

Lithuanian Police Battalions and the Holocaust (1941–1943)

By Dr. Arūnas Bubnys

Introduction

The issue of Lithuanian police battalions taking part in the Jewish genocide (Holocaust) has long been known, however, until present it has not been subject to a comprehensive and objective analysis. In soviet times this topic was often used for propaganda purposes trying to discredit the so-called ‘bourgeois nationalists’. The press would provide extensive descriptions of the trials of some of the former police battalion activists (e.g., in 1962, the daily ‘Tiesa’ exhaustively reported about the crimes in Belarus committed by the battalion led by Maj. A. Impulevičius in 1941). Nevertheless, there have been no comprehensive and objective scholarly monographs written to analyse the activity of police battalions during World War II. Among more significant works of soviet historiography on this topic, mentioned here could be the study by J. Vicas and Part 1 of the collected documents ‘Masinēs žudynēs Lietuvoje’ (*The Massacres in Lithuania*)¹. It should be recognised for the sake of truth that the Lithuanian exodus representatives have not written important scholarly works on this issue either. Although the magazine ‘Karys’ was published in the USA and often made public memoirs about the police battalions, it usually avoided to touch the issue of the battalions’ involvement in the Holocaust. These articles would mostly describe struggles with the soviet partisans and the Red Army. In their writings about the crimes committed by the battalions, soviet historians and journalists would often use the concept ‘mass killings of peaceful soviet citizens’ and also fail to mention that these exterminations were namely of the Jews. Consequently, the real history of the Holocaust was distorted.

Foreign historians became interested in the issue of the Holocaust and Lithuanian police battalions not long ago when the access to Lithuanian archives became available. Among the works of foreign authors singled out should be a monograph by German historian K. Stang about the National Labour Service Battalion (hereinafter TDA) in Kaunas, J. Hamann’s ‘flying squad,’ and massacres of the Jews in Lithuanian in 1941². Although K. Stang failed to escape certain factual mistakes and inaccuracies, in essence,

the activity of the TDA Battalion was examined objectively and comprehensively. Nevertheless, K. Stang focused on the killings by the TDA Battalion in the Forts of Kaunas, rather than performed a detailed analysis of the operations by the same battalion (or J. Hamann's squad) in the periphery. Generally speaking, the Holocaust in Lithuanian province still remains the least researched and known issue. Moreover, the issue of the activity of the Lithuanian Police Battalions outside Lithuania (in Belarus, the Ukraine, Russia, and Poland) remains of no less significance.

The most important archival documents on the issue under consideration are kept in the Central State Archives of Lithuania (hereinafter LCVA) and the Special Archives of Lithuania (hereinafter LYA). LCVA collections of documents (hereinafter f) f. R-1444 (Commandant's Headquarters of Kaunas Town in the Lithuanian general province (*Generalbezirk Litauen*)) and f. R-1018 (Commander of the Order Maintenance Police under SS and Commander of the Police of the Lithuanian general province) should be mentioned as particularly significant collections. The former collection of documents encompasses orders by the commanders of the Commandant's Headquarters in Kaunas and the Lithuanian Police Battalions formed in Kaunas, whereas the latter contains orders by commander of the Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania (1941-1944) issued to the Lithuanian Police Battalions.

The 58 inventory schedule (hereinafter ap.) of LYA f. K-1 is particularly important for the topic under consideration. The said inventory schedule contains several hundred criminal files of the former officers of police battalions. Certain criminal files (e.g. those of A. Impulevičius, P. Matiukas, etc.) cover not only the copies of interrogation protocols and other archival documents on the activity of police battalions from Lithuanian archives, but also those from foreign countries (Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine). The aforesaid archival sources enable us to reconstruct rather a comprehensive history of the Lithuanian Police Battalions during the Nazi occupation.

