AREA OF SLOVENIA BELONGING TO ITALY BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

AREA OF SLOVENIA BELONGING TO YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

BORDERS BETWEEN THE OCCUPATORS IN SLOVENIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Truth behind Invisible Door

Titoist taboo had a destructive impact on historical truth. The biggest group of uniformed Slovenes with the most dramatic fates and stories in the Second World War disappeared without a trace. Similar things happened to those forcibly mobilized into Italian and Hungarian armies and especially those in Slovene anti-Communist units.

We assume that around 100,000 people were mobilized into the Wehrmacht, Wehrmannschaft and other German uniformed units. More than 30,000 were mobilized into the Italian Army, around 1,000 into the Hungarian army. More than 30,000 served in the anti-Communist units. Therefore, in total more than 150,000.

However, the Communist authorities were not capable of even counting the Partisans and their losses. In the authoritative book *NOV na Slovenskem* (NLF in Slovenia) they in 1977 estimated that »according to rough estimates around 100,000 Slovenes were part of the NLF for a shorter or longer period of time, or 6.25% - more than half of the men and boys capable of fighting.« Damijan Guštin in 2008 reduced the number of Partisans to 75,000.

In *NOV na Slovenskem* the estimate was that »around 16,000 people have died in combat or due to wounds,« so around 16% of the partisans. Guštin uses the lists of the victims of War and revolution by the Institute of Recent History and states that 28,000 Partisans had died, 37% of the partisan army.

The myths obscure history.

The people forcibly mobilized into the German Army would enter public memory in Second Yugoslavia only through obscure mentions in literature and footnotes in scientific discussions. Thus, history was impoverished, robbed of content that reaches the most dramatic highs and lows of the events during and after the Second World War.

The Concealed and Still Active Germanization

One of the basic, possibly the most valued parts of regime historiography were the sources for National Socialist denationalization politics, which were collated in many years of work in archives at home and abroad by Tone Ferenc. The work mostly focuses on the relocating of Slovene population which was meant to allow the country to be Germanized. This includes 80,000 relocated or escaped people. Most were relocated to the Independent State of Croatia and Serbia and were not exposed to Germanization.

Of the inhabitants of German-occupied territory, the ones most directly exposed to Germanization pressures were those forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht. However, Ferenc does not even mention them in his primary collection of denationalization policy sources. At the same time, the forcibly mobilized are a shining example in how they expressed their loyalty to Slovenia in their discourse, singing, writing and even literary work. Even this noble resistance disappeared under Titoist taboo. Even now, the Slovene state in a very special way maintains the long-term consequences of Germanization. Germanized names of those forcibly mobilized, their places of birth and life are still written in German archives, many also in web publications of German casualties in the First and Second World Wars.

Let's exemplify the directness of Germanization policies in forcibly mobilization with two quotes from the weekly magazine *Karavanški Sel* (*Karawanken Bote – Karavanke Messenger*). 21st November 1942 in the article *First Gorenjci Drafted – Only the Valorous Deserve Guns* they highlighted that »the fact they were considered capable is an honour given by the Reich only to the valorous ... and even though many young Gorenjec speaks a different language, this does not speak against us having the same blood and the same valour.«

16th January, 1943, the article *Men of the State Service in Kreis Krainburg Depart – Big Address in the Full Theatre* reports that the local chief Leo Kuß spoke about the mission of those forcibly mobilized: »Now you are like children of Gorenjska in the Reich, when you return you will be the messengers of the Reich in Gorenjska.«

The strong Germanization pressure was discussed by the forcibly mobilized themselves, and reflected in the changes in their language in their letters. Darko Ogrin on 5th May, 1943, wrote the following from Görlitz:

»The weather is nice, which is great when we train, We are learning to fire a gun and machinegewehr, In the evening we are free at 6:30 and then we have sprach unterricht. Taught by a lojtnant. To make us learn German as fast as possible. We have the classes every day for an hour, and unfortunately in our free time.«

Slovene was forbidden: »Slovene must not be spoken. Written Slovene will also be forbidden.« A forcibly mobilized person wrote on 8th June 1943.

Dissolution of Taboos and the Discovery of the Great Tragedy – the Biggest Slovene War Tragedy of the Second World War

German military mentality is most clearly reflected in transcripts from recordings of German Prisoners of War captured by the Americans and the British. They were analysed by Sönke Neitzel and Harald Welzer (Soldaten: Protokolle vom Kämpfen, Töten und Sterben, 2011). They show that Wehrmacht was a criminal army, involved both in the holocaust and war crimes against other civilians and prisoner of war. Its internal cohesion was built on networks of military collectives and military values: bravery, obedience, duty, strength. They marked the understanding and explanations of military activity.

The great wave of crimes (holocaust, killing Soviet prisoners of war) was over by the time people from Gorenjska and Koroška were mobilized. And the Wehrmacht was mostly in retreat on most bigger battlegrounds. Mobilized Slovenes found themselves under ferocious fire of the offensives in the Eastern Front (from Ukraine to Finland) and the Western Front, especially in France, and Southern Front, in Italy.

The crushing pressure and all-encompassing life changes left a mark on almost everyone who was forcibly mobilized. Each of the warring sides expected the soldiers to die for them. In the uncertainty some also broke. Titoism did not treat post-traumatic stress disorder, exceptionally they mentioned the so-called partisan disease.

In the Jesenice census of the forcibly mobilised, some mental trauma was mentioned: »On 26th March 1944, he returned home due to illness. He is mentally unwell.« »Entered the Wehrmacht on 24th June 1943. After arriving to Germany, he was in hospital for a mental problem. On 11th November 1943 he was discharged and he returned home.«

Two forcibly mobilized spoke about how they broke under the weight of death when burying the bodies at the front and in captivity. Polde Grohar fought near the river Narva in the north:

»That's where the worst cruelties of war began. I was assigned to a special unit whose task was to rescue the wounded, which we carried and drove to the first aid stations. The second, worse, task was to pick up the dead, exploded by grenades, some already decaying, and taking them to the military cemetery. German units were attacking and with artillery and all other fire there was a huge number of casualties. Such a lethal harvest, with copious amounts of blood and the horror of mass death, even if of unknown and foreign soldiers, or friends and comrades, a human cannot remain untouched and numb. I cannot know how long I was able to persist. Even then I was not fully aware. All I know is that my nerves broke, I could not do it anymore. Too much blood and too many bodies. I left the horse and cart and fled.«

Valentin Arh had to bury the dead in Soviet captivity:

»It is hard to say how many we buried. The average was 10 corpses per day. Sometimes less, but when the camp sent us a big number of patients, significantly more passed away, sometimes up to 36 per day. In my estimates we threw 500-600 into the bunkers and trenches. Definitely not fewer than 500, but possibly more than 600. Most died due to dysentery, followed by pneumonia, and the wounds caused many deaths as well. While working with the dead I entered a weird mental state for a few weeks. I only thought of the work I was doing. Home, family and freedom were felt as something extremely far and forever or for a long time unreachable. Even today I cannot understand how I was not upset. It was similar with others working with me. We did our best not to fall behind with work and we only spoke about work and food.«

The forcibly mobilized were mostly all Catholic, many deeply religious. To most, religion was the main source of comfort in very trying time, but some lost it completely in the maelstrom of War.

Vili Brezar wrote in a letter to his family on 8th July 1944 that »grenades have been falling around me for four days, some only two meters away, often burying the trench. People die daily, no one is wounded, everyone dies, because the Russian artillery is shooting »tromel feuer« at our »shtelung«. Even though the newspaper says the enemy was pushed back across the river, they have been on our side for the last four days. The killing continues relentlessly, there is no hand or saviour here to stop it. The rye fields are bloody, saturated with human blood, and mother earth shouts into the sky demanding satisfaction. The weather was rainy for a few days, but today it has cleared, and it will be even worse from now on. There are other veterans here with me, who have fought in all the countries, and they tell you they haven't seen anything like this on God's given earth. What

artillery misses, the iron birds catch, so there's nothing left but to make peace with God. We are all, the unter-officer included, asking God to save us from hell. It is so bad that a few have gone mad, with everything going on here wrecking our nerves, disrupting any thought. We all shake like little scared children; we are so gone we cannot even eat. Today the bombing stopped for about thirty minutes, so I decided to write you a letter as a memory of your son, Vili.«

Silvester Arh and some other men from the State Service tried to escape and return home. They were caught. At the end of 1943, while in prison, they were offered leave to attend New Year's mass, which was just before his birthday on 1st January. »I signed up immediately, I was very religious, and I was happy to be able to attend the services /.../ The Mass was understandably conducted in German. During prayer the priest announced: »Now we will pray for all the German soldiers in the various fronts. For the soldiers who are the victims of our enemies and must struggle inhumanely!« He specifically mentioned: »We will also pray for fortune for the great German state!« I felt like the biggest fool. I thought, how can God approve of all this? If he allows that such injustice and crime happen, I cannot agree to it. I would never pray for our enemies and killers. Instantly, all faith in religion crumbled in me, and especially faith in priesthood. I asked myself, why would God, being so just, allow such crime and not punish them?«

An interesting question for further research is to find out how many forcibly mobilized joined the Communist Party or the League of Communists while in the Partisans or after the War.

The black and white portrayal by Titoism also concealed the individual struggle for survival. To find a solution in this extreme torment, they tried to save themselves in any way. They did not desert the Wehrmacht to only join the Partisans but also the Home Guards. The Tabooing in Titoism also covered up numerous, even mass desertions from partisan units. Partisan intelligence described a serial deserter from Bled. »unmarried, with no possessions, medium build, brown hair, no distinguishing marks. Entered the Wehrmacht in January 1943, unclear whether under own initiative or due to parents. January 1944 deserted and

joined the NLF. He served for a time in the Prešeren Brigade, from which he deserted and joined the Partisans in Koroška where his brother Ludvik served. He deserted again and stayed in the valley for a while. He was mobilized again by the Partisan security services and he escaped for a third time and surrendered himself to the Germans. He did not betray anything. He is now serving in the Wehrmacht in the Eastern Front.« After the War he lived in his birthplace, Bled, disabled.

Another category that has not yet been researched are the evaders. Many forcibly mobilized people tried to evade anyone and everyone who demanded their life. Some are mentioned in the Jesenice census:

He suffered a leg wound in the Wehrmacht »on 12th July 1943 and he spent time in various hospitals until 20th September 1944, and then he went home, where he hid until liberation. Member of the LF. Politically reliable.«

»In Wehrmacht from Jan 1943 to Sep 1943. Hiding for 22 months at home.«

Returned from the Wehrmacht »in September 1944, hidden at home.«

Was in the Wehrmacht »as a grenadier until 1st September 1944. Then hiding at home until liberation.«

In the Wehrmacht »until Dec 1943, when he was home on leave, and hid for 17 months. Joined Yugoslav Army on 5th May 1945.«

Returned from the Wehrmacht »on 2nd February 1944. Hiding for 17 months, after liberation got a job with the railway in Boh. Bistrica and was later fired. Calm character, not dangerous to our movement.«

Returned from the Wehrmacht »in August 1944, on leave, and was hiding until Christmas, 1944. When he was discovered he was mobilized into the NLF.«

Deserting the Wehrmacht was a big decision. The forcibly mobilized were aware that in case they were caught, they would be

punished severely. There were quite a few who were caught trying to desert or as partisans. Their fates also deserve individual research.

Let's mention a few dramatic cases from the Jesenice census: »Served in the Wehrmacht until 14th May, 1944 in France with panzer grenadiers. Joined the NLF on 26th June, 1944, and served in the Prešeren Brigade until 30th July 1944, when he was caught by the Germans and imprisoned in Koroška until 26th October, 1944. Then he was mobilized into the Wehrmacht again and served until 2nd February 1945, then captured and finally returned home on 26th November, 1945. Member of the LF, good attitude towards the authorities.«

»Served in the State Service until 26th October 1943, escaped and captured on 1st November, 1943. Imprisoned in Dachau until 8th May, 1945. Now in the Yugoslav Army.«

In the Wehrmacht he was »infantry in France. Joined the NLF on 19th July 1943 and was captured on 14th August 1943 by Italians and imprisoned in Italy. When Italy capitulated, he was sent to the penitentiary in Begunje. 12th November 1943, sent to prison in Germany and sent to the front on 27th August 1944. Captured by the English on 6th May 1945 and then repatriated home on 8th August, 1945. Member of the LF, not active anywhere.«

Joined the Partisans »on 27th April 1944, the Security Services Jelovica. On 27th April 1944, captured by Germans and imprisoned in a POW camp, from which he returned in May, 1945.«

We have mentioned that the proportion of deserters from those forcibly mobilized from Gorenjska and Koroška was very high. In the areas where the Partisan movement dominated, it was more than half of the forcibly mobilized.

Germany has only recently awarded the status of resister to national socialism for deserters from the Wehrmacht. However, Slovene deserters, especially those who were caught and punished still have not been publicly acknowledged. If in Germany, the former national socialist politicians, judges and commanders tried in any way possible to resist giving the status of resister to national socialism for deserters, Yugoslavia also did not have a single Wehrmacht deserter in its list of national heroes.

My Story

Ludvik Puklavec, forcibly mobilized from Štajerska and one of the most driven organisers of those forcibly mobilized in Slovenia wrote in 1988: »I wrote this story of mine for the first time after 52 years, as it is also a part of Slovene history, even though until now I felt it was only my personal experience.«

The mobilized have more to say than just a »part of Slovene history«. Their stories and gathered data testify about their participation, suffering and sacrifice in the worst defensive battles of the Wehrmacht, from the Ukraine to Finland, in France, Italy and elsewhere.

The experiences from the front shook the Slovene public on 14th May 2007, with the release of the documentary film Slovenes Mobilized into the Wehrmach 1941-1945 on Slovene national TV. It was directed by Vasten Valič, and scripted and produced by Monika Kokalj Kočever. She recorded many of the testimonies of the forcibly mobilized Slovenes and prepared a number of thematic shows for the My Story series for Radio Ognjišče. However, discovering the struggles and fates of as many forcibly mobilized as possible is still ahead of us.

Number of those Mobilized

To preserve the desired and requested image which was (and still is) adapted to concrete politically-ideological priorities, Titoism avoided basic definitions of acts. They did not count the surviving or dead participants of the War. In the representative regime overview of the Partisan Struggle, the ones mobilized by Germany were mentioned in footnote 4 on page 1019:

»It is estimated that of around 35,000 men and boys (28,000 from Štajerska and 7,000 in Gorenjska) who served in the German Army, and mostly fought in the big battlefields, around 5,000 died.«

The term »in German military service« is already very unclear, as it could include members of the *vehrmanschaft*, constables, blackguards, anti-air defence... Even those alone likely numbered more than 35,000. The first piece of information that exposes the lie of their statement is that the census of victims of the Second World War and Stalinist revolution indicates over 10,000 fatalities among those forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht. If the casualties are double, we could estimate that the number of mobilized should double, too, so not 35,000, but 70,000. »7,000 in Gorenjska« likely includes those from Koroška. If we take a fifth, then there would have been a bit fewer than 1,000 dead among those forcibly mobilized from here, we now have a list of almost 2,000. We can agree with the thesis of Monika Kokalj Kočevar, that Titoist lists only included those who remained in the Wehrmacht until the end of the War. However, the studies about the numbers of those drafted and mobilized and their fates are far from over. The work is hard, time intense and complicated, partly due to the general destruction of archives, especially in Titoism. The archive of the XVIII War region in Salzburg was also destroyed, and that is where the records of people from Gorenjska and Koroška were kept. Many records are illegible, First and last names are written in different ways and dates of birth and other data often do not match.

In the coincidentally preserved parts of the archives of the Tržič and St. Katarina (Lom pod Storžičem) municipalities, maps with draft and military matters can be found. Number 043-5 contains the military duty information and number 403-15 drafts and mobilizations and general matters. They contain lists of draftees, the draft process, mobilization and other military documents. Unfortunately, there are no such documents preserved for other Gorenjska municipalities. The destruction of municipal and other archives, including Partisan ones and post-War government ones makes the research very difficult. Monika Kokalj Kočevar has uncovered several sources in German archives that will need to be studied.

By creating comprehensive lists of the mobilized into the Wehrmacht and other units, Monika Kokalj Kočevar moved the boundaries with incredible persistence. If 20 years ago, I

speculated that there were no more than 9,000 people mobilized in Gorenjska, her list now identifies around 11,000 people mobilized into the Wehrmacht by name. Another first was also creating a list of 1,000 people forcibly mobilized from Mežica Valley and Dravograd together with Marjan Linasij. They listed more than 13,000 people, around 6.5% of the population. More than 1,200 were born before 1916 or after 1926 and became constables or members of other German formations. More than 11,800 men (5.8% of the population) served in the Wehrmacht. There are significantly fewer of those born between 1916-1919 because the number of births during the First World War was significantly lower than during peace time.

| born | Gorenjska | Koroška |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| up to 1916 | 1045 | 47 |
| 1916 | 332 | 26 |
| 1917 | 291 | 24 |
| 1918 | 368 | 26 |
| 1919 | 603 | 36 |
| 1920 | 844 | 51 |
| 1921 | 1164 | 84 |
| 1922 | 1236 | 92 |
| 1923 | 1578 | 108 |
| 1924 | 1621 | 122 |
| 1925 | 1521 | 83 |
| 1926 | 967 | 62 |
| after 1926 | 98 | 18 |
| ? | 388 | 223 |
| total | 12056 | 1002 |

It is likely that the number of those forcibly mobilized will increase after additional research. In Gorenjska perhaps by a few thousand, in Koroška by a few hundred.

I compared the data gathered by Kokalj Kočever with the lists of those forcibly mobilized I collated while reviewing the consequences of the War in the Partisan district Jesenice in 1944. Based on my sources, my assumption was that out of 36,342 inhabitants of Blejski Kot, Jesenice and the valley and Radovljica with its surroundings, 1407 out of the 2490 drafted men born between 1916 and 1926 were forcibly mobilized. When I compared this with the data collected by Kokalj Kočever on people forcibly mobilized from this area, the image changes dramatically. We now have a list of 2,258 forcibly mobilized. Reviewing my lists and additional sources, I was able to add 200 people forcibly mobilized that had not yet been on Kokalj Kočever's list. In 1994, 1,407 forcibly mobilized were listed; 3.9% of the population, and 56.3% of those drafted. With new numbers, the 2,258 forcibly mobilized represent 6.2% of the population and 90.7% of those drafted. The number of fatalities in the Wehrmacht increased from 258 to 332 (from 0.7% to 0.9%). If we use this data to extrapolate for entire Gorenjska, it means that of 183,000 inhabitants more than 11,300 were forcibly mobilized and around 1,650 died while serving in the Wehrmacht. But because we already have a list of 1,750 fatalities in the Wehrmacht, it is likely the number of those forcibly mobilized will increase as well.

The draft list from the archives of the municipality St. Katarina (Lom pod Storžičem) contains 91 draftees, and the list of those mobilized from August 1943 contains 56 names. When we compare these lists with the Kokalj Kočever data, we can identify 15 names she does not have yet, and she has almost 20 additional names of those forcibly mobilized.

