

## Murders of Prisoners of War (3.2)

Christoph Dieckmann

### Contents:

- I. Introduction
- II. Object and sources of investigation
- III. Administration of war prisoners' stockades
- IV. Racial policy of security, food supply and manpower: German decision to destroy the soviet war prisoners' stockades
- V. War prisoners' stockades in Lithuania
  - V.1. War prisoners' stockade in Kaunas
  - V.2. War prisoners' stockade in Alytus
  - V.3. War prisoners' stockade in Šiauliai
  - V.4. War prisoners' stockade in Vilnius, Naujoji Vilnia, Virbalis and Kalvarijos
  - V.5. War prisoners' stockades on Lithuanian – German border and Memel region
- VI. Releasing of prisoners of particular nationalities and Lithuanians as war prisoners
- VII. Compulsory works of war prisoners
- VIII. Behaviour of Lithuanian citizens regarding war prisoners
- IX. Estimation of the minimal number of victims of soviet war prisoners
- X. Conclusions and open questions
  - List of inquiries and judicial processes
  - Bibliography
  - List of abbreviations

### I. Introduction

Soviet war prisoners aside of the Lithuanian Jews were the biggest group of victims during the time of German occupation. The overall number of victims cannot be established but under very careful evaluation, the number, including the Memel<sup>1</sup> region, may be at least 170 thousand. What do we know today about the history of soviet war prisoners in Lithuania during the 1941 – 1947 German occupation? Who was responsible for their fate on the German side? Were Lithuanian institutions involved into politics regarding war prisoners? Under what conditions the prisoners lived in stockades? Why so many of them died? How did Lithuanian citizens behave? These questions are dealt with in this section<sup>2</sup>. After the presentation of the state of investigation and the sources, follows the explanation of the structure of German administrative organisations and the responsibility for policy regarding the war prisoners. Later, the general process that caused the killing of the soviet war prisoners in the areas under German control is described. Then, according to the gathered material, the description of a few bigger concentration camps in Lithuania is presented. The later chapters deal with the question of releasing some groups of prisoners, the question of Lithuanian war prisoners in German stockades, and the compulsory works that the prisoners had to do in Lithuania. At the end, the question of relationship between Lithuanian citizens and the war prisoners is discussed. After the estimation of the number of victims, the conclusions and suggestions for further investigation are made.

## **II. Object and sources of investigation**

The history of the soviet war prisoners during the 1941 – 1945 German occupation for long decades was only a stepdaughter of the historical investigations. The fate of the soviet war prisoners in the Western Europe until the end of the eighth decade has never been investigated thoroughly; nevertheless, the crimes against them were the part of the Nuremberg and following processes<sup>3</sup>. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the fate of German prisoners was in the centre of attention. It changed only after the publication of Christian Streit work, which induced further investigations<sup>4</sup>. Under the soviet government, this topic was a taboo with no easy access possible<sup>5</sup>. Since August 1941, the highest leaders of the Red Army have discriminated the war prisoners as “untrusting, poor, dumb elements”, their families “as the families of deserters who have broken the oath” need to be arrested<sup>6</sup>. Equally poor as the history of soviet war prisoners in the German stockades with aspects of suffering, death, partial cooperation with Germans and compulsory works, is the history of soviet war prisoners repatriated to the Soviet Union after the war. The Cold War in the eastern and western history was also an obstacle to the open development of the subject. With historical and political difficulties, more thorough examination of the subject was encumbered because of the lack of the sources on the regional level on the soviet war prisoners in the Soviet Union occupied by Germany. This could be said about the years 1941 - 1944 in Lithuania<sup>7</sup>. The central institutions that were interested in the soviet war prisoners had only remnants of files<sup>8</sup>. From the beginning of war till January 1942, when most of the prisoners died, eastwards from the old border of Reich, in order to hide the fate of prisoners, the precise registration in any institution has never been carried out<sup>9</sup>. The purpose of it was to prevent the interference of powers of international legal security and aid. That is why it is impossible to determine the overall number of victims in Lithuania based on German files. The number of prisoners in some individual stockades is presented only since February 1942 but without the record of neither arriving nor leaving prisoners, so these records are of little value<sup>10</sup>. Lithuanian archives are similar – there are only fragments of documents dealing with the history of war prisoners left. Two big sources of information were discovered in Lithuania from the post-war period. From the soviet side – these are testimonies and documents taken from the year 1944 - 1945 “Special state commission on Estimation of Crimes of Fascist German Intruders and their Toadies”; from the German side – the material gathered from the activities of German investigation institutions, in the first place from Ludvigsburg<sup>11</sup>. Most of the testimonies and additional announcements are impossible to check no matter if they are on a single event or on the common data, for example the number of victims. The latter, especially from the soviet side, were partly augmented and not well grounded. The precise verification of these numbers is impossible because of the reasonable doubts and poor material<sup>12</sup>. There is sufficient amount of data to draw the main directions of the soviet war prisoners nevertheless there are some significant “white spaces”. Contrary to the Jewish victims, there are no soviet war prisoners’ memoirs or diaries left. From the Lithuanian side there are some short descriptions left that were prepared based on data from Lithuanian archives and the special soviet commission<sup>13</sup>.

## **III. Administration of war prisoners’ stockades**

Wehrmacht was responsible for war prisoners. Institutional responsibility was divided between the highest governing body of Wehrmacht (OKW) and the highest governing body of the army (OKH). The section of war prisoners, from 01 01 1942 the head of war prisoners affairs, in general – OKW/Wehrmacht head service – was responsible for the area of German Reich, general-government and the civil administration; in accordance, the military chief of Wehrmacht Ostland (WBO) for Ukraine and Norway. It consisted of leaders of the war prisoners of 17 military districts together with the Wehrmacht military leaders in the Reich commissariats. These leaders governed the chiefs of prisoners' districts who were responsible for the main stockades for private soldiers (Stalags) and the officers' stockades for the military officers (Oflags). In the areas subordinated by the military administration OKH, the chief general of billeting was responsible for Oflags, Stalags and Dulags (distribution) stockades and the army-prisoner-delivery points. The concepts Stalag, Oflag and Dulag are related with the administration personnel of the stockades. In the Memel region and Lithuania, the personnel of Oflag stockades were employed in the main concentration camp for private soldiers but not in the stockades for the military officers<sup>14</sup>. In the Stalags area, there were sometimes more stockades belonging to the same administration. If there were bigger concentration camps established beyond the area of this one, they were called partial, side or branch stockades.

The prisoners policy was influenced by Wehrmacht institutions, the Reich Ministry of Occupied Eastern Territories (RMO), the Reich Ministry of Food (REM), the Reich Ministry of Labour (RAM), the Four Years' Plan (VJP), Chancellery of the Labour Party of the Nationalistic Germany (NSDAP), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and SS (security squad) institutions<sup>15</sup>. When, in July 1941, the civil administration was established in Lithuania, the highest institution was the Ostland Reich commissariat of war prisoners (RKO) at WBO in Riga<sup>16</sup>. At first, there were two military chiefs of prisoners' areas at the Ostland Reich commissariat (RKO): colonel Kuntze was responsible for the regions of Lithuania and Latvia, lieutenant colonel Wieltke<sup>17</sup> for the general commissariat Weißruthenien. When, in the middle of October 1941, the separate headquarters for Lithuania were established, the title "Commandant of the area of prisoners Q" was changed into "Commandant of the area of prisoners L"<sup>18</sup>.

The German plans were that Wehrmacht employs as many war prisoners as needed for subunits and the unneeded prisoners are transported to the western front<sup>19</sup>. These prisoners from the army-prisoner-delivery points at the Dulags were to be delivered to the Stalags or Oflags at the area of civil administration, or to the territory of the first defence region that included parts of the eastern Prussia and Bialystok and the stockade in the general-government. Only the small part of them had to be transported to the German Reich<sup>20</sup>. In Lithuania, there were firstly the points of army prisoners distribution and the whole string of Dulags, which were governed by the Wehrmacht security divisions (Sich.Div.), established. Dulags were moving eastwards so the steady Stalags were established: Stalag 336 in Kaunas, Stalag 344 in Vilnius, Stalag 343 in Alytus, Stalag 361 in Šiauliai<sup>21</sup>. The branch stockade of the Stalag 366 was in Kalvarija and probably in Virbalis. The branch stockades of the Stalag 344 were in Bezdonys and Naujoji Vilnia. In 1943, Stalag 344 was transferred and the camps in Vilnius and surrounding areas became the branch sectors of the Stalag 346<sup>22</sup>. From the 13 Stalags of the first defence region, three were situated directly at the Lithuanian – German border or the Memel region: Stalag 1c – in Šilutė, Oflag 53 – in Pagėgiai, Oflag 60 – in Širvintos/Naumiestis<sup>23</sup>. At some periods, hundreds of small

labour teams were scattered all over the country. For example, in spring 1942 in Šiauliai region there were 430 concentration camps with 3670 war prisoners<sup>24</sup>.

Battalions of the national defence (LSB), often helped by the German police, NSDAP, the Reich work service and supportive Lithuanian and Ukrainian subunits were the guards of the stockades and preserved the prisoners during their transportation<sup>25</sup>. The main purpose of the guards was to prevent the escaping of the prisoners. In the case of escape, they had to shoot without warning, to limit the contacts with civil citizens (for example, at work) as much as possible, in the stockades or during the transportation – to forbid it at all. The prisoners could not even go to the toilet secretly. For the security reasons, the guards could employ all other facilities<sup>26</sup>.

#### **IV. Racial policy of security , food supply and manpower: German decision to annihilate the war prisoners**

The political process of the decision, which caused the killing of hundreds of thousands of soviet war prisoners at the occupied regions, despite the difficult situation of the sources, is exposed more extensively. At first, those who belonged to Wehrmacht after the war spread the idea that there were no means to provide food for so many already very weak soviet war prisoners. So the German administration of the war prisoners was not guilty or responsible for that because they also were in some way helpless and victims of the situation. The studies of Streik, Mueller and Gerlach have shown that from the higher institutions, which had the power of decision, there was a purposive process of planning, which, contradicting the international legal norms caused the annihilation of the majority of the prisoners. Contradictory are only the question of time (the transition to the purposive annihilation in practice in summer or December 1941) and the precise composition of the motivations – supported firstly by ideological and later by food and economic factors. In different time periods and in different regions the responsible institutions made some efforts to keep the living conditions of the prisoners bearable. Because of the earlier mentioned general conditions and circumstances, until spring 1942, it failed. On the other hand, the annihilation process was stimulated by local initiatives. It was unanimous that the step from bad regional supplementation and negligence to the purposive, selective annihilation by starvation until the end of the battles of Briansk and Viazma, after which the Germans captured 662 thousand prisoners, was made until the middle of 1941<sup>27</sup>. During the first months, the number of prisoners was smaller “than expected”<sup>28</sup>. The climax of the process in Lithuania was in the end of September 1941 the decision of the military chief general of billeting to transfer as many prisoners as possible from the battle areas to the areas of the highest leader of Wehrmacht, on foot or by train, and to forbid the direct deportations to the general-government and Eastern Prussia. In the beginning of October 1941, there were already 200 thousand prisoners in WBO (the highest leader of Ostland Wehrmacht) stockades and at least 38 thousand were added later<sup>29</sup>. In this way, the massive deaths could have been accelerated.

Two methods of destruction need to be singled out. The higher war commandant for Lithuania, major general Emil Just, after the war at the court in Riga, when asked about the annihilation of the soviet war prisoners, noted: “the methods used were psychic exhaustion and massive shooting executions”<sup>30</sup>. On one side, there was a purposive selection regarding the war prisoners; on the other side, there were deaths because of bad settlement conditions, hunger, means of transportation, cold,

illnesses, and cruel behaviour of the security units, which caused the majority of war prisoners' deaths. Both destruction policies in the Reich level were broadly described because it had a central meaning as a background of the policy in Lithuania. The OKW (the highest government of Wehrmacht) directives on the behaviour with political commissars – the 6 June 1941 so called law on commissars – implementing the 3 March 1941 Hitler directives, caused the shooting of all the captured Red Army commissars. During the first three weeks of the war, the prisoners' section of the OKW and the Reich security service agreed that “the professional revolutionists, functionaries of the communist international, functionaries of the SSKP and their side organisations in the central committee, functionaries of the regional and district committees, all the commissars of the people and their deputies, all the political commissars of the Red Army, all the authorities of the central and middle institutions of state enterprises, authorities of the economy, soviet Russian intellectuals, all the Jews, all the instigative or fanatical communists” among the soviet prisoners must be selected and killed<sup>31</sup>.

Referring to this agreement, there were 140 thousand prisoners killed. This selection and killing happened in Lithuania too. The cooperation between the stockade administration of Wehrmacht and local security police was very close<sup>32</sup>. On the order of OKW (the highest government of Wehrmacht), disagreeing with the international law, the war prisoners who tried to escape were often passed to the security police and then their deaths followed<sup>33</sup>. In the end of December 1941, on the direction of OKW, the prisoners had to become executioners and to convict other prisoners to death<sup>34</sup>. The racial policy of Germany, using the soviet food resources for the purposes of German Wehrmacht and the stabilisation of the food ration of the Germans, presents a starting-point of the analysis of the annihilation of the soviet war prisoners by a radically poor food supply. The soviet war prisoners were the first victims of this predatory policy. The set food ration, consisting of only 2200 calories for the working prisoners, was less than the minimum for surviving. It was set only in August 1941 and was considered big. In Lithuania, de facto, it was even smaller. All the orders regarding the nutrition of the prisoners had one condition that the food could not be transported or received from Wehrmacht but provided on the spot. Because of the racial and anti-bolshevistic motives, the war prisoners were at the bottom of the nutrition hierarchy, therefore, most often there was nothing left for them. According to the OKH (the highest military government), the amount of food supply until 8 August 1941 depended from the alternative army members' self-maintenance; this was clearly limited saying: “the supply from the present funds”<sup>36</sup>. In the end of July in the Vilnius region prisoners had to march 30 – 40 km, received 20 – 30 g of millet, 100 – 200 g of bread and nothing else. There was an opinion that “the majority of people will not reach the destination because of exhaustion”<sup>37</sup>. At the concentration camps of the 4<sup>th</sup> tank division the amount of bread was 321 g but in three days it was said that the “most simple forms” i.e. millet, crush and bread substitutes must be used up first in order to save the military funds; the food transportation was forbidden to be burdened<sup>38</sup>. In the middle of October 1941, in Lithuania, it was already usual to make food for prisoners from waste: veins, pigskin and blood<sup>39</sup>. The accounting Department of RKO announced to the WBO civil administrations in Kaunas and Riga that meat is only for Wehrmacht and the urgent civil needs. The supply of powder for vegetable cutlets, groats and macaroni products, sugar, jam, fresh vegetables, cabbage or tea for prisoners was forbidden, the augmentation of the amount of bread grain was impossible but the amount of potatoes might have increased a little bit. The prisoners were left with low quality fat, the

spares of carcass and fish, maybe a little more of millet and skim curd<sup>40</sup>. The additional exhaustion for the prisoners was the extremely cruel transportation conditions and marching. In autumn and winter 1941, majority of them died during the transportation from the front to the stockades through the cold air in the open trucks, marching on foot and the insufficient supply of food<sup>41</sup>. If the prisoners' transportation by rail was impossible, the military chief of the North told them to march the endless trips at the back of the army without the appropriate food supply<sup>42</sup>. In the beginning of September 1941, in the area of the 403 defence division "the big number" – 30 thousand prisoners – broke down "because of the lack of food /.../ from exhaustion"<sup>43</sup>.

To take care of the wounded was clearly forbidden by the Army chief general of billeting; in July 1941 they could not get any medicine or nursing from the Germans. The isolated "lazaret" had to be established and all they could get was only the seized soviet medications<sup>44</sup>. Latest in November 1941, in some stockades especially weak prisoners were killed with poisons or injections<sup>45</sup>. In autumn 1942, OKW (the highest government of Wehrmacht) and SS (security squads) decided not to let the prisoners leave (with only a few exceptions) at all because the SS received them for their disposition from OKW including the killing of "unable to work" prisoners<sup>46</sup>.

The decisions adopted by the highest powers in October 1941 drastically reduced the official food ration (calories were reduced by one quarter, the albumen was reduced by almost a half) and quickened the planned growth of deaths in stockades<sup>47</sup>. The chief general of billeting strictly insisted that: "the leaders of units must understand that every food product that was given to a prisoner improperly or exceedingly was on the account of their relatives in the motherland or the German soldiers"<sup>48</sup>. The OKH (the highest military government) and the REM (Reich Ministry of Food) were of unanimous opinion regarding the annihilation by starvation. REM declared that it is "impossible" to appropriately feed war prisoners and Russian citizens. It is more important to provide food for Wehrmacht and the Reich people<sup>49</sup>. The German position was expressed by such sayings as: "the more of these prisoners die, the better for us all"<sup>50</sup>.

Parallel with the process of decision to convict the majority of the prisoners to death, in the end of October 1941 came the decision to use the prisoners massively for works at the Reich areas. Gerlach noted that it was not necessarily a contradiction to encourage massive deaths because of the lack of food and at the same time expand the compulsory works, firstly in the Reich areas<sup>51</sup>. According to the German intents, the annihilation by selection and starvation and the compulsory works could not hinder each other. Until the end of 1941, the Germans captured totally 3.35 million soviet prisoners. The need of manpower for the German military economy since the October 1941 was short-termed from 500 thousand to 800 thousand people, and long-termed from 1.5 million to 2.5 million. Only the part of the prisoners was now needed so it was easy to speculated with the possibility of selection: in order to provide a better nutrition for the "suitable for work" and the starvation policy for the rest, and to prevent the conflict between the annihilation and work. In the beginning of November 1941, the soviet civil citizens in unlimited numbers were recruited or deported to the Reich as manpower. This provided the alternative for the work of war prisoners and indeed, in 1942, there were three times more civil citizens (1.4 million) than prisoners (456 thousand) working in Germany.

Looking in general at the German policy in Reich and in the occupied soviet territories, it looks like the organised and planned massive annihilation and the

expansion of the compulsory works were compatible. Both processes must be analysed as correlated: ones had to starve, the others – feed better and work. The chief general of billeting Wagner described it: “the non-working prisoners in the stockades have to starve. The working ones in solitary instances may feed from the army funds. In accordance to the general nutrition state it is impossible to make this an order”<sup>52</sup>. To tell the working from the non-working prisoners in practise was very difficult. The food supply policy and the terror system at the stockades made this gigantic selection impossible. The German efforts to destroy the food competitors de facto was a much higher priority than the usage of manpower, and the contradiction remained unsolved. Even the guaranteed by the OKW additional food ration in the occupied Soviet Union was forbidden<sup>53</sup>. The intention not to permit starvation in the stockades for the true professional groups among prisoners was also unrealised<sup>54</sup>. Only when in spring 1942 about 2 million prisoners died and the lack of manpower became clearer, the official modification of the food ration improved the conditions and gave possibilities to survive for the bigger number of prisoners<sup>55</sup>.