The issue of the Lithuanian Police Battalions taking part in the Holocaust is still current. There is no clear answer given to which of the battalions and at what scale participated in the Jewish genocide. For the time being, quite a lot has been written about the 1st (13th) and 2nd (12th) Lithuanian Police Battalions. Certainly, mass killings of the

Jews by these battalions undoubtedly stand out in the general background of activity of the police battalions. Nevertheless, what did the other battalions do? It is known that the total number of 25 Lithuanian Police Battalions were formed during the Nazi occupation. What history do they have behind? When were they formed, where and what did they do? There is still no generalised and clear picture of the past of the Lithuanian Police Battalions. This work tries to answer the following questions:

- 1) Which of the Lithuanian Police Battalions took part in the Holocaust?
- 2) How did their involvement in the Holocaust manifest: direct execution of the condemned, guard of the place of executions, escort of the Jews to the places of execution, guard of ghettos and concentration camps?
- 3) How many Jews were executed by the Lithuanian Police Battalions?
- 4) How many (approximately) soldiers of the Lithuanian Police Battalions took part in the execution of the Jews?

The author is not sure that the answers to these questions will be very accurate and comprehensive. Taking into account that the topic in question is very broad and requires year-lasting meticulous research, this work should be assessed as an attempt to present approximate numbers and preliminary conclusions. The author plans to continue research into the history of police battalions and make its outcome more precise.

It should be also added that the Lithuanian Police Battalions did not limit themselves only to taking part in the Holocaust. A considerable number of the Lithuanian Police Battalions did not take part in the massacre of the Jews at all. Lithuanian Police Battalions were also used to guard military objects and prisoners of war, fight partisans; some of the battalions were even assigned to the front. However, this work views the history of the battalions in the light of the Holocaust.

Formation, Organisational Framework and Activity of Police Battalions from 1941 to 1944

In Lithuania as well as in other occupied countries Germany allowed local police battalions to be formed to ensure security of military objects and fight saboteurs and

partisans in the home front of Wermacht. At the beginning of war, Lithuanian Police Battalions were formed mainly from the participants of the anti-Soviet revolt of 1941, armed detachments of the Lithuanian Activist Front (hereinafter LAF), so-called National Labour Service (TDA) and soldiers who deserted the 29th Territorial Corps of the Red Army. On 23 June 1941, armed detachments of the LAF had taken control over Kaunas before the German Army stepped in, and the former soldiers of the 184th Soviet Division deserted Varėna grounds in large groups and gathered in Vilnius organised units. It is believed that about 6,500 soldiers and officers deserted 29th Corps out of 7–8 thousand. Only 2 thousand Lithuanian soldiers retreated to the Soviet Union voluntarily or by force³.

It should be also recognised that the majority of Lithuanians waited for the war to break out and hoped that Germany would liberate Lithuania from the Bolshevik occupation and allow for the independent State of Lithuania to exist. Therefore, the Lithuanians enthusiastically supported the Wermacht's march to the East, formed a Provisional Government of Lithuania, and started re-establishing governmental authorities, Lithuanian Army and police. The headquarters of Armed Forces of Lithuania were set up in Kaunas and information about them was spread (Gen. St. Pundzevičius, Gen. M. Rėklaitis, Col. J. Vėbra). Commander-in-Chief of the Lithuanian Army Gen. S. Raštikis became Minister of Defence in the Lithuanian Provisional Government. At the beginning of war, the Lithuanians joined the re-established Lithuanian military forces in large numbers and with enthusiasm.

On 28 June 1941, the provisional headquarters of Vilnius Garrison were set up following the order of Chief of Staff of Vilnius Garrison of the Lithuanian Army Lieut. Col. Antanas Špokevičius, (Lieut. Col. Jonas Juknevičius was appointed Chief of Staff)⁴. The order of 3 July 1941 by Lieut. Col. A. Špokevičius' directed commanders of Lithuanian detachments to strengthen discipline and jointly with the representatives of police and security maintain order in town and punish criminals⁵.

Interestingly enough German military authorities allowed to make references to the commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army and made no obstacles for the formation of Lithuanian military units during the first days of occupation. The order of 26 June 1941 by Military Commandant of Vilnius Karl von Ostman said that 'the Lithuanian Army and

civilians shall be on duty. They shall wear on their sleeves a white stamped band with inscription Militärbefehlshaber von Vilnius and with a Hakenkreuz centred on the band. These person shall have rifles or pistols and permits to bear arms'⁶.

Such a sequence of events and position of German military authorities evidently dissatisfied the Gestapo. Thus, under the pressure of the Gestapo, the German Military Commandant's Headquarters of Vilnius adopted a more reserved approach towards the Lithuanian military.