These differences likely arise because the place of living did not always match the place of draft and mobilization. For example, a mobilized person who lived in Kranj deferred the draft and went to study in Vienna, where he was drafted in 1944.

Additional checks of existing data and reviewing new source will also likely remove a few of the names from the list, and we will undoubtedly add new names. One of the core issues is also the list of partisans and military duty service list for after the Second World War, which should theoretically include any information about serving in the Wehrmacht. Only then will we be able to accurately see how many of those forcibly mobilized deserted into the Partisans at home or abroad. There were certainly enough to strengthen them significantly. And to prove they in no way deserve the abusive »Nazi soldier« and all the trouble that came along with it.

Casualties without the Right to a Grave

The photo of Janez Cvetko's grave from Srednja Vas in Bohinj was sent to his family by his commander. He fell in Byelorussia on 14th February 1944. Southwest of Staroselly. In the German online list of fatalities, Janez Cvetko is listed as Johann Zwetko. The list also states that those who fell in that area were unburied and reburied in a cemetery in Šatkovo, but there is no information whether his remains were found.

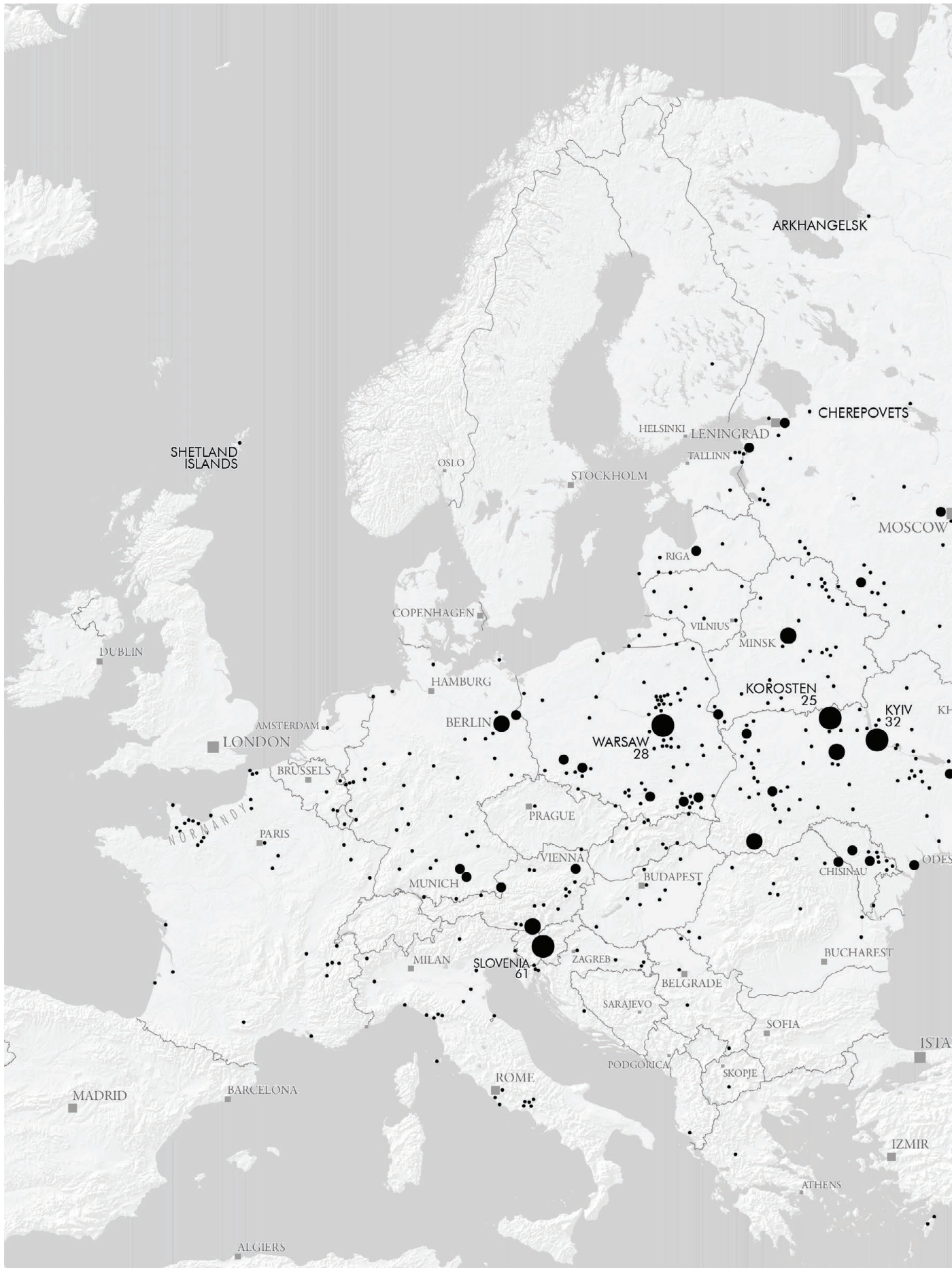
Using the online grave browser on the page Volksbund.de, I found the data for 321 fallen people from Gorenjska who were forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht. I found 18 casualties that we hadn't listed yet – mostly born before 1916. Almost all entries contained new data. The date of birth was found or updated for 68 cases, date of death for 93 cases, place of death for 239 cases and place of burial for 249 cases.

If the removal of the right to historical memory was a severe violation of human rights for the forcibly mobilized, the fact that they did not have the right to a grave was even worse for the families of the fallen. Second Yugoslavia differed from Italy and Germany in handling of war graves, as well. Italians were able rebury their dead from the graves in Second Yugoslavia after 1960, but Germany was not allowed to investigate and manage their war graves all the way until Yugoslavia dissolved. Graves of Slovene soldiers who fell while

serving in German, Hungarian and Italian armies were of no importance to Second Yugoslavia.

The Republic of Slovenia has not yet initiated a dialogue with Germany, Italy or Hungary about the graves of Slovenes buried in military cemeteries of those countries. However only this data will allow us to have a full view of the dramatic paths of this biggest uniformed group of Slovenes in the Second World War.

Slovene graves across Europe testify about the epic suffering of a generation. Location of death is known for 490 fatalities. Average distance from Kranj to the location of death is more than 1300 km, and 13 of them died more than 3,000 km away from Kranj, 89 between 2000 and 3000 km away from Kranj, 214 between 1,000 and 2,000, 97 between 500 and 1,000, and 77 closer than 500 km.



0 500 1.000 km Data geocoding and digital cartography: Matjaž Budkovič

Date of death

| up to | Gorenjska | Koroška |
|---------|-----------|---------|
| 1942 | 3 | |
| 1943 | 46 | 3 |
| 1944 | 203 | 2 |
| 1945 | 82 | |
| 1946 | 1 | |
| Jul. 41 | 1 | |
| Oct. 41 | 2 | |
| Nov. 41 | 1 | |
| Feb. 42 | 1 | |
| Jun. 42 | 1 | |
| Aug. 42 | 2 | |
| Sep. 42 | 2 | |
| Nov. 42 | 1 | |
| Dec. 42 | 2 | 1 |
| Jan. 43 | 5 | |
| Feb. 43 | 6 | 1 |
| Mar. 43 | 6 | 1 |
| Apr. 43 | 4 | 1 |
| May 43 | 1 | |
| Jun. 43 | 6 | 1 |
| Jul. 43 | 7 | 4 |
| Aug. 43 | 11 | 8 |
| Sep. 43 | 17 | 5 |
| Oct. 43 | 32 | 7 |
| Nov. 43 | 42 | 8 |
| Dec. 43 | 42 | 3 |
| Jan. 44 | 69 | 7 |
| Feb. 44 | 71 | 12 |
| Mar. 44 | 92 | 8 |
| Apr. 44 | 63 | 13 |
| May 44 | 41 | 5 |
| Jun. 44 | 67 | 5 |
| Jul. 44 | 54 | 7 |

| | | |
|---------|------|-----|
| Aug. 44 | 119 | 12 |
| Sep. 44 | 60 | 12 |
| Oct. 44 | 78 | 3 |
| Nov. 44 | 38 | 2 |
| Dec. 44 | 44 | 4 |
| Jan. 45 | 60 | 8 |
| Feb. 45 | 31 | 6 |
| Mar. 45 | 33 | 8 |
| Apr. 45 | 25 | 4 |
| May 45 | 19 | 2 |
| Jun. 45 | 8 | |
| Aug. 45 | 3 | |
| Sep. 45 | 4 | |
| Oct. 45 | 1 | |
| Nov. 45 | 2 | |
| Dec. 45 | 1 | 1 |
| Jan. 46 | 1 | |
| Mar. 46 | 1 | |
| ? | 333 | 57 |
| total | 1845 | 221 |

Victims in the Wehrmacht and other occupier formations by year of birth

| Born | Gorenjska | Koroška |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| up to 1916 | 87 | 8 |
| 1916 | 44 | 5 |
| 1917 | 37 | 5 |
| 1918 | 50 | 6 |
| 1919 | 82 | 4 |
| 1920 | 136 | 15 |
| 1921 | 176 | 23 |
| 1922 | 211 | 31 |
| 1923 | 257 | 42 |
| 1924 | 248 | 12 |
| 1925 | 258 | 14 |
| 1926 | 134 | 5 |
| after 1926 | 6 | 0 |
| ? | 119 | 50 |
| total | 1845 | 220 |

Return of the Generation 1916–1926

What a tectonic break the forced mobilization was for the 1916-1926 generation in Gorenjska can be illustrated with data from prison books of the Gestapo penitentiary in Begunje. 11,498 persons were imprisoned there (a few hundred twice, a few of them more than twice). More than 2,600 of those (more than a fifth) were men of the 1916-1926 generation, and around a tenth women of that generation. Between 1941-1943 around 1600 were men of this generation (a quarter) of around 6,100 prisoners, and around 6% were women. Between 1944-1945 the percentage of men of this generation drops to less than a fifth (around 1,000 of 5,400 prisoners) and the percentage of women grows to almost 15%.

The men of this generation are also strongly present among the captured partisans (total of those was 1,750) and deserters from partisans (total was 760). Out of the 1,760 captured partisans, 780 men were from this generation (40%) and out of the 760 deserters, around 200 (more than a quarter). We can assume that more were caught, and they deserted less than the older partisans.

Review of fatalities in the men of the 1916-1926 generation in Gorenjska using latest research shows the breadth of War and post-War drama.

Out of the 183,000 inhabitants of the German occupation region Gorenjska, around 13,300 lost their lives due to the Second World War: almost 7.3% of the population. More than 4,500 were men of the 1916-1926 generation, a third of all victims. Around 1,750 died in the Wehrmacht (13% of the Gorenjska victims). We estimate that from around 5,000 Gorenjska Partisan casualties, more than 2,000 were from the 1916-1926 generation. Several hundred were probably murdered by the Partisans during the War and several hundred were Home Guards who were killed as prisoners of war after the War. Others were civilians, 301 were shot as hostages, 7 were killed in the penitentiary, and more than 110 were killed in National Socialist concentration camps.

According to Marjan Linasi's data, the ratios are similar in Koroška. Linasi verified the list of casualties of the Second World War and revolution by the Institution of Recent History. Out of the 1,300 listed, doubts remain around 70 entries, and he believes that 80 of the fatalities should not be in the list. However, the analysis of the list gives similar results as in Gorenjska. Almost 40% of Koroška victims (38% of men and 2% women) are from the 1919-1926 generation. More than half of the fallen Partisans are from the 1916-1926 generation. 207 disappeared in the Wehrmacht or as prisoners of war – more than 15% of all fatalities.

Farewell

The first big meeting of the forcibly mobilized took place on 17th December 1990, in Kranj. More than 400 attended. This ignited a struggle towards justice and truth.

We are proud to present the collected research, but what I wrote 25 years ago is still true. Even the second generation of the project Forced Soldiers is still only a »sample study, that will be part of the mosaic of the Slovene military history and fight against the occupator. This sample needs to be complemented with stories about the fates of individuals and groups. From drills in the German barracks to the risks the deserters took. From bravery in the Partisans to the trouble of the evaders. From the thunder of battle to the calvary of the disabled. From heroes to victims without memory. From Germanization to the horrible conditions in Russian camps. The more we write down those thousands of fates, the stronger the story becomes.«

Let me return to my birthplace Lesce. A classmate from primary school recently told me how he lived in stress because his father was in the Wehrmacht. The census shows that he joined the Home Guards in February 1945. The son's story reveals a true drama. The father was wounded. Three boats took the wounded across the Baltic Sea, only his was not sunk. In January he returned home from hospital. His father did not permit him to join the Partisans. He joined the Home Guards in Brezje. He retreated to Koroška with the Home Guards and was returned to

Šentvid. He was prepared for the death transport, when his life was saved by Dane Korošec, a Partisan. The father was often called to military exercises after the War, he was not granted a house loan, and the family was marginalized several times.

This story is similar to fates of many families of those forcibly mobilized. The German census of the fallen in Jesenice shows that out of 38, 4 were married. How did their widows and children survive?

The more questions we ask, the richer the answers.

Literature

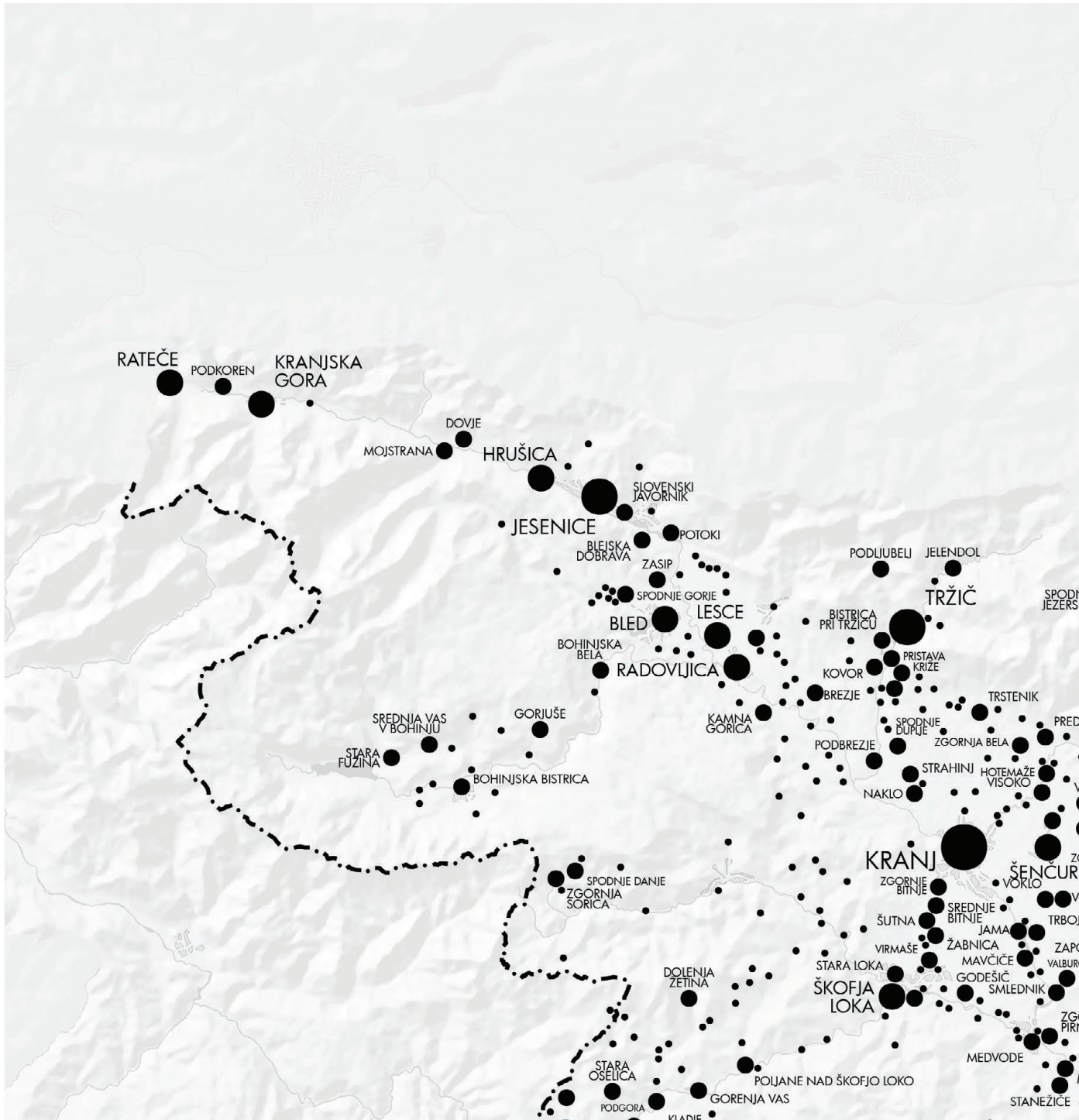
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Marjan Linasi, V viharinih letih – Mežiška dolina in območje Dravograda (In the stormy years – Mežiška Dolina valley and Dravograd area) 1941 – 1945: partizanski odpor, revolucija, prevzem oblasti, žrtve, (partisan resistance, revolution, taking control, victims) 2019.