From the October 1941 in some stockades, the massive deaths reached unimaginable numbers: from 1941 October to December, every month approximate number of deaths was 300 – 500 thousand prisoners. In January 1942, the number was 155 thousand, in February 1942 – 80 thousand, in March 1942 – 85 thousand<sup>56</sup>. Until the end of 1941, under German government, the number of deaths of prisoners was about 2 million and till the end of war – 3.3 million.

There is no precise data from the stockades in Lithuania during the period of autumn – winter 1941 – 1942 but the flow of events in RKO (Reich commissariat in Ostland) clarifies the situation. On 5 December 1941, the RKO Employment Department in its telegram to RAM (Reich Ministry) notes some difficulties transporting the prisoners from the “Ostland” to work in the Reich territory. The transportation problems and the spotted fever made some obstacles, nevertheless, it was a big haste /.../ because of exhaustion there are about 2000 daily deaths. The February 1942 data shows that the numbers were even bigger: in November 1941, from 231 thousand prisoners that were closed in the concentration camps in the Reich commissariat in Ostland, in January 1942 there were only 162 990 alive. 68 010 prisoners died which makes approximately 2 194 prisoners per day<sup>57</sup>. In February 1942, there was 152 951 prisoner alive, i.e. 10 039 prisoners less than in January 1942. Because of the transportation of 26 426 prisoners from the battle regions to the RKO and RKU and no transport to the Reich or general-government at that time, the number of deaths in Reich commissariat was probably much bigger than 10 039<sup>58</sup>.

The last months of German occupation have been analysed in details, when the war prisoners were evacuated across Lithuania. For example, there are references that the Belarussian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian guards participated at the execution of exhausted prisoners during the evacuation. In June 1944, there were 3000 prisoners driven from Minsk to Marijampolė. Only 1300 arrived so the rest – 1700 – had to be shot on the way because of exhaustion<sup>59</sup>.

## **V. War prisoners’ stockades in Lithuania**

What was the situation and relationship in Lithuania? Because of the lack of material on the regional German institutions responsible for the concentration camps, further conclusions of the investigation will deal only with the bigger stockades of Lithuania. After the evaluation of the fragments of files, the statements from the post-

war period, diaries and memoirs, observations of war prisoners and their situation will be used.

### **V.1. War prisoners' stockades in Kaunas**

The first stockade – Dulag 100 – in Kaunas was established in the IV fort. It was provided for 6000 prisoners but on 3 June 1941, there were already 8050 war prisoners, 5000 of which were transferred to the stockade of the first defence region of Ebenrod. The prisoners were at once used for the compulsory works<sup>60</sup>. The number of them has increased very fast because of the victory of the encirclement battle at Bialystok on the second week of July and the capture of 320 thousand prisoners, part of which arrived to Lithuania. On 5 August 1941 in Bocholt, the Stalag 336 was built and overtook the stockade from the Dulag 100<sup>61</sup>. The commandants of the Stalag 336 were one after the other lieutenant colonel Karl August Werdelmann, major Otto Grennebach and colonel Karl Sieber. The guards were various units of LSB 530 (battalions of the National Defence), which were often moved from one stockade to another and in autumn 1943 partly cooperated with the Ukrainian guards<sup>62</sup>.

From 7 July 1941, the latest, Lithuanian units participated in the security of the VI fort and the military hospital, from 8 August 1941 – in the security of the port stockade, from the middle of August – in the security of separate peat-bog concentration camps outside Kaunas<sup>63</sup>.

The VI fort (stockade “A”) was soon overcrowded and six more camps were formed in the city. The biggest one from July 1941 was situated near the Aleksotas airport. It was a so-called the “stadium” stockade, the port stockade near the river Nemunas (stockade “D”) and the stockades “I” and “II” in Šančiai (stockade “G”). From 1943, firstly Ukrainians were imprisoned in the VII fort (concentration camp “F”) because they, as if “ready to help”, were accused of the supposed punishable or disciplinary crimes.

The VI fort was renamed to “lazaret” and was almost equal to the stockade of death because of the lack of everything – rooms, food and medications. The majority of the prisoners had to live in the pits under the open sky. All they could get was 100 – 200 g of bread or its substitutes, baked from the bad flour mixed with sawdust and a little of soup with potato peelings or rotten beets<sup>64</sup>. The medical doctor Kutorgienė wrote down her observations into her diary about the war prisoners being already evidently exhausted: “the Russians are bald-headed, their face is the colour of the ground with the signs of scurvy, some already have swelled legs and inflated bodies. Only once per day they get some very poor food”<sup>65</sup>. The German guards did not permit any sign of help. The doctor Kutorgienė has experienced it: “Today I saw ragged, exhausted, limping prisoners. They conveyed a cart of bricks supervised by the big-faced rough policemen. A peasant wanted to give a cigarette to one of the prisoners but the policemen did not permit it. To my words that it is not good to be so angry the German started shouting at me and threatened to arrest me”<sup>66</sup>.

From the German data about the deaths in Kaunas, it is evident that from September 1941 until July 1942, 22 thousand prisoners died, most of them from hunger and exhaustion, the rest – from illnesses such as typhus and spotted fever. According to the German evaluation, there were 7804 prisoners “able” to work<sup>67</sup>. From the remained map of the graveyard Nr. 5, it is clear that from October 1941 till November 1942 there were 7533 bodies buried there<sup>68</sup>.

In nineteen graveyards near the Aleksotas bridge after the war, there were 9155 corpses found<sup>69</sup>. The conditions there were awful. Total exhaustion at the



enormous amounts of very hard work already in late summer 1941 caused massive deaths<sup>70</sup>. From September 1941 the Jews from Kaunas ghetto had to work there. They saw the exhausted and starving prisoners, whose situation was even worse than the still alive Jews<sup>71</sup>. The example when the survived Jews substituted the prisoners' manpower was quite popular in Lithuania. For example, in May 1942, in Žiežmariai stockade, in the synagogue and the cinema building lived 60 Jews from the Vilnius region as compulsory workers instead of the soviet war prisoners<sup>72</sup>.

The number of war prisoners in Kaunas from September 1941 till December 1942:<sup>73</sup>

Total number	Manpower	Ill prisoners
1.9 – 30.9.1941	17.295	
1.10 – 31.10.1941		25.656
1.11 – 30.11.1941		24789
1.12 – 31.12.1941		26.583
1.1 – 31.1.1942		25.583
1.2.1942	34.016 (26.560)	20.442
1.3 – 31.3.1942		22.300
1.4.1942	23.078 (17.807)	21.700
1.5.1942	21.074 (14.563)	19.350
1.6.1942	19.769 (13.364)	18.415
1.7 – 31.7.1942		17.267
1.8.1942	20.518 (15.387)	
1.9.1942	14.321 (9.363)	
1.10.1942	15.248 (13.034)	
1.11.1942	18.723 (13.212)	
1.12.1942	19.890 (11.309)	

The data is only about the year 1942. The table shows that, for example, in February 1942 there were 30 016 war prisoners in Kaunas 26 560 of which had to work. The number of ill prisoners was also present: 20 442 out of totally 34 016. Despite the 14 thousand that were supposed to be healthy, 26 560 had to work. In February 1942, 2791 prisoner died – approximately 96 daily or 8.2 per cent of all captured prisoners at that time.

The prisoners died not only from hunger, illness or cold but also from the direct selection or shooting. All the groups considered as potential enemies by the NS regime, especially commissars, “political prisoners” and Jews, were killed in either the IX fort or other places<sup>74</sup>. They were discovered by the stockade administration or the 1c Defence Department and isolated at the station of the IV fort<sup>75</sup>. It is impossible to find out who participated at the shooting executions. Soldiers of the chief of the security police in Lithuania after the war acknowledged that they once received 300 – 500 war prisoners from Wehrmacht and executed them by shooting in the IX fort<sup>76</sup>.

The conditions of the war prisoners' transportation in autumn 1941 from the Leningrad front were almost killing. Exhausted by the resistant battles, most prisoners died on their way to the stockades in very overcrowded wagons because of the lack of food; hundreds of them were shot straight at the station because of their weakness<sup>77</sup>. There is one rare document left describing the sufferings at the VI fort: the letter from the prisoner F. J. Kozhedub to his family on 19 October 1941. He was captured on 14 September 1941 north from Novgorod and until 2 October was being deported from

one stockade to another. They had to walk from Gomel to Kaunas “where the massive grave is already waiting for me. I am starving from the very first day here and waiting for my last one. /.../ We were closed in the VI fort /.../ We sleep under the open sky in a pit. All we get is 200 g of bread per day, half a litter of boiled cabbage and half a litter of mint tea. Nothing is salted for us not to swell. To work, we are driven by sticks and steel rods but do not get any additional food for that. We have millions of fleas. For two months I have not shaved, washed myself or changed clothes. My clothes are: underwear, outdoor clothes, military greatcoat, military cap and shoes with foot-cloths. It is cold, sopping wet and dirty. Everyday about 200 – 300 people die. This is my situation and my days have been counted. I can be saved only by a miracle. Stay healthy, my dears, live well, my beloved, my friends and acquaintances. If there will be a man to pass this letter further, you would have at least known where I died dishonourable and hard death”<sup>78</sup>.

There is not much information left about other concentration camps of Kaunas. Most often, they were light construction wooden barracks like the stockade near the stadium or the former horticulture school building near the airport, which were used for housing. According to one preserved story, in winter 1941 in Ukrainian stockade 1500 Ukrainians died<sup>79</sup>. The so-called “ready to help” from the VII fort stockade were partly deported to Austria, Mauthausen camp, where were forced to work till total exhaustion and later shot or poisoned with gas<sup>80</sup>. In two stockades of Šančiai, the prisoners were also selected and killed and the “ready to help” together with the people for the Vlasov army were kept in a separate part of the stockade<sup>81</sup>. The leader of the Jewish partisans Chaim Yelin’s brother Meiv Yelin in winter 1941 for two weeks worked in the ghetto labour unit in the stockade “G” in Šančiai to build a bathhouse and a disinfection building. When he entered the stockade the first time he was shocked. Later he recorded his perceptions: Dante’s “hell” is just a game when compared with what he saw in the stockade. Lots of the prisoners were lying in coffins nevertheless they were still alive. Like the dead alive prisoners in brown-grey Red Army greatcoats. Others were guarded by the police of the Ukrainian stockade with the help of whips. The prisoners had to sleep on straws in cold barracks. Near every barrack, there were heaps of dead bodies laying because the land was frozen and it was impossible to bury them<sup>82</sup>. The attentive look of the medical doctor Kutorgienė memorized the stockade “D”, the port camp: “The long, high fence in barbed wire, a few watch-towers for the guards, light barracks made from wooden boards, very few chimneys. In mornings, the prisoners are driven to work. They look awful, wear summer clothes and some are barefooted. They smell of silent suffering. /.../ They walk staggering past us, as real ghosts from the other world. We follow them with our eyes unconsciously. I could give some bread to the prisoners but needed to get a permission from the guards at the entrance. /.../ Today the guards sent me to receive the permission from the officer on duty. /.../ Politely I asked for the permission to give something to the prisoners. The reply was a rude shouting why I came here. Then they sent me to the neighbouring house where the guards were. There were many drunk soldiers, they surrounded me, checked my bag with documents where there were some loafs of bread. One of them took my bag and offered to buy it from me for 10 marks. I took it back and said that yesterday I bought it for 50 marks. Another man with angry face and voluptuous eyes waved his hand and performed a movement as if he took a woman from beneath and said: “if you have a 17-year-old or younger daughter – send her here”. They took the bread and put it into a cupboard /.../ I never tried to go there again because I understood that the prisoners wouldn’t get anything. The death rate is frightening, the prisoners who are

ill with the spotted fever are just killed”<sup>83</sup>. There is something known about the prisoners in Kaunas but the information is not enough to get the real number of victims. The special soviet commission indicated 45 thousand of deaths: 35 thousand in the city and 10 thousand in Aleksotas airport. According to the documents presented by the Germans, in the summer 1942 there were already over 30 thousand victims. The number of 35 thousand until the end of the occupation looks very possible.

## V.2. War prisoners’ stockade in Alytus

The first stockade in Alytus was the Dulag 133. This happened before the Fürstenberg Stalag 343 was established. 6 barracks and a wooden stable fenced in barbed wire composed the concentration camp; beyond the fence there were two barracks for the guards and the administration<sup>84</sup>. The stockade was started to build in August 1941, when the first prisoners arrived<sup>85</sup>. It was meant for 6000 prisoners but in autumn 1941, about 30 thousand prisoners were brought here<sup>86</sup>. The commandants were major Rozenkranz and from August till the middle of October 1942 – major Erich Klein. The guards were the third unit of 530 National Defence battalion together with Lithuanian subunits<sup>87</sup>. The first Lithuanians to the administration of the stockade were sent from Vilnius the latest on 22 August 1941<sup>88</sup>. When in the end of September 1941 it was announced about the arrival of 30 thousand war prisoners, in the middle of October 1941, 102 policemen including the 5<sup>th</sup> Lithuanian police support battalion arrived there<sup>89</sup>.

According to the survived prisoners and the camp administration, the surviving conditions there were awful. There were no heating, beds, clothes or shoes, medication or doctors. The prisoners slept on the bare floor when the temperature was -25 °, the fleas were everywhere. Many arrived already completely exhausted and those who fell out of the wagons were shot at once<sup>90</sup>. There were almost no food, just a little of water, the houses were totally unsuitable for living, illnesses such as typhus, spotted fever and dysentery raged everywhere. “They practically died of starvation because there was nothing to give them to eat”<sup>91</sup>. Six prisoners had to share a slice of bread, 150 g a person; they received some “vegetable soup” made of the rotten and unclean vegetables. In winter 1941 – 1942, every day several hundreds of prisoners died of hunger, illnesses and cold. “The prisoners were simply pushed into the concentration camp and left there for themselves”<sup>92</sup>. The burying teams buried the victims in mass graves<sup>93</sup>.

The drastic punishments were put to practice. The prisoners were shot because they searched for something eatable in the rubbish-heaps, because of eating a sparrow, because of cannibalism<sup>94</sup>. The political commissars and the Jews were selected and shot<sup>95</sup>. The stockade was bolted till thaw period in spring 1942<sup>96</sup>. There are reliable numbers from the German side on the prisoners being in the stockade from February till October 1942<sup>97</sup>:

1.2.1942	8.867	(1.407)
1.4.1942	7.565	(1.793)
1.5.1942	8.380	(5.011)
1.6.1942	8.484	(4.756)
1.8.1942	5.051	(4.217)
1.9.1942	4.622	(2.226)
1.10.1942	3.624	(1.422)

Until the April 1942, the number of working prisoners was small – approximately 16 per cent in February 1942, 24 per cent in April 1942. This shows the bad condition of others. The decrease of number of prisoners from August 1942 is connected with the prisoners' deportation to the Reich. In November 1942, the Stalag 343 was abolished and its territory prepared as “a reserved stockade of Alytus, the Stalag 336”<sup>98</sup>. Small groups of prisoners, with some intervals, were left with the labour units in the region until the spring of 1944<sup>99</sup>.

There are very little documents left about the Stalag 343 and this makes the estimation of the number of victims difficult. The exact numbers of October 1941, however, are present: there were 28 thousand prisoners in the stockade<sup>100</sup>. During 20 days of this month, 1000 prisoners died of “starvation”, that is approximately 50 per day<sup>101</sup>. After the war, the soviet special commission found 16 150 bodies in 136 graves and estimated the general number of victims to be from 30 to 40 thousand<sup>102</sup>. Former war prisoner Aleksandr Klimkovich – from 28 October 1941 till August 1942 he was in the concentration camp – mentioned different numbers: during the period from August 1941 till February 1942, 14 500 prisoners died of hunger, 2000 – from epidemic, 500 were shot and 1000 from other reasons. In the northern part of the camp there were 2500 additional people buried so, in his opinion, till August 1942, 20 000 prisoners died<sup>103</sup>. It would be reasonable to say that the minimal number of victims is 20 000.

### **V.3. War prisoners' stockade in Šiauliai**

From July 1941, Dulag 102 of the security division 207 for six weeks was in Šiauliai. The commandant was lieutenant colonel Georg Böhm. There could be from 2000 to 10 000 war prisoners there. Part of them were locked in a huge synagogue<sup>105</sup>. The guards at first were from the National Defence battalion 636<sup>106</sup>. In Šiauliai as well, the commissars and the Jews were selected and killed<sup>107</sup>. Since August 1941, the stockade of Šiauliai was administered as a branch camp of Kaunas Stalag 336, and the National Defence battalion 307 overtook its administration as a part of the Local commandant's headquarters and the guards from September 1941 were squads of the National Defence battalion 530<sup>108</sup>.

In February 1942, staff B of the Oflag V came to Šiauliai to administer the stockade and, in the beginning of May 1942, it was renamed to the Stalag 361<sup>109</sup>.

The commandants were: lieutenant colonel Eduard Eitner, until 1 August 1942 – lieutenant colonel Karl Meinel, until 4 February 1943 – colonel Karl Sieber, till 14 August 1943 – Maximilian Pönicke and finally from 20 August 1943 – colonel Kurt Sieber. In town, there were three divisions of the stockade: one camp was beyond the railway station (I stockade) and it was 800 m long, 80 m wide; the second camp (II stockade) was in the southern part of the town on Tilžės street at the barracks of the Reich work service; and the third was a separated “lazaret”<sup>110</sup>. The big second stockade was established because of the epidemic in the first one, which was totally isolated. The prisoners of the II stockade worked primarily in the fur factory<sup>111</sup>.