On 5 July 1941, upon the arrival at Commandant's Headquarters in Vilnius, the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army directed to announce political gatherings, restoration of the State of Lithuania and formation of the Lithuanian 'Army' illegitimate. Authorisation was issued only to form local self-defence units subordinate to the battle-field commandant's headquarters of Germany and Lithuanian officers. The occupation authorities of Germany were not willing to recognise the State and the Army of Lithuania. The Nazis divided the peoples of Europe into those which were 'worth' ("wehrwürdig") and 'not worth' 'to bear arms'. On Eastern front the Nazis recognised only Italian, Finish, Romanian, Hungarian, Slovak and Croatian solders as their allies. The peoples of Eastern Europe (including Lithuanians) were only attributed the role of assisting police. Having strengthened their home front, the Nazis took on the resolution of the objective to liquidate the Lithuanian Army under re-establishment and reorganise it into police battalions.

On 7 July 1941, A. Špokevičius issued his last order (No. 8) concerning 'Vilnius Garrison of the Lithuanian Army'. On 9 July 1941 the units of the Lithuanian Army were renamed Lithuanian self-defence units (Litauische Selbstschutzeinheiten)⁷. It should be also noted that the names of police battalions were often subject to change. They were called supplementary police battalions, self-defence units, and guard units. Only in April 1944, they were officially given the name of the Lithuanian Police Battalions. On the 14 July 1941, the German Battle-Field Commander in Vilnius, Col. Adolf Zehnpfennig, ordered A. Špokevičius to form 'Vilnius Construction Battalion' (hereinafter VAT) and declared that the 'Lithuanian Army is non-existent'. The VAT had to be divided into defence, order maintenance, and labour service battalions⁸. The Commander-General of

Staff, Col. A. Špokevičius, became Commander of the VAT (on 31 July), and Col. Karolis Dabulevičius – Chief of Staff. On 1 August 1941, the VAT was renamed self-defence service and its units became battalions: 1st – defence, 2nd – order maintenance, 3rd – labour battalion⁹. Before October 1941, five police battalions had been organised in Vilnius. According to the data of 24 October, the composition of Vilnius battalions was as follows: there were 10 officers and 334 soldiers in the 1st; 18 officers and 450 soldiers in the 2nd; 24 officers and 607 soldiers in the 3rd, 8 officers and 253 soldiers in the 4th; and 22 officers and 288 soldiers in the 5th Battalion. Moreover, there was another company (of 5 officers and 20 soldiers) formed. For the time being, the 1st and 4th Battalions were on guard in the town of Vilnius, the 2nd one was under preparation to leave for Lublin (to guard the Concentration Camp of Maidanek), and 5th had to guard railways in Vilnius district¹⁰.

Kaunas was another important centre where battalions were formed. Before November 1941 five police battalions had been formed in Kaunas. Approximately 3,470 people served there. Later, one police battalion was formed in Šiauliai and one in Panevėžys¹¹. Under direction of the Senior SS and Police Chief, Ostlande F. Jeckeln, the police battalions formed in Lithuania were given the numbers from 1 to 15 (16–28 in Latvia, 29–40 in Estonia, and 41–50 in Belarus). In the mid of 1942, additional numbers of battalions, ranging from 251 to 265 and from 301 to 310, were reserved for Lithuania. However, Lithuanian Police Battalions No. 260, 261, 262, 263, 264 and 265 have never been formed in real life¹².

On 15 September 1941, following the order of the German Order Maintenance Police Chief in Lithuania, Maj. A. Engel, the following came under his subordination: a) German police, b) Lithuanian police (police stations in towns and police points in the province), c) self-defence units¹³.

The headquarters of Lithuanian self-defence units (hereinafter LSD), established on 1 October 1941 (on 3 November they were given the name of LSD inspector's headquarters), became authority of the Lithuanian Police Battalions. The aforementioned Lieut. Col. A. Špokevičius became Chief of the Lithuanian Police Battalions (later inspector). On 24 October 1941, 4 districts were established, including those of Vilnius,

Kaunas, Šiauliai and Panevėžys. Each district had its individual headquarters. The Commander-General of Staff, Col. Izidorius Kraunaitis, was appointed Chief of Vilnius district (Lieut. Col. Jonas Juknevičius – Chief of Staff), Col. Kazys Labutis commanded Kaunas district (Lieut. Col. Juozas Jankauskas – Chief of Staff), Commander-General of Staff Lieut. Col. Petras Vertelis – Šiauliai district (Lieut. Col. Aleksandras Andriulaitis – Chief of Staff), Col. Petras Genys became Commander of Panevėžys district (Maj. Ernestas Bliudnikas – Chief of Staff). The headquarters of LSD inspector were established in Kaunas, Gedimino Street 29, in the premises of the Administration of the Interior. The Commander-General of Staff, Col. Antanas Rėklaitis, worked in the capacity of Chief of Staff of LSD.¹⁴