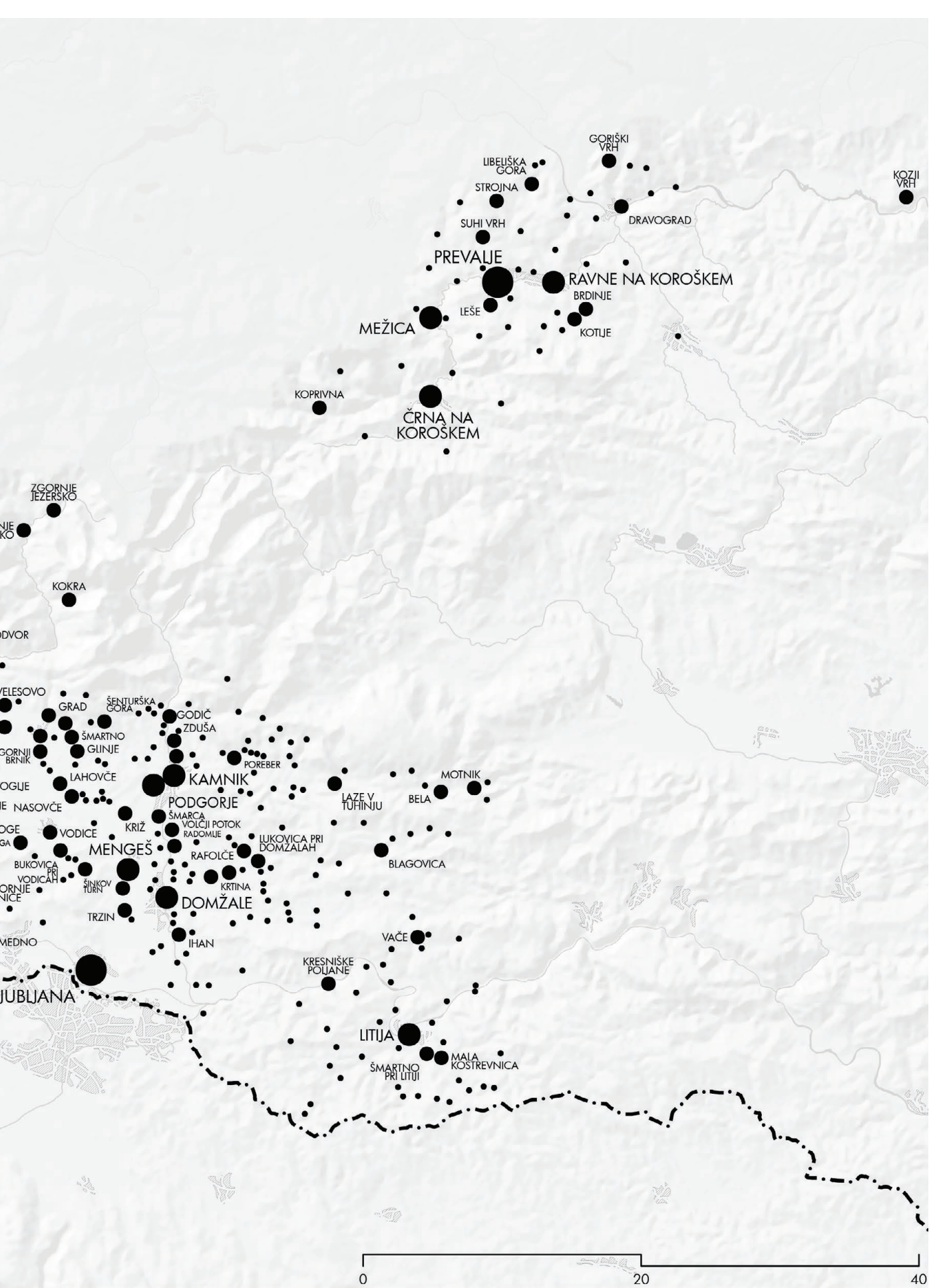
Božo Repe, S puško in knjigo – narodnoosvobodilni boj slovenskega naroda (With the Gun and the Book – National Liberation Struggle of the Slovene Nation) 1941 – 1945. 2015.



DEATH TOLL AMONG THOSE FORCIBLY MOBILIZED BY PLACE OF BIRTH OR PLACE OF LIVING

- 1 - 3
- 4 - 11
- 12 - 28
- 29 - 65
- 66 - 100

--- BORDER BETWEEN THE OCCUPATORS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR



Feldpost- correspondence of Men from Gorenjska Forcibly Mobilized into the German Army

Introduction

Some time ago I read a very interesting book titled *Is there any mail for me? War Letters 1938-1945*, written by Carinthian colleague Sabine Buchwald. In the book, the central part of which is actually a letter to her grandfather, Sabine included his interwar correspondence from the German Army and showed what was happening in the family and in Austrian Carinthia during the Second World War. At that time, I realized I also came across a lot of war letters in my field work, which were intended primarily for soldiers to talk to their families. It was this that prompted me to read the letters of forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht more systematically and to study them.

I have collected video and audio interviews with former recruits, but the letters represent a different source. In most cases, it is no longer possible to establish a dialogue with the perW have in some respects even more impact than the interview, as they were written at a specific time in the past and the writers did not know what awaited them. In interviews, reporters recall the past events with some knowledge of the coming years, so sometimes the interpretation can be tailored to this. They have already formed

an opinion on the events and have taken a stand on them. A letter that can be read again is a written statement that cannot be corrected or changed.

I was amazed how many letters were preserved by those forcibly mobilized into the Wehrmacht and their relatives. In some families, they are now being read by the third generation. The relatives first show the original photographs and objects, and only later they think of the preserved war letters, as these presented personal writing to the family, not intended for the general public. The letters represent private correspondence awaiting feedback. The letters were also not meant for later publication. They had the energy of the time, Sabine Buchwald wrote.¹ They represent an important source of understanding the time and destiny of individuals. They are not just means of communication, but a sign and testimony of that time. »Whoever would like to know what people thought and felt should read the war mail,« agrees historian Wolfram Wette.²

¹ Sabine Buchwald, *Is there any mail for me? War Mail 1938-1945, Mohorjeva Celovec 2017*, p. 20 (Buchwald).

² Buchwald, p. 21.

War letters are also a place of shared memories.³ Memories of a family and a soldier. Separation from home meant taking on new responsibilities outside the home circle, as many went far away from home for the first time.

In their new role, it was necessary to get used to other people in new circumstances and to count on physical and mental effort and violence in the worst forms, including dying in a foreign land.⁴

For the soldier all of this represented a search for a new self in a new reality that he had to accept. By doing so, one also found the strength to survive. This is a moment where family members and contact with them are very important - and so are the letters. Through written communication one continues an important family conversation, and the contact is maintained. Letters are both a medium through which writers secure their common pre-War reality, as well as a stabilization in a new reality.⁵

The letters sent through military field post office, so called Feldpost, during World War II were numerous. Between 28.2 and 40 billion letters are assumed to have travelled between the homeland and the front and vice versa. Of these, 24 percent were written by soldiers and 76 percent were letters sent from the homeland.

About letter writers

I chose war letters of eight forcibly mobilized men to present the mail between the front and Gorenjska and vice versa, and to illustrate the letter contents. In total, more than 500 of their letters have been preserved. They all fought on the Eastern Front and four died there. Slavko Hribar from Križ near Komenda, who spent a short time with the partisans after his desertion from the German Army, kept the most letters, over 200. When he was captured by German police, he was again sent to the front as a German soldier. Stanko Cvenkel from Ljubno also often wrote home and about 100 letters have been preserved. In long letters to his family, he described everyday events on the Eastern Front. There are also more than 100 war letters from brothers Franc and

Jakob Pazlar from Poljšica near Gorje. Franc died after several operations at the hospital in Sulz am Neckar in Germany on 16th October, 1944, and Jakob fell at the front on 16th August, 1944 near Lubla in Poland. Franc Rozman from Stražišče also wrote a diary. A bundle of letters and several documents have been preserved. Franc Erce was born in 1920, and he was immediately sent to the German Army and to the Eastern Front. While on his furlough, he did not return to the unit, but joined the Gorenjska Self Defence. Alojz Sušnik and Mirko Pečnik, who was first in Schwedt in Brandenburg, then in Denmark, and transferred to Ukraine, both fell on the Eastern Front.

³ Buchwald, p. 52.

⁴ Ralf Schoffit, *Väter und die Wahrnehmung der Vaterrolle im Spiegel von Feldpostbriefen 1939–1945*, Tübingen 2009, str. 27 (letter Schoffit), <https://d-nb.info/1009573551/34>, 2. 2. 2019.

⁵ Schoffit, p. 28.

Establishment of a field post office

Receiving mail influenced the personal prevailing emotions of the soldiers, and this was understood also by the superior officers in the German Army, who made every effort to ensure the constant operation of the connections and the possibility of constant contact. Sending war letters took precedence over civilian mail and was free of charge up to a certain weight. Since 1941, the field post office had a special mark on the letters, the Feldpost. This method of sending mail could also be indicated by the senders with a handwritten Feldpost above the recipient's address, and the original envelopes, sealed postcards or letters from the field post office had the Feldpost inscription already printed.

Letter from Stanko Cvenkl dated 28th May 1943. Kept by the family. (right)

Letter from Franc Rozman dated 27th July, 1944. The stamp invites girls and women to apply for a job at the post office, which connects the front and the homeland. Kept by the family. (page 215)

Gummierung hier lösen
mit Bleistift aufrollen

Feldpost. Nr. 11471
F. Frenkel. Gumbach.

Abender:

Feldpost Korm

Frenkel Josef
M. Laufer. 28.5.43.-12

Gummierung hier lösen
mit Bleistift aufrollen

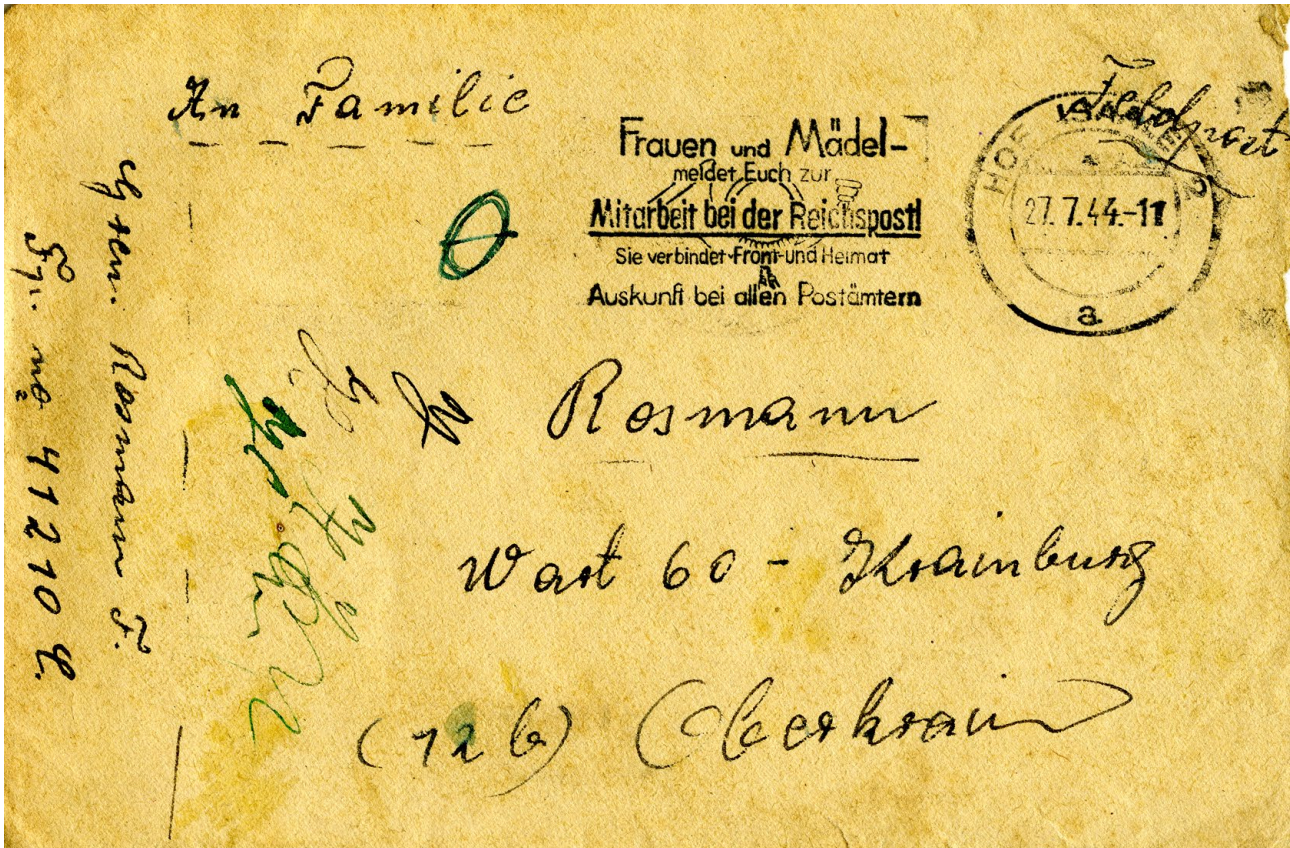


P. Podnart
Oberkreuz

Organization of field post offices

The State Post Office regulated the military mailing service with the start of the war. It also worked closely with military reporting units. The service of the field post office, which belonged to the supply units, was paid in a lump sum by the German Army.⁶ There were 17 army postal services within the Wehrmacht. The connection took place between the armies at different military venues and within each army. The task of the services was to process the mail, which also included mail with incorrect addresses and damaged shipments. Post offices were set up at headquarters, each office taking care of up to 100 field postnumbers (FPN). Postal officers were called up and became Wehrmacht officials in Wehrmacht uniforms during the war. They also received Soldbuch military booklets and an identification plate. Their so called Waffensfarbe was lemon yellow, the straps had the emblem of a military post made of white metal. Initially, there were about 12,000 military postal officers, but that number increased. Additional assistance was provided by a female force that stepped into men's jobs, and so the number of those dealing with military mail exceeded 200,000.⁷

Field post offices operated in the units. Officials who picked up and delivered mail wore a black ribbon with silver Feldpost letters on their sleeves.



6 Katrin Anja Kilian, *Das Medium Feldpost als Gegenstand interdisziplinärer Forschung*. PhD dissertation, Berlin, 2001, p. 102 (Kilian). <http://www.feldpost-archiv.de/pdf/diss-kkilian.pdf>, 8. 5. 2019.

7 Kilian, p. 110.

Content of letters

Everyone was aware of the value of the letters. These raised the military morale and provided psychological and emotional support to both soldiers at the front and the relatives at home. The letters were read by whole families.

In September 1942, in Nachrichten issued by the German Army, it was published: »For a soldier at the front, mail from home is just as important as food or ammunition, especially for soldiers who have not been on leave for a long time. So we just want the relatives to clearly write down what is understood that the recipient expects when receiving the letter. It is very important for him to get a brave greeting. Many families, wives, brides and children write magnificent letters. It is a heavy burden for men to read letters that cause them concern instead of relieving them.«⁸

The soldiers were also given instructions on how to write the letter. »A true soldier's letter speaks of full firm determination and conviction that this war will soon be over, such a man's letter works wonders. It will not only be read several times by the recipient, but its content will soon form the topic of conversation in the circle of acquaintances and help many people,« they wrote.⁹

In addition, military propaganda developed a special catalogue in which writers were given instructions on how to avoid badly written letters and letters without content. Letters should always be positive and rich in content, clear and decisive. However, German Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels commented on the war letters on 22rd January, 1942, that they were catastrophic: »What our soldiers write from the front to the homeland is better not to describe at all. /.../ This is where human weakness works, against which we are powerless.«¹⁰

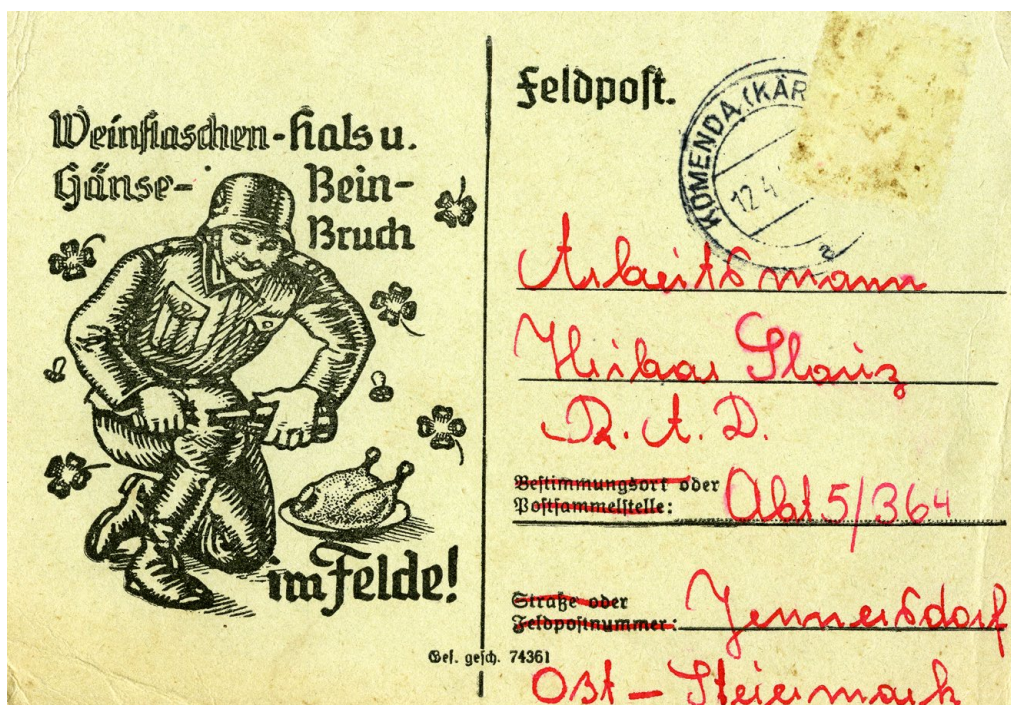
Field post number

The mail of conscripts to the Reich Labor Service (RAD) also went through the military post office, but they were able to write down their exact address of the RAD camp in the addresses sent. However, when they arrived in the units of the German Army, the

soldiers informed the relatives immediately upon arrival of their field postal code Feldpostnummer - FPN.

Due to secrecy, each unit had a war post code consisting of five digits assigned to larger units, e.g. battalion, department. Smaller parts of the unit, e.g. troops, however, differed from each other by an additional letter.

Thus, the company in which grenadier Franc Rozman served had the post code FPN 41210C, which meant that he was in the 2nd company of the battalion. 41210A marked the battalion headquarters, 41210B was the 1st Battalion Company, 41210C the 2nd Battalion Company, 41210D was the 3rd Battalion Company.¹¹ During the war, the units were disbanded several times and it also happened that several units had the same zip code.¹²



8 Schoffit, p.17.

9 Ibid.

10 Schoffit, p.18.

11 <https://www.axishistory.com/books/383-germany-military-other/feldpost/8966-feldpost-numbers-41000-41999>, 8. 8. 2019.

12 Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt), Feldpostübersicht, <https://www.dd-wast.de/de/unterlagen/em-verzeichnis-verlustunterlagen/feldpostuebersicht.html>, 3. 6. 2016.

↑
Gummierung hier lösen
(mit Bleistift aufrollen)

12 Pf. Nr. 47270 Z.

Empfänger: Frau Rosmann Franz

Seldpost

An Frau

Rosmann Antonia



Gummierung hier lösen
(mit Bleistift aufrollen)
↓



Wart 60 - Weinstadt

72 b

Oberkrand



The soldiers addressed the letters to the recipients and wrote the exact address back home, but their address or units were not allowed to be written down due to secrecy. Therefore, they used only the Feldpostnummer or field post number. This remained the same as long as they belonged to the same unit.

All mail sent was stamped at the top right with a round military post stamp containing the inscription »Feldpost«, the national emblem and the date of dispatch. At the bottom left was the stamp of the military service at the unit with the number of the FPN to which the unit belonged to and where the soldier served. From the rearguard units the mail was sent with the stamp of the place and the stamp of the reserve unit at the bottom left.

In addition to the province name - Oberkrain, the soldiers also added a postal code when writing home. Gorenjska had 12b. On the back page, the soldiers wrote only their FPN and not the unit. Relatives could write to the wounded soldiers, who were treated in various hospitals, and put the exact address of the hospital.

Letter from Franc Rozman dated 4th October 1944. Kept by the family. (right)

Postcard received by Slavko Hribar at the State Labor Service in Jennersdorf. Kept by MNZS. (page 217)

Ab. Gefr. Selinschek &
Res Lazarett. II.
Brieg (B. Breslau.)
P. G. Zimmerer, 20.

Feld post
14.7.44-8
BESUCHT BRIEG
MIT SEINER SCHÖNEN GARTENPLATZEN
SLAU

Pio.