According to victims as well as the witnesses, the conditions in the stockade were horrible<sup>112</sup>. After the long day journey from the Dulag in Pleskau, the completely exhausted prisoners came to Šiauliai<sup>113</sup>. Those who could not get up because of utter physical exhaustion and remained lying were shot on the spot. The prisoners lived overcrowded and were fed with rotten potatoes, which caused illnesses very fast. The bread was mixed with sawdust. “The conditions in the stockade were

impossible. Many died of the spotted fever or exhaustion”<sup>114</sup>. In winter of 1941, in Šiauliai, there was a so called water bunker, a slit filled with water, where the prisoners had to stand in the biggest cold in the depth of one meter until they died<sup>115</sup>. The prisoners themselves brought the bodies of the dead from work back in order to bury them. In Verdulai village, 2 km away from Šiauliai, there was a mass grave<sup>116</sup>. The Jews also described the fate of the prisoners as particularly horrible, for example in the airport. The guards tried to prevent the communication between the Jews and the prisoners<sup>117</sup>. When a 10-year-old boy tried to give some bread to the prisoners working near his house, the German guard aimed his gun at him. When the prisoner shook his shovel at the guard, he was shot<sup>118</sup>. Other children exchanged food into toys that the prisoners made for them at the fur factory<sup>119</sup>. In the announcements of the German funds, the stockade of Šiauliai appears only in April 1942<sup>120</sup>:

1.4.1942	10.557	(8.003)
1.5.1942	10.330	(8.947)
1.6.1942	10.051	(8.779)
1.8.1942	7.102	(5.961)
1.9.1942	4.098	(3.455)
1.10.1942	3.791	(3.543)
1.11.1942	4.102	(3.439)
1.12.1942	4.188	(2.531)

The table shows that the working part of the prisoners was very big. In the commissariat of the Šiauliai region, a lot of prisoners in small groups did agricultural works for the peasants<sup>121</sup>. The quite big number from April till June 1942 proves it. Then the deportations to the Reich began.

The number of victims may only be estimated. The soviet special commission found seven mass graves near Šiauliai and, therefore, the number of victims is considered to be 22 560<sup>122</sup>. There is no reason in doubting this number.

#### **V.4. War prisoners' stockades in Vilnius, Naujoji Vilnia, Virbalis and Kalvarijos**

The concentration camps in Vilnius and the surrounding areas provide even less information than others. The sources make it possible to describe the general features of the Vilnius stockade but it is very difficult to do that for other four camps in Naujoji Vilnia, Virbalis and Kalvarijos because of the lack of information.

During the first period of occupation, the 403 security division was responsible for the Vilnius region. It had three Dulags: 111, 123 and 155. The prisoners were transported there from the army prisoners' distribution points. Part of them worked in Dulags and part of them was transported to the west – to Seinai. On 5 June 1941, there were 8248 prisoners; on 14 June, 4000 of them were deported and the rest had to work. It is said that on 5 July 1941, there were 3500 prisoners in the Dulag 112, 1400 of them had to work in the labour units; 2400 prisoners were in the Dulag 123 and 2000 of them working; 2200 prisoners in the Dulag 155 with 700 working<sup>123</sup>. In the middle of July 1941, the 9<sup>th</sup> army insisted on transporting as many prisoners to the west as possible<sup>124</sup>. Because of the lack of the guards, the attempts of escape were punished very brutally. When during one journey at one attempt of escape 94 prisoners were shot, the security division announced that “in the future at the attempts of escapes the column will be fired randomly”<sup>125</sup>. In August 1941, the

Stalag 344 was built as a “second wave”, the staff was from the 4<sup>th</sup> Alternative National Defence battalion in Glachau. The stockades in Vilnius and the surrounding areas were governed from the Stalag 366, and from 8 September 1941, the Stalag 344 overtook the government<sup>126</sup>. Till January 1942, the commandant of the stockade was the former major of Chemnic, major (later lieutenant colonel) Erich Chiliau, then lieutenant colonel Josef Messner<sup>127</sup>. In Vilnius, there were several stockades, for example in the southern part of the city, where the prisoners were executed by shooting, or in Siniafka, where the leader was Frank, the feldfebel (sergeant major) of the headquarters<sup>128</sup>. There was a concentration camp for the soviet women prisoners in Vilnius<sup>129</sup>. In November 1942, the Ukrainian war prisoners that were trained “for further use” lived in the city<sup>130</sup>. In autumn and winter 1941 the security of the Stalag 344 were 894, 319 and 778 National Defence battalions (3<sup>rd</sup> company)<sup>131</sup>.

War prisoners were shot on the command of the commissar. The 1c Department of the commandant’s headquarters of the stockade selected the so-called “impossible” war prisoners who, at first in the forest but later in the stockade, were shot in the neck<sup>133</sup>. The “reasons” for giving the prisoners to the security police are seen from the remained cards of the administration of the Lukiškės prison about 62 war prisoners that were killed. For example: “Jewish”, “is Jewish”, “because was Jewish”, “political leader”, “threatened to disturb the peace and safety of the camp”, “threatened to disturb the peace of the stockade”, “was distributing false rumours”, “disregarded the order of the stockade”, “politically undesirable”, “politically undesirable as Jewish”, “was a communist instigator”, “tried to persuade the prisoners to escape”. Total pigheadedness, murderous anti-Semitism, anti-bolshevism were clear motives of murders.

In November 1941, the military commandant lieutenant colonel Zehnpfennig reported to the leader of the general headquarters Halder, who was visiting Vilnius, that the condition of the prisoners in the stockades is very bad and that many of them are ill with the spotted fever<sup>135</sup>. The more clear situation in December 1941 is presented by the commission account, which visited the stockades in 1941 – 1942 looking for the manpower for the Reich and the staff for other German purposes<sup>136</sup>. Out of 7300 war prisoners 4000 worked in foreign teams. From the rest 3300 prisoners 1200 were ill with the spotted fever, 600 were “unable to work”, about 50 of them died every day. 1500 prisoners could be employed in the Reich but after a month 500 of them died and the Stalag 344 was closed because of the spotted fever. After the war, the administration of the Stalag 344 testified that during that winter a lot of prisoners died. Every morning, prisoners had to take the dead ones and burry them in the mass graves<sup>137</sup>. At that time in Vilnius region a lot of war prisoners were employed not only in agriculture but also in peat bogs or to clear the snow<sup>138</sup>.

In February – March 1942, the German data on the war prisoners in Vilnius shows that the number of working prisoners is very small. This again testifies about the bad condition of others<sup>139</sup>.

1.2.1942	6.856	(2.048)
1.4.1942	7.735	(2.816)
1.5.1942	8.179	(1.913)
1.6.1942	7.790	(2.515)
1.8.1942	7.090	(2.478)
1.9.1942	5.385	(2.640)
1.10.1942	6.144	(4.049)
1.11.1942	8.085	(4.260)

1.12.1942	8.371	(3.230)
-----------	-------	---------

The soviet commission estimated the number of victims in Vilnius as 5000<sup>140</sup>. Over 1000 bodies were found in the Russian cemetery in Vilnius. The survivors of the 1005 team of the Paneriai said that there were mass graves of the soviet war prisoners also in Paneriai<sup>141</sup>.

It is unclear whether the Wehrmacht decision on September 1941 to bring 20 000 prisoners to Vilnius was accomplished<sup>142</sup>. It is possible that big part of them was transported to the stockade outside the city in Naujoji Vilnia, which was governed by the captain Leyser<sup>143</sup>. The guards were LSB 778 (National Security battalion) and over 100 soldiers of Lithuanian defence battalion<sup>144</sup>. The soviet commission estimated about 13 000 victims in this camp<sup>145</sup>. The incredibly big number of victims was estimated in the concentration camp 5 km from Bezdonys, Vilnius region. The number of deaths was 25 000 and there were 18 mass graves found<sup>146</sup>. The total number of victims in all three stockades around Vilnius could be around 43 000.

Two more stockades for the war prisoners were established in Vilkaviškis and Marijampolė regions. According to the soviet commission, in Virbalis, Vilkaviškis region – around 20 000 and in Vilkaviškis – 2390 prisoners died from hunger, illnesses or shots<sup>147</sup>. In Marijampolė region, a big concentration camp was established in Kalvarija, where mostly the military officers were imprisoned. According to the post-war testimonies of the staff of German administration, the numbers vary from 1000 to 5000. The government was probably directed through the local commandant's headquarters of Marijampolė. The leader of the stockade was captain Schröder. The guards were LSB 778 (National Security battalion), Lithuanian private soldiers and the Ukrainians<sup>149</sup>. The mentally ill prisoners were imprisoned there in the first place<sup>149</sup>. What could have happened to them? According to the declarations of the 3<sup>rd</sup> operation group, on 1 September 1941, 109 mentally ill patients together with 5000 Jews were executed by shooting in Marijampolė. They were probably brought here from Kalvarija. Other information on these stockades is missing. The total number of victims here is estimated to be about 25 000.

### **V.5. War prisoners' stockades on Lithuanian – German border and Memel region**

There were 13 war prisoners' stockades on the Lithuanian – German border, the Memel region and the eastern Prussia. Their history is closely related to the history of war prisoners in Lithuania because there were also the places for deportations<sup>151</sup>. There is little information on these camps presented from the German and soviet sources. The short information about these stockades that were on the territory of the present-day Lithuania will be presented.

In the Šakiai region, one camp was on the border near Kudirkos Naumiestis, separated only by the river Širvinta (Ger. Schirrwindt). The Oflag 60, used as a Stalag, was governed by the first defence region. Till the spring 1942, the commandant was lieutenant colonel baron von Vietinghoff, later commissar major Oelrich. In summer 1942, the stockade was closed. At first, the Oflag 60 was supposed to be a transitional stockade for the war prisoners and, in the end of June 1941, the first prisoners were brought and accommodated in the temporary barracks. According to the staff of the administration of the camp, it was soon overcrowded. In the late autumn and winter 1941 – 1942, many prisoners died because of the lack of food and illnesses. Totally about 25 000 prisoners were in this camp<sup>152</sup>. On 1 February

1942, 3234 prisoners lived in the stockade who, from March 1942, were employed for the compulsory works<sup>153</sup>. From June 1941, the state police of Tilžė established a constant group headed by the criminal secretary Hans Le Coutre, who, east from Kudirkos Naumiestis, together with the security units performed shootings of the selected prisoners once per week<sup>154</sup>. Until the middle of October 1941, there were about 3000 victims<sup>155</sup>. According to the soviet commission, the overall number of victims was 11 500<sup>156</sup>.

There were two more stockades in the Memel region that belonged to the first defence region. Šilutė – Macikai and Pagėgiai belonged to the Oflag 53. There is very little information on Šilutė and a bit more on Pagėgiai. The number of victims in the first stockade can only be estimated but there were surely several thousand of prisoners who were shot or died of equally inhuman conditions as in other stockades<sup>157</sup>.

In July 1941, near Pagėgiai, a few kilometres north from Tilžė, the Oflag 53 was established, which was responsible for private soldiers. The camp was governed by major Curt Petters<sup>158</sup>. The territory was fenced with barbed wire under the open sky in the field and the prisoners lived in pits that were dug in the ground, which later were deepened, covered with grass and became bunkers. In the middle of October 1941, there were 4600 private soldiers and military officers<sup>159</sup>. Soon, many more prisoners were brought here by railway, one fifth of which died on the way because of starvation<sup>160</sup>. Totally about 24 000 prisoners were in this camp<sup>161</sup>. The survivors said that all they could get was 200 g of bread substitutes, a little bit of soup, water and no medical help at all<sup>162</sup>. According to one survivor, in the summer 1941, prisoners went on strike because of the bad food supply. The Germans opened the machine-gun fire and a lot of prisoners died<sup>163</sup>. From September 1941, about 40 – 45 prisoners died every day and, from November 1941, the number of victims reached 150 daily. According to the German announcements, till 12 October 1941, in Pagėgiai, there were 650 commissars, Jews and the soldiers of the Red Army (women) killed. Once per week, the “selected”, isolated in the “death grate” prisoners were gathered by the Tilžė squad of the state security police and executed in the nearest forest. Even then, there were attempts to escape<sup>165</sup>. With the help of spies, the victims were interrogated by means of the most brutal methods. With the permission of the security service of the Reich, it was allowed to shoot in every single event. Sometimes the high-ranking soviet officers were taken to Berlin for interrogation<sup>166</sup>. The Oflag 53 was involved in killings by the Department of Defence. On the command of Oflag, the prisoners had to dig graves in advance<sup>167</sup>.

In July 1942, the stockade was closed. The 800 prisoners that managed to survive were deported to the Reich to the compulsory works<sup>168</sup>. In spring of 1944, a few mass graves that were on the side of the territory of the camp were opened. Six Jews were forced to exhume and burn at least 300 victims. The German police later killed these Jews<sup>169</sup>. When, in December 1944, the medical commission opened 13 mass graves, there were over 5000 victims found and the overall number of deaths was estimated 8000 – 10 000, most of them from hunger and illnesses<sup>170</sup>. The estimations of the commission may be considered substantiated.

## **VI. Releasing of people of particular nationalities and Lithuanians as war prisoners**

The purpose of the orders of selection of war prisoners by the Reich security service, the highest Wehrmacht government and the highest military government was



not only to eliminate the “unbearable” prisoners but also to discover the prisoners that could be useful for Germans. Very early, the council of Rosenberg – the future RMO (the Reich Ministry of Affairs of the Eastern Occupied Territories) – insisted on strict selection of the nationalities that could be influenced by the German propaganda, and they could be used for the purposes of Germans in the occupied territories. This was done probably because the German administration was short of the staff<sup>171</sup>.

Parallel with the 25 June 1941 Himmler’s order to form the support police formations, the military general of billeting orders were given to find the non-deportable Germans, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians who could work for the Germans in the agriculture, police support or as translators<sup>172</sup>. On 30 June 1941, the military general of billeting orders were passed by the North Army group (Nord) to other armies with the addition that the nationalities must be selected not in the front camps but only Dulags may release the tested prisoners. On 2 August 1941 OKH (the highest military government) delayed to implement the law: the release of the war prisoners must only be prepared; the separate law will be passed on their release<sup>173</sup>. On 7 August 1941, in the field of civil administration, OKW (the highest Wehrmacht government) decided to release the mentioned prisoners for works and the security tasks after the preliminary checks that were done by the security organs<sup>174</sup>. The decisions on releasing the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians were repeated once more<sup>175</sup>. In the area of OKW, there were some branch stockades built for the prisoners of the mentioned nationalities. After the arrival to the camp at once they were tested<sup>176</sup>.

In autumn 1941, many commissions on checking the prisoners were established by the RMO (the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Territories in the East), which selected the prisoners: the “political and criminal suspects, especially the instigative soviet functionaries, commissars, political leaders, the soviet soldiers professionals, Jews and criminal elements” were planned to kill. Other groups had to be released or used for works in the Reich, the German propaganda or police works. According to the RMO, in the middle of October 1941 there were 14 such commissions, 20 of them were being prepared<sup>177</sup>. However, the work of the commission failed in Lithuania because of the terrible conditions in the quarantine stockades, lack of possibilities of transportation and that the prisoners selected for deportation died of hunger<sup>178</sup>. What was the policy of peasants regarding the Lithuanian war prisoners?

During the first months of war, lots of Lithuanian soldiers were incorporated into RA 29 shooters’ corpus. Many of them deserted in the very beginning of the war or were arrested despite their anti-Bolshevistic attitudes and imprisoned in the concentration camps. Very few soldiers were suspected to be communists<sup>179</sup>. OKH (the highest military government) ordered to support the revolts in the Red Army but after that to disarm the soldiers and bring them to the stockades<sup>180</sup>. Lithuanians from 179 and 184 divisions were in the camps of Vilnius, Pabradė, Varėna and Kaunas<sup>181</sup>. Already on 23 June 1941, in Varėna, there were Lithuanian soldiers, disarmed and imprisoned<sup>182</sup>. The repeated requests of their release were rejected by the commandant of the field’s headquarters<sup>183</sup>. Actually, only part of them remained in the camp; the other part were released or entered the paramilitary divisions<sup>184</sup>. There were attempts to create the Lithuanian corpus that together with Wehrmacht could fight against RA but it was not approved by Germans<sup>185</sup>. Some Lithuanians suffered until October 1941 in various concentration camps and then entered the defence battalions<sup>186</sup>.

Not expecting the orders from above, on the second week of July the 403 security division released the war prisoners and included them into the “recreation service of Vilnius”. In July 1941, there were 3000 people in this service<sup>187</sup>. Part of it worked together with the police battalion and the secret military police of the 403 security division locking the soldiers of the Red Army, Jews and the people without personal identification documents in Antakalnis prison<sup>188</sup>. Till September 1941, there were four battalions formed and their divisions were employed in guarding the war prisoners’ stockades or the soviet women camps in Vilnius, Trakai, Alytus, Ašmena, Grodno, Lyda and Varėna<sup>189</sup>. According to the German data, on 1 April 1942, there were 211 Lithuanians imprisoned. They had to reconcile with the disappointment that they were not allowed to fight with Germans against the RA but their fate in Lithuania was much better compared with other nationalities. Lithuanians that entered the paramilitary divisions were partly involved in crimes against war prisoners because of being the guards of the stockades.

## **VII. Compulsory works of war prisoners**

War prisoners were employed in compulsory works firstly in the occupied territories. In the Dulags, braking the international law, they had to work in the construction companies for the enemy units and the inimical war industry<sup>191</sup>. In August 1941, as many as possible prisoners had to be employed in harvesting<sup>192</sup>. In the area of OKH, it was ordered to employ every prisoner “decisively”, racially appealed to the “pride” and “superiority” of the guards, asked to keep distance from the working prisoners and, according to the circumstances, to take up arms<sup>193</sup>. On the order of OKW, the regional work services were also added to the exploitation of the prisoners<sup>194</sup>. The war prisoners had to dig mass graves where later civil citizens and Jews were executed by shooting – firstly in the beginning of July 1941 in the VII fort in Kaunas, in summer and autumn of 1941 - in IX fort and Alytus<sup>195</sup>. As it was already mentioned, the compulsory works were of an annihilating nature.