National Labour Service Battalion No. 1(13)

The formation of the National Labour Service Battalion (hereinafter – TDA) was launched in Kaunas on 28 June 1941. During the first days the Soviet-Nazi occupation, the organisation of the battalion rested on Kaunas Military Commandant's Headquarters (Commandant Col. Jurgis Bobelis). The German Army occupied Kaunas on 25 June 1941. All military and administrative authority was concentrated in the hands of Commandant Maj. Gen. Robert von Pohl from German Battle-Field Commandant's Headquarters No. 821. On 28 June 1941, Maj. Gen. R. von Pohl ordered the Lithuanian Kaunas Military Commandant, Col. J. Bobelis, to disarm Lithuanian rebel and partisan detachments, and submit armaments to Kaunas Commandant's Headquarters. This should have meant the dissolution of anti-Soviet detachments of Lithuanian partisans¹⁵. However, on the same day (28 June 1941) Col. J. Bobelis issued order No. 9 on reorganisation of former partisan units into a regular formation.

All weapons and military ammunition possessed by partisans had to be submitted for re-registration to Kaunas Military Commandment's Headquarters. Failure to effect the law was threatened with punishment at 'full force of law'¹⁶.

On 28 June 1941, Kaunas military commandant signed a communication about the formation of regular units: 'National Labour Service Battalion is formed under

subordination of Kaunas Military Commandant's Headquarters. All noble Lithuanians who are willing to serve in that battalion are invited to register by 6 p.m. 29 June of this year in Kaunas Military Commandant's Headquarters, Gedimino St. 34, ground floor, Room No 1. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates in active military service shall be accepted [...]'¹⁷. This communication by Col. J. Bobelis on the formation of the TDA Battalion should have been agreed-upon in advance with German Military Commandant R. von Pohl, and the former should have received the authorisation of the latter. The German military administration needed armed formations to carry out supplementary function on the front (maintaining order, ensuring security of military objects, guarding prisoners of war) and, thus, did not oppose the establishment of Lithuanian armed formations. Col. J. Bobelis passed the organisation of the TDA Battalion to Col. Andrius Butkūnas¹⁸. The battalion was mostly of the former partisans of Kaunas and Lithuanian officers of the times of independence.

The first order to the TDA Battalion was issued on 1 July 1941. It was signed by Commander of the Battalion Col. A. Butkūnas¹⁹.

Formation of the battalion was completed very quickly. On 4 July 1941, 724 non-commissioned officers and soldiers served in the TDA Battalion²⁰.

Although the battalion, first and foremost, was assigned the functions to guard military and economic entities, at the beginning of 1941, it was involved in the Jewish execution operation on the initiative of the German Security Police and SD.

Already during the first days of the German occupation, the Commander of Staff SS Obershturmführer of special detachment No. 1b, Erich Ehrlinger, planned arrests and mass executions of the Jews. Kaunas 7th Fort was chosen as the first place of a mass execution. The communication of 1 July 1941 by E. Ehrlinger to the Reich Security Central Office (RSHA) in Berlin made reference to the establishment of a concentration camp for the Jews in the 7th Fort and carrying out executions²¹.

Massacres in Kaunas were led by E. Ehrlinger from 29 June 1941. A few days later (from 2 July 1941), the functions of security police in Kaunas were taken over from E. Ehrlinger by the Commander of the 3rd Company of the Operational Task Force A SS

Shtandartenführer, Karl Jäger. Approximately 1,500 Jews had been killed before the Operational Task Force No. 1b under E. Ehrlinger's commandment left Kaunas²².