Hriber Stam.

P. Er. Btl. 46.

Regensburg.

Stammko. nicht

Letter to Slavko Hriber in the Pioneer Replacement Battalion 46, dated 14th July, 1944.
Kept by MNZS. (above)

Postcard sent to Slavko Hriber by his mother, Italy, dated 5th March, 1945.
Kept by MNZS (page 223)

The units retained their FPN even when relocating to another location. Mail coming from the homeland to the front was sent by the state post offices to the military post offices and then via the competent postal codes.

Soldiers also received all mail at this FPN. The transfer of a soldier to another unit, however, meant a change in the number of the FPN. Each independent unit (company), each battalion and division had its own number. Thus, there were more than 68,000 war postcodes, all together up to 200,000.

Types of mail

Soldiers sent different types of letters, postcards, and picture postcards, which they wrote with different pens. Ink was most often used, many letters were also written in pencil. In addition to those postcards printed by the war post office, soldiers also used purely general letters. The postcards were very different, often with different themed photos. Most often, different military units and different propaganda slogans were depicted.

It was forbidden to send picture postcards with photographs of cities and landscapes from the front from which one could discern the place where the postcard was sent from. Such were returned to the sender. Postcards were prepared for the civilian population, and could be bought at post offices for the price of 1 Rpf (Reichspfening) for two pieces.

The delivery of the letters depended on the situation and the transports. The letter travelled 5 to 9 days to the North Eastern Front, 12 to 16 days to the Southern Eastern Front, 6 to 7 days to Norway, and 4 to 5 days to Italy.

The military post office, however, did not take responsibility for delivering telegrams from the homeland to the units. Namely, it was not possible to telegraphically send all telegrams to a certain place, they had to send part of the telegraph messages by mail, and so many times the messages did not reach their addressees quickly. In the telegrams from the battlefield it was not allowed to write down the place where the soldier was, so they wrote »Aus dem Felde«/from the field/. Telegrams were not allowed to be sent among the soldiers at the front.



Tulpen Zlata mi marica;
"Vse najbolje je k Trojemu
godu"

Many times the soldiers did write in their letters the places where they were staying, but on the front they usually put only a general note - east, Russia... The soldiers also often wrote »O.U. - Ort unbekannt /place unknown/«.

In 1942, airmail was established. Soldiers usually wrote »Luft« on the mail. Private letters and postcards up to a maximum weight of 10 g were allowed for airmail. From June 1943, airmail stamps (so-called Luftpostmarks) were affixed to airmail.

The mail of captured soldiers could no longer be processed by the military post office. After the start of the War, prisoners of war could be sent letters of up to 250 g and postcards free of charge via the German state post office. From May 1944, in addition to civilians, military comrades were also able to write to the POWs. Their mail was processed by the war post office and inspected by the office of censorship.¹³

Military packages

Until September 1942, the parcel service was part of the German State Post. Packages of 100 to 275 g were allowed to be sent. If they exceeded the weight, they had to be additionally franked. The maximum allowable weight of the packages was 1 kg. The army allowed the sending of packages to the front, as the supply was e.g. in the winter of 1944 thus further supported.¹⁴ The soldiers received every month a brown stamp (Zulassungsmarke) which they sent home and so the relatives could send them a one kilogram package.

Thus, the soldiers from Gorenjska mostly asked the relatives to send them bread, butter, jam, sugar or saccharin, coupons for bread and meat (at least until they were not at the front), biscuits, etc. Food in the units was also often complained about. Mirko Pečnik wrote from Bad Freienwald on the Odra: »Now we eat spinach, which is more like cooked grass, and potatoes, which we eat almost every day. There is no lunch without them. Good thing I have a lot of stock to afford something better. /... / I have a lot of bread, even though we only get 1/3 of

a loaf now, but received half of it before.«¹⁵

Non-smokers sent home the cigarettes that they received. The family sent also clothes, mostly underwear. Especially those who were on the Eastern Front, were happy to receive gloves, hats and socks in winter. Although they were not allowed to receive various useful personal items from their homeland, which could be sold to the population in the occupied lands, Stanko Cvenkel writes from the vicinity of Korosten, Ukraine:

»Dear Dad. They give us some more food now. The ones who are not 21 yet get a supplement. I was also happy to receive three delayed packages yesterday. I have already exchanged the head scarf with Anica's brooch. 30 eggs will be a special addition to my diet.«¹⁶

Mail censorship

The restriction on sending information was the control of letters by censorship. This took place through the military post office. Organizationally, it was carried out by censorship services, which were subordinated to the Army's higher command and consisted of 5 officers and 14 non-commissioned officers. The working basis was the official instruction of the High Command of the Wehrmacht. Due to the quantities of the letters, a detailed examination was impossible. Each investigator would have to read 1,000 letters a day, but in fact they did an average of 180. Thus, censorship was limited.¹⁷

The letters were checked by random opening. They were looking for content in which the senders would disclose secret, confidential information. What »secrecy« meant was described as follows: »Letters from front to home, but also from home to front,

13 Killian, p.145.

14 Killian, p.139.

15 Mirko Pečnik, 5.5. and 12.5. 1943. Kept by national Museum of Contemporary History, Slovenia (MNZS).

16 Stanko Cvenkel, 17.7.1944. Letteers are kept by the family.

17 Schoffit, p.19.

18 Schoffit, p.19.(page 226)

may not communicate the composition, equipment, combat power, mission, and accommodation of troops or other units. They must also not contain anything about combat intentions, troop movements and position details. The letter was also not allowed to show negative mood in the company and the soldiers were not allowed to write down what the company got for a meal, etc. All of this is said to be extremely important for the counter-intelligence service.«¹⁸

Above all, military circles feared espionage. In the letters the soldiers were also not allowed to report rumours, work procedures, send photos with confidential content, hostile propaganda, or write critical remarks about the activities of the German Army and state authorities. Photographing military executions and hostile atrocities was specifically prohibited. Verified letters were also analysed and processed under various headings, e.g. restraint and mood, discipline, espionage, confidentiality, secrecy, etc. Criticisms could be punished by imprisonment or a death sentence.

Letter to Slavko Hribar, sent on 24th August, 1943. Kept by MNZS. (right)

28040



Soldat

HRIBER SLAUZ

F.P.N. 17871/D

41

DEUTSCHLAND.

20

Göffner

berst

1195

Ciril Zajc from Gren. Ers, Btl. 4 in Kalisz, was careless in writing letters and was sent to military court.¹⁹ The letters were opened with scissors and then closed with a tape and overprinted »Geöffnet-Feldpostprüfstelle«, so that the recipient also knew that the letter had been checked. The letters had to be written in European languages. Thus, the conscripts and their relatives in Gorenjska were able to write in Slovene. The censorship service also opened letters that were sent to Gorenjska, so we assume that the censorship service had some members of staff who understood Slovene. Despite extensive instructions and prohibitions, soldiers often violated this, as it was clear to everyone that they could censor only a small portion of the letters.

Slavko Hribar was convinced that the letters were not censored. He asked his mother and sister to write more: »You write to me too little. I ask you to write to me more often about everything, as the letters are not subjected to censorship. Yesterday, three English planes landed near Marcon, dropping spies and ammunition. Just that night, a train track was thrown into the air from M in Marseille. So here, too, there are gmajnarji (partisans) and there are rabukas here and there. /... / Greet all the boys and girls from Križ, as well as other friends.«²⁰ He would certainly have been punished for such a letter if it had been opened.

A letter from Franc Rozman, written in January 1945, was also checked: »The day before yesterday, Ivan had a holy evening and the four of them came here because they were not given any Christmas treats. No one brags and they are fed up with army life even more than we are.«²¹

In fact, I found out that within the reviewed sets of letters, at least one letter from each author was subjected to censorship, which means that the service worked pretty well.

Additional shipments

Newspapers were also sent to the soldiers free of charge. In almost every issue of the Karawanken Bote newspaper, an official newspaper of Carinthian People's Association, a short

article was also devoted to the greetings sent by conscripts in the German Army to the relatives in Gorenjska. In the summer of 1944, the newspaper's editorial board decided not to publish soldiers' greetings due to lack of space, as too many letters had been sent.

Probably the real reason was that a new newspaper for Gorenjska Wehrmacht soldiers had been published since the autumn 1943. From November 1943 on, the *Heimatgruss*, a 24 pages newspaper was published. It was issued by the Carinthian State Propaganda Office. Each soldier was sent a newspaper by his local group. Local leaders of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party) informed soldiers about current events in their home towns, and sent greetings to them. The newspaper also listed those who came on furlough, published letters and poems written by soldiers, and announced who had fallen at the front. On the back page, the newspaper already had a space for the soldier's address. Soldiers also sent letters to the newspaper editor. Thus, Alojz Knafelj wrote: »I am very happy that this newspaper was also established for the soldiers of Gorenjska, with beautiful pictures from our beautiful homeland, which we can never forget. It is in our thoughts every day. I would be happy if I get another greeting in the coming days.«²²

In general, the Gorenjska soldiers kept mentioning in their letters how much they missed Gorenjska and home. »I always have my home town in mind. I always have in mind what the boys from Križ and my friends are doing. How I would like to be at home, however, I can't because of this damn foreigners' violence. We will fight for our homes, not for foreigners. We are a not the same nation and we want to be for ourselves. This is our wish and it must be fulfilled,« wrote Slavko Hribar to his family on 15th November, 1943 from Grenoble.

19 Janez Lončar, »Gott mit uns. Bog z nami«. In: *Mobilizacija Gorenjcev v nemško vojsko 1943–45*, ed. Jože Dežman (Kranj 1999), p. 44.

20 Slavko Hribar, 30. 6. 1943. *Letters kept by MNZS.*

21 Franc Rozman, 8. 1. 1945. *Letters kept by family.*

22 *What Gorenjska soldiers write, Der Heimatgruss*, 15. 9. 1944, p.15.

Correspondence

Since leaving home, many soldiers had been writing daily to family and acquaintances. When Stanko Cvenkel came to Kempten, he sent a letter:

»Dear mother. When I opened the package today, I remembered you, full of gratitude, dear mother, for preparing and organizing all this for me. I will not forget this for the rest of my days. Dear mother, be happy and brave at home and don't worry about us, because that is the only way to survive these difficult times.«²³

The general encouragement in writing included also the announcement of the forthcoming end of the War. On 5th September, 1944, Franc Rozman wrote to his family: »It is generally said that we will really finish this by Christmas. It really will be like that, but I will certainly not catch up with the Christmas cake yet, because the road is long, but there are even more inconveniences.«

The anticipation of the end of the War was also written in Slavko Hribar's letter in July 1944: Everything says that the War will soon be over and it is also known what is happening in Yugoslavia. It is going on very badly in Russia. It takes a step back every day. And I hope that we will come to an end here and also everyone else.«

Many times the letters also provide proof that the writer is alive. Thus, on 30th January, 1945, Franc Rozman wrote to his relatives from Niedersedlitz: »I am still healthy and alive and I send you cordial greetings.«

23 Stanko Cvenkel, 3. 4. 1944.

Postcard sent by Franc Rozman on 30th January 1945 from Niedersedlitz. Kept by the family. (right)

Teloy / 200x



Tamse

Wessom

Wart 60 - Stanik

Oberkram

(126)



Se vedno redar

25

in pri svojih

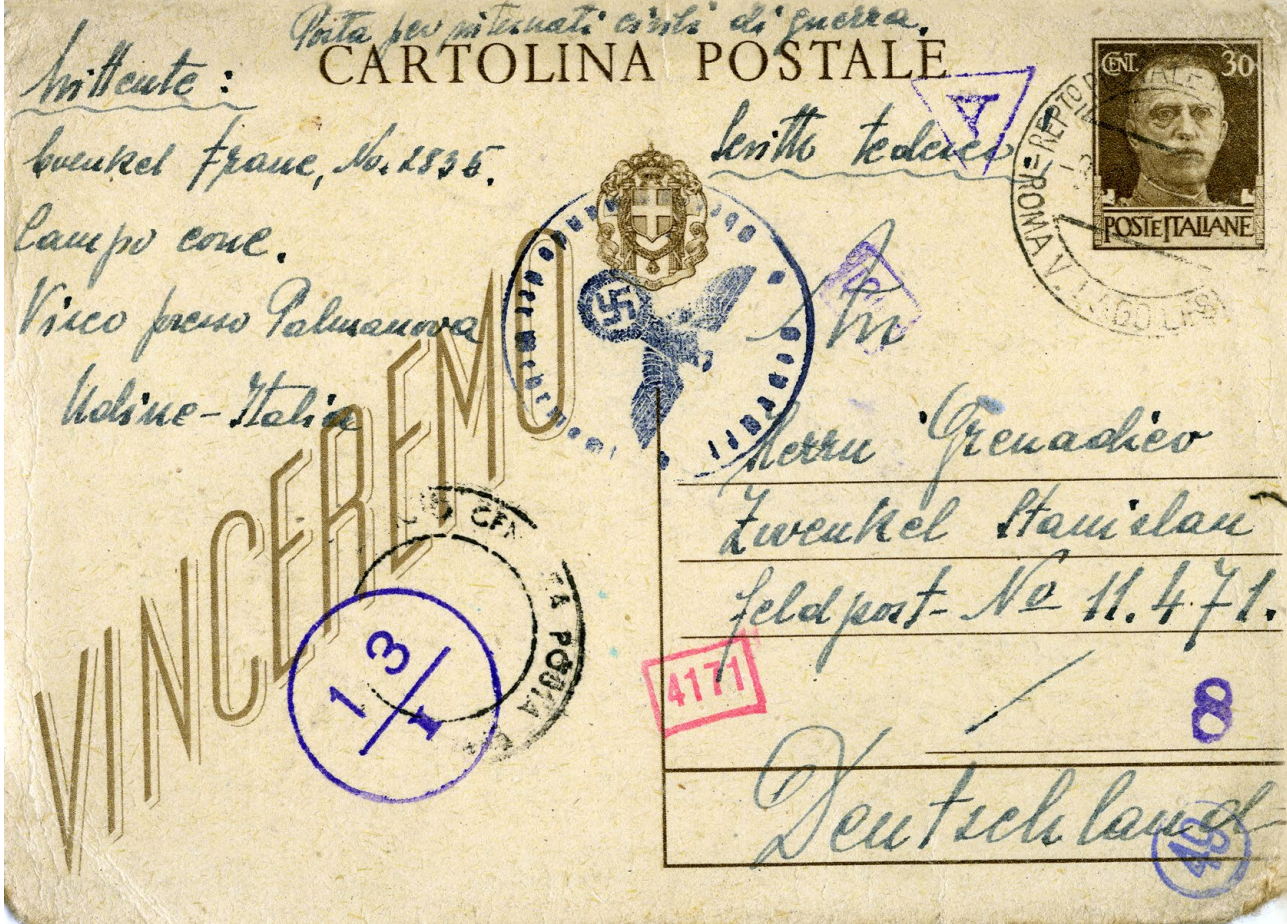
vam prosim

zvrhne pordave

Francija

The letters received also provide a sense of security and stability. That the length of the letters was also important Stanko Cvenkl mentioned to his brother Franc, who was imprisoned in the Italian concentration camp Visco when Stanko left for the German Army: »Dear Stanko. I don't know what to write. But whenever I received a letter in internment, I wished it would be long. I know your wishes are similar.«²⁴

The first letter his brother had sent half a year earlier was written in German, as he was probably convinced that correspondence should be in German as with those deported to German concentration camps: »Dear brother. With great pleasure I received your letter in which you informed me that you became a soldier after 20 days. I'm glad you're healthy. It is always best to go through the world with joy and courage. /... / Life with us is moving forward and for the better. I think of you every day and wish you all the best. Kind brother's greetings, and God be with you. Your Franc.«²⁵



24 Stanko Cvenkel, 4. 1. 1944.
25 Franc Cvenkel, 4. 6. 1943, Visco.

A postcard sent to Stanko Cvenkl by his brother Franc from the Italian concentration camp Visco. Kept by the family. (above)

The regular arrival of letters was especially important. Stanko Cvenkel reported to the relatives: »We took pictures with our Slovene comrades today as well. We only get the pictures after a long time, because the film has to be sent home first and then sent back, and it takes some time. I receive letters within one week and packages after 14 to 20 days.«²⁶

Many people from Gorenjska also had a camera with them in the army. Thus, Franc Erce, who was in the Grenadier Replacement Battalion 513, took more than a hundred photographs before leaving for the front during training in Litomeřice, Czech Republic. He, too, sent films home, and the family sent him back developed photographs. On leaving for the front, he sent the camera home. As the situation on the fronts worsened, letter delivery also began to lag behind. This lack of contact was also reflected in the letters sent home by the soldiers.

Slavko Hribar complained in October 1944: »Everybody has forgotten me, no one writes to me.«²⁷ And two days later: »I am very surprised that I have not received any mail already for a week. Either you do not write or I do not receive anything. I am very sad.«

On 9th October, 1944, he wrote to his mother and sister that he had received four letters and: »Generally I am healthy, but it makes me a little nervous because I receive so little mail from you.«

Nineteen-year-old Franc Pazlar also wrote after coming to training in Posen: »I thought you had forgotten about me, because there had not been any mail for so long. I waited impatiently in the line in the yard every noon; before lunch they also hand us mail at the same time. I jumped for joy when he shouted Pazlar.«

Soldiers turned for advice to important individuals, e.g. to fathers who were believed to understand what their sons were going through in the military trenches since they themselves survived World War I.

Stanko Cvenkel wrote to his father: »Dear father. Sometimes I feel weakness that wants to take away my courage

and self-confidence. This is my biggest nuisance which I have to eliminate. Of course, I never forget to pray that God would help me with this.«²⁸

Mothers were also very important. Several times they wrote letters themselves and, as at home, shared instructions: »Dear Stanko! I'm sending you gavtre (suspenders), they will certainly be of use and a bag to write on. Keep it well not to lose it and take good care of the keys. The bag was given to me by the Pepel family. Stay healthy and happy. God be with you, dear Stanko. Your mother.«²⁹

The soldiers wanted to be up to date with domestic events, despite the fact that they were thousands of kilometres away, and they did not want to be excluded. Thus, through letters, they remained connected to the family and had a feeling of being in touch with home. Especially important was the writing and indirect contact at the time of holidays.