It was forbidden to use them in places where the contact with food was possible<sup>196</sup>. Only those who lived in small camps scattered all around the country had slightly better conditions for surviving the annihilating policy<sup>197</sup>. In June 1941, opposite to the development of events, the compulsory works were unforeseen outside the territory of the stockade<sup>198</sup>. Because of the lack of manpower, this was not maintainable and the demand for prisoners for the compulsory works during the first seven weeks was bigger than there were prisoners captured at all<sup>199</sup>. In Lithuania, also opposite to the development of events, when the civil administration was established, only the prisoners performing the compulsory works had to stay and the non-working prisoners had to be deported “as soon as possible”<sup>200</sup>. In September 1941, the physical state of the working prisoners in the occupied soviet territories was so horrible that the eastern economic headquarters thought that “the majority of them will not outlive the winter”<sup>201</sup>. In the end of November and beginning of May 1941, the German commission for recruiting manpower, checking the stockades of the Reich Ostland commissariat, decided that “because of the difficult exhaustion” only 8000 prisoners out of 80 000 that were not ill with the epidemic were “able to work”<sup>202</sup>. The idea of keeping the prisoners alive in order to use them for German purposes was put to practice only in 1942. In January 1942, the central role of the work services and their relation with Stalags was clarified due to better management of manpower in the territories governed by Germany. Civil (for example, Todt organisation, Reich labour service) and military employment agencies could request the prisoners only through

the labour services<sup>203</sup>. In spring 1942, in Lithuania, 16 000 prisoners worked in agriculture<sup>204</sup>. There were thousands of small work camps throughout the country. The Šiauliai region has already been mentioned, in the Joniškis region, the war prisoners had to work in 268 farms<sup>205</sup>. The peasants, German immigrants or companies for the work of prisoners paid 10 pfennigs per day, about 3 marks per month - not to the soldiers or officers but to the responsible administration of the concentration camp<sup>206</sup>. From May till August 1942, large groups of prisoners worked at the peat bog stockades, most often guarded by Lithuanian (for example, first, eighth and Kaunas substituting) battalions<sup>207</sup>. Especially famous peat bog stockade was the camp of soviet women in Ežerėlis. Together with three more camps, it was governed by Elisabeth Seeling<sup>208</sup>. The planned use of thousands of prisoners at work was impossible partly because of the lack of houses and the guards<sup>209</sup>.

The bigger deportations to the Reich began in 1942: 16 March 1942 – 550, 21 April 1942 – 1100, 28 May 1942 – 1000, and 10 June 1942 – 500, totally – 3150 war prisoners. During 1942, the number of prisoners working in agriculture from 12 105 in the beginning of August 1942 decreased to 5985 in September and to 3500 in October<sup>210</sup>. Despite the opposition of the German agriculture division in Lithuania, the leader of the war prisoners in OKW in July 1942 ordered that all the prisoners who are not needed for harvesting must be deported to the Reich. And indeed, to the discontent of the local Germans and Lithuanian peasants, part of the prisoners were “hastily” deported to the Reich<sup>211</sup>.

According to the German data, the number of war prisoners in general and the number of prisoners employed in the compulsory works in Lithuania were: in January 1942, there were 66 000 prisoners; in the beginning of February, there were 16 000 less<sup>212</sup>.

Totally	Compulsory works	
1.2.1942	49.739	30.015
1.4.1942	48.935	30.419
1.5.1942	47.963	30.461
1.6.1942	46.094	29.414
1.8.1942	39.761	24.560
1.9.1942	28.426	17.684
1.10.1942	28.807	22.048
1.11.1942	30.910	20.911
1.12.1942	32.449	17.070

From February till June 1942, the number decreased from almost 50 000 to 46 000<sup>213</sup>. Because of the deportations to the Reich in 1 September 1942, their number fell by 17 668 but in winter it increased to 32 500. According to the year 1942 data of the civil administration, additional 20 000 prisoners were used as manpower. Anyway, there was a lack of manpower in Lithuania because in the Reich it was considered more important<sup>214</sup>. The rest of the prisoners were forced to work for the Germans by means of terrorisation. The principals of the RKO (the Reich commissariat in Ostland) policy was threatening to take away food or use weapons and constant beating<sup>215</sup>.

During the summer 1943, 12 300 war prisoners were employed in compulsory works in Lithuania. In June 1943, in Kaunas region 47 districts there were 4518 prisoners working in small camps and 287 prisoners – in state farms<sup>216</sup>. In August 1943, 5000 prisoners from the civil sector were deported, in 20 November 1943 there

were 6467 prisoners alive, in 20 December 1943 – 5100<sup>217</sup>. In March 1944, in Alytus region, there still were some solitary war prisoners working at the peasants' farms<sup>218</sup>. The meaning of compulsory works in agriculture as clarified by the fact that, compared with the pre-war period, the number of agricultural workers has decreased from 158 000 to 120 000 in autumn of 1943<sup>219</sup>. The Germans had to reconcile with lots of escapes during the huge distributions of war prisoners, though they were threatened by astronomic fees<sup>220</sup>.

In 1943 – 1944, Jews also had to work – they unearthed mass graves and burned the bodies in order to hide traces. In 25 December 1943, all 64 “burners of bodies” managed to escape from the IX fort, in 15 April 1944 – 40 from Paneriai.

In 1943, the composition of war prisoners changed. This was caused by the changed and more brutal Germans fighting with partisans. In 1943, in accord with the SS and Wehrmacht government, the new strategy was put to practice – to destroy the territories, sort out all the civil citizens and to lock those who are able to work in the Stalags as “the prisoners captured when fighting with gangs” and deport them for the compulsory works to the Reich<sup>222</sup>. In August 1943, Hitler ordered to transport 18 000 prisoners to the Reich, to the coalmine. All the men from 16 to 55 years were to be considered prisoners and transported to the Reich. All the men and women firstly had to be deported to the general-government for the compulsory works and then – to the Reich<sup>223</sup>. In the end of July 1943, this policy was applied to those men who escaped the German check-up<sup>224</sup>. There are no numbers testifying these events.

### **VIII. Behaviour of Lithuanian citizens regarding war prisoners**

There was a bunch of contact points between Lithuanians and the war prisoners. First, there were security units partly composed of Lithuanians and the cooperating citizens who helped to locate the escaped prisoners. Second, there are lots of references and examples when Lithuanians tried to help the war prisoners – with food, clothes or helping to escape or hide from the Germans. Third, the compulsory works of both the war prisoners and the Lithuanian citizens. All these areas were not investigated thoroughly.

In solitary sources of information it is mentioned that Lithuanians – firstly the divisions of the defence and police battalions – were involved in the guarding the war prisoners and the pursuit of the escaped ones as an addition to the small units of Germans. As there are no evidence that they were “too gentle” to the prisoners, it is likely that they were as brutal and merciless as the majority of German guards. The medical doctor Kutorgienė noted that there were exceptions: “I managed to give some bread and cigarettes to the prisoners in the street. The Lithuanian guard kindly said: ‘give it to them’ ”<sup>225</sup>.

There are proofs that, especially during the first months of the occupation, civil citizens participated in betraying the escaped soldiers of the Red Army to the police. For example, the officer of the 18 Army of Defence writes: “The behaviour of the Lithuanian citizens: loyal and friendly to Germans, support the units when searching for the scattered abundant enemy troops”<sup>226</sup>. From the every day registered account book of the declarations of anti-soviet partisans in Alytus it is clear that the big part of the pursuits were performed by the Lithuanian paramilitary units according to the indications of the residents. Often the hideouts of the communists, Jews or Red Army soldiers were reported to the Germans<sup>227</sup>. The scattered or escaped Red Army soldiers found it very hard to find hideouts or the escape ways; it was even more difficult for the Jews. The drastic punishments threatened to those who in any way

helped the escaped prisoners. The relationship between the war prisoners and the Lithuanian residents was sanctioned and forbidden, threatening with the death penalty<sup>228</sup>. If there were attempts to help, they were concerned with the huge risk. The doctor Kutorgienė in 5 September 1941 writes in her diary: “Today it was announced: those who will help the escaped prisoners – will be arrested, those who will run – will be shot. Signed by the commandant of Lithuanians. /.../ somebody does not like mercifulness and compassion regarding the Russian war prisoners. These exhausted, hungry, worn out people, harnessed to the carts instead of the horses must transport cement, timber, stones and sometimes furniture. It is frightening to look at these dying men”<sup>229</sup>. In 8 September 1941, she wrote: “The law has been passed forbidding to sell food, cigarettes and other things to the Russian prisoners. /.../ The Germans are kicking the prisoners in the streets, punching them with fists /.../ not being ashamed of the people”<sup>230</sup>. Despite everything, the war prisoners were shown compassion and privately helped. “You may often meet the peasants taking prisoners to work; people were happy for them and said: ‘maybe this one will not die’. I saw two Russian prisoners, lingering from exhaustion, carting their dying friend. His face was small and worn out, eyes open wide, crying but not understanding anything, terribly ragged clothes – this view cut into my memory for a long time. Most of the women cried”<sup>231</sup>.

In November 1941, doctor Kutorgienė saw the prisoners walking along the street “one prisoner fell down, the German started beating him but he could not stand up anymore. Then the German began kicking him, swearing and shouting. A woman came out of the crowd and protested; the policemen arrested her; she showed her passport and said: ‘I am a human’”<sup>232</sup>.

The head of the Radviliškis police department A. Valavičius reported that in 23 November 1941, guarding 13 prisoners he noticed a woman giving them a loaf of bread and disappearing. He could not catch her because otherwise the prisoners would have escaped<sup>233</sup>. The help from the solitary residents was such that for example in Marijampolė region the Lithuanian administration asked the civil citizens to regard the prisoners as enemies but not friends. The friendship towards them is “the insult to the Lithuanian nation” and will be punished.

Good accord between Lithuanian citizens and the war prisoners was observed constantly<sup>234</sup>.

In the regions of Alytus and Šiauliai, those who helped the prisoners were punished brutally<sup>235</sup>. The families of the soviet functionaries because of helping the prisoners were locked in stockades.<sup>236</sup>

In 1943, the collective punishments came into practice. In May 1943, in three villages near Triškiai, Šiauliai region, during an assault there were hidden prisoners found. 43 persons were arrested at once, 7 of them were shot<sup>237</sup>. The resistance movement of the Jews greatly supported the war prisoners. The Jews together with the war prisoners were exploited in the same places, both waiting for the possible death. There could be just minimal contact. Because of the difficultness to get some food for the war prisoners or the families of the soviet functionaries (even more difficult than to Jews), often a little bit of bread, some crumbs of tobacco or clothes were of great help. There was no “natural” solidarity between the two groups not only because of the inhuman sufferings but also because of the fear of betrayal<sup>238</sup>. Sometimes the trust could be gained. In the V fort, in the auto park of the military trucks or the working places near the railway, there was information exchange on the course of war and routes of escape. The Jewish women first managed to get some money and clothes in order to escape. Some of them and the war prisoners met again at the partisans in 1943 – 1944.

It is little known about the fate and experience of thousands of prisoners in small groups scattered across the country. It is clear that it was different; mostly it depended on the peasants and the employers that they worked for, on their mentality and interests. Their material situation was probably better than the ones in the big stockades firstly because they could get more food and not so cold accommodation. They could more easily escape because the control here was not so strict as in the cities. From 1942, there were more reports from Germans on partisans because of the escaped prisoners. Most often they were not organised small groups of escaped war prisoners who in order to survive gathered together and ran into conflicts with village people or the order keeping forces. Organised and purposive partisan activities in Lithuania began only in 1943 – 1944 and in different groups there were thousands of the escaped war prisoners fighting as partisans.

### **IX. Estimation of the minimal number of victims of soviet war prisoners**

How many war prisoners died because of hunger and the selection policy in the territory of Lithuania? The condition of the sources does not allow making even preliminary decisions on the number of victims. It is possible to estimate only the minimal number of deaths.

In 1941, in the area of Lithuanian general commissariat, there were at least 145 000 deaths: 35 000 in Kaunas, 20 000 in Alytus, 22 500 in Šiauliai, 43 000 in Vilnius region including Bezdonys, 25 000 in Vilkaviškis and Marijampolė regions. If counting the victims in the stockades at the former Lithuanian – German border and the Memel region, which are now in the territory of Lithuania, 22 500 – 26 500 victims should be added: 11 500 – Širvintos / Kudirkos Naumiestis, 3000 – 5000 – Šilutė, 8000 – 10 000 – Pagėgiai. The total number may be 168 000 – 172 000 of victims. In order to present the more exact numbers, further investigation is needed<sup>239</sup>.

Very uncertain number of deaths was presented by the special soviet commission which estimated the number of victims in Naujoji Vilnia to be 60 000<sup>240</sup>. It was not possible to verify these numbers. Another number of victims in the Vilnius region presented is 13 354 and it is closer to reality. This speculation is presented in the survey of Rukšėnas<sup>241</sup>.

### **X. Conclusions and open questions**

The problem formulated in the introduction together with the questions about the state of investigation of the soviet war prisoners in the German occupied Lithuania raises a question of who was responsible for their cruel fate. As in other areas governed by the Germans, the main Wehrmacht military structures dominated in Lithuania. There were catastrophic living conditions in the concentration camps, the death of hunger policy was put to practice, racially selected “dangerous” groups of prisoners were killed closely cooperating with the security police. The racial nutrition policy - to provide insufficient amount of food, and the racial security policy - the urgent liquidation of the supposedly dangerous groups for the German occupational government and the German nation, were agreed and adopted at the highest decision making organs. In Lithuania, in Dulags, Oflags and Stalags, according to the investigations of the German prosecuting magistracy, people were selected and killed. There was not a single stockade, which could correspond to the norms of the international law, the 1907 Hague Convention or the 1929 Geneva Convention<sup>242</sup>.

Compared with the Wehrmacht war prisoners' policy in the Western Europe, the differences come out: fighting with France, Germans captured 1.9 million prisoners and managed to keep them<sup>243</sup>. There were no bigger problems, the organizational difficulties were managed. Because of the ideological and economic reasons, the behaviour with the soviet war prisoners was different. There are no real attempts reported neither from the Wehrmacht organs, nor from the local institutions of food supply or labour services to protect the prisoners from the death of hunger or shooting in the territory of Lithuania. Even since September 1941, living conditions in the stockades of Lithuania were so awful that it caused mass deaths. The official food norms were considered big and they were disregarded. Even the necessity of the compulsory works did not change the situation. Working conditions at the airports, streets, railway stations were such that only caused the prisoners to get tired and exhausted. Only the situation of the prisoners working in agriculture was slightly better. The German control here was poorer, the possibility to get food better, the cold and illnesses were more rare. The mass use of the soviet war prisoners at work, which started in June 1941 and was formally finished in the end of October 1941 caused to augment the norms of food and made the prisoners possible to survive. The racial discrimination remained. Anti-Bolshevism and anti-Slavism in all areas of the responsible institutions added its part to the inhuman conditions.

Battalions composed of Lithuanian troops were added to the shortage of the German security units. Despite some solitary exceptions, their behaviour towards the prisoners was not more humanistic than the Germans. Opposite to the anti-Semitic policy, Lithuanian institutions were not directly or lastingly involved into the war prisoners' policy. Lithuanians could not make direct influence on the German policy of war prisoners. Nevertheless, especially during the first months of the occupation, Lithuanian police, paramilitary units and many civil residents participated in searching for the escaped prisoners and the scattered Red Army soldiers. The escaped prisoners found it very hard to survive because of the indifferent and often inimically neutral citizens. From the other side, there were attempts to help the prisoners. This is directly proved by the prohibition from the German and Lithuanian administration to communicate with the prisoners and provide them help in any way. The active compassion and the attempts to help from the beginning were drastically punished. This is one of the open and hardly possible to answer questions: whether the help would be of a greater scale if there were no threats of punishment.

Another question to consider would be: how did Lithuanian peasants who employed the war prisoners behave when the German authorities were far from them.

In 1943 – 1944, the background of the question of the behaviour of Lithuanian citizens is slightly different. The German defeat and the victory by the Red Army and another occupation of Lithuania were close. The relief of the ended soviet occupation was gone and hopes of the restoration of the independent state with the help of Germans – collapsed. The concern about the new soviet occupation has been quieted down. The arising organised soviet partisan activities in the south villages of Lithuania left for the peasants no choice of neutrality. The situation was even more encumbered because of the Lithuania and Poland conflict about the Vilnius region. From one side there was a brutal German anti-partisan and manpower policy, from the other – the partisan activities to get food from the villages - caused the peasants to get into a difficult position which was determined by others. The war has entered the private sphere and there was a choice of one bad thing from many. The more differentiated investigation here is still needed.

In the end of this section, there are open questions: there is little information on all the Stockades, especially on the camps in Bezdonys, Vilkaviškis, Kalvarijos and Naujoji Vilnia. Not much information is left on the activities of the regional German administration institutions, which worked with the war prisoners. There are no investigations on the behaviour of the civil citizens regarding the war prisoners and all the statements are of speculative nature. This concerns the area of big stockades in the cities, towns and villages where prisoners were employed in agriculture. It is only possible to make suppositions on the possible change of behaviour between 1941 and 1944.

The fate of the soviet war prisoners was closely related to the fate of other large groups: the Jews and the civil citizens that from 1943 were brought to Lithuania in large numbers from the further east of soviet territories. They suffered destitution or were killed in the camps of war prisoners, for example, the Stalag 343 in Alytus or the Stalag 361 in Šiauliai. It is helpful that the history of these three groups is investigated not separately but comparatively. This enables the clarification of differences and similarities in both sides the victims and the criminals. The spectrum of the bystanders and the remained civil citizens should be analysed in a comparative manner.

From the German side, soviet war prisoners were considered “the lower people” and slaves for work, and from the soviet side – the betrayers of motherland, deserters and spies. The time when the history of this period of Eastern and Western Europe in the science of history and discussions was considered a taboo must have passed and it must be investigated. It is the biggest crime of the World War II in the territory of Lithuania.

### **List of inquiries and judicial processes**

Federal archive in Lichterfeld, Berlin, ZA-DH, ZM 1683: Process against F. Jeckeln, among other crimes – for killing (Riga process). Unabridged copy is in Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten, Berlin.

The central state archive in Wiesbaden, Chapter 461, Process 32438 against H. Schmitz, among other crimes – for killing that were performed by the Third operative group; StA Frankfurt, 4 Js 1106/59, central state archive in Wiesbaden, chapter 461, 32438 = ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 14/58.

General prosecuting magistracy in Ludwigsburg, EL 322: Process against B. Fischer-Schweder, among other crimes – for killing the Jewish on the border of Lithuania (so-called process of the operative groups of Ulm); Court of the Ulm district Ks 2/57, Ludwigsburg state archive, EL 322 = ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 15/58.

The justice administration centre of the investigation of crimes of violence in federal territories in Ludwigsburg / ZStL (later – ZStL), II 207 AR-Z 51/58: Process against A. Krumbach, among other crimes – for participation in mass shootings on the border of Lithuania.

ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65: Process against Konstantin Canaris, among other crimes – for killing the soviet war prisoners in the First Defence region.



ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71: Process against M. Poetsch, among other crimes – for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Stalag 344 in Vilnius.

ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71: Process against E. Klein, among other crimes – for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Stalag 343 in Alytus.

ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69: Process against Grennebach, among other crimes – for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Stalag 336 in Kaunas, Alytus and Kalvarija.

ZStL, V 319 AR-Z 61/77: Process for killing the soviet war prisoners in Vilnius, Kaunas, Alytus, Šiauliai and Pagėgiai.

ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 167/71: Process against B. Ehrhardt, the commandant's headquarters of Lithuanian war prisoners' district, for killing the soviet war prisoners.

ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72: Process against the soldiers of the 207 Security Division – for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Dulag 102.

ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 19/70: Process against H. Lang, for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Stalag 361 in Šiauliai.

ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 118/70: Process against K. Sieber, for killing the soviet war prisoners in the Dulag 376 in Kaunas.

ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 23/67: Process against J. Krumbholz, for killing the Jewish in Kudirkos Naumiestis.

ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 774/61: Process against H. Gewecke, among other crimes – for killing the Jewish in Šiauliai; Lubek general prosecuting magistracy 2 Js 297/60 and 1/68, Shlezwig land archive, chapter 352, Lubek Nr. 1662 - 1727.

ZStL, VI 319 AR 607/72: Process for killing the war prisoners in the airport in Kaunas.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Compare with the discussion on the number of victims in Chapter IX.

<sup>2</sup>In order to make the footnotes shorter, only the short title of the source is indicated. All the bibliographical data is presented in the bibliography. References to the judicial processes and inquiries are listed with numbers of the files. All the data on inquiries and judicial processes are presented in the additional list.

<sup>3</sup>Firstly, in 30 December 1947, in the so-called 12 file of the USA V military judicial process against the highest Government of Wehrmacht (OKW) till 29 October 1948 the talk was about the crimes against war prisoners. Three OKW leaders (General Hermann Reinecke, General, Lieutenant Colonel, Judge of the Headquarters Rudolf Lehmann, General Walter Warlimont) and the 11 Army with its commanders were accused. Compare the file 12.

<sup>4</sup>Streit, Keine Kameraden; Streim, Die Behandlung; short extracts: Dallin, Herrschaft, p. 422 – 440; Boog u.a., p. 1195 – 1202 (Beitrag Rolf-Dieter Mueller);

Herbert, Fremdarbeiter. Compare the historiography with Osterloh, Kriegsgefangene; there is no comprehensive description of about 2 million soviet war prisoners that were left in various occupied Soviet Union territories as in Gerlach, Massenmorde, p. 774 – 859. A short overview about Latvia, compare Mueller/Vestermanis, Verbrechen.

<sup>5</sup>Compare the Osterloh, Kriegsgefangene, p. 38 – 93; Keller/Otto, Massensterben, p. 149; Datner, some aspects were analysed in Crimes and Brodskij, Kampf.

<sup>6</sup>The order 270 of the headquarters of the highest leader of the Red Army (Stavka Verchovnogo Glavnokomandovanija Krasnoj Armij) 1941.8.16., printed:1941 god, tom 2, p. 476 – 479.

<sup>7</sup>Streit complained that “the sources about the Ostland and the Reich Commissariat in Ukraine, where, in autumn of 1941, was a big number of prisoners, were lost”, Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup>This may be said about the cases of the OKW General Wehrmacht Service Department of the war prisoners, about the leaders of the Reich Commissariats of the Defence regions, General Leader of billeting of the highest Military Government and the highest Leader of Wehrmacht to Ostland. Compare the overview of the sources *ibid.* p. 17, etc.

<sup>9</sup>In the main 26.6.1941 OKW law on the accounts of the Russian war prisoners, it is clearly stated that in the distribution stockades (later – Dulags) the account by names or any other lists of transporting will not be needed. The simplified cards of transportation were filled in Stalags, there was no need of reports to the Wehrmacht information centres, lists of incoming and outgoing prisoners may not be filled. Federal archive, military archive in Freiburg (later – BA-MA), Wild/72.

Compare Otto, Wehrmacht, p. 157, note 31, which mentioned the lists of outgoing prisoners in Kaunas that are in the Podolsk archive. According to the 1941.8.2 law of the OKW, in the first defence region the IDs had to be distributed. The prisoners of Pagėgiai are known to be registered only in the Reich. *Ibid.* p. 158, note 36. Compare the new sources with the numbers of the stockades inside the Reich, also till spring of 1942, Keller/Otto, Massensterben.

<sup>10</sup>Compare BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450. Federal Archive, Military Archive in Freiburg (later – BA-MA).

<sup>11</sup>Compare the material analysed in this chapter with the list of inquiries and judicial processes.

<sup>12</sup>The documents of the special state commission of Lithuania are in Gosudarstvennij Archiv Rossiskoj Federacij / the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), 7021 – 94 using the documents of the special state commission of Lithuania, compare Vestermanis, HaftstŠten, p. 472 etc. and 482. Other material could be in the soviet post-war processes against Germans that dealt with the war prisoners and which might be analysed in this chapter only in solitary instances.

<sup>13</sup>Occupation, p. 128 – 143; Bulavas, Valdymas, p. 186 – 188; Bubnys, Lietuva, p. 238 – 245.

<sup>14</sup>Compare the war prisoner Department of the highest Wehrmacht Government, order Nr. 40, 14.8.1941, the justice administration centre of the investigation of crimes of violence in federal territories in Ludwigsburg (ZStL), VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, the set of documents (later – Doc.Tome), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>From the side of Wehrmacht, the Department of National Defence, the branch on employment of the Department of Armament and Economy, Wehrmacht information centre responsible for registration were also included. Compare Streit,

Keine Kameraden, p. 67 – 72; Streim, Die Behandlung, p. 5 – 16; Otto, Wehrmacht, p. 27 etc.

<sup>16</sup>Compare the 21.7.1941 law of the chief of the rear Nord army on the establishment of the Reich military commissariats in the occupied eastern regions, BA-MA, RH 22/271. Leaders: from July 1941 till 31.10.1942 – General Lieutenant Viktor Gaissert; from 1.11.1942 till the end of 1942 – General Major Bronislaw Pawel; from 1943 till 1.2.1944 – General Major Ernst Wening.

<sup>17</sup>Compare the special decrees of the general chief of billeting of OKW in Ostland. Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhivs (LVVA), P 80-3-4, Bl. 64.

<sup>18</sup>Compare the 11.11.1941 law of the OKW to the distributors, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 550; ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 167/71, ZStL note 6.12.1971, Tome 1, Bl. 72. The district commandants: lieutenant colonel Bennecke and lieutenant colonel von Wernewyck, later lieutenant colonel Gerhard Schimrigk and from 1943 - lieutenant colonel Bernhardt Ehrhardt. Compare ZStL note 6.12.1971, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 167/71, special file, p. 8; the announcement of the general prosecuting magistracy of Stuttgart in 4.2.1972, *ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup>„Qu. 2” („chief of billeting 2”) from the division of the chiefs of billeting was responsible for the war prisoners. Compare the areas of work of the chiefs of billeting, BA-MA, RH 21-4/347, p. 47b.

<sup>20</sup>Compare the plan of the general chief of billeting, February 1941, appendix 15, BA-MA, RH 3/v. 132; the special decrees of the general chief of billeting on food, chapter C, v. 3.4.1941, BA-MA, RH 3/v. 369.

<sup>21</sup>The stockades were built in different periods of time and their titles changed. Chapter V will discuss it, compare OKW/KB (KB – the Department of war prisoners) Department for the general chief of billeting (later – Gen.Q.). 31.7.1941, on the situation of Stalags taken command of Dulags, BA-MA, RW 31/97.

<sup>22</sup>Compare the OKW/KB Departments. Order Nr. 51 v. 18.11.1943, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 9.

<sup>23</sup>Compare other stockades of the first defence region: Streim, Die Behandlung, p. 234.

<sup>24</sup>Compare the positions of stockades with the names of the chiefs of camps and the peasants, the Central State Archive of Lithuania (LCVA), R 1099-1-32, p. 99 – 102.

<sup>25</sup>At first, the 16<sup>th</sup> army employed all its soldiers in security because there were no LSB (KAB). Compare the account of activities AOK 16, Qu. 2, v. 17.8.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-16/1013, Bl. 2.

<sup>26</sup>The chief of the order keeping police (KdO) in Lithuania, lieutenant colonel of the security police Wolfgang Denicke, Special order. 4.6.1942, LCVA, R 659-1-19, Bl. 64-64R.

<sup>27</sup>Compare Gerlach, Wirtschafts, p. 797.

<sup>28</sup>In the council of the military – economy in the highest Wehrmacht government, the letter of the chief general Georg Thomas to the leader of the Coal Union Paul Pleiger 29.7.1941, Nuernberg document (later – Nuernbg.Doc.) PS 1171.

<sup>29</sup>Compare the order of Gen.Qu., 23.9.1941, Federal Archive in Lichterfeld, Berlin (BA), F 42748, Bl. 79; KB leader at the OKW in Ostland agreed to receive 28 000 of war prisoners. Everyday there were 3000 – 5000 arrivals. National Administration of Registers of Archive in Washington (NARA), RG 242, T 315, Roll 1870, Bl. 675 (25.9.1941 record); Compare Gen.Qu. 25.9.1941 order, *ibid.*, Bl. 675 etc.; 29.9.1941 telegram of the commandant of the war prisoners region to the commandant of the Stalag 344, printed, mass killings, tome 1, p. 124; on the planned

deportation of 60 000 prisoners from the rear middle army division region to the RKO. Compare the conversation of the OKW, the highest government of the army and the highest leader of Ostland and the authorised officer of the transportation in Mogiliov in 1941.10.4., also in Minsk in 1941.10.25., BA-MA, RH 22/251.

<sup>30</sup>The interrogation of Emil Just in 29.12.1945, Federal Archive in Dallwitz-Hoppegarten (BA, ZA-DH), ZM 1683, Tome 2, Bl. 10.

<sup>31</sup>Compare the subordinate divisions of the Reich central security service (RSHA): the RSHA law Nr. 8 in 17.7.1941 with three appendices: the chief of the security service and the groups of the security service directive (SD) in Stalags and Dulags (quotation), Nuernbg.Doc. PS 502; the printed facsimile with appendices: Streim, Die Behandlung, p. 315 – 321. Projectap. 28.6.1941, Nuernbg.Doc. PS 078. The Reich central service of investigation (RSHA) in the law of 1941.9.12 has reduced the group of “to be killed” because of the interference of the Reich Ministry Responsible for the Occupied Eastern Territories. From then on, not all of the prisoners had to be shot; only the “absolutely” suspected, not Turks or Muslims., Nuernbg.Doc. NO 3416. Dr. Otto Braeutigam record for the Reich Ministry Responsible for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMO), in 13.10.1941 to Alfred Rosenberg, Nuernbg.Doc. PS 082. The further restrictions were done by the RSHA in the law of 1942.2.13, in order to maintain as much manpower as possible, compare Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 210.

To the subordinate divisions of Wehrmacht together with the 1941.6.6 law of the commissar: the order of VKV (the highest military government, later – VKV) 24.7.1941 (the law of the legal group and the Gen.Qu.), BA-MA, RH 23/219; the 25.7.1941 law of the Legal Group, BA-MA, RH 22/271, printed Ueberschaer/Wette, Der deutsche, p. 295 etc. The cruelest laws from the division of the war prisoners at the VKV on shooting of the “undesirable elements” were from 8.9.1941. Nuernbg.Doc. PS 1519, compare the facsimile: Streim, Die Behandlung, p. 368 – 371. OKW Department of Defence protests in 15.9.1941 did not help much. Compare the record Canaris, Nuernbg.Doc. EC 338.

<sup>32</sup>Compare the corresponding evaluation on 4.9.1941. of the general Reinecke at the meeting of the leaders of the war prisoners, Leaders of the war prisoners’ districts and the commandants of the stockades: Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 92. It was necessary to slow down the assiduity during the shootings. At the camps of the civil administration, the executions were implemented by the security police. Compare the account of the conversation between the commandants of the war prisoner districts in Riga in 30.1.1942, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 548 etc.

<sup>33</sup>Compare the law of the OKW war prisoners’ department. 22.11.1941, ZStL, VI 319-AR-Z 128/72, Bl. 571; Copy LCVA, R 1399-1-38; law of the RSHA IV 30.3.1943 mentioning the decisions made by the OKW and RSHA, Nuernbg.Doc. NO 3443.

<sup>34</sup>Compare the decision of OKW printed in 29.2.1941 in Ueberschaer/Wette, Der deutsche, p. 309.

<sup>35</sup>The letter of the chief of the VKV Armament and the substituting army to the commissary of the army at the Gen.Qu. v. 6.8.1941 on the nutrition of the soviet prisoners. The addition to the Special Decisions on nutrition of the war prisoners Nr. 70 v. 30.8.1941, diary of the 285 security division, Ib, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1878, Bl. 704 etc.

<sup>36</sup>Compare the commissary at the Ostland OKW special administrative decisions Nr. 2 in 16.8.1941 regarding the disposition of the commissary in the government of the army in 19.7.1941, Latvijas Valsts Arhivs (LVA), P 80-3-4, Bl. 28R-29.

<sup>37</sup>The conversation of the commandant of the war prisoners area with 403 security division, 36.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 22/251.

<sup>38</sup>z.Gr. 4, the chief of the billeting, special orders on food supply Nr. 53/41 and 55/41 v. 23. and 25.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 21-4/340.

<sup>39</sup>Compare the record of 19.10.1941 conversation of general commissar of Lithuania (GK) food supply division with the representatives of the Ost (eastern) economy headquarters in 16.10.1941. – 18.10.1941. LVVA, P 1018-1-155, Bl. 25.

<sup>40</sup>Compare RKO commissar in Ostland to the commissary at the Ostland OKW, general commissar of Kaunas, general commissar of Riga, 16.10.1941, LVA, P 70-1-17, Bl. 3 etc.

<sup>41</sup>Compare the laws of the Gen.Qu. 31.7.1941 and 128 security division 1.8.1941 forbidding the transportation in closed wagons and recommending walking on foot. Gerlach, Wirtschafts, p. 792; 281 security division military diary, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1870, Bl. 346.

<sup>42</sup>Compare the accounts of the work of the army government, 16, Qu.2, 22.6.-7.8.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-16/1013, Bl. 4.

<sup>43</sup>Compare the 403 security division military diary, records 2.9.1941, NARA, RG 242, T 315 Roll 2206, Bl. 227.

<sup>44</sup>Compare the order of Gen.Qu. 1941.7.24., BA-MA, RH 23/219; 28.7. The protocol of the army chief of billeting and the general army chief of billeting in 28.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 21-4/347, Bl. 153; Datner, Crimes, p. 350 etc.

<sup>45</sup>Compare *ibid.* p. 356 – 359. There are no evidence on this killing in Lithuanian stockades.

<sup>46</sup>There is very little information on the consequences of this law. Compare the order of the chief of the Reich security squads headquarters (Kommandostab Reichsfuehrer-SS). 28.9.1942 with the direction to the OKW disposition 22.9.1942, Nuernbg.Doc. NO 3438; the agreement between Himmler, Reinecke and Sauckel v. 10.10.1942, Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 185 – 187, p. 223 and the note 58 on p. 398; Himmler's 6.1.1943 law, BA, BDC-Ordner 217 I, Bl. 65 and 95.

<sup>47</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Compare Gen.Qu. law to the soviet occupied regions on 21.10.1941, BA-MA, RH 19 III/638, Bl. 32-35 (p. 34 quotation); Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 142. comprehensively on the reduction of the ration: Gerlach, Wirtschafts, p. 796 – 813.

<sup>49</sup>Record of 23.10.1941 conversation between economy group of the Ost/agriculture headquarters and the group of the Four Years' plan, BA-MA, RW 31/42a.

<sup>50</sup>Conveyed in the letter to the Reich Ministry of the Occupied Territories, Rosenberg OKW chief, Wilhelm Keitel. 28.2.1942, Nuernbg.Doc. PS 081.

<sup>51</sup>Compare Gerlach, Wirtschafts, p. 813 – 817; Gerlach, Die Ausweitung, p. 52 – 54.

<sup>52</sup>The records of the chief of the general headquarters of the 18 army about the conversation in Orsha am 1941.11.13., printed in Ueberschaer/Wette, Der Deutsche, p. 308 etc.; 25.11.1941 Gen.Qu. Eduard Wagner confirmed the starvation food rations in 21.10.1941 for the war prisoners, when he augmented the ration a bit for the Russian civil workers. Compare Gen.Qu. decree 25.11.1941, BA-MA, RW 31/310.

<sup>53</sup>The order of the Gen.Qu v. 21.10.1941, BA-MA, RH 19 III/638, Bl. 34.

<sup>54</sup>Compare the account of the headquarters of Ost economy, 16.-30.9.1941, BA, R 41/135, Bl. 28 etc.; the letter of the Reich Ministry of Labour to the OKW/Defence Department. 1941.10.14, confirmed by the highest Wehrmacht government of the service of armament and economy on 21.10.1941, WiID/72, p. 23 etc.; the circular of the Department of the war prisoners highest Wehrmacht government.

<sup>55</sup>Compare the augmented food ration for the war prisoners on 26.11.1941 and 24.10.1942, BA-MA, RH 19 III/638, Bl. 93etc. and Bl. 108 etc.

<sup>56</sup>Compare Gerlach, *Die Ausweitung*, p. 42.

<sup>57</sup>Counted on the account of the representative on the employment questions of the Four Years' Plan Werner Mansfeld to the secretary of the Four Years' Plan Erich Neumann. 23.3.1942, BA-MA, F 42748, Bl. 53; compare Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 133 (quotation *ibid.*).

<sup>58</sup>Compare *ibid.* the increase of number of prisoners explains why the number of prisoners in RKO/Reich commissariat in Ostland in 1942.2.1 was a little smaller: 149.294, BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450, Bl. 37.

<sup>59</sup>The disposition of the Nuernberg-Fiurth general prosecuting magistrate, 12 Js 300/67 (HSSPF/ the headquarters of the chief of the higher security divisions and police in Russia – centre), Bl. 1884-86. This was based on the captain of the security police Seeger on 28.11.1945 in the camp of the soviet war prisoners Nr. 97. Thanks to Christian Gerlach for this reference. Compare Gerlach, *Die deutsche*, p. 850.

<sup>60</sup>Compare NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1870, War diary of the 281 security division, law on the food supply Nr. 42 v. 4.7.1941; war diary of the 281 security division, Ib, v. 8.7.1941, *ibid.* Bl. 321; 281 security division Ib and O II visit to the Dulag 100 on 6.7.1941, *ibid.* Bl. 319.

<sup>61</sup>Compare the OKW/Department of the war prisoners to the highest military government /chief general of billeting, headquarters of the operative government of Wehrmacht and the service of economy – armament at the highest Wehrmacht government on 31.7.1941, BA-MA, RW 31/97; the plate of the Stalag 336 origin, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 581. From 1.8.1941 till 9.9.1941 the camps in Vilnius belonged to the Stalag 336, then to the Stalag 344. The plate of the prisoner origin of the Stalag 344, *ibid.* Bl. 583. The list of the signs of recognition of the Stalag 336 from 1.4.1941 till 11.3.1942 may be found in ZStL, the file “various” 187, Bl. 381 – 399.