The report by the Operational Task Force A of 6 July 1941 says that partisans had been disarmed on 28 June 1941 following the order of the German Commandant's Headquarters in Kaunas. Two supplementary police units were formed out of reliable partisans (five companies all in all). Two companies (205 men) were transferred to the operational task force, one company guarded the Jewish concentration camp set up in the 7th Fort and carried out executions. Following the order of 4 July by the Commander of the Operational Task Force 3/A, K. Jäger, 463 Jews were shot dead and 2,514 Jews were executed in the same way on 6 July in the 7th Fort. The aforementioned report by the task force said that approximately 1,500 Jews were kept in the Fort, and there were plans to establish another camp in the 9th Fort. Moreover, 1,869 Jews, 214 Lithuanians, 134 Russians, 1 Latvian, and 16 Polish were imprisoned in the central prison of Kaunas²³.

According to the evidence provided by convicted soldiers of the TDA Battalion to the Soviet security, a conclusion can be drawn that the 1st and 3rd Companies of the TDA Battalion took part in the extermination of the Jews in the 7th Fort. The 3rd Company was more involved in the killing operations at a later stage, and was led by Lieut.-s B. Norkus, J. Barzda, and A. Dagys. When far-reaching exterminations were performed, almost all the battalions took part excluding the soldiers who carried out other missions²⁴.

Before mass killings started, the soldiers of the TDA Battalion had never taken part in operations of a similar kind. This had a negative psychic and moral effect on the battalion soldiers. Being unable to confront the Nazis openly, a big part of them tried to secure dismissal from office or escape participation in the killings in other ways. Between 5–11 July 1941, 117 soldiers were dismissed from service in the battalion. During 15–17 July, 9 soldiers deserted from 1st Company only. The Commander of the 1st Company of the TDA Battalion, Capt. Bronius Kirkila, did not withstand cruelties that he experienced and committed a suicide on 12 July 1941. The Assistant Commander of the 1st Company, Lieut. Stepas Paulauskas, and two Commanders of detachments Jun. Lieut. Povilas Kulakauskas and Jun. Lieut. Jonas Ralys submitted their resignations and were dismissed²⁵.

However such forms of protest could not change Nazi's policies towards the Jews, and the TDA Battalion was further used for their extermination.

On 2 August 1941, the first operation was carried out in Kaunas 4th Fort. That day claimed the lives of 209 people, including 170 Jewish men, 33 Jewish women, 1 US Jewish man, 1 US Jewish woman, and 4 Lithuanian communists²⁶. Led by Lieut.-s J. Barzda and J. Skaržinskas, the soldiers of the TDA Battalion took the Jews from prison in Mickevičiaus Street and brought to the 4th Fort. There were approximately 10 German officers and soldiers. A pit of over ten meters in length and several metres in width was dug. They were undressed to their underwear and pushed in the pit in groups. The Jews were shot by several dozens of the TDA soldiers and Germans. The command to fire was given by Lieut. J. Barzda. Other soldiers of the battalion guarded the place of the execution. It lasted for approximately two hours²⁷.

Later the 3rd Company of the TDA Battalion participated in all the killings of the Jews in Kaunas 4th and 9th Forts.

On 9 August 1941, 534 Jews (484 men and 50 women) were killed in the 4th Fort. Almost all the composition of the 3rd Company took part in the execution which was led by Lieut.-s A. Dagys and J. Barzda²⁸.

On 18 August 1941, 1,812 people were killed in Kaunas 4th Fort, including 698 Jewish men, 402 Jewish women, 1 Polish woman, as well as 711 Jewish intellectuals from the ghetto for the act of sabotage²⁹.

In October 1941, the killings of the Jews were transferred to Kaunas 9th Fort where the executions continued up to the end of the Nazi occupation. The first operation of mass execution of the Jews in the 9th Fort was carried out on 4 October 1941 for the alleged attempt to kill a German guard. Then the Jews brought from Kaunas small ghetto were shot. Shooting was executed by almost all the 3rd company. The Lithuanian policemen were led by Lieut. B. Norkus. About 20 German soldiers took part in the execution as well. According to the report by K. Jäger, 1,845 Jews (315 men, 712 women and 818 children) were killed on 4 October 1941³⁰.