Franc Pazlar wrote to the family on Christmas Day 1943:

»Dear family. /... / Yesterday, on Holy Night, the whole company with the officers had a feast. Everyone got a half of sausage and potato. And then a few glasses of mulled wine. And two cigarettes. And of course the battalion commander also visited us. He drank a couple of glasses of good wine. Then he comforted our boys, two of whom had just lost fathers and had not been given leave. Everything was very cheerful, the band played songs from the repertoire, including Holy Night, we Slovenes sang it in our own language. Then the Slovenes also had to sing some of our songs. They were spreading out very nicely.«³⁰

26 Stanko Cvenkel, 27. 5. 1944.

27 Stanko Hribar, 4. 10. 1943.

28 Stanko Cvenkel, 15. 6. 1944.

29 Stanko Cvenkel, 3. 4. 1944.

30 Franc Pazlar, 25.12. 1943. Letters kept by family.

Stanko Cvenkel wrote down his feelings at Easter:

»This is how I prepared myself here in a foreign land for such a happy spring holiday, especially before, when there were no redundant lizards. Of course, it's different here. You are not woken up by the gentle ringing of bells, because they aren't any here, nor by the laughter and walking of the people you know who rush to their Easter sun-lit home church, nor even the call of dear person, but the strained voice of a flute and the voice of a non-commissioned officer - Kompanie aufstehen! Company! Get up!«

Old friends also corresponded a lot, most of them were forcibly mobilized into the army. They also exchanged experiences from the front. Franc Sitar wrote to Stanko Cvenkl: »Dear comrade Stanko. As you can see, I have already come to the Reich, but I am still far from home, I am in the hospital near Leipzig. As you write to me, you are also doing this service, which I think is my favourite in this defeat, it's a pity because I will be fit too soon. Truly, the best remedy in these times is courage and God's help. You know what was the hardest thing for us with this angrif (attack) when the zugsfuhrer (corporal) in one bunker actually gave us in one kevdr (celler) of one dilapidated house a untericht (lesson) on how and what it starts. But when the bullets and grenades started whistling, I forgot about home and everything, and I just looked where to get a better dekunga (covering). I did not have any arms but only one hand grenade. Luckily I found in the first trench a Russian machine gun with 64 bullets so I pretty much saved my life. Stanko, how nice it would be now in our home town. We are spending our best years in this foreign land.«

They also sent messages to their friends via relatives. Franc Oblak greeted his friend Franc Pazlar: »This week we together with another Slovene take part in the scharfschütze course. Then it will be necessary to go to the trenches again. God bless us to stay healthy and to see the beloved places of Gorenjska again. My father was also in this place during World War I. Greetings to your son Franc.«³¹

Within the growth of friendship, camaraderie also developed among the soldiers. Such relations were of great importance, mainly due to the intensity of common experience, combat experience, joint training and experience on the front. In small groups, they become important »comrades«. ³²

Already in the Reich Labor Service and then also in the units, there were several Slovenes together. That also contributed to a better atmosphere. Mirko Pečnik mentions:

»There are now four Slovenes in our room, Rajko Šlibar, one from Kamnik and one from Štajerska. It is good that the Germans do not understand us and we can say what we want.« ³³ Even after leaving Schwedt for Bad Freienwalde, he was happy to write: »We are now 100 Slovenes in this place and one feels quite different among domestic people.« ³⁴

After four months in Denmark, he was sent to the Ukraine together with eight Slovenes. When talking about stressful or traumatic experiences, however, there was an area of tension in the letters between silence and the need for communication. As Schoffit mentions, both were important to identity. ³⁵

When going to the front and fighting, the letters become more emotional. Addresses to families are also longer.

Slavko Hribar wrote a few days before the New Year 1945:

»We drove through Silesia, Poland and Romania. But I hope if prayer somehow helps and if God has not forsaken us, that I may return happily. So pray for me.« ³⁶

³¹ Franc Oblak, 5. 7. 1944.

³² Schoffit, p.27.

³³ Mirko Pečnik, 9. 4. 1943.

³⁴ Mirko Pečnik, 20. 4. 1943.

³⁵ Schoffit, p.36.

³⁶ Slavko Hribar, 29. 12. 1944.

5. 5. 1943
Ljubi domani!

Zdaj se g^l zvečer mo^zvedeti,
da odpotujemo, in sicer pⁱtrn ob
3^h zjutraj. Kam neven nič!

Emir pravili da v Sudetenland
pa kam grem, je zveste iz naslova.

Grem skoro vsi dohⁱoani -
sam vⁱnk^o Al. in korel otaneta.

Šona se dobro smⁱte in se
nas spominjajte v vsi^h urah!

Pisem Takoj! Vas pozdravlja
Vas Flauer

In May 1943, Franc Erce reported from Klagenfurt: »Dear family! Now at 9pm we were informed that we are leaving tomorrow at 3am. It is not known where. Some said that we could go to Sudetenland. But you will find out where I am going from the address. Have a good time at home and remember us at all hours!«

After the mobilized had found themselves for the first time in combat, they wrote to the relatives: »I survived the first major thing when I was installing a barbed wire. We were surprised by the artillery fire. I was lying in a trench in mud. But patience is patience and a hole is a hole. Be it mud or water just to come alive and well from the fire.«³⁸

Unable to communicate where they were, the soldiers cleverly wrote down hints in their letters to indicate to the relatives which fronts they were on. Thus Stanko Cvenkel wrote: »Dear at home! /... / As they say: God does not leave the people from Gorenjska, I am convinced of that. I have already informed you of the Feldpost number in the first letter from this place. So stay well!« And two months later, »The Russian uncle has already looked across the Dnieper. He looks a bit to the west and we expect to hit soon towards the Reich, of course with the help of this uncle.«³⁹

Stanko Cvenkel is, in fact, the only one to write very explicitly about the front:

»Today I am about 10 km in front of Korosten, 4 km in front of us is the front, I have never been to štelunga (in position). As we were driving from Novgorod through the woods, we were suddenly attacked by fire from machine guns. There were more dead, and even more wounded. Our vehicle was lucky, it got a few shots in the roof, but nothing worse happened. Our front is weak and still strongly shaking. The soldiers have no courage. Officers have to perform with guns in their hands to make people stay in positions.«⁴⁰

37 Franc Erce, 5. 5. 1943. *Hrani družina*.

38 Slavko Hribar, 30. 1. 1944.

39 Stanko Cvenkel, 12. 9. 1944.

40 Stanko Cvenkel, 20. 11. 1944.

Postcard from Franc Erce to his family on his departure for the Sudetenland, dated 5th May 1943. Kept by the family. (left)

When Cvenkel was wounded, he wrote: »For the first time I took part in a successful counterattack on the town of Korosten, with a bayonet on a rifle. We threw the overpowering enemy a few miles back. Today, I no longer believe in this possibility, because that attack cost us a hell of a lot. Entire divisions were disbanded and of our company only a few men remained. Russians are excellent soldiers and most importantly, very cold-blooded. It is no use to describe how it was. /... / I don't think I could go home yet. If a man is careful and does not force himself to the forefront, despite commands, one could have some luck. You could come through with some wound.«⁴¹ And a few days later: »Although it is often said: All the care of the German nation is dedicated to the wounded. The whole thing is just propaganda. It has long been known that potatoes and propaganda keep Germany upright.«

With the general deterioration of the situation, however, a description of the desperate situation came into the letters. Stanko Hribar wrote in April 1944 from the battles near Sevastopol: »We are consolidating ourselves. The situation, however, is desperate. I'm dirty, hairy, full of lice, and in raggs.«

Hribar deserted on furlough and was caught, sentenced to death, then pardoned in court and sent to the front in Italy:

»My dearest mother!!! On Wednesday I drive on to Italy. The Russians are 180km ahead of Berlin. If it goes on like that it will only take a few weeks more. Only courage, will and time.«⁴²

The changed way of addressing the relatives is also interesting.

Abfender: *Herr Pastor Franz*

Marschkomp. Gren. Ers. Batt 89

Schwerin i. d. St. Hitler Faserna

Feldpostkarte

Herrn

Jakob Pastor



Proeschitz 15

Görice bei Veldes

Oberkrain

Herrn Kerten



1211 H

41 Stanko Cvenkel, 7. 1. 1944.

42 Slavko Hribar, 21. 1. 1945.

Postcard from Franc Pazlar, dated 4th December, 1943. Kept by the family. (above)

Also the Pazlar brothers found themselves soon at the front:

18th August, 1944, Franc: »Towards evening he reaches /the enemy, MKK/ the top of the hill with his tanks. He wounded four of us with one shot. I got the severest wound, I would not wish this to anyone.«

August 1944, Jakob: »Today is my seventh day in position, but the fighting is very fierce. Many of my Slovene comrades have already fallen, but I am so happy that nothing like that has happened to me yet.«

In difficult circumstances, high morale was also put to the test, and a premonition of death crept in, which often came true.

Alojz Sušnik from Gre Ers Btl 21 fell in March 1945, and his letters had been expressing dark thoughts already for a year earlier.

5th February, 1944: »God save me from Russia again, and if it were God's will, to return healthy to my home!«

14th April, 1944: »Don't be sad. Pray for me. And nothing else. Because prayer is always credible. In this world and in the other.«

8th June, 1944: »How happy I would be if I was saved of my military days. And returned home healthy. That is why I, Lojze, deep from my heart and loyal to you all, from a distant place eagerly ask not to forget me in your prayer.«

When Franc Pazlar was wounded, his mother sent him a comforting letter: »Dear son Franc. We received your letter today. You write that you are in the city of Gerno. We are very much worried what is happening to you. It's very bad when you're sick abroad and so far from home and we can't really help you. I also wrote to my uncle, if you wrote him what had happened to you, write to us immediately. Now you have another number. I will send this FPN number to Jaka as well. Jaka also wrote to us from the front in Poland. He writes that he has been in position already for seven days. I am sending you his address, J. Pazlar Feldpost No 28563B.«⁴³

When Jakob Pazlar fell, his uncle wrote to Franc and Jakob's mother: »Dear Neža. I received your sad letter, in which you describe the fate that befell Jaka. I can't imagine that it was Jaka who was so unlucky that he was struck by such a martyr's death. I think many times, perhaps it may not be the case, perhaps the person who wrote to you, did not know himself.«⁴⁴

Brother Franc, immediately after getting the news that Jakob had fallen, wrote home: »Dear family! I received two of your letters. You sent very sad news to me. I have already anticipated that when you wrote that he was not writing anymore. Nothing can be helped, as it is intended for a person.«⁴⁵

Two months later, Franc Pazlar also died of his wounds. His last letter already foretold a bad situation: »Dear family. I received your letter today. I have had surgery but there is nothing better. The whole leg is strongly infected. I have never felt so poorly. Fever, headache. The food doesn't smell to me.«⁴⁶

The superiors, usually the company leader, sent a letter of condolences written by hand or a typewriter to the families of those killed at the front and those who died in hospitals.

Pismo Jakoba Pazlarja domačim. Hrani družina. (stran 244)

43 Franc Pazlar, 24. 8. 1944.

44 Lorenz Pasler to Neža Pasler (his sister-in-law), 22nd September 1944.

45 Franc Pazlar, 22.9.1944.

46 Franc Pazlar, 15.10. 1944.

Drago

Danes imam ravno tala
vsem po dolgem času
vam je nikom tala casa
casa. Danes sem je ta
vela hudi ljudi. Velika
je se praljo a jaz sem
da me se ni doletelo.
napadaja a nos je po
nos mirnoma reber
ve saktivnem tironu
sta po v drugemu
ne vem kaj sta. Ho
odvite kaj je kaj de
pionerom hit jista je
ki sem se vse sku
sem tudi kako ste
je tako malo. Tuba
ljudje se umikajo
pa prorigajo jalske
gari. Malo tabaka

domerici!!

ko časa na pranti da se
opret oglašim. Nesomnente ki
pisah ki inam tako malo
dan v stelnjah so pa
majih komodorov slovensko
na se da sedaj tako steem
taj takega. Rusi zelo mudi
taka moda tudi deset
o. Skupaj sva pa sama
javnost pa poklucarjore
bataljone ki sedaj mi
dohite to pisma mi tako
ali novega in kaj je is/
ni tudi njegov naslov
raj irgubel. Podobenem
kot pisaki ki vas
pa se vse rito stajci
in nekako kodaj juna
narod pa velika plava
le vsem tudi lakko postel

»Hauptfeldwebel« wrote to the father of a soldier who died on 22nd September, 1944 at the front in Latvia: »As the deputy leader of the company, I have a sad duty to inform you that your son died a heroic death in the performance of duty. Your son fought in difficult battles and had generally held up very well. Even when the enemy attacked our cities. The comrades with weapons repelled all enemy attacks until he was wounded. He was immediately taken from the Truppenverbandplatz to the Hauptverbandplatz of our division. Despite all attempts, he died there. Your son was buried in a military cemetery. The company lost a dear comrade and the loss shocked us greatly. We will be eternally grateful to him. On behalf of the entire company, I extend my deepest condolences to you. If anything can comfort you, you can be proud that your son gave his life, faithful to his military oath, honourable for the Führer, the nation and the homeland.«⁴⁷

Sometimes the personal belongings of the fallen were also sent to the relatives. Very few letters have actually been preserved from the POW camps, and contact with the family had been broken for a longer time. Many times families even for a longer time after the end of the War did not know the fates of their loved ones. Many of them did not return until the mid-fifties.

Conclusion

The war letters of the Gorenjska mobilized are still a little explored source of data on individuals and events during the Second World War. Already with research on the number of forcibly mobilized, this field of potential material has greatly expanded. We can imagine the number of letters sent by Gorenjska conscripts who had been in the Reich Labor Service and the German Army for an average of two years. The letters reveal the shocking story of young boys who found themselves far from home, where they had to fight for the German occupier, who included them in his machinations as part of the denationalization plan of the Slovene nation. From the letters we can understand the strong Slovene awareness and deep conviction in the positive end of the War. Therefore, regardless of the personal outcome and the post-War consequences, those forcibly mobilized into the German Army came out from World War II strong, positive and in all respects upright.

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Stanko Zamik's battle route. In: Humar, Marjeta, Podbrežnik, Igor (ed.): Time is slowly erasing. Kamnik: Društvo Demos na Kamniškem, 2013. Map: author Miha Brvar, univ. dipl. geographer. Edited by Matjaž Budkovič. (page 248)



0 500 1,000 km

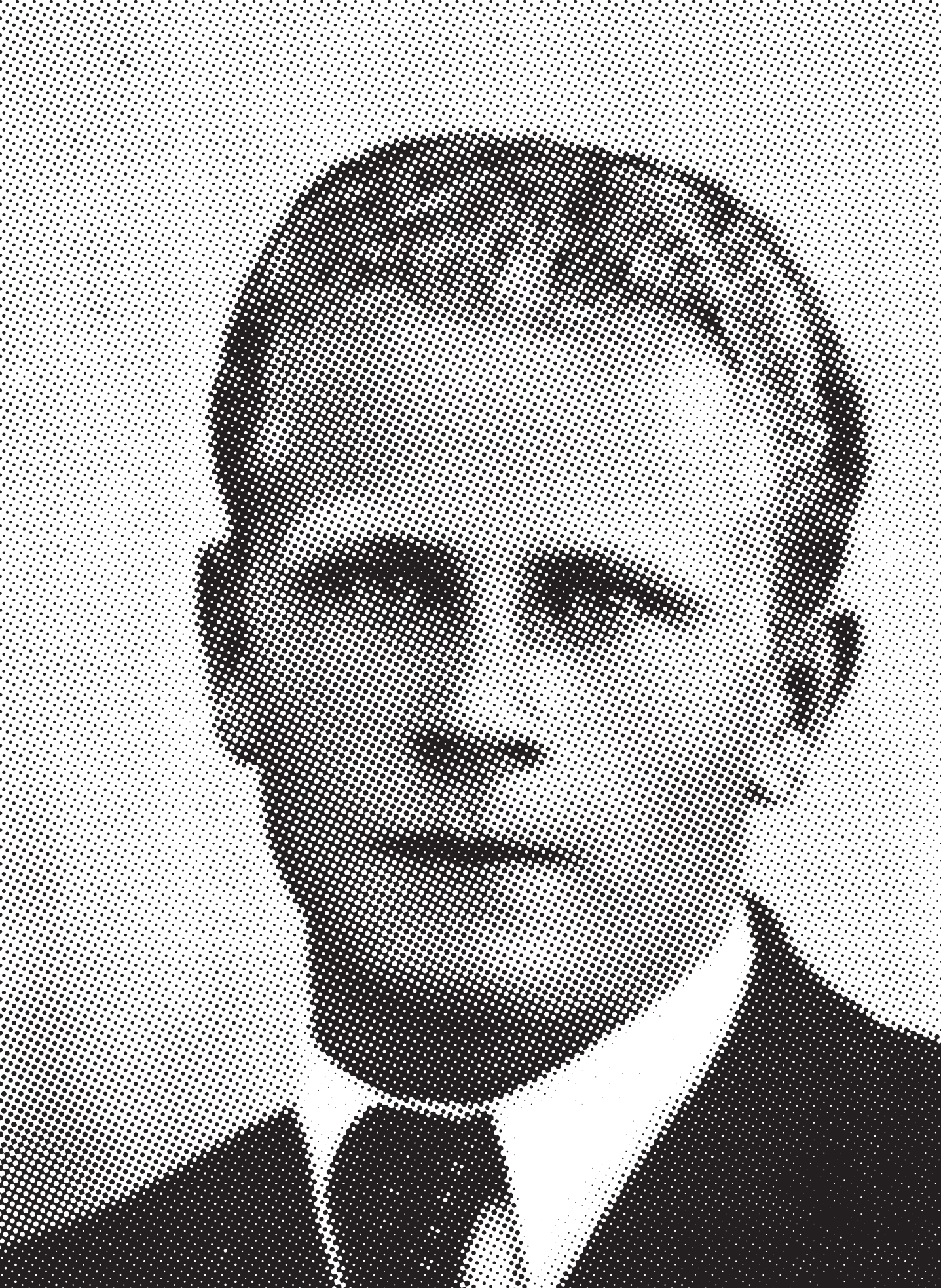
Digital cartography: Matjaž Budkovič



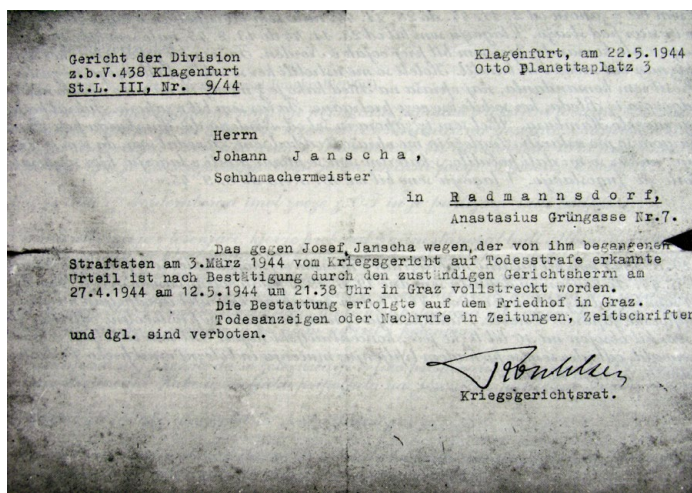
THE JOURNEY OF STANKO ZARNIK WHILE MOBILIZED INTO THE WEHRMACHT AND RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY INTO THE 5TH OVERSEAS BRIGADE

---➔--- JOURNEY WHILE MOBILIZED INTO THE WEHRMACHTI

.....➔..... JOURNEY IN CAPTIVITY AND IN THE 5TH OVERSEAS BRIGADE



Jože Janša was conscripted into the German Army. He deserted and joined the partisans. When he found out that they would exile his family to Germany, he surrendered himself to the German authorities. He was sentenced to death. He was beheaded on 12th May, 1944, in Graz. He is also buried there.