<sup>62</sup>Compare 530 National Defence battalion (KAB), unit 4, 9.9.1943 security instruction for the stockade “A” of the Stalag 336, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 5558. It was found out in the court that unit 4 of the 530 National Defence battalion participated in the mass killing of the Jews in Kaunas blocking the transport road. Compare employment disposition ZStL Dortmund 17.12.1973, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69, Tome 1, Bl. 103.

<sup>63</sup>Compare the law of the National work security battalion Nr. 3 7.7.1941, LCVA, R 1444-1-1, Bl. 19; the law of the aid police battalion Nr. 13, 8.8.1941, *ibid.* Bl. 31; the law of the 2 aid police battalion Nr. 1, 2.9.1941, *ibid.* Bl. 2.

<sup>64</sup>Compare the protocol Nr. 45 (German translation) of the special state commission in 18.12.1944., ZStL, VI 319 AR 607/72, p. 23 etc.

<sup>65</sup>The diary of Kutorgienè, p. 650 (entry of 15.8.1941).

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.* p. 667 (entry of 10.11.1941).

<sup>67</sup>Compare GARF/ Gosudarstvennij Archiv Rossiskoj Federacij v Moskve/, 7021-94-2, Bl. 219 (the mistake of the commission was corrected here).

<sup>68</sup>GARF/ Gosudarstvennij Archiv Rossiskoj Federacij v Moskve/, 7021-94-2, Bl. 345b.

<sup>69</sup>The protocol of the special state commission Nr. 45 (German translation) 18.12.1944, ZStL, VI 319 AR 607/72, p. 23 etc.

<sup>70</sup>The employee of the labour service Gustav Hoermann noted that deaths of war prisoners was the cause of employing the Jews in the airport in the middle of September 1941. The announcement of Gustav Hoermann 2.9.1946 to the history commission of the Jews in Landsberg, Central State Archive (HStA) Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 3, Bl. 801 etc.

<sup>71</sup>Compare Faitelson, *Widerstand*, p. 52 etc., p. 59 etc.

<sup>72</sup>Compare Gar, *Umkum*, p. 140.

<sup>73</sup>Both left columns of numbers are taken from the lists of inventorying, BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450; the right column showing the number of ill prisoners is taken from the German document indicating the average number of ill prisoners in Kaunas, the Russian translation, GARF / Gosudarstvennij Archiv Rossiskoj Federacij v Moskve/, 7021-94-2, Bl. 215.

<sup>74</sup>10.7.1941 general V. Eugen Mueller in Kaunas, regarding the 18 army highest government and the rear Nord army, insisted that there should not be any unrecognised commissars left in the stockades. Certificate of the 18 army highest government, defence Ic chapter to the 18 army Highest government, Qu. 2, v. 10.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-18/953. Compare Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 85; the interrogation of Rudolf Dittmar on 19.2.1973 for further material, HStA Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 475.

<sup>75</sup>Compare the disposition of employment ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69, Bl. 103; the interrogation of Heinrich Schmeinck 28.8.1967, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69, Tome 1, Bl. 42 etc.; the interrogation of Peter Erpenbach 30.8.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 54; the interrogation of August Drostes 1.9.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 58.

<sup>76</sup>Compare the testimonies of Schmitz 7./8.3.1963, HStA Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 32, Bl. 9062/9068.

<sup>77</sup>The diary of Kutorgienè, P. 657 etc. (record on 19.9.1941).

<sup>78</sup>GARF, 7021-94-460, Bl. 59 (personal translation).

<sup>79</sup>Compare the testimonies of Anatolij Garnik 1944.2.8., who from June 1942 till December 1943 among the prisoners of the IX fort that buried the shot, and who escaped in December 1943; printed: Faitelson, *Widerstand*, p. 389-393, also p. 390.

<sup>80</sup>From October 1943 till February 1944, 500 prisoners from Kaunas got into Mauthausen concentration camp: 67 prisoners – in 1943.7.10, 126 prisoners – in 1943.10.29 and 307 prisoners – in 1944.2.3. Compare Maräalek, *Die Geschichte*, p. 125 etc.; the interrogation of Friedrich Askamp 1969.9.1. ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 118/70, Tome 1, Bl. 84.

<sup>81</sup>Compare the interrogation of Heinrich Emler, HStA Wiesbaden, chapter 461, 32438, Tome 475.

<sup>82</sup>Compare Jelin, *Arbet*, p. 130 etc.

<sup>83</sup>The diary of Kutorgienè, p. 670 etc. (record on 20.12.1941).

<sup>84</sup>Compare the testimonial of Vasilij Filonov on 17.9.1975, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 89-94.

<sup>85</sup>Compare the account of Major Ivanov on 1.9.1944 about the death stockade of Alytus, GARF 7021-94-3, Bl. 9-11. The chapter of the Lithuanian book on Alytus, blood, is also based on the special commission material p. 13-16.

<sup>86</sup>Compare the testimonials of Kurt Bauer on 8.7.1975, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 80; the testimonials of Alfred Grunow on 11.10.1973, *ibid.*, Tome

1, Bl. 58. Among the prisoners there were 4000 that were captured at the Borissov. Compare the war prisoners' commandant in Belarus, lieutenant colonel Marschall conversation with chief signaller officer of the war prisoners at Ostland OKW, Captain Feucht on 26.10.1941, BA-MA, RH 22/251.

<sup>87</sup>Compare the employment disposition, ZStL Dortmund 26.9.1975, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 89 etc.

<sup>88</sup>Compare the law of the order keeping service in Vilnius Nr. 6. on 22.8.1941, LCVA-Lithuanian Central State Archive (later – LCVA), R 660-2-3, Bl. 17.

<sup>89</sup>About 30 000 war prisoners are closed in the Stalage 343 Compare the letter of the War commandant (KK) in Vilnius lieutenant colonel Max Zehnpfennig, the security squads (SS) and the letter of the chief of police and security squads, lieutenant colonel Paul Krieg on 1941.10.1 LCVA, R 659-1-2, Bl. 30; on 5 police support battalion mission, compare LCVA, R 1444-1-3, Bl. 297. On the dismissal of 180 Lithuanian policemen Krieg on 20.10.1941 did not agree, after the request of Captain Everth, the assistant of the commandant of the stockade 14.10.1941 inquiry, Compare LCVA, R 659-1-2, Bl. 82 etc.

<sup>90</sup>Compare the testimonials of Wasilij Filonow on 17.9.1975, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 89-94.

<sup>91</sup>The testimonials of Kost Tamosin, Ic chapter translator 18.9.1975, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 20-22.

<sup>92</sup>The testimonials of Otto Friedricho on 27.3.1973, *ibid.*, The special file. Friedrich in December 1941 was a secretary of 530 National Defence battalion. In his opinion, in autumn of 1941 there were 60 – 80 victims per day, in winter of 1941 – 300 dead per day.

<sup>93</sup>Compare the testimonials of Jonas Šarokvas on 19.9.1975, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 23-25. He was a civil employee in the burying group till Spring of 1942.

<sup>94</sup>Compare *ibid.* the testimonials of Fedor Kononenkov on 19.9.1975, the testimonials of Jonas Jazavičius on 19.9.1975, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 26 - 30.

<sup>95</sup>Compare the testimonials of Otto Friedrich on 27.3.1973, *ibid.*, The special file; the testimonials of Bruno Doebel on 9.12.1970, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 13.

<sup>96</sup>Compare the circular of J. Kil, the district medical doctor 10.12.1941, LCVA, R 1436-1-38, Bl. 152; the testimonials of Bruno Doebel on 9.12.1970, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 13.

<sup>97</sup>BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450. The numbers in brackets on employees.

<sup>98</sup>The chief of the war prisoners at the OKW in Ostland to the commandant of the war prisoners' district on 6.10.1942, ZStL, 319 AR-Z 162/69, Bl. 26.

<sup>99</sup>Compare the letter of the chief of Alytus region police to the chief of the region Pečulis on 21.1.1944, LCVA, R 1436-1-141, Bl. 97; the letter of the commandant's headquarters of the Dulag 376 to the chief of Alytus region on 9.3.1944, *ibid.*, R 1436-1-180, Bl. 31.

<sup>100</sup>The record of the account of activities, Stalag 343, Ic, v. 1.11.1941, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Tome 1, Bl. 82.

<sup>101</sup>Extract from the Ic chapter of the letter, Stalag 343, to the brother v. 24.10.1941, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Bl. 82.

<sup>102</sup>Act on 20.8.1944, GARF 7021-94-3, Bl. 2 and Bl. 7 also the act v. on 18.8.1944 about the unearthing of mass graves, *ibid.*, Bl. 8. Solitary noted on graves. 29.7.1944 it is in the library of the Science Academy in Vilnius, section of manuscripts, F 159-33, Bl. 45. The appropriate numbers of victims are also in : Mass Killings, Tome 2, P. 389: 35.000 The victims during the period from July 1941 till April 1943.



<sup>103</sup> Compare the account of Klimkovič on 28.8.1944, the library of the Science Academy in Vilnius, section of manuscripts, F 159-33, Bl. 17.

<sup>104</sup> Compare the disposition of the employment StA/general prosecuting magistracy in Stuttgart v. 9.2.1973, ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72, Tome 1, Bl. 180-185 the testimonies of Franz Wehner, *ibid.*, Bl. 76.

<sup>105</sup> Compare the interrogation of Hildegard Wenzel in February 1965, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 774/61, Tome 2, Bl. 370. Dulag 102 personnel also participated in the killing of Jews in Šiauliai guarding a small synagogue, which was transformed into the prison for Jews, and transported the Jews in trucks to the execution place. Compare the testimonials of Bernhard Austermann on 1968.11.12, ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72, Tome 1, Bl. 96; the testimonials of Hanso Schueetc.1968.11.26, *ibid.*, Bl. 102-102R.

<sup>106</sup> Compare the circular of the highest chief of Wehrmacht in Ostland in 24.7.1941, LVVA, P 69-1a-1, Bl. 108.

<sup>107</sup> Compare the testimonials of Bernhard Austerman non 1968.11.12, ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72, Tome 1, Bl. 96.

<sup>108</sup> Compare the letter of the war prisoners at the OKW in Ostland on 19.11.1941 on justice, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Doc.Tome Bl. 550; letter FK 821 on territorial commandant's headquarters on 3.9.1941, LCVA, R 678-1-1, Bl. 1. Compare the statements of the 530 KAB members: Franz Angerer (2. Kp.) v. 23.10.1972, Franz Bayer (3. Kp.) v. 2.4.1973; Heinrich Faltermeier (3. Kp.) v. 3.4.1973, Johann Froehling v. 15.11.1972, Mathias Lohmueller v. 21.9.1972, Benedikt Papenheim v. 13.10.1972, HStA Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 475.

<sup>109</sup> Compare the employment disposition, the general prosecuting magistracy in Stuttgart v. 6.11.1972, ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72, Tome 1, Bl. 196-212.

<sup>110</sup> Compare the testimonials of Luziono Ąuk, civil, lived near the camp, 27.11.1975, ZStL, V 319 AR

<sup>111</sup> Compare the testimonials of Franz Funk on 10.4.1970, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 175.

<sup>112</sup> Compare the testimonials of Wasilij Dorofejew v. 11.12.1975, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 71.

<sup>113</sup> Compare the testimonials of Ivan Blaščuk v. 19.11.1975, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 49-51.

<sup>114</sup> Compare the testimonials of Karl Roos v. 15.8.1967, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 19/70, Tome 1, Bl. 55; compare the testimonials of Friedrich Kontermann v. 9.4.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 169.

<sup>115</sup> Compare the testimonials of Benedikt Papenheim v. 13.10.1972, HStA Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 475.

<sup>116</sup> Compare the testimonials of Egidijus Urlakis on 13.1.1976, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 80-84.

<sup>117</sup> Compare Jerushalmi, Geto, p. 45.

<sup>118</sup> Compare the testimonials of Ignazas-Adomas Rukšėnas, v. 4.12.1975, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 76-79.

<sup>119</sup> Compare the testimonials of Egidius Urlakis on 13.1.1976, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 80-84.

<sup>120</sup> BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450. The brackets show the number of those who were used for work.

<sup>121</sup> Compare the testimonials of Hans Albrecht Schoenleber, v. 5.9.1967, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 19/70, Tome 1, Bl. 64; Šiauliai local commandant's headquarters letter to the chief of the Šiauliai district on 18.2.1942, LCVA, R 1099-1-32, Bl. 2R. On

unsuccessful attempts of the commandant of the Oflag V B to reduce the draw in the work because of the danger of escapes, compare the Šiauliai local commandant's headquarters law on 13.2.1942, *ibid.*, Bl. 9.

<sup>122</sup>Compare Mass Killings, Tome 2, P. 405; Occupation, P. 139.

<sup>123</sup>The military diary of the 403 security division, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 2206, Bl. 36.

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, Bl. 236 etc.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, Bl. 48 (record on 31.7.1941).

<sup>126</sup>Compare ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 583. 1941.9.24. All the war prisoners that were imprisoned in Lukiškės were transported to the Stalags. Compare LCVA, R 730-2-38, Bl. 222.

<sup>127</sup>Compare the testimonials of Michael Breuer on 27.7.1970, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Tome 1, Bl. 32; the testimonials of Theodor Michl on 9.9.1970, *ibid.*, Bl. 47; not dated ZStL summary, *ibid.*, the special tome 1, Bl. 221.

<sup>128</sup>Compare the testimonials of Ernst Jung on 5.5.1971, *ibid.*, Tome 2, Bl. 245.

<sup>129</sup>Compare the passing of 23 women from the Stalag 344 to the German security police (this meant shooting) on 9.6.1943, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Bl. 47 tt

<sup>130</sup>Note in the documents on 1942.11.9 on the conversation of the armament groups in Kaunas and Vilnius on 1942.11.4, BA, R 91/7.

<sup>131</sup>Compare the circular of the commandant of the war prisoners area "L" on 19.11.1941 about jurisdiction, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, Doc.Tome, Bl. 550; account 6.2.1942 on the conversation of leaders 30./31.1.1942 in Riga, *ibid.*, Bl. 548 etc.; later LCVA, R 677-2-93, Bl. 17.

<sup>132</sup>Compare the plan of works distribution of the 814 military commandant's headquarters in Vilnius in March of 1944, ZStL, VI 319 AR 1347/72, Bl. 1513-1515. There is almost no information on the history of the Italian war prisoners in the RKO area. According to the hand-written note on 11.11.1943 the forest and timber Department at the RKO, 1500 prisoners had to arrive to Lithuania, Compare LVVA, P 70-5-67/2, Bl. 318. The model textbook writes about the prisoners brought to the Nord and Mitte armies (about 5500 - 1.1.1944 and 10 500 prisoners - 1.5.1944), but not to the Lithuania, compare Schreiber, *Die italienischen*, p. 317-319.

<sup>133</sup>Compare the testimonials of Adolf Jahne 2.11.1970, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Tome 1, Bl. 57.

<sup>134</sup>Quoted on the references *ibid.*, Doc.Tome, Bl. 586-602. The period of 2.10.1941 till 7.10.1942.

<sup>135</sup>Compare the military diary, Halder, Tome 3, P. 289 (record on 14.11.1941).

<sup>136</sup>Compare the letter of Gruenthaler, government councillor, leader of the "Hessen Commission" to the Reich Ministry of Labour (RAM) on 20.12.1941 or the fragments of the account of the same commission (not dated; around the end of January 1942), ZStL, 319 AR-Z 172/1971, Bl. 37 etc.; Compare Rukšėnas, *Politika*, P. 337-339.

<sup>137</sup>Compare the testimonials of Ernst Jung on 5.5.1971, testimonial of Peter Anthes on 13.9.1971, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Tome 2, Bl. 247 and Bl. 398.

<sup>138</sup>Compare the order of the Stalag 344 v. 11.6.1942, LCVA, R 659-1-17, Bl. 304; Colonel Izidorius Kraunaitis, the chief of the defence of Lithuania in Vilnius announcement to the signaller officer at the chief of the order keeping police in Lithuania on 21.8.1942, printed: Mass Killings, Tome 1, P. 129; the letter of the Vilnius district railway administration to the director of the construction on 23.12.1942, LCVA, R 626-1-210, Bl. 156; Stalag 344 letter to the chief of Lithuanian police in Vilnius on 11.6.1943, LCVA, R 689-1-4, Bl. 203.