The biggest Jewish extermination operation in the 9th Fort was carried out on 29 October 1941. On the eve of the execution, Kaunas SS officers (F. Jordan, H. Rauca and

others) selected about 10 thousand Jews for the execution (their majority was unsuited for physical work). The Jews were driven to the territory of the small ghetto, and the following day they were brought to the 9th Fort for the execution. Almost all the composition of 1st Police Battalion took part in the ‘large-scale operation’ of 29 October. The majority of the battalion soldiers guarded the ghetto or escorted the Jews from the ghetto to the 9th Fort. The condemned were killed by several dozens of the 3rd Company soldiers. B. Norkus, J. Barzda and A. Dagys distinguished themselves in the executions of this kind. About 20 German officers and soldiers also took part in the killings. The execution ended by the dark. According to the report of K. Jäger of 29 October 1941, 9,200 Jewish were killed in the 9th Fort, including 2,007 men, 2,920 women and 4,273 children. K. Jäger called these killings ‘cleaning of the ghetto from unnecessary Jews’³¹. After the ‘large-scale’ massacre of the Jews of Kaunas Ghetto, no executions were performed until 26 March 1944. However, during November and December 1941, the Jewish brought from Germany and Austria were killed in the 9th Fort. According to K. Jäger’s report of 25 November 1941, 2,934 Jews brought from Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt-under-Maine were shot in the 9th Fort. On 29 November 1941, another 2,000 Jews deported from Vienna and Breslau (Wroclaw) were executed. The soldiers of the 1st Battalion also took part in the execution³².

To sum up the killings in Kaunas, the 1st Police Battalion (TDA) (particularly its 3rd Company) jointly with the German Gestapo executed 26 thousand Lithuanian and foreign (German, Austrian, and Czech) Jews from 4 July 1941 to 11 December 1941 in the Forts of Kaunas.

Operations Carried out in the Province by the 1st Battalion

The bulk of Jewish executions in Lithuania (excluding those in Kaunas, Vilnius, and Šiauliai) are related to SS Obershturmführer’s Joachim Hamann ‘flying squad’ (of Rollkommand Hamann). The famous report of 1 December 1941 by K. Jäger ascertain that extermination of the Jews of Lithuania ‘could be completed only thanks to the flying squad formed of selected men and led by Obershturmführer Hamann, who fully

understood my goals and was capable of ensuring co-operation with Lithuanian partisans and corresponding civil authorities³³. Thus, who was Hamann and his flying squad? On the eve of the Nazi–Soviet war, German Security Police and SD operational task forces (Einsatzgruppen) were established firstly to eliminate Nazi enemies in the occupied countries. On the eve of the breakout of war with the Soviets, the Germans formed four operational task forces – A, B, C, and D. The commanders of the operational task forces were directly appointed by H. Himmler and R. Heydrich. Each unit of the army (Northern, Central and Southern) had one operational task force. The Task Force A was attributed to the units of Northern armies which were to occupy the Baltic countries and Leningrad. The Operational Task Force A consisted of the 2nd and 3rd operational detachments (Einsatzkommandos) and special detachments (Sonderkommandos) 1a and 1b³⁴. The Operational Task Force A was first led by SS Brigadeführer Walter Stahlecker. The 3rd Detachment of Operational Task Force A (hereinafter 3/A) operated in Lithuania and was led by SS Shtandartenführer Karl Jäger. There were over 120 persons in this operational detachment which was further divided into three platoons (Züge). J. Hamann was commander of one platoon and K. Jäger's adjutant³⁵. J. Hamann was known as a particularly fierce anti-Zionist. They say that K. Jäger and J. Hamann arrived in Kaunas during the first days of the German occupation and the latter received the task of Commander of the Operational Task Force A W. Stahlecker to organise a flying squad for mass killings of the Jews and communists³⁶. The forces of German Security Police and SD were insufficient to attain the said goals. Therefore, the Operational Task Force 3/A requested assistance of the soldiers of the TDA Battalion which was under establishment in Kaunas. It happened so that 3rd Company of the TDA Battalion was frequently assigned to the mass killings of the Jews. J. Hamann's flying squad was not acting on a permanent basis and had no special place of location. It was often formed for *ad hoc* operation from several German Gestapo officers and several dozens of Lithuanian allies from the TDA. J. Hamann himself would rarely go on missions in the province and limited himself to assignment of tasks for the officers of the 1st Battalions (Lieut.-s A. Dagys, J. Barzda, and B. Norkus). It is guessed that the following SS officers would often take part in the operations from the German side, including: Hauptsharführer Porst, Stütz,