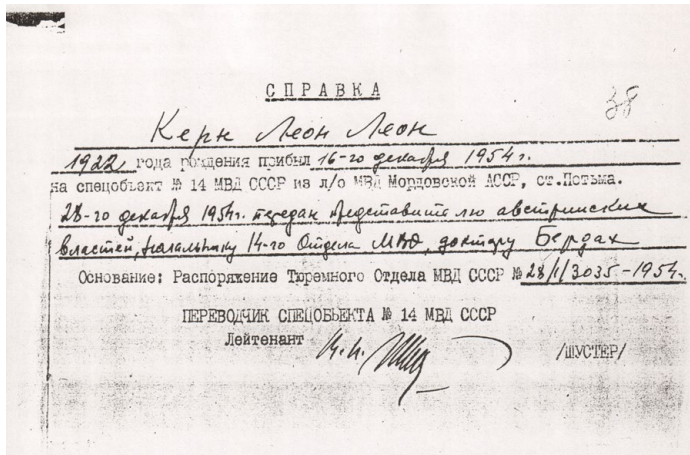
Notification that Jože Janša was beheaded in Graz on 12th May, 1944 at 21:38.



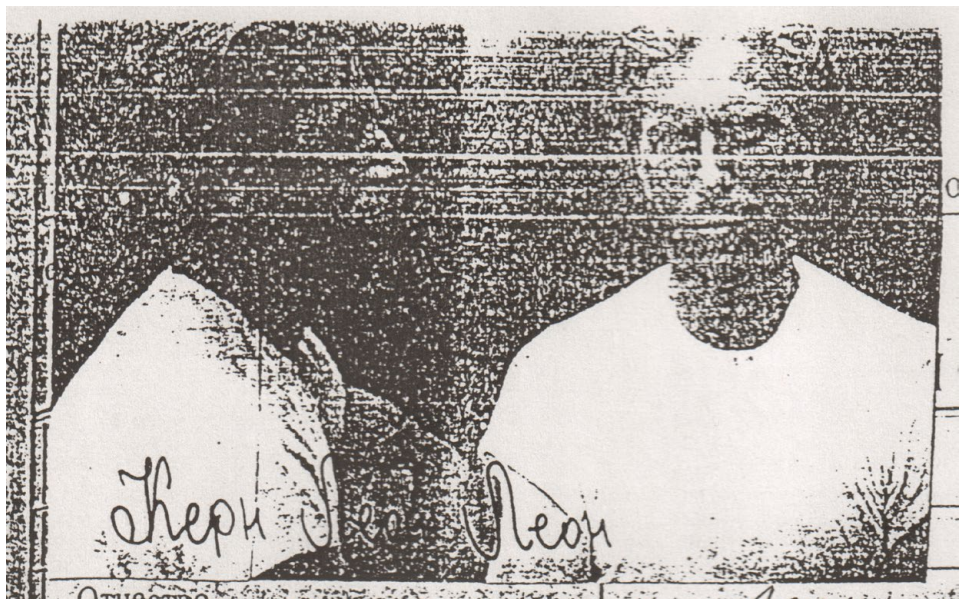
Name of Jože Janša on the central monument for victims of National Socialism in Graz.



Leon Kern was mobilized and then captured. He survived ten prisoners of war camps in the Soviet Union. Because he was mis-identified as a German prisoner with the same first and last name, he remained a prisoner in the Soviet Union until 1954.



Leon Kern's discharge from Soviet captivity on 15th December, 1954.



Leon Kern in Soviet captivity.



As an NCO, Hugo Primožič received one of the highest German decorations, the knight's cross with oak leaves. He and his antitank cannon crew destroyed several dozens of Soviet tanks. His father was from Tržič and Hugo was brought over to visit Tržič in 1943 as the ideal German warrior.



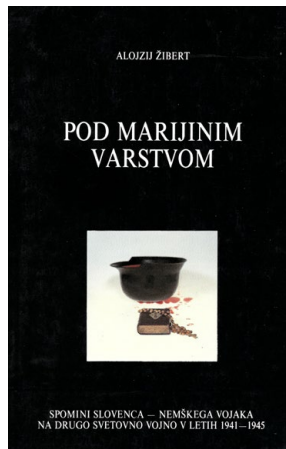
Hugo Primožič with his crew under Soviet fire rescuing a broken down antitank cannon. Signal, April, 1943.



Hugo Primožič visiting Tržič in Slovenia – birthplace of his father, June 1943. Saved by Tržič Museum.



Alojz Žibert was wounded while serving as a German soldier and became disabled. He fought for the rights of the disabled, but they were forbidden to associate. He wrote a book of memories *Pod Marijinim varstvom* (In Mary's Care) in two editions. He often wrote about the wrongs perpetrated against those mobilized.



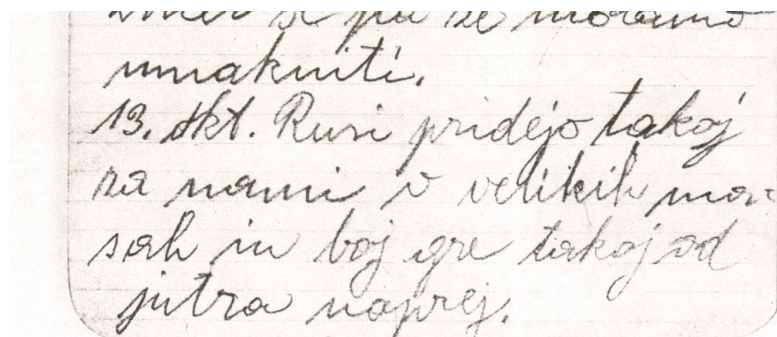
Cover of the second edition of Alojz Žibert's memories *Pod Marijinim varstvom* (In Mary's Care), Kranj, 1995.



Alojz Žibert opening the exhibition *Forced Soldiers in Slovenj Gradec*, 17th May, 1991. Photolibrary of the Koroška Regional Museum Slovenj Gradec.

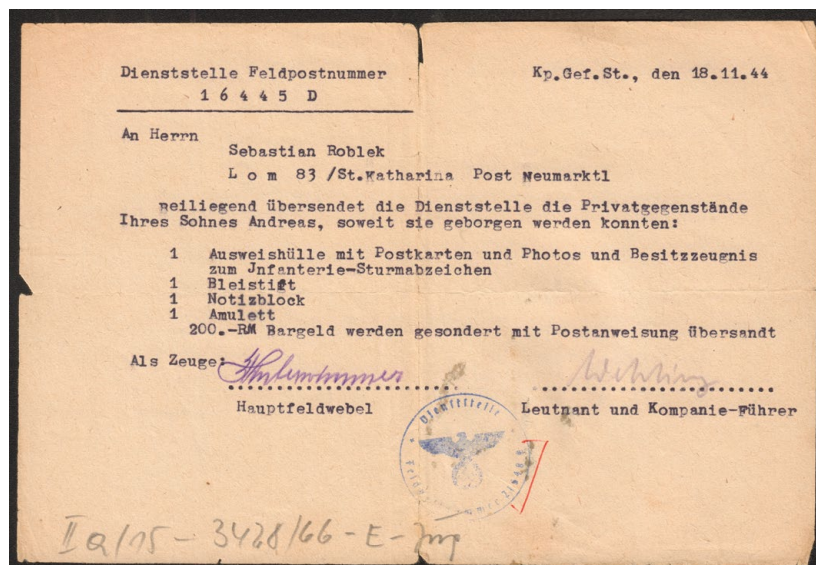


Forced mobilized Andrej Roblek wrote a diary until his death, 13th October, 1944. He fell on the Eastern Front somewhere between Poland and Belarus.



... na pravo moramo
umakniti.
13. Okt. Rusi pridejo takoj
na nam in velikih mas
sah in boj je takoj od
jutra naprej.

Last entry in Roblek's diary, 13th October, 1944, when he wrote: »The Russians are right behind us in great masses, and fighting Starts at dawn.«



Dienststelle Feldpostnummer
1 6 4 4 5 D

Kp.Gef.St., den 18.11.44

An Herrn
Sebastian Roblek
L o m 83 / St.Katharina Post Neumarkt I

neiliegend übersendet die Dienststelle die Privatgegenstände
Ihres Sohnes Andreas, soweit sie geborgen werden konnten:

- 1 Ausweishülle mit Postkarten und Photos und Besitzzeugnis
zum Infanterie-Sturmabzeichen
- 1 Bleistift
- 1 Notizblock
- 1 Amulett

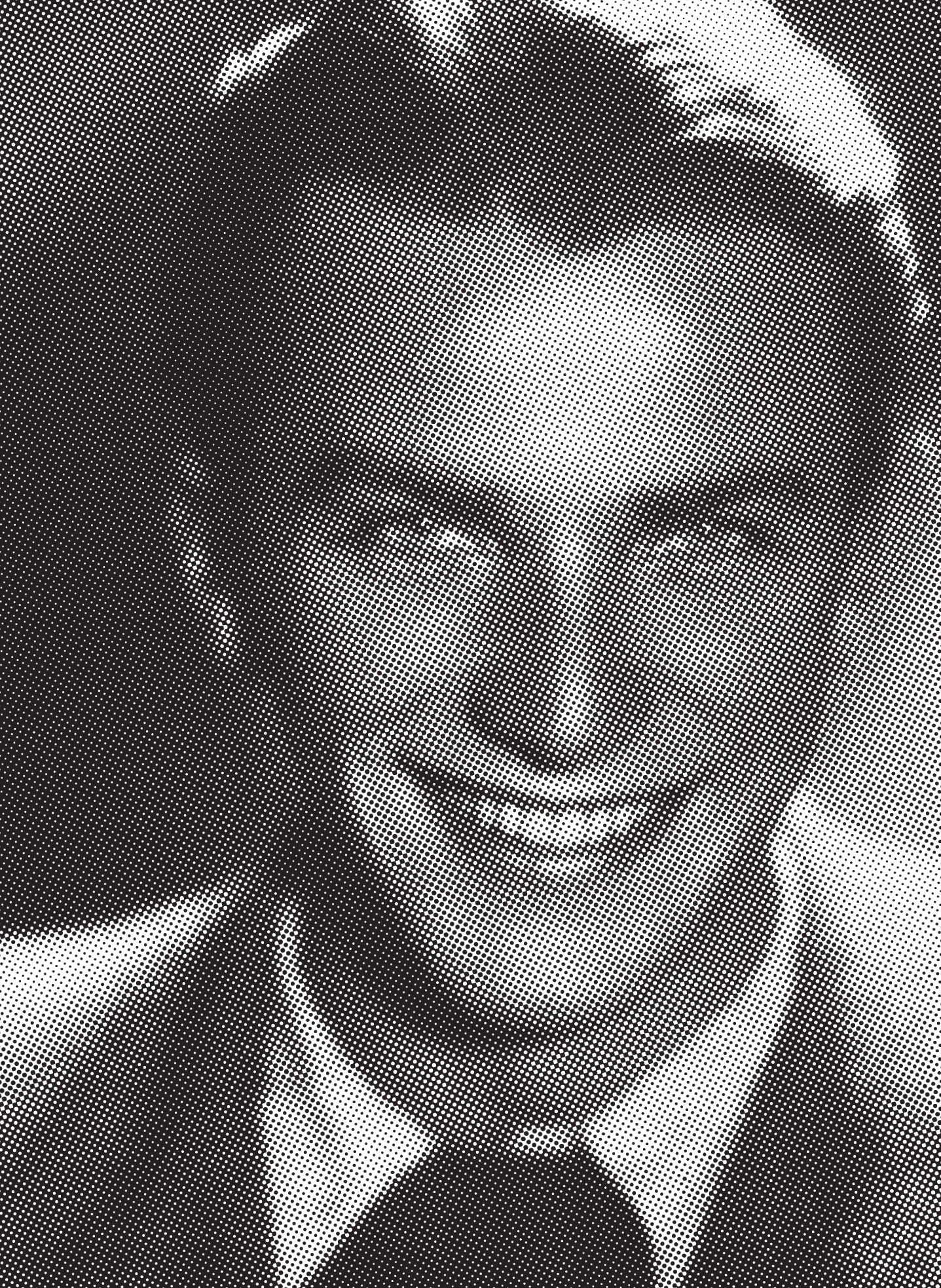
200.-RM Bargeld werden gesondert mit Postanweisung übersandt

Als Zeuge: *H. L. ...* *W. ...*

Hauptfeldwebel Leutnant und Kompanie-Führer

I 9/15 - 3428/66 - E - m

Letter accompanying Andrej Roblek's belongings home after his death.
Stored by Gorenjska Museum.



Peter Florjančič avoided conscription into the German Army by pretending to have died in an accident. But he actually escaped to Switzerland and became a successful inventor.



Peter Florjančič (light jacket, middle of second row) in a refugee camp in Switzerland.

**LIVING THE DREAM
A CENTENNIAL
OF PETER
FLORJANČIČ**

You are kindly invited to the opening of the exhibition
"Living the Dream. A Centennial of Peter Florjančič",
on **Tuesday 5th March 2019 at 6pm** in the **Festival Hall in Bled**.

The exhibition celebrates the 100th anniversary of the birth of the important Slovene inventor, Peter Florjančič. The exhibition was prepared by The Technical Museum of Slovenia in cooperation with the Slovenian Intellectual Property Office and hosted by the Bled Culture Institute.

The exhibition will be open until **25 March 2019**

TMS **ZAVOD ZA KULTURO BLEJ** **REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA**
MINISTRSTVO ZA KULTURO

For Peter Florjančič's 100th birthday in 2019, many events were organised, including an exhibition in Bled.



Albert Mikac was on leave from the German Army and deserted into the partisans on 28th April, 1944. He was involved in many battles and marches in Koroška, Štajerska, Gorenjska and Prekmurje.



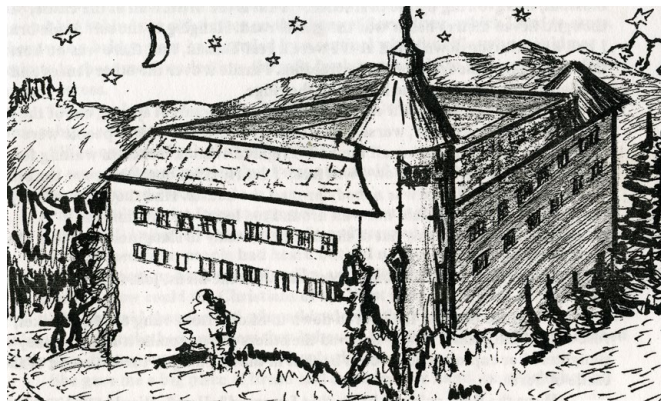
Albert Mikac in the partisans. Stored by the Koroška Regional Museum Slovenj Gradec.



Franc Grmek initiated contact with the resistance in France, he was arrested and convicted. He was wounded in the Eastern Front and sent home on leave. He deserted and joined the Royal Yugoslav Army. In May, 1945, he retreated to Koroška with other anti-communist units. They were sent back to Yugoslavia. Grmek used a lightning conductor to escape the camp in Škofja Loka Castle. He escaped first to Austria and then to Canada. In Canada he was a national gymnastics representative. He built bridges all over the world. He was also a notable hunter, with many trophies from several continents. He also wrote a book of memories.



The tower used by Grmek to escape is in the front. Photo by Jože Štukl. Franc Grmek visiting Slovenia in 2006.



A simple drawing depicts Franc Grmek's escape down the lightning conduit from the Škofja Loka Castle tower.

Matheus Wertnik
Grenadier,
v svetli cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 22 let, junaka smrti v rze zadec od sovrazne
26. aprila 1944 na Vzhodu. Dvegod ted
bratom Johannom, soldatu, da se sel
na po vedno placiko k Bogu. Njegovo
pociva, dalec proč od domaće zemlje, ki
tako ljubli. Kdor je poznal našega Mat-
ve, kaj smo z njim zbilje. Počiva v
blaga duša in lahka naj Ti bo tusa zemlja.
h. v. e. 24. V. 1944
Zalujoči: starši, Franj, Stanišlav, Ober-
oficer in Georg, bratje in ostalo sorodstvo.

Vinzenz Konjar,
Grenadier,
star komaj 18 let. Ranjen je bil 5. avgusta na
Vzhodu, umrl 12. avgusta v nočnem lazaretu.
Izpolnil se mu je iskrena želja, pripeljal
smo ga domov, da vsaj njegovo truplo počiva
v naši prelepi domači gorenjski zemlji. Dragi
Vinzenz, miriv si — počivaš v miru — v naših
scih pa bo živ vedno.
P. d. n. g., dne 28. avgusta 1944.
Zalujoči: Filip in Marija, starši; brata Franc
(na južni fronti) in Marija, sestra Mara in
Francka, ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Kanoner,
v cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 21 let. Padel je
na Vzhodu. Dragi Albin, miriv si, a v naših
scih bo živel. Če bi Te mogla materina soka
zbuditi, ne bi Te krila hladna tusa zemlja.
Dragi Albin, počivaš v miru. Spomin na Tebe
bo naša molitev.
Laak/Zaier, Fritz/Kogel
Windicagras, Unterdrauburg,
v avgustu 1944.
Globoko Zalujoči: oče, mati, sestre Anica,
Geza, Francka in Bernarda, brat Lojzek in
ostalo sorodstvo.

Stare Vinzenz,
Pionier,
Kako živa je še Trojka slaka pred nami, ko
si nam pred meseci stiskali roke z namre. To
ni se Ti izpolnila želja, da se vrneš med
nas, v Tvoj dom pod zvezdami šumne gore,
ki v teških dneh toliko misli na Te in Ti
slupno s vaklini avromobilu pošlja svoje po-
nečije pozdrave.
Savrh, 28. avgusta 1944.
Tvoje daljšega groba se spominajo:
Jožica, mati, Marija in Tereziya, sestre,
Josef, Johann, Franz, Anton in Milan
K. v. e.

Branimir Fr. Skrabelj
Pionier,
v cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 19 let. Padel
junaka smrti na Vzhodu dne 23. marca 1944.
Njegovo truplo počiva dalec proč od ne-
kone mltne rodne zemlje. Pokopan je na ne-
kem vojskolem pokopališču.
Naj počiva v miru in na svideenje naš zvez-
dani.
Bilb a u m pri Adlungu, v aprilu 1944.
Ferdinand, Marija, starši, Eduard, Albert, To-
mlav, Hotimir, bratje in ostalo sorodstvo.