- <sup>139</sup>BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450. The brackets show numbers of the employees.
- <sup>140</sup> Compare the act of the commission on 9.6.1945 and the testimonial of the witness Lev Savitzki, who had to bury many victims on 30.5.1945, GARF, 7021-94-418, Bl. 1-3, 98-98R.
- <sup>141</sup> Gol Szloma oath announcement in 1946, Nuernbg.Doc. 964-D and 975-D.
- <sup>142</sup> Compare the correspondence of the 814 war commandant's headquarters and the SS – and the chief of the police in Vilnius v. 1.10.1941 and 9.10.1941, LCVA, R 659-1-2, Bl. 30-35; Bubnys, Lietuva, p. 240.
- <sup>143</sup> Compare the testimonials of Gerhard Schneider v. 27.4.1971, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 172/71, Tome 1, Bl. 166.
- <sup>144</sup> Compare the testimonials of Friedrich Robert v. 19.4.1971, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 186; Compare the letter of Stalag 344 commandant to the leader of defence, Vilnius 3.10.1941, printed: Mass Killings, Tome 1, P. 124 etc.
- <sup>145</sup> Act of 25.5.1945, GARF, 7021-94-438, Bl. 1.
- <sup>146</sup> The data according to GARF, 7021-94-3, Bl. 133 survey board, GARF, 7021-94-456, Bl. 198.
- <sup>147</sup> Act of 12.4.1945, GARF, 7021-94-419, Bl. 1 etc.
- <sup>148</sup> Compare the compiled document set in 15.1.1943 of the chief of the war prisoners "L", Chief of the unit and battalion, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 167/71; local commandant's headquarters in Marijampolė monthly report of January 1942, LCVA, R 678-1-3, Bl. 12.
- <sup>149</sup> The testimonials of Fritz Theodor Lossa on 29.9.1970, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69, Tome 1, Bl. 142; the testimonials of Ludwig Schoeberl v. 10.4.1973, HStA Wiesbaden, 461 chapter, 32438, Tome 475; the testimonials of Franz Bayer. 2.4.1973, *tenibid.*; the testimonials of Heinrich Faltermeier v. 3.4.1973, *ibid.*
- <sup>150</sup> E.K. 3 (3-rd strategic group of the defence police and security services) carried out executions 10.9.1941 and 12.1941, BA, R 70 Soviet Union 15.
- <sup>151</sup> Speaking about: Stalag I A (Stablack), Stalag I B (Hohenstein), Stalag I C (Heydekrug-Šilutė), Stalag 316 (Wakowysk), Stalag 324 (Lososno), Stalag XII E (Zambrow), Oflag 52 (Schuetzenort/Ebenrode), Oflag 53 (Pogegen-Pagėgiai), Oflag 56 (Prostken), Oflag 57 (Bialystok), Oflag 60 (Schirrwindt), Oflag 63 (Fischborn), Oflag 68 (Sudauen); Compare the list at Streim, Investigation, p. 234.
- <sup>152</sup> Compare testimonial of Ewald Heinrich Butt v. 24.4.1964, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 23/67, Tome 1, Bl. 197 etc; testimonial of Erich Ebeling v. 8.11.1966, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 1, Bl. 101 tt.; Evidence Georg Ocker v. 16.3.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 114 etc.; Testimonial by Otto Wegen v. 14.11.1967, *ibid.*, Tome 2, Bl. 619R.
- <sup>153</sup> Compare employment disposition. 28.2.1973, *ibid.*, Tome 4, Bl. 1148.
- <sup>154</sup> Testimonial of Dr. Nikolaus Thorsen v. 11.5.1967, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 23/67, Tome 1, Bl. 203; Testimonial of Erich Ebeling v. 8.11.1966, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 1, Bl. 101 tt.; Testimonial Alfred Ziehm v. 9.11.1966, *ibid.*, Bl. 104; Testimonial of Hans Apel v. 11.11.1966, *ibid.*, Bl. 105; Testimonial of Georg Ocker v. 16.3.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 114 tt., The testimonial of the interpreter Emil Staschik present at the inquest 3.5.1967, *ibid.*, Bl. 121-124.
- <sup>155</sup> Compare Oflag 60 Ic, Bernhard Wessels testimony. 16.3.1967, *ibid.*, Tome 1, Bl. 117-120.
- <sup>156</sup> Compare GARF, 7021-94-434, Bl. 1 etc, Bl. 51-57.
- <sup>157</sup> Compare employment disposition Dortmund general prosecuting magistracy 14.8.1975 about Šilutė, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 4, Bl. 1319-1330. At the end of 1943, there was a "Luftlager 6" in Šilutė, where British internees were kept, Compare. Compiled: Schreiber, Die italienischen, p. 313.

<sup>158</sup> Compare the testimony of Curt Petters, StA Ludwigsburg, EL 322, Tome 8, Bl. 1986.

<sup>159</sup> Compare the report of the commission 23.10.1941, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 1, Bl. 89 etc..

<sup>160</sup> Compare the testimony of David Blek v. 10.10.1945, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 85-88.

<sup>161</sup> Compare GARF, 7021-94-425, Bl. 1; Compare further in the same place, Bl. 2-38; Occupation, P. 137-139; Bubnys, Lithuania, P. 244.

<sup>162</sup> Compare the testimony of Gavriyl Brus v. 17.12.1944, GARF 7021-94-425, Bl. 18-22. Due to starvation compare also the testimony of the members of the local execution group, Karl Otto 20.2.1956, StA Ludwigsburg, EL 322, Tome 1, Bl. 136; Ernst Steinwender v. 3.8.1956, the same place, Tome 2, Bl. 530.

<sup>163</sup> Compare the testimony of David Blek v. 10.10.1945, ZStL, V 319 AR 61/77, Tome 1, Bl. 85-88.

<sup>164</sup> Compare the report of the commission 23.10.1941, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 1, Bl. 89 etc.

<sup>165</sup> Compare Oflag 53 members testimony, *ibid*: Guenther Ruehl v. 30.11.1966, Tome 2, Bl. 402 etc.; Gerhard Staeger v. 30.11.1966, *ibid*, Bl. 405; Gerhard Grasse v. 18.12.1967, *ibid*, Bl. 415; also the chief of Tilze state police, Hans-Joachim Boehme testimony 14.1.1966, *ibid*, Bl. 596 etc..

<sup>166</sup> Compare StA Detmold indictment Wilhelm Gerke v. 12.8.1960, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 51/58, Tome 1, Bl. 74-76.

<sup>167</sup> Compare the testimony of the Pagėgiai execution group leader Wilhelm Gerke, v. 23.6.1958, StA Ludwigsburg, EL 322, Tome 21, Bl. 29-31. Also the testimony of the other members, the same place: Richard Freyth v. 8.12.1955, Tome 1, Bl. 96; Werner Hersmann v. 5.11.1956 *ir* 15./161.1957, Tome 6, Bl. 1304-1308 also Tome 7, Bl. 1763/1766 etc..

<sup>168</sup> Compare testimony Erich Ebeling v. 8.11.1966, ZStL, 302 AR-Z 31/65, Tome 1, Bl. 101.

<sup>169</sup> Compare StA Detmold indictment 16.5.1960 Dr. Ernstui Hermannui Jahru, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 51/58, Tome 1, Bl. 85-90.

<sup>170</sup> Compare GARF, 7021-94-425, Bl. 1; Mass Killings, Tome 2, p. 394.

<sup>171</sup> Compare the Reich Ministry for the occupied eastern provinces (RMO) – General Wehrmacht governing body to the economic-armament services 8.7.1941 based on 4.7.1941 record, BA-MA, WiID/72. Civilians, who worked for the Red Army and were taken prisoners due to suspicion of RMO and OKW, could be freed on the basis of some preconditions, otherwise they had to do compulsory work. Compare *ibid*; OKW letter to the Reich security detachment leader and the Reich central security services.

To the security detachment services and order keeping police 4.8.1941, BA, NS 19/1871, Bl. 128.

<sup>172</sup> Compare the edict of the security detachment Reich leader 25.7.1941 with Kurt Daluge, the German chief of order keeping police, police general 31.7.1941 addition, BA, R 19/326, Bl. 1-2R; Gen.Qu. Order 24.7.1941, additions 25.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 23/219; military dairy Halder, Tome 3, P. 125; Before the war, on the contrary, was decided to sort by nationality only in the first defence area and general-government, but not in the stockades situated further to the East. Compare addition 12.6.1941 about the decrees on the military state authority rights, defence and governing in the rear areas, part C, The activity report of the General governing body of the army 16, Qu. 2, 17.4.-21.6.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-16/1012; recollection about

war prisoners' matters 21.6.1941, the military dairy of the 281 defence detachment, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1869, Bl. 811; OKW Directions on the account and conduct with Russian

[= soviet] war prisoners 26.6.1941, BA-MA, WiID/72.

<sup>173</sup>Compare Gen.Qu. Order 30.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 21-4/272; Army group Nord decree (HGr. Nord) v. 30.7.1941, the military dairy of the 281-st defence detachment, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1870, Bl. 736 etc.; note. 2.8.1941, AOK activity report 16, Qu. 2, BA-MA, RH 20-16/1013, Bl. 38; AOK 18, Qu.2, To the leaders of the rear Army areas 3.8.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-18/1238.

<sup>174</sup>OKW/Department of war prisoners v. 7.8.1941, BA-MA, WiID/72. Disagreements existed between OKW and VKV due to the question, whether all military officers can not be freed (OKW), or some of them may be freed (VKV). Compare on the positions of OKW/OKW the discussion with Reinecke in Warsaw 4.9.1941, BA-MA, RH 22/251; on the position of OKH/VKV/ Gen.Qu. letter 8.9.1941, The military dairy of the 281-st defence detachment, NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 1870, Bl. 687 etc. Regulations on the salaries for ex-war prisoners, who worked for Germans in OKH/VKV/ areas, compare Gen.Order 18.8.1941, BA-MA, RH 19 III/637, Bl. 46 tt.; Gen.Qu. Order 20.10.1941, BA-MA, RH 19 III/638, Bl. 91 etc.

<sup>175</sup>Compare the commissar of Šiauliai to the chief and mayor of the region 11.3.1942, LCVA, R 1099-1-32, Bl. 49.

<sup>176</sup>Compare OKW/The department of war prisoners Order v. 14.10.1941, Special archives in Moscow, 500-1-749, Bl. 12-14; The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Areas OKW/to the defence department and OKW/To the war prisoners' department 17.10.1941 based on OKW/War prisoners' department 22.9.1941 and OKW/defence department directions 17.9.1941, The Munich historical institute of new times, Fd 47.

<sup>177</sup>Compare Streim, Investigation, P. 93 etc. with reference to the official directions of the Reich Ministry of Occupied Areas 23.9.1941 (quotation); Braeutigam message to the Reich Ministry of the Occupied Areas, Rosenberg note 13.10.1941, Nuernbg. Dok. PS 082; OKW/Circular of the war prisoners' department 4.11.1941, Nuernbg. Dok. PS 1200; Remarks on the conversation between the economic-armament services and the representatives of the armament industry near the Head Wehrmacht governing body 6.11.1941, where 15 commissions are mentioned, BA-MA, RW 19/745, Bl. 2 tt.; economic-armament services near the Head Wehrmacht governing body directions for the military officers to choose 15 commissions 14.11.1941, BA-MA, RW 19/748, Bl. 49 tt.; The Reich report to the occupied areas (Prof. v. Mende) war prisoners' inquiry 5.2.1942, Nuernbg.Doc. NO 3471.

<sup>178</sup>Compare the report of the commission about the account of soviet Russians' manpower in Lithuania. 6.2.1942, BA-MA, WiID/72, Bl. 54; "Kommission Hessen" ("Hessen Commission") the letter of the leader to the Reich Ministry of Labour. 20.12.1941 and a fragment of the account (the date is missing; around 1942, the end of January), ZStL, 319 AR-Z 172/1971, Bl. 37 etc..

<sup>179</sup>Compare the list of military officers under suspicion, who were transferred in the beginning of July, 1941 from the concentration camp to the prison of Lukiškės, LCVA, R 730-1-2596, Bl. 1-1R.

<sup>180</sup>VKV-Order rendering in the letter of the Army governing body 18, Ic/AO letter O.Qu. v. 26.6.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-18/1206, Bl. 328. The 18-th army ordered to assign two weeks for elucidation, to place them into special camps. Compare 18

AOK/The decree of the army head governing body, Ic/A.O./Qu. 2 v. 9.7.1941, *ibid*, Bl. 263 etc.

<sup>181</sup>Compare Stasys Raštikis, Tome 2, Fights for Lithuania, P. 303 etc.; Compare Vicas, SS services, p. 10-12.

<sup>182</sup>Compare Vicas, SS services, P. 8.

<sup>183</sup>Compare LCVA, R 1444-1-4, *passim*; on Germans' disagreement 16.7.1941, *ibid*, Bl. 140.

<sup>184</sup>Compare the letter of the 814-th military commandant to the lieutenant colonel Antanas Špokevicius 14.7.1941, LCVA, R 689-1-223, Bl. 2 tt.; Rukšėnas, Politics, P. 119. Į "Vilnius rebuilding services" ("Wilnaer Wiederaufbaudienst") 15.7.1941 soldiers of the 184-th defence battalion were integrated Order Nr. 5 15.7.1941, LCVA, R 660-2-213, Bl. 1. Compare Stankeras, police, p. 120 etc.

<sup>185</sup>About building, compare the plan of the headquarters of Vilnius self-defence battalions 12.7.1941, LCVA, R 660-2-226, Bl. 2; Brazaitis, The only ones, P. 421; about the position of the German soldiers in Vilnius: Directives on defence and account 1.7.1941, the diary of the 403 security division NARA, RG 242, T 315, Roll 2206, Bl. 29.

<sup>186</sup>Compare Pranas Ambrašiūnis testimony v. 30.10.1950, citation: Vicas, SS, P. 54.

<sup>187</sup>The military dairy of the 403-rd defence division, NARA RG 242, T 315, Roll 2206, Bl. 33 (Record 9.7.1941); *ibid*, Bl. 49 (Records 1941.8.1 and 2 days); Compare. Assurance of defence and peace means in the city of Vilnius and republic. 7.7.1941, *ibid*, Bl. 32.

<sup>188</sup>Order of the 814-th field commandant Nr. 2, 9.7.1941, LCVA, R 677-2-92, Bl. 15 etc.; Order of the Lithuanian self-defence headquarters 9.7.1941, LCVA, R 660-2-264, Bl. 2; Order of the 814-th field commandant 23.7.1941, LCVA, R 689-1-223, Bl. 4 etc. Soldiers of the ex-234-th regiment were to guard war prisoners and the Red Army men's families at the concentration camp, compare, Lithuanian self-defence order Nr. 9, 9.7.1941, 9.7.1941, LCVA, R 660-2-264, Bl. 9. Two weeks later, more than 170 men were employed in the sphere of defence and in the position of war prisoners' guards. Compare "Vilnius rebuilding services" /"Wilnaer Aufbaudienst" / the letter to the leader of the city police 23.7.1941, LCVA, R 689-1-223, Bl. 11.

<sup>189</sup>Compare Stankeras, Police, P. 123.

<sup>190</sup>BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450, Bl. 54.

<sup>191</sup>Compare OKW Order 8.7.1941 about the directions of soviet war prisoners' use for work, BA-MA, WiID/72; Regardless of Hitler's opposition, prisoners were used for work even in the Reich, Compare. Remarks about 1941.7.4. the conversation on the directives between the department of war prisoners near OKW, Economic-armament service, highest Wehrmacht governing body, the Reich Ministry of Labour, the Reich Ministry of provision, The Four Year Plan and the Reich Ministry of the Occupied Areas on the project 1.7.1941, *ibid*; The orders of the 207-th defence division 1941.7.4. and 5.d., BA-MA, RH 20-18/1238.

<sup>192</sup>Compare The economic inspection Nord (Wi In Nord) military dairy about negotiations with the Reich commissar Ostlandui, BA-MA, RW 31/584, P. 8; Wi In Nord negotiated 21.7.1941 till 24.8.1941 each week with the commandant "C" of the war prisoners' district, Compare Wi In Nord (economic inspections Nord) weekly reports, LVA, P 69-5-215, . 32-35.

<sup>193</sup>Protocol 28.7.1941 about the army head leader of group billeting and Gen.Qu. 1941.7.28.d. conversation, BA-MA, RH 21-4/347, Bl. 153 (First quotation); VKV, Gen.z.b.V. Mueller order, v. 25.7.1941, printed: N. Mueller, Occupational

policy, P. 104 (other citations); Compare Gen.Qu. decree v. 31.7.1941 from the 9-th army akt, Gerlach, Massenmorde, P. 796, remark 122.

<sup>194</sup>Compare the report about Lithuanian general district economic situation and achievements. Time span from 1.9.1941 till 1.9.1943 (later - "General economy report"). USHMM, RG-53.002M = Belorussian national archives, Minsk, 370-6-20, P. 223. Thanks to mister Christian Gerlach for references to this document.

<sup>195</sup>Compare the record of the 16-th conversation of the head leader of billeting, O.Qu., 1.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-16/702.

<sup>196</sup>Compare the report of the commission about soviet Russians' manpower in Lithuania 14.1.1942, BA-MA, WiID/72, Bl. 54.

<sup>197</sup>OKW order about the conduct and account of Russian (soviet) war prisoners 26.6.1941, BA-MA, WiID/72.

<sup>198</sup>OKW order about the conduct and account of Russian (soviet) war prisoners 26.6.1941, BA-MA, WiID/72.

<sup>199</sup>Compare AOK (Governing body of the Army) activity report 16, Qu.2, 22.6.-7.8.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-16/1013, Bl. 4.

<sup>200</sup>The order of the Army's rear area Nord leader 21.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 22/271.

<sup>201</sup>Economic headquarters Ost. A fourteen day report, 1.9.-15.9.1941, BA-MA, RW 31/12, P. 4.

<sup>202</sup>VJP (Four Year Plan) report to VJP state secretary Paul Koerner about confidential drawing into work, v. 13.12.1941, BA-MA, F 42748, Bl. 44.

<sup>203</sup>Compare the leader of war prisoners near Ostland OKW to the war prisoners' district commandant. H, L, Q, T v. 19.1.1942, LVVA, P 989-3-1, Bl. 2 etc..

<sup>204</sup>Compare Bubnys, Lithuania, P. 245. RKO camp reports 1942 April, Concerning drawing into work, on page ten, 34 000 war prisoners are mentioned in Šiauliai commissariat to be working there in agriculture and peat bogs. The number, seems to be too big, therefore, most probably, it is spoken about 3400 war prisoners. Compare BA, R 90/427.

<sup>205</sup>Compare the list of the district of Joniškis 25.7.1942, LCVA, R 1099-1-47, Bl. 1-3. About the district of Lazdijai, LCVA, R 409-1-3, Bl. 84; Compare abundant list 1941 summer LCVA, R 729-1-73.

<sup>206</sup>Compare Oflag camp in Šiauliai V B to the chief of the district 12.4.1942, LCVA, R 1099-1-32, Bl. 182. On the basis of this, war prisoners, who worked for private enterprises, had to receive salaries from 1.4.1942 and those, who worked in agriculture, also. Compare further Kaunas' headquarters of settling for Stalag 336 v. 4.6.1943, BA, R 49 Addition X/83; to prohibit salaries for war prisoners. Compare head commissary near Ostland OKW special administrative decisions Nr. 2. 16.8.1941, LVA P 80-3-4, Bl. 28R-29.

<sup>207</sup>Compare the leader of the order keeping police in Lithuania, Denicke, Special order about defence in peat-bog camps 15. and 23.5.1942, printed: Mass Killings, Tome 1, P. 126-129; The leader of the defence police of Vilnius to the commissar of the city district. 15.5.1942, LCVA, R 659-1-17, Bl. 326; Stalag 336 commandant to the general commissar of Lithuania, peat bog department. 3.8.1942, LCVA, R 615-1-188.

<sup>208</sup>Compare the transfer of six women and two kids from Stalag 336 to peat bog camp in Ežerėlis on 1943 April, LCVA, R 1399-1-11, Bl. 48; Special commission 18.12.1944 (Translation from German), ZStL, VI 319 AR 607/72, Bl. 18.

<sup>209</sup>Compare the Forest and Timber Department general commissar attempts from 1943 November till 1944 January to employ war prisoners for compulsory

works in stockades and farms in Rietavas, Jašiūnai, Rudininkai, Labanoras ir Daugai, LVVA, P 70-5-67/2, Bl. 318-328R. General formula ("Inclusion of war prisoners in to work fail due to lack of defence"): The report of Kaunas defence economic group about drawing into work to the defence economic inspection in Ostland on 25.1.1944, BA, R 91/14.