Salzmann, Mack and Planert. SS Hauptsturmführer H. Rauca was J. Hamann's deputy³⁷. The so-called flying squad would leave for the operation only after all the preparatory work had been completed: the Jews doomed to death had been pushed into one place with local police and 'partisans' guarding them, and more abandoned place had been selected for their execution (mostly forests or distant fields), and a pit had been dug. As a rule, the assigned soldiers or volunteers of the 3rd Company would go on such missions in the province. Several German Gestapo officers would also come to the planned place of massacre by a motor car. The 1 December 1941 report by K. Jäger specified a long list of places where allegedly Hamann's platoon jointly with Lithuanian 'partisans' performed executions. Archival documents allow to ascertain that the soldiers of the 1st Police Battalion did not take part in the executions in all the places specified in K. Jäger's report (particularly those in the province). It can only be guessed that in quite a few places in Lithuania the Jewish were killed by the units of local police and 'partisans' without Hamann's flying squad taking part.

Summarising on the killings of the Jews by the 1st Police Battalion in the province in 1941, it can be said that the 3rd Company of the said battalion killed no less than 11,598 Jews. It is known for sure that the 3rd Company took part in the killings in Alytus, Ariogala, Babtai, Butrimonys, Garliava, Jieznas, Krakės, Lazdijai, Pasvalys, Petrašiūnai, Rumšiškės, Seirijai, Simnas, Vilkija, i.e. 15 places of Lithuania (excluding Kaunas). It may be so that the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion also executed the Jews in other parts of Lithuania which were mentioned in the report by K. Jäger of 1 December 1941. However, the author has not succeeded in finding documentary evidence on the executions by this battalion in other towns and settlements of Lithuania. Nevertheless, if reliable documentary evidence becomes available about the killings by the 3rd Company in other places of Lithuania mentioned by K. Jäger, the total number of the Jews killed by this company would increase by more than ten thousand.

In conclusion, the 3rd Company of the 1st Police Battalion (or the core of J. Hamann's 'flying squad') was a very efficient instrument to realise the Holocaust policies plotted by the Nazis. According to the number of the Jews killed, only the German Security Police and SD special detachment in Vilnius or the 2nd (12th) Lithuanian Police

Battalion could have a comparable record of executions. During the second half of 1941, the 1st Lithuanian Police Battalion jointly with German Gestapo and provincial ‘partisans’ (white-band carriers) executed no less than 39,000 Lithuanian and foreign (German, Austrian, Czech, and Belarus) Jews. If it turned out that the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion killed in almost all the places specified in K. Jäger’s report (excluding Vilnius and Šiauliai district), the number of executed Jews would probably reach even 60,000. From 1942 to 1945, the 1st (13th) Battalion did not take part in the Jewish extermination operations.

2nd (12th) Lithuanian Police Battalion

The formation of the 2nd (named 12th in February) Battalion was started on 7 August 1941. On that day the Commander-General of Staff, Maj. Antanas Impulevičius, was appointed Commander of the Battalion (and continued in office until the beginning of 1943)³⁸. The 2nd Battalion was formed after the transfer of a part of officers and soldiers from the 1st (TDA) Battalion to the newly established 2nd Battalion. On 25 August 1941, three companies (1st, 2nd, and 6th) were transferred from the 1st to the 2nd Battalion. Lieut. Zenonas Kemzūra (1st Company), Lieut. Juozas Krištaponis (2nd Company), and Capt. Juozas Ūselis (3rd Company) were appointed commanders of the companies³⁹.

Until 6 October 1941, the 2nd Battalion was located in Šančiai barracks in Kaunas. During this period the soldiers of the battalion protected objects of military significance in the town and soviet prisoners of war in Zapyškis and Pagelažiai peat-bogs in Kaunas district⁴⁰.

Following the order of 3 October 1941 by Commander of the German Reserve Police Battalion Maj. F. Lechthaler, the 2nd Battalion received an assignment on 6 October 1941 to go to the regions of Minsk–Borisovo–Sluck to ‘cleanse the area from the remaining Bolshevik Army and Bolshevik partisans’. From the moment of departure the 2nd Battalion was under direct commandment of Maj. F. Lechthaler.

On 6 October 1941, A. Impulevičius' battalion of 23 officers and 464 non-commissioned officers and privates left for Minsk. Only 41 soldiers of the battalion were left in Kaunas⁴¹.