Globoko potiri nasmnjamo vsem znan-
em v prijateljem, da je naš srčno lju-
bin in brat.
Franz Schimentz,
Pionier,
na vzhodni fronti dne 12. marca na
v našo v dalec proč od domaće zemlje. Na
span je na vojskolem pokopališču, dalec
od svoje rodne zemlje.
h. v. e. 24. V. 1944
Zalujoči: oče, mati, sestra Vanda in sva-
kinec.
annaburg, v aprilu 1944.
bratje, oče Franz, mati Filomena, brata
Grenadier, Pavel, sestra Vida in ostalo
sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da
je padel 22. februarja 1944 nadvse
ljubljeni sin in brat.
Alois Mantreda,
v nočni mladosti, star komaj 18 let. Zia uso-
da ga je za vedno odjeljala iz njegove nad
use ljubljenice domov in nazaj tujino. Kjer
počiva s tisočernimi nespojelnimi željami.
Kdor ga je poznal, ve, kako si z njim zbilje.
Lojze, miriv si, a v naših scih bo živel
vedno.
Slap-Neumarkt, v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoča družina Mantreda in sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da
je naš ljubljeni sin in brat.
Klement Blasi,
Grenadier,
v cvetoli mladosti, star 23 let, padel 12. aprila
na Jugovzhodu od zločinskega komunizma.
— Počivaš v miru, dragi Tomo in lahka naj Ti
bo tusa zemlja. Priporočamo ga v molitev in
blag spomin.
Lusthal - Laibach, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, bratje: Johann, Franz, Stani-
slav, Alois, Josef in sestra Johanna,
ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom in znancom, da smo naneso
veseliga svidenja dobili žalostno vest, da
je naš ljubljeni sin in brat.
Klement Blasi,
Grenadier,
v najlepši cvetoli mladosti, star 19 let, padel
28. januarja 1944. Junaka smrti na Vzhodu.
Njegovo truplo počiva dalec proč od njegove
rodne zemlje. Nášega draga Blesara priporo-
čamo v molitev. Na svideenje naš zvez-
dani.
Teplog - Mannsburg, v maju 1944.
Zalujoča mati Angela, bratje Alois, Franz, Jo-
sef, Polde; sestra Cila, Cyrilka, Neča ter ostalo
sorodstvo.

Vsem našim sorodnikom, prijateljem in znan-
em nasmnjamo, da smo dobili
veseliga svidenja dobili žalostno vest,
da je naš nad vse ljubljeni in dobi sin, brat,
in svak.
Franz Rajgclj,
Grenadier,
v cvetoli mladosti, star 20 let, padel 12. ma-
rca na vzhodni srčni. Njegovo truplo
je v dalec proč od domaće zemlje. Na
span je na vojskolem pokopališču, dalec
od svoje rodne zemlje.
h. v. e. 24. V. 1944
Zalujoči: starši, brat Josef, sestra: Franckiza
in Marija, ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da je naš
dobri sin, brat in stric.
Franz Oמושdek,
Grenadier,
v cvetu mladosti, star 21 let, padel dne 2.
januarja 1944 na vzhodni fronti. Priporoča-
mo ga v blag spomin in molitev.
G. o. d. nad Kamnikom, v marcu 1944.
Globoko Zalujoči: starši, Valentin in Angela,
brata: Albin, vojak in Ivan, ter sestre: Pavla,
Angela, Slavka in Marija Oמושdek.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem na-
šim sorodnikom in znancom, da je naš
nadvse ljubljeni sin, brat in stric.
Anton Koselj,
Soldat,
star komaj 21 let, padel v novemburu leta 1943.
na Vzhodu. Njegovo truplo počiva dalec
od njegove mile in drage mu rodne zemlje.
K. arner, Fellach v marcu 1944.
Zalujoči starši Franckiza in Anton Koselj,
Angela, Francka, Tončka, sestre
in ostalo sorodstvo.

Vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znan-
em nasmnjamo, da je naš ljubljeni sin in
brat in svak.
Martin Smukaverz,
Soldat in einem Grenadierregt.
v cvetoli mladosti, star 26 let na Vzhodu dne
5. II. 1944 zgubil svoje vedno nezgodno množ-
obiteljsko ljubečilo življenje.
Vsi, ki so ga poznali, vedo tudi, kaj smo
zbilje in kakšno more biti naša bolest. A
sedi počiva dalec proč od svojih do skraj-
nosti portih domačin.
Naj v miru počiva in bodi mu lahka tusa
zemlja. V naših scih pa živ si vedno. Po-
čivaš in snivaš sladko.
Kerschdorf, Wochein, Mannsburg v marcu
Zalujoči: oče Jakob, mati Marija, brata Franz
in Josif, sestra Johanna in Francka, svaki
Katarina in ostalo sorodstvo.

Vsem našim sorodnikom, prijateljem in znan-
em nasmnjamo, da smo dobili
veseliga svidenja dobili žalostno vest,
da je naš nad vse ljubljeni in dobi sin, brat,
in svak.
Gravdiht Alois,
Grenadier,
v najlepšem cvetu svoje mladosti, star 22 let
tudi mlado življenje v Južni Italiji 11. Fe-
ruarja 1944. Ljube, kako si bil odprtim
srčnim življenju naproti. Kdor je poznal
tega, vedel je, kako mu mora biti naša bolest. A
sedi počiva dalec proč od nas, od
doma, od skratinosti portega očeta.
Naj v miru počiva in bodi mu lahka tusa
zemlja. Naš spomin na Te bo živ vedno. Počivaš
v naši sladki.
rimska u, v marcu 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, brata Tone in Franz v Nürnbergu,
sestra Franckiza in Marija Novak, sestra
Marija, sestra Francka, svaki Martin,
brat Jože, svakiha Jozef,
in ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da je naš
dobri sin, brat in stric.
Johann Debelak,
Grenadier,
star 23 let, padel dne 21. aprila 1944, na
vzhodni fronti, zadet od sovražne kroglja.
Johanni Srčna se želja Ti in izpolnila, da
bi zemlja domače te krila. Spomin na Te bo
naša molitev.
Mitterdorf, 1. junija 1944.
Zalujoči ostali.

Vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancom
javljamo preslačeno vest, da je naš ljubljeni
sin.
Kregar Metod,
Soldat,
star 24 let, padel na raski fronti. Njegovo
truplo počiva dalec proč od njegove ljube
rodne zemlje.
Metod, miriv si, a v naših scih živis še
vedno. Naj Ti še Trojka naša nad nam še vedno
živis. Lahka naj Ti bo tusa zemlja. — Priporo-
čamo ga v blag spomin in molitev.
Salog-Komenda, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, brat Ciril, sestre: Paulina
doma, Anna in Mirzi v ljubljani.

S potirnim srcem nasmnjamo žalostno vest,
da je naš nad vse ljubljeni sin in brat.
Milan Repsche,
Kanoner,
rojzen 9. IX. 1922 v St. Janžu na Dolomajh
— padel dne 7. aprila na vzhodni fronti. Po-
kopan je na pokopališču Junakov. Dragi Mil-
an, miriv si, a v naših scih bo živ vedno. Po-
čivaš in snivaš sladko.
Zalujoči: starši, Josef, Franz Repsche, brat
in sestra.
Iskrena hvala vsem darovalcem vnebu in
cvetja k njegovemu pogrebemu obredu v
St. Gertraudi 29. maja 1944.

V globoki žalosti nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom tužno
vest, da je ljubljeni sin in brat.
Peter Gradstiz,
Grenadier,
v cvetoli mladosti, 21. let padel junaka smrti
dne 25. decembra 1943. na vzhodni fronti. Van
tako upanje in naš življenjska sreča počiva
dalec proč od rodne kraj, ki jo je naš vedno
ljubil.
Priporočamo ga v blag spomin in molitev.
B. r. h. in, v februarju 1944.
Zalujoči: oče Peter, mati Angela,
brat Vinco, grenadir, ter ostali bratje in sestere.

Vedno nas je zapustil naš ljubljeni sin in
brat.
Johann Milot Petrovic,
Soldat,
star 23 let, padel dne 20. aprila 1944, na
vzhodni fronti, zadet od sovražne kroglja.
Johanni Srčna se želja Ti in izpolnila, da
bi zemlja domače te krila. Spomin na Te bo
naša molitev.
Wart, v februarju 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, bratje in sestra, svaki in svakinje.

Namesto skorajnjega svidenja smo pre-
jeli tako preslačeno, grenko vest, da
je naš ljubljeni sin, brat in stric.
Vinko Schiller,
Soldat,
padel dne 28. XII. 1943 na Vzhodu. Sovražna
krogla je uničila svet njegove mladosti, saj
je dopolnila šele 20. leto. Vinko, kako si se ve-
selil mladosti, saj si sel z odprtimi rokami živ-
ljenju naproti. A sedaj počiva tako dalec
proč od nas, od Tvoje do skratinosti portega
očeta, na katerega gotovo v veseljem zroč z
nosedemskih višav.
Počivaš in snivaš sladko v tujih krajih.
Wart, v februarju 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, bratje in sestra, svaki in svakinje.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da je naš
nadvse ljubljeni sin in brat.
Schleibir Josef,
Grenadier,
star 23 let, padel 21. februarja na južni
fronti. Počivaš v miru in lahki ti bodi tusa
zemlja. V naših scih pa živis še vedno.
Priporočamo ga v blag spomin in molitev.
Poschenig bei Zirkklach.
Globoko Zalujoča žena in slabeč,
ter družina Dollnar.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo tužno
vest vsem sorodnikom in prijateljem,
da je naš nad vse ljubljeni sin in brat.
Suppan Andreas,
Soldat,
v cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 20 let, padel 21.
februarja 1944 na vzhodni fronti. Vsi, ki
so ga poznali, vedo, kako si zbilje in kako
velika je naša bol. A sedaj počiva njegovo
truplo tako dalec od svojih domačin. Naj v
miru počiva in bodi mu lahka tusa zemlja.
V naših scih pa bo živel še vedno. Andrej,
sladko snivaj.
Putehof, 10. aprila 1944.
Zalujoči: oče in mati, brat Josef, soldat
sestra Marija, Milka in Joselina.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem
našim sorodnikom in znancom žalostno
vest, da je naš nad vse ljubljeni sin in brat
in svak.
Johann Schwab,
Soldat,
v cvetu mladosti, star 21 let, umrl 21. marca
1944 po teški bolezni, pripravljen v lazareti se
vzhodne fronte. Njegovo truplo počiva dalec
od njegove mile in drage mu rodne zemlje
katero je tako zelo ljubli. Počivaš v miru in
lahki ti bodi tusa zemlja. V naših scih boš
pa živ vedno.
L. o. v. e. v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, brata Franck in Jože,
sestra Lenka in ostalo sorodstvo.

Namerni žalosti sta je zapustil naš nad-
ljubljeni sin in brat.
Johann Wertnik,
Rott Wachmeister der Polizei,
v cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 32 let, padel
junaka smrti na Vzhodu 23. II. 1944. Njegovo
truplo počiva dalec proč od njegove, mile
in drage mu rodne zemlje, ki jo je tako lju-
bil. Kdor je poznal našega Janera, ve, kaj
je s njim zbilje. Bodi mu lahka tusa zem-
lja. Priporočamo ga v molitev in blag spo-
min!
L. o. v. e. v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, Franz, Matevž, Stanek, ot-
roci in ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem na-
šim sorodnikom in znancom preslano
vest, da je naš nad vse ljubljeni sin in brat.
Andrej Medved,
Grenadier,
star komaj 20 let, umrl dne 20. III. 1944 v
Lazaretu na Vzhodu. Njegovo truplo poč-
iva dalec od njegove mile in drage mu rod-
ne zemlje, katero je tako ljubli. Počivaš v
miru in lahki ti bodi tusa zemlja.
V naših scih pa bo živel vedno.
Stein, dne 30. marca 1944.
Zalujoči: Rosa in Anton, starši, Anton, brat,
Milica, Vida in Bečko, sestra in sorodstvo.

V globoki žalosti nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom pres-
lačeno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin in
brat.
Johann Perko,
Hilfspolizist,
v najlepši moški dobi 32 let, zapustil dne
23. februarja 1944 svoj ljubečiji življenjski
na daljnih kiročih teli svoj ljubečiji življenjski.
Vsi, ki so ga poznali, vedo, kako si zbilje družino
in na kaj sem zgodba v Teboj. Bodi Ti lahka
zemlja na Vzhodu. Priporočamo ga v blag
spomin in molitev.
Neuma-tič, v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: žena Ivanka, hčerka Milica
ter ostalo sorodstvo.

V globoki žalosti nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da
je naš ljubljeni sin in brat.
Anton Tome,
Grenadier,
padel v cvetoli mladosti, ravno na svoji
19. letni dobi, star 26 let, junaka smrti na
Vzhodu, dne 19. marca 1944. Njegovo truplo
počiva dalec od njegove rodne zemlje.
Njegovo truplo počiva dalec proč od njegove
rodne zemlje. Nášega draga Tomca priporo-
čamo v blag spomin in na svideenje naš zvez-
dani.
R. a. v. e. pri Zirkklach, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, mati, bratje Franz, Martin,
Lorenz, sestra Marija, Tereziya, Antonija,
Manca, Angela, Pavla, Julka, ter ostalo
sorodstvo.

V globoki žalosti javljamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom pre-
tužno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat
in svak.
Josef Pintar,
Soldat in einem Gren. Reg.,
v cvetoli mladosti 24 let na vzhodni fronti
si svoje mlado življenje.
Nas upanje in življenjska sreča sta v
svoje mladosti, star šele 21 let. — Naj v miru
počivaš in snivaš sladko.
L. o. v. e. v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, mati, bratje Franck, Marija,
Antonija, Manca, Angela, Pavla, Julka, ter ostalo
sorodstvo.

Nasmnjamo vsem našim sorodnikom,
prijateljem in znancom, da je naš ljubi sin,
Jožef Uštkar,
Soldat,
padel dne 9. II. v boju v Južni Italiji v cvetu
svoje mladosti, star šele 21 let. — Naj v miru
počivaš in snivaš sladko.
L. o. v. e. v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: rodina Bernik in sorodstvo

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom, prijateljem in znancom, da smo
namesto veseliga svidenja prejeli žalostno
vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin in brat.
Josef Ribnikar
Grenadier,
v cvetoli mladosti, star 19 let, padel 22. mar-
ca na vzhodni fronti. — Počivaš v miru, dra-
gi Josi.
ABling v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: prijatelj Zdravko Neuman.

Z žalostnim srcem nasmnjamo vsem so-
rodnikom in znancom, da smo naneso
veseliga svidenja dobili žalostno vest, da
je naš ljubljeni sin in brat.
Simon Koroschin
Grenadier,
v najlepši mladosti, star komaj 22 let, umrl
v lazaretu 18. aprila 1944 na Vzhodu.
Simon, miriv si, a v naših scih živis še
vedno.
Rahla naj Ti bo tusa zemlja in v miru poč-
ivaš in snivaš sladko.
A. p. n. e. dne 16. junija 1944.
Zalujoči: Franca, Johana, Vinke in Mirko,
bratje, Marija, Antonija, Manca, sestra,
ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Nasmnjamo vsem našim sorodnikom,
prijateljem in znancom, da je naš nad
vse ljubljeni sin
Tone Zupantič,
Grenadier,
star komaj 19 let, padel dne 10. februarja
1944 na vzhodni fronti. Njegovo truplo počiva
dalec od njegove mile in drage mu rodne
zemlje.
Priporočamo ga v blag spomin in molitev.
L. o. v. e. v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, mati, bratje Franck, Marija,
Lorenz, sestra Marija, Tereziya, Antonija,
Manca, Angela, Pavla, Julka, ter ostalo
sorodstvo.

Globoko potrti naznanjamo, da je naš ljubi sin in brat

Pretnar Mirko, Grenadier.

Martin Ivnik, Soldat.

Stanko Kopic, Grenadier.

Miha Križ, Grenadier.

Kerschitsch Johann
Grenadier.
V cvetoli mladosti, kemaj 1919h pomladi, po tekih požekbah 23. III. 44. za vedno preminul.
St. Velt / Sava, 18. IV. 1944.
Zalujoča družina Kerschitsch

V cvetoli mladosti star komaj 21 let, padel 19. februarske 1944 na vzhodni fronti. Vsi ki so ga poznali, vedo, kaj smo zgubili in kako velika je naša bolečina. Ne smemo pozabiti, kako se je leščil proč od svojih do skrajnosti potnih domoch. — Naj v miru počiva in lahka naj mu bo zemlja. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno. Sladko smrtvaj!
Asp bei Veldes, v prtilu 1944.
Zalujoči: oče, mati, brat Janke in sestrica Slavka.

Martin Ivnik, Soldat.
Martin, objubil si mi, ako se vrneš, da mi boš pomagaj sedaj po četovi izgubi. Ali želja se ti ni izpolnila. Ti počivaš na tujem. Lahka Ti bodi zemlja!
Lees, 17. julija 1944.
Zalujoča mama Antonija, sosa Ema, brata Janke, vojaka in Tončka, sestra Marija, Marjeta in ostala sorodstva.

V cvetoli mladosti 24 let, padel junaške smrti v reze zadel dne 23. januarja 1944 na Vzhodu. Kako velika ljubi življenje, nas in rodni dom, dal zanj življenje in sedaj počivaš daleč od nas v tujih ruskih zemljah, nas pa tolaži udno upanje, da se vidimo nad zvezdami. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev.
Obetermign bei Zirklach, v marcu 1944.
Globoko žalujoča oče Franz, mama Maria, brata Franz in Josef, sestri: Marija, profana Štuger, Franziska por. Regel, Angela por. Vidmar, Rosa, urfulinka, Ana in Julka.

V cvetoli mladosti, star 13 let, padel 13. Vzhodu. Sovražna krogota tvojo vsežino in podivjal. Bodi Ti lahka gruda na Vzhodu v bliag spomin in molitev.
Urlitzberg, v marcu 1944.
Zalujoča m. bratje: Martin, Johann, sestri: Marije in Angela te

Naznanjamo vsem našim sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš ljubi sin in brat
Johann Oblak,
Soldat.
V cvetu mladosti, 19 let star, padel junaške smrti dne 21. 2. 44. na Vzhodu. Njegovo truplo počiva daleč proč od njegove ljube in druge rodne zemlje. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin.
Koprivnica, v marcu 1944.
Zalujoči starši, bratje, sestri, ter ostalo sorodstvo.

V neizmeri žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da sem prešla namesto veseliga svidenja, prečutno vest, da me je zapustil za vse dni moj nenadomestljivi ljubljini edini sin
Legat Stanislaus
Kanonicar.
V cvetu mladosti, star 23 let, pomlaj 19. padel je na Vzhodu dne 19. IV. 1944. Daleč proč od svoje ljubljene domovine — od svojih gorenskih bliag, daleč od vseh, ki so mu bili ljubi in ki so mu tako ljube, si moral izstovajati svoje mlado življenje v starosti 18 let. Čeprav počivaš daleč od nas, smo v duhu vedno pri Tebi. Tvoji spomin pa bo živela vedno v naših srcih.
Vochners Felstritt, v Junija 1944.
Zalujoči: Poljari mirno, dragi Janke. Tvoji spomin, pa bo živela vedno v mojem srcu.
Globoko žalujoča mama.