<sup>210</sup> Compare Rak?nas, Battle, p. 125. The number with minimum error was mentioned in the letter of the general commissar economic department of Lithuania RCO (Reich commissariat to Ostland) 26.8.1942: 1942 July the 1-st. 11.800 war prisoners were used for works, 26.8.1942 were actually working 8.800, because 3000 war prisoners were "retracted" . LVA, P 70-2-15, Bl. 94.

<sup>211</sup> Compare the preparatory announcement of the general commissariat of Lithuania to the monthly announcement, August of 1942, BA, R 6/300 (quotation); the account of activities of the general commissar of Lithuania, Department of Nutrition and Agriculture, 10.8.1942, LVVA, P 1018-1-155, Bl. 51; RKO account to the RMO of the situation on 16.9.1942, BA, R 6/300; Ostland OKW account, Ic, v. 26.12.1942, BA-MA, RW 41/53.

<sup>212</sup> On the data of January 1942, compare the account of the general economy, p. 240; the table was composed regarding the data of BA-MA, RW 6/v. 450.

<sup>213</sup> According to 1942.6.27 data, on 1942.6.25 there were 42 604 of war prisoners in Lithuania: 18 138 – in Kaunas, 2 185 in the First Stalago 336 branch stockade in Kalvarijos, 8472 in Šiauliai, 6622 – in Alytus and 7187 in Vilnius. Compare the Ostland OKW highest commissary of the RKO, chapter III, on the supply of the food products to the war prisoners, LVVA, P 69-1a-10, Bl. 380.

<sup>214</sup> Compare the conversations of RMO v. 23.9.1942 and 12.11.1942, BA, R 31/43, Bl. 170 and Bl. 83; notes of the RKO Department of the Labour Policy and the leader of social affairs to the Reich commissar Hinrich Lohse on 9.12.1943 with the figures testifying the need and loss of manpower, RKO, LVVA, P 70-5-13, Bl. 3-5.

<sup>215</sup> Compare the law of the leader of war prisoners at the Ostland OKW on 8.9.1942: "The security and support units will be held responsible and undertake strict punishment if they will not take any means against war prisoners who avoid the work. [...] Bayonets, butts and firing weapons" must be used and "not accomplishing and/or refusal of the set work will be regarded as disobedience or as rebelling or as a revolt and punished appropriately." Quoted as Mueller/Vestermanis, Verbrechen, p. 25; Compare the interrogation of Bronislaw Pawel on 29.12.1945, BA, ZA-DH, ZM 1683, Tome 6, Bl. 63.

<sup>216</sup> Compare Bubnys, Lietuva, p. 245.

<sup>217</sup> Compare the account of the general economy, p. 240; the account of the Kaunas defence economy group on employment questions to the Ostland Economy Defence inspection on 25.1.1944, BA, R 91/14. On 11.12.1943, 501 prisoner from the Kaunas stadium and port stockades, on 12.12.1943, 300 prisoners from Šančiai I stockade and from VII Fort deported to the Reich, Stalag 336 laws on transportation 9./10.12.1943, ZStL, VI 319 AR-Z 162/69, Bl. 124 etc. Ibid., Bl. 126-128 875-o KAB laws 18./19./20. and 24.6.1944 on general 604 war prisoners, 113 officers and 22 medical doctors compulsory transportation.

<sup>218</sup> Compare the Dulag 376 letter to the chief of Alytus region on 9.3.1944, LCVA, R 1436-1-180, Bl. 31.

<sup>219</sup> Compare the account of general economy, P. 35.

<sup>220</sup> Compare the Ostland council of defence announcement on the situation from 1.4.1942 till 30.6.1942, BA, ZADH, FW 488, Documents 19, P. 3;



Announcements from the occupied Eastern territories Nr. 10 v. 3.7.1942, BA, R 58/698; RSHA decree 20.10.1942, Nuernbg.Doc. NO 3437.

<sup>221</sup>Compare Faitelson, Widerstand, p. 227 - 268, p. 385 - 395, all the surnames presented in p. 420 etc.; about the partners compare Arad, Ghetto, p. 444 etc.; Kaczerginski, Churban, p. 37-57.

<sup>222</sup>General commissariat of Lithuania, Department of Labour and Social Affairs III, letter to the Leader of the Security Service (KdS) in Lithuania on 29.7.1943, LCVA, R 1399-1-54, Bl. 9. Compare the SD records of conversation between the commandant of the war prisoners' area and the German security police 31.7.1943, *ibid.*, Bl. 11.

<sup>223</sup>Compare the Leader of the security police of Lithuania to the security police subsidiary in Vilnius on 18.8.1943, LCVA, R 1399-1-38, Bl. 18; response on 20.10.1943, *ibid.*; the circular of the cargo groups formations to the higher leaders of the security squads and police on 1.9.1943, LCVA, R 680-2-10, Bl. 117; on internal regulations at the German security police, compare the letter of the highest leader of the security police to the Leader of the security police on 15.11.1943 and the leader of the security police to all the Gestapo (secret police) divisions on 15.11.1943, LCVA, R 680-2-10, Bl. 150 etc.

<sup>224</sup>Compare the discussion between the regional and the general commandant's headquarters on one side, and the defence police and the SD on the other side, June – July of 1943, LCVA, R 1399-1-11, Bl. 128 etc.

<sup>225</sup>The diary of Kutorgienė, p. 672 (record on 30.12.1941); Compare *ibid.*, p. 664 (record on 30.10.1941).

<sup>226</sup>Western AOK 18 announcement to the Nord army group, Ic, v. 2.7.1941, BA-MA, RH 19 III/416b, Bl. 153.

<sup>227</sup>Printed for the period from 12.7.1941 till 4.8.1941; Mass Killings, Tome 2, P. 48-59.

<sup>228</sup>OKW already on 26.6.1941 ordered the German institutions to forbid any sort of communication between the war prisoners and the security units or civil citizens. Compare OKW law on 26.6.1941, BA-MA, WiID/72. Compare the decree of the Kaunas city commandant's headquarters on 5.9.1941, Mass Killings, Tome 1, P. 123; RKO appeal on 15.11.1941 on the employment of war prisoners, Occupation, p. 143; point 9 of the decree on the work groups of the escort of the war prisoners on 1.3.1943, Compare GARF, 7021-94-2, Bl. 221. Compare: the security police of Lithuania arrests the Lithuanian in the end of March of 1942 because he helped the escaped prisoner in Alytus. LCVA, R 972-1-387, Bl. 22; Lithuanian police in the end of January 1942 arrests a Polish in Vilnius because of hiding one escaped prisoner. LCVA, R 972-1-392, Bl. 10; the imprisonment of Jewish Kiewel Baran on 16.10.1941 in Vilnius who was arrested on 13.10.1941 because of giving some clothes and food to one prisoner. LCVA, R 1673-1-194, Bl. 1 etc.

<sup>229</sup>The diary of Kutorgienė, p. 654 etc. (record on 5.9.1941).

<sup>230</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 655.

<sup>231</sup>The diary of Kutorgienė, p. 661 etc. (record on 2.10.1941)

<sup>232</sup>The diary of Kutorgienė, p. 667 etc. (record on 10.11.1941).

<sup>233</sup>Compare Occupation, p. 142. Other examples of help are also presented there.

<sup>234</sup>Compare the announcement of the council of Marijampolė Nr. 18 on 30.9.1942, LCVA, R 1361-3-21, Bl. 26. Compare the public announcement on non-solidarity with the war prisoners in the newspaper 'Į Laisvę' v. 25.10.1941, paraphrased: Occupation, p. 142.

<sup>235</sup> Compare the examples, Rakšnas, Kova, p. 125 etc.

<sup>236</sup> Compare the case of 72 women with children: announcements from the eastern occupied territories, Nr. 21 v. 18.9.1942, BA, R 58/698.

<sup>237</sup> Compare Occupation, p. 143.

<sup>238</sup> Compare the further information: Korczak, Flames, p. 104-106; Arad, Ghetto, p. 261 etc.

<sup>239</sup> A. Bubnys also thinks that further investigation in this area is needed. He presented the present estimations without any further commentaries among 165 000 and 230 000 victims. Bubnys, Lietuva, p. 245.

<sup>240</sup> Compare the official overview of the German victims of the occupation from 1944, signed by A. Sniečkus, printed: Mass Killings, Tome 1, P. 142. The numbers from Kalvarija and Šiauliai are missing, on the other hand, taking the Memel region into consideration, only the victims of Pagėgiai are counted, Šilutės and Širvintos are not. Compare the further overview, presenting 97 302 victims because of the proof-reading error (3500 victims in Alytus instead of 35 000) and the stockade of Naujoji Vilnia was counted twice; once presenting 13 354 victims in the Vilnius region and once 60 000 victims from Naujoji Vilnia, GARF, 7021-94-456, Bl. 198 etc. Other differences are just because of the copying errors (173 victims in Raseiniai instead of 178; in Šakiai region – 11 450 instead of 11 480 victims), missings (in Trakai there are 744 victims missing), additions (there are no Šiauliai victims at all in GARF list, the printed form presents 30 victims) or other errors (10 000 in Pagėgiai instead of 8000). The third overview is presented by Kazys Rukšėnas. He also leaned on the overviews of GARF, 7021-94-456, Bl. 198 etc., but quietly corrected the double number of Naujoji Vilnia victims, Alytus error (35 000 instead of 3500) corrected some other not mentioned errors, missed a lot and added a bit, all this was presented in the list signed by Sniečkus. What misleads in his overview is that he takes the number of victims from the sources – 197 302, when the number of his corrections should be 215 446. Compare Rukšėnas, Politika, p. 227 etc.

<sup>241</sup> Compare Rukšėnas, Politika, p. 227 etc.

<sup>242</sup> Compare the overview of the legal questions: Streim, Die Behandlung, p. 25 -32; Streit, Keine Kameraden, Pp. 224-237.

<sup>243</sup> Compare Streit, Keine Kameraden, p. 358, note 18.

## **Bibliography**

1941 god v 2-ch knigach, Rossija. XX vek. Dokumenty. Bearbeitet von L.E. Reäin, V.P. Gusaenko u.a., Moskva 1998

Arad, Jitzhak, Ghetto in Flames, Jerusalem 1980

Boog, Horst u.a. (Hg.), Der Angriff auf die Sowjetunion, Freiburg 1983

Brazaitis, J. (= Juozas Ambrazevičius) Vien÷ vieni, Vilnius 1990

Brodski, J.A., Im Kampf gegen den Faschismus. Sowjetische Widerstandskämpfer in Hitlerdeutschland 1941-1943, Berlin (Ost) 1975

Bubnys, Arđnas, Vokiečių Okupuota Lietuva (1941-1944), Vilnius 1998

Bulavas, J., Vokiškųjų Fašistų Okupacinis Lietuvos Valdymas, Vilnius 1969

Dallin, Alexander, Deutsche Herrschaft in Rußland 1941-1945, Džsseldorf 1981 (zuerst 1958)

Datner, Szymon, Crimes Against POWs. Responsibility of the Wehrmacht, Warsaw 1964 (zuerst polnisch 1961)

Faitelson, Alex, Im jzdischen Widerstand, Baden-Baden/Zzrich 1998 (zuerst jiddisch 1993)

Fall 12. Das Urteil gegen das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, Berlin-Ost 1960.

Gar, Josef, Umkum fun jidischer Kovno. Mznchen 1948 (jidd.)

Gerlach, Christian, Die Ausweitung der deutschen Massenmorde in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten im Herbst 1941. †berlegungen zur Vernichtungspolitik gegen Juden und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene. In: Christian Gerlach, Krieg, ErnŠhrung, VŠlker mord. Forschungen zur deutschen Vernichtungspolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Hamburg 1998, S. 10-84.

Gerlach, Christian, Kalkulierte Morde. Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weißrußland 1941-1944, Hamburg 1999

Gitlerovskaja Okkupacija v Litve. Sbornik Statej, Vilnius 1966

Herbert, Ulrich, Fremdarbeiter. Politik und Praxis des "AuslŠnder-Einsatzes" in der Kriegswirtschaft des Dritten Reiches, Berlin/Bonn 1985

Jelin, Meir, "Arbet far di dejtshen"...(fufzig jor nochn nizachon iber nazi-dejtshland). In: Di goldene Keyt, 140 (1995), S. 128-144 (jidd.)

Jerushalmi, Eliezer, Geto Schavli, Jerusalem 1958 (hebr.)

Kaczerginski, ámuel, Churban Vilne, New York 1947 (jidd.)

Keller, Rolf/Otto, Reinhard, Das Massensterben der sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen und die Wehrmachtbzrokratie. Unterlagen zur Registrierung der sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945 in deutschen und russischen Institutionen. In: MilitŠrgeschichtliche Mitteilungen 57 (1998), S. 149-180

Korczak, Ruzka, Flames in Ashes, Tel Aviv 1946 (hebr.)

Kulish Shrage, In the Valley of Darkness: A Story of the First Escapee from the Ninth Fort. In: Masu'ah, 6. April 1978 (hebr.)

Kraują sugèrè dzükijos smèlis, Faktai kaltina, Vilna 1960

Kriegstagebuch Generaloberst Halder, bearbeitet von Hans-Adolf Jacobsen. Bd. 3 (22.6.-24.9.1942), Stuttgart 1964.

Maräalek, Hans, Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation, 2. Aufl., Wien 1980 (zuerst Wien 1974)

Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje, 2 BŠnde (Bd. 1, Vilnius 1965; Bd. 2, Vilnius 1973)

Mžller, Norbert, Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in der UdSSR 1941-1944. Dokumente, KŠln 1980

Mžller, Norbert /Vestermanis, Margers, Verbrechen der faschistischen Wehrmacht an sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945. In: MilitŠrgeschichte 16 (1977), S. 15-27

Osterloh, JŠrg, Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941-1945 im Spiegel nationaler und internationaler Untersuchen. Forschungsžberblick und Bibliographie, Dresden 1995.

Otto, Reinhard, Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42, Mžnchen 1998

Rakđnas, A., Lietuvos liaudies kova prieš hitlerinę okupaciją, Vilnius 1970

Raätikis, Stasys, Kovose dėl Lietuvos. Kario atsiminimai, II dalis, Los Angeles 1957

Rukānas, Kazys, Hitlerininkų Politika Lietuvoje 1941-1944 Metais, Vilnius 1970

Schreiber, Gerhard, Die italienischen MilitŠrinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943-1945. Verraten - Verachtet - Vergessen, Mžnchen 1990.

Stankeras, Petras, Lietuvių policija 1941- 44 metais, Vilnius 1998.

Streim, Alfred, Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa", Heidelberg/Karlsruhe 1981

Streit, Christian, Keine Kameraden. Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945, Neuausgabe Berlin 1991, (zuerst 1978)

Tagebuch Doktor Elena Kutorgienė-Buivydaite. In: Wassilij Grossman/Ilja Ehrenburg,

Das Schwarzbuch. Der Genozid an den sowjetischen Juden, hg. v. Arno Lustiger, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1994, S. 619-673

Tory, Avraham, Surviving the Holocaust. The Kovno Ghetto Diary, Cambridge/London 1996

UeberschŠr, Gerd. R./Wette, Wolfgang, (Hg.), Der deutsche ŗberfall auf die Sowjetunion. "Unternehmen Barbarossa" 1941. Frankfurt 1991

Vestermanis, Margis, Die nationalsozialistischen HaftstŠtten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland 1941-1945. In: Ulrich Herbert/Karin Orth/Christoph Dieckmann (Hg.), Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Entwicklung und Struktur, Bd. 1, S. 472-492

### List of abbreviations

Anm.	Remark
AWA	General Wehrmacht service at the highest Wehrmacht government
AOK	The highest government of the army
BA	Federal archive in Lichterfeld, Berlin
BA-BDC	Federal archive in Berlin, Document centre in Lichterfeld
BA-MA	Federal archive military archive in Freiburg
BA, ZA-DH	Federal archive, Dahlwitz-Hoppengarten archive in Berlin
Bl.	Page (in the footnotes)
Dulag	Distributional/transitional camp for the war prisoners (officers and private soldiers)
ebd.	Ibid.
E.K. 3	3 Operative group of the security police and security service
FK	War commandant's headquarters
GARF	Gosudarstvennij Archiv Rossiskoj Federacij v Moskve (Russian Federation State Archive in Moscow)
Gen.Qu.	General leader of billeting
GK	General commissar(iat)
HGr. Nord	Nord army group
HSSPF	The higher leader of the police and security squads
HstA	Central State Archive
KdO	Leader of the order keeping police
Kdr.d.Kriegsgef.	Leader of the war prisoners
KdS	Leader of the security police
KdSchupo	Leader of the defence police
Kriegsgef.Bez.Kdt.	Commandant of the war prisoners' area
KTB	Military diary
LCVA	Lithuanian Central State Archive
LSB	Battalion of the National Defence
LVA	State Archive of Latvia in Riga
LVOA	Lithuanian Social Organisations' Archive
LVVA	Latvia State Vņstures Archive in Riga
NARA	National Administration of the Registers of Archives in Washington
Nuernbg. Dok.	Nuernberg document
Oflag	War prisoners' camp for officers

OK	Local commandant's headquarters
OKH	The highest military government
OKW	The highest Wehrmacht government
OKW/Abwehr	Defence Department of the highest Wehrmacht government
OKW/Kriegsgef.	War prisoners' Department of the highest Wehrmacht government
Pol.Batl.	Police battalion
RAM	Reich Ministry of Labour
REM	Reich Ministry of Food
RKO	Reich commissar(iat) to Ostland
RMO	Reich Ministry to the Occupied Eastern Territories
RSHA	Reich central defence service
SD	Service of defence
Sich.Div.	Security division
Sipo	Security police
StA	General prosecuting magistracy
Stapostelle	State police institution
Stalag	Constant stockade for the war prisoners – private soldiers
USHMM	USA Holocaust Memorial Museum
v.	Denotes the starting point of time (for example: v.12.04.1941 – i.e. that day of that year)
Vgl.	Compare
VJP	Four Years' Plan
WBO	The highest leader of Wehrmacht in Ostland
WFSt	Headquarters of operative directing of Wehrmacht in the highest Wehrmacht government
Wi In Nord	Nord economic inspection
WiRueAmt	Economy – military service in the highest Wehrmacht government
z.b.V.	For special purposes
ZStL	The justice administration centre of the investigation of crimes of violence in federal territories in Ludwigsburg