The headquarters of the battalion were located in Minsk, the soldiers of the battalion would often leave for a few-day missions which were specified in the battalion papers as 'of secret official matters' or 'to keep guard'. According to the evidence of the battalion soldiers convicted by the Soviets as well as of the remaining German, Soviet, and Lithuanian documents, the activity of the 2nd Battalion can be reconstructed up to details. The aforementioned 'missions' often meant punishment operations and execution of civilians (often Jews) and prisoners of war. Those executions are known to have been performed jointly by the 2nd Battalion, German Gestapo officers, and Belarus policemen.

On 8 October 1941, the soldiers of the 2nd Battalion executed 617 Jews in the town of Dukora in Minsk region.

On 10-11 October 1941, the battalion soldiers shot 188 civilians in the town of Rudensk in Minsk region.

On 14 October 1941, the battalion killed 1,300 civilians (Jews constituting their majority) in the town of Smylovich in Minsk region.

On 15-16 and 18 October 1941, they killed 1,775 Jews and communists in Minsk. The executions would often be led by German officers, and firing would be performed by the policemen of the 2nd Battalion. Although, the absolute majority of the victims were the Jews, communists were also killed, and so were the activists of the Soviet government, partisans and their supporters, and Soviet prisoners of war.

On 21 October 1941, the soldiers of 1st Company executed about 1,000 Jewish and communists in the town of Kaidanov in Minsk region (Commander Lieut. Z. Kemžūra).

On 28-29 October 1941, in Sluck the battalion killed approximately 5,000 Jews⁴². Even Hinrich Carl, the Commissar of Sluck district, was shocked at the killings. In his communication of 30 October 1941 to the German commissar general in Minsk, H. Carl wrote: '[...] October 27, approx. 8 a.m., Sen. Lieut. of the 11th Police Battalion arrived from Kaunas (Lithuania) who introduced himself as adjutant to the commander of the security police battalion. The Sen. Lieut. said that the police battalion had been assigned

to liquidate all Jews here in the town of Sluck within two days. The commander of the battalion and the battalion with 4 companies including 2 Lithuanian companies were due to arrive. [...]

Referring to the ways of performing the operation, I had to regret that it equalled to sadism. The town itself looked horrible during the operation. Indescribably cruel German police officers, and particularly the Lithuanian partisans, forced the Jews, including Belarus, out of their homes and pushed them into one place. Firing was heard throughout the town, and in certain streets piles of the Jewish victims appeared. The Belarus succeeded to escape the encirclement only through enormous efforts. [...] I would like to request to fulfil only one request, i.e. to protect me from this police battalion in the future!⁴³

However the killings continued. Between 9-10 November 1941, the 2nd Battalion executed 8,000 civilians (mainly the Jews) in Borisov.

On 13 November 1941, the 2nd Battalion killed approximately 3,000 Jews in the town of Kleck in Minsk region.

There is information that in autumn 1941, the 2nd Battalion jointly with the Germans executed approximately 46 thousand people in Belarus (including approx. 9,000 soviet prisoners of war) and hanged 12 activists of the soviet underground⁴⁴. The absolute majority of victims were Jews.

Later (1942–1944) the battalion did not take part in mass killings and was used to fight soviet partisans and guard military objects. In February 1944, the battalion returned to Lithuania and was disarmed and dissolved by the Germans in Tauragė⁴⁵.

3rd (11th) Lithuanian Police Battalion

The formation of the 3rd Lithuanian Police Battalion started in Kaunas on 15 August 1941. On that day Capt. Antanas Švilpa was appointed Commander of the newly formed supplementary police battalion⁴⁶. Capt. Pranas Šopaga was appointed Deputy Commander of the Battalion, Jun. Lieut. Eduardas Čičinauskas – Adjutant, Capt. Andrius Juškevičius – Commander of the 1st Company, and Lieut. Justinas Pakalniškis –

Commander of the 2nd Company⁴⁷. By the beginning of September 1941, the 3rd Battalion was essentially completed. The battalion consisted of three companies (on 1 September 1941 Lieut. Antanas Gudelis was appointed Commander of the 3rd Company)⁴⁸.

The battalion underwent military training, guarded warehouses, more important public buildings in Kaunas and the ghetto. Remaining secret order No. 1 directed the 3rd Battalion to guard the ammunition warehouse in the 8th Fort (Vilijampolė) and the ghetto (32 guards). The task