Globoko potrti javljamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, žalostno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin in brat
Stanko Thaler
Gefreiter.
padel 21. maja na vzhodnem bojišču. Daleč proč od svoje ljubljene domovine — od svojih gorenskih bliag, daleč od vseh, ki so mu bili ljubi in ki so mu tako ljube, si moral izstovajati svoje mlado življenje v starosti 18 let. Čeprav počivaš daleč od nas, smo v duhu vedno pri Tebi. Tvoji spomin pa bo živela vedno v naših srcih.
Vochners Felstritt, v Junija 1944.
Zalujoči: Verholumark in Johanna, starši Josef in bojišču, Johann, Anton, bratje: Franziska, Wera, Aloisia, Mirica, Polena, Cilka, sestri.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem tužno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat
Franz Hudobivnik,
Grenadier.
star komaj 22 let, padel junaške smrti dne 7. januarja 1944, na Vzhodu.
Vse naše upanje in naša življenjska srca počiva daleč proč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili.
Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev. Sučha, v januarju 1944.
Zalujoči: oče Alois, mati Maria, bratje Johann, Alois, Josef, vsi na fronti, Stefan, in sestri Franziska.

V cvetoli mladosti, star 21 let, padel 13. Vzhodu, dne 10. Julija 1944. Našega Leopolda, vse, kaj smo izgubili, vse, kar smo izgubili, pri nas pa so pozbili. Bodi Ti lahka tu zemlja. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin.
Domachale, dne 10. 4. 1944.
Franz in Angela, A. Karob, sestri: Franziska, svaki in ostala srca.

Globoko presunjen od žalostni vesti, naznanjamo, da je naš ljubi mož
Johann Salele,
Rottwachtmeister der Schutzpolizei.
padel junaške smrti na vzhodni fronti dne 23. II. 1944. Njegovi zemski ostanki počivajo daleč od njegove ljube in druge rodne domovine, ktere je zelo cenil in ljubil.
Mir in pokoj njegovi duši.
Neumarckl v marcu 1944.
Zalujoči: Silva soproga, Terezia mati, Stanislaus na bojišču, Franz, Andreas, Konrad, bratje, Johann, Marija sestri in Anton svak, ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Ni se nam še zacetila rana srčnih bolečin, ko nas je 19. VII. 1944 ponovno dohitel smrtni sel in nam naznanil prežalostno vest, da je stedi svojemu ljubljenu bratu Stefanu, naš daj dušo naš ljubljeni dobršer sin
Jeras Vinzenz
Soldat.
V najplešji cvetoli mladosti 21 let, 19. julija je na Vzhodu na glavni obravnavi zatisil svoje trudne dni in se v večnosti združil s bratom Stefanom. Ljubljani, naša srčna ostane nepozabljiva, čeprav se potrti poslavljamo od Tvojeja daljnega, oamienega groba. Bodi Ti lahka tuja zemlja, mirno spava.
Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev. Vikertische, Unter Grogallenberg, v avgustu 1944.
Zalujoči: oče in mati, brat, sestri in ostalo sorodstvo.

Globoko potrti naznanjamo, da je naš nad- vse ljubljini sin in brat
Konjar Viktor
Grenadier.
umrl v lazaretu, dne 3. IV. 1944, star 24 let. Najpričnejša hvala vsem, ki sta ga spremljali na njegovih zadnji poti in vsem darovalcem cvetja.
Lahka mu bodi zemlja.
Flödnig, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči starši, brat in sestri.

V neizmeri žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat
Franci
dne 17. IV. 1944, daleč od svoje domovine izročil vsemogotnemu svojo mlado dušo.
Za vsa Tvoja ni se izpolnila, da bi te domaća zemlja krija. — Priporočamo ga v molitev.
Wart, v maju 1944.
Globoko žalujoča: Franz in Neža Plevel.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat, stric
Hojnik A.
Grenadier.
v najplešji cvetoli mladosti, star 19 let, padel 1. IV. 1944. Počiva daleč proč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno.
Tul Orm, 7. maja 1944.
Zalujoči: mati, sestri, brat

Vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem naznanjamo tužno vest, da je naš nepoznan dragi sin, brat, nečak, svak
Tripat Joze,
Soldat.
v najplešji cvetu mladosti, star 23 let, v daljni ruski zemlji, dne 25. januarja 1944, zadel od sovražne krogote zgubil svojo nedopojeno mnogobojno mlado življenje.
Vsi, ki so ga poznali, vedo, kakšna nenadomestljiva zguba nas je z njegove pretrane smrti zadelo. Naj počiva mirno v tuj zemlji. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin.
Moate, 1. III. 1944.
Josef, Jerica Privot, starši, Jerica, Karolina, Dana, sestri.

Globoko potrti javljamo žalostno vest, da je naš ljubljeni edini sin
Mali Franz,
Gefreiter.
padel dne 20. januarja 44 na vzhodni fronti, star komaj 20 let. Namesto veseliga svidenja, smo se prejeli naš ljubi sin, mirno spava.
Ober Kancker, v aprilu 1944.
Globoko žalujoča družina Mali.

Strti pod udarcem krute usode naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, znancem in prijateljem žalostno vest, da je naš nad vse ljubljini edini sin in brat
Stanislaus Mursbühler,
Soldat.
v najplešji mladosti, star 23 let, padel dne 9. Junija na Zapadu.
Prejubi naš Stanko, ni se Ti izpolnila želja, da bi bil enkrat videl nas in na domaćo vsa. Spomin na Tebe bo naša molitev.
Bobrava-Aitendorf, v juliju 1944.
Zalujoči: starši, sestri in ostalo sorodstvo.

V neizmeri žalosti naznanjamo vsem prijateljem in sorodnikom prežalostno vest, da je naš preljubljeni sin, brat
Stanko Mlakar
Grenadier.
v najplešji cvetoli svoje mladosti, star 23 let, dne 20. marca 1944 padel na Vzhodu, za del od sovražne krogote.
Srčna se želja ti ni izpolnila, da zemlja domaća bi te krija. Snivaj sladko, dragi naš Stanko!
Groß Trebelen, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči starši, sestri Aloisia, brata: Anton in Josef in ostali sorodniki.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš ljubljeni sin in brat
Urschensdink
Grenadier.
v najplešji cvetoli svoje mladosti, star 19 let, dne 5. III. 1944, od svoje domovine izročil svojo mlado dušo. Počiva daleč proč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno.
Kladie bei Laak / Z. — globoko žalujoči: oče, mati in ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom in prijateljem, da smo mesto veseliga svidenja, dobili žalostno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin in brat
Jeras Steian,
Grenadier.
v najplešji cvetoli mladosti, star 23 let, padel junaške smrti 3. marca 1944 na vzhodni fronti, zadel od granate. Stefan, kako si šel z odprtimi rokami sreči nasproti. Vse Tvoje veselje in srca moraš prejeti daleč proč od rodne zemlje in Tvojih do skrajnosti potnih domoch. Ki si vse tako ljubi. Stefan, mrtve si e v naših srcih živis še vedno. Lahka naj Ti bo tuj zemlja, počiva v miru, sladko smrtvaj, dragi Stefan! Priporočamo ga v spomin in molitev.
Vikertische Unter Grogallenberg.
Zalujoči: oče in mati, brat Vinzenz na vzhodni fronti, sestri Aneceta ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da sem prešla namesto veseliga svidenja, žalostno vest, da me je za vedno zapustil moj ljubi edini sin
Vrhovnik Andreas,
Panzergranadier.
v cvetoli mladosti, star komaj 21 let. Umril je dne 23. februarske 1944 na Vzhodu. Truplo krije tuja zemlja, daleč od svojih prejšnjih bliag, ktere je tako ljube žubili v vsemu svojem mladega srca in življenja.
Spomin na Tebe bo naša molitev.
Pressarg, v juliju 1944.
Zalujoča mati ter ostalo sorodstvo.

Z žalostnim srcem naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem tužno vest, da me je zapustil za vse dni naš nad vse ljubljini sin in brat
Spenko Johann,
Soldat.
v najplešji cvetoli mladosti, 21 let, padel je na Vzhodu, dne 20. VI. 1943. Dragi Johann v naših srcih ostane živ, kakor da bi bil. Vsi, ki so ga poznali, vedo, kakšna nenadomestljiva zguba nas je z njegove pretrane smrti zadelo. Naj počiva mirno v tuj zemlji. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev.
Potok-Komenda, v avgustu 1944.
Zalujoča mama, Franz, Lovrenz, Vinzenz, Isidor, bratje: Kristina, Michela, sestri.

V neizmeri bolosti naznanjamo, da je naš preljubi sin, brat in stric
Smrtnik Johann
Grenadier.
v najplešji cvetu mladosti, star 19 let, padel na vzhodnem bojišču izstovajati svojo mlado življenje. Njegovo truplo krije tuja zemlja, daleč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili v vsemu svojem mladega srca in življenja.
Prejubi naš Stanko, ni se Ti izpolnila želja, da bi bil enkrat videl nas in na domaćo vsa. Spomin na Tebe bo naša molitev.
Seoland, v maju 1944.
Zalujoči starši, bratje, sestri in sorodniki

Vsem, ki ste ga poznali, žalostno vest, da je naš nečak, svak in brat
Anton Hos
H-Mann.
po 3 mesečnem težkem trpljenju vzhodni fronti v cvetu mladi 20 let, dne 12. I. 1944, od svoje domovine izročil svojo mlado dušo. Počiva daleč proč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili v vsemu svojem mladega srca in življenja.
Sv. Jarji pri Lititz, 1. IV. 1944.
Zalujoči: Anton in Helena, m. nkar, Ana, Martina, Pavla, Ribkav svak, Franz, vsaki in ostala srca.

Z žalostnim srcem naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da smo namesto svidenja dobili žalostno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat, svak in stric
Anton Kreck
Grenadier.
star komaj 21 let, padel 5. marca 1944 na vzhodni fronti. — Tone, mrtve si e v naših srcih živis še vedno. Lahka naj Ti bo tuj zemlja, počiva v miru.
Vočca, mala 1944.
Zalujoči starši, bratje in sestri

V neizmeri žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš nad vse ljubljini sin, brat in stric
Cvetko Perko,
Obergrenadier.
padel 9. I. 1944, v cvetoli mladosti 21 let na vzhodni fronti. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev.
Zalujoči: oče Michael, mati Maria, brat soldat Tonček in Marijan.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom in prijateljem, da je naš ljubljeni sin in brat
August Jerin,
Soldat.
v najplešji cvetoli mladosti 22 let, padel dne 21. februarske 1944 na tujih bliagih fronti. Gustel, počiva v miru, tuj daleč, daleč od rodne zemlje, ki si jo naš vedno ljubi. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev.
Sallenberg, Steia, v marcu 1944.
Zalujoči: Johann in Katarina, starši, Soldat Cyril in silva, brata: Aloisia, sestri in ostalo sorodstvo.

S potirnim srcem naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, znancem in prijateljem tužno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat, stric in svak
Viktor Ribnikar,
Gebirgsjäger.
v najplešji cvetoli mladosti star 18½ let, padel junaške smrti dne 26. I. 1944 na vzhodni fronti. Viktor, kako si ti ljubi rodni kraj e sovražna krogota pretirala vse tvoje veselje in počivaš morav v tuj zemlji. Bodi ti lahka tuja zemlja. Priporočamo ga v bliag spomin in molitev.
Steinitzschko, Wolfsbach, marcu 1944.
Zalujoči: oče Johann, mama Helena, bratje Johann, Altonz, soldat, Viktor, Jäger Mihala, sestri Helena, poročena Zaplatnik, Mara, por. Jerman, Cecilija, svaka in nečaki.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat, svak in stric
Janko Skrjanec
Soldat.
v cvetoli mladosti 18 let, padel 12. I. 1944, od svoje domovine izročil svojo mlado dušo. Počiva daleč proč od rodne grude, ki jo je tako ljube žubili. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno.
Novake, 14. marca 1944.
Zalujoči: oče Johann, mati Helena, brata: Peter, brata, Franziska, vsaki in ostala srca.

V globoki žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem tužno vest, da je naš nepriporočano zapustil za vedno naš ljubljeni sin, brat in stric
Gabriel Murav,
Pionir.
v najplešji cvetu svoje mladosti, star 23 let, padel na vzhodni fronti, dne 21. januarja 1944, zagnal svoje sa nedopojeno a vendar junaško življenje, daleč od sovražne krogote.
Kdor je poznal mladega in miselnega Ignacija, ve tudi, kaj smo zgubili in kakšna je naša bolečina. Ne smemo pozabiti, kako se je leščil proč od svojih do skrajnosti potnih domoch. — Naj v miru počiva in lahka naj mu bo zemlja. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno. Sladko smrtvaj, dragi Gabriel! Priporočamo ga v molitev in bliag spomin.
Medno, v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoča mama, bratje, sestri, maši Rudi in ostalo sorodstvo.

Naznanjamo vsem našim sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, da smo dobili našo veseliga svidenja, prežalostno vest, da je naš nad vse ljubljini in nobri sin, brat, stric in svak
Ignaz Rant,
Soldat.
v najplešji cvetu svoje mladosti, star 23 let, padel na vzhodni fronti, dne 21. januarja 1944, zagnal svoje sa nedopojeno a vendar junaško življenje, daleč od sovražne krogote.
Kdor je poznal mladega in miselnega Ignacija, ve tudi, kaj smo zgubili in kakšna je naša bolečina. Ne smemo pozabiti, kako se je leščil proč od svojih do skrajnosti potnih domoch. — Naj v miru počiva in lahka naj mu bo zemlja. V naših srcih pa bo živela vedno. Sladko smrtvaj, dragi Ignaz! Priporočamo ga v molitev in bliag spomin.
Medno, v aprilu 1944.
Zalujoča mama, bratje, sestri, maši Rudi in ostalo sorodstvo.

Z nedopovedljivo žalostjo, vdani v božjo voljo, sporočamo vsem prijateljem in znancem, da je naš nad vse ljubljini edini sin in brat
Friedrich Petschnig,
Soldat.
padel dne 4. avgusta 1. e. v letu mladosti, daleč od svoje rodne grupe, v cvetu mladosti, star se ne 22 let.
Zaljubljeni starši: August in Marija; bratje: Blazius in fronti, Alois, Josip, Franz, Albin, Matija; sestri: Judmila, Paula, Maria, Franziska in vse ostalo sorodstvo.

Strti pod udarcem krute usode naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom, znancem in prijateljem žalostno vest, da je naš nad vse ljubljini edini sin in brat
Johann Delawetz
Grenadier.
v najplešji mladosti, star komaj 16 let, padel dne 3. maja 1944, na vzhodni fronti.
Zalujoči: starši: Johann in Maria; bratje: Blazius in fronti, Alois, Josip, Franz, Albin, Matija; sestri: Judmila, Paula, Maria, Franziska in vse ostalo sorodstvo.

V neizmeri žalosti naznanjamo vsem sorodnikom in znancem tužno vest, da je naš ljubljeni sin, brat in stric
Anton Primož
Grenadier.
star komaj 20 let, padel dni 23. Vzhodu, frontu.
Ljubljini Tonček, počivaš Hlg. Kreuz, 28. 6. 1944.
Anton in Maria, starši, in ostali sorod



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*Image 1: Podkoren; A monument to the fallen mobilized in Podkoren.
Photo by Jože Dežman.*

Image 2: Kranj; Monument to the fallen mobilized, Planina in Kranj. The monument is the work of architect Cyril Oblak. Photo by Jože Dežman.

Image 3: Brezje; Slovene monument to fallen forcibly mobilized in the Chapel of Mary of Succour in the Basilica in Brezje. Photo by Klemen Kunaver.

Image 4: Moscow; Monument to fallen Slovenes in the First and Second World War on Russian soil in Moscow. The monument is also dedicated in Russia to fallen and captured Slovene forcible mobilizers in the German Army. The monument is the work of architect Rok Klanjšček. Photo by Gregor Ivanušič

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Photos of the Khislstein Castle Exhibition: November 2019 - March 2020

BEKANNTMACHUNG

über die Musterung und Aushebung

RAZGLAS

o naboru in Izboru

PROKLAMATION

Am 27. September 1942...

| № | Имя | Возраст | Профессия | Семейное положение | Образование | Служба | Земельный участок | Иные сведения |
|----|----------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|---------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Иванов Иван Иванович | 45 | Рабочий | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 10 кв. м | ... |
| 2 | Петров Петр Петрович | 38 | Колхозник | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 15 кв. м | ... |
| 3 | Сидоров Сидор Сидорович | 52 | Рабочий | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 8 кв. м | ... |
| 4 | Кузнецов Кузьма Кузьмович | 40 | Колхозник | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 12 кв. м | ... |
| 5 | Левченко Лев Левич | 35 | Рабочий | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 10 кв. м | ... |
| 6 | Михайлов Михаил Михайлович | 48 | Колхозник | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 14 кв. м | ... |
| 7 | Новиков Николай Николаевич | 30 | Рабочий | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 9 кв. м | ... |
| 8 | Орлов Орел Орлович | 42 | Колхозник | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 11 кв. м | ... |
| 9 | Попов Павел Павлович | 33 | Рабочий | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 7 кв. м | ... |
| 10 | Рябенко Рязань Рязанович | 47 | Колхозник | В браке | Среднее | В армии | 13 кв. м | ... |

Dr. Schulz, v. h.

KUNDMACHUNG

Am 27. September 1942...

RAZGLAS

Am 27. September 1942...

...

Männer und Frauen von Oberkrain!

PROKLAMATION

an die Bevölkerung von Oberkrain

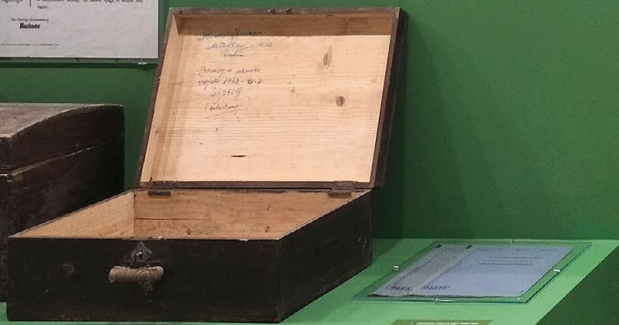
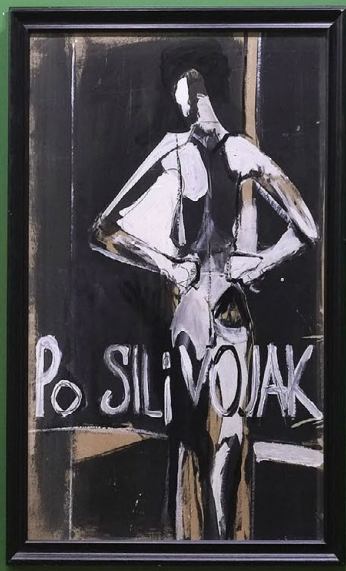
Am 27. September 1942...

...

mit Wirkung vom 1. Oktober 1942 in den Volkbund aufzunehmen und ihnen die Staatsangehörigkeit auf Widerruf zu erteilen

Walsburg, am 27. September 1942

Im Auftrag der Dienstleitung
v. RAINER
Landesrat von Oberkrain



General photo of the exhibition...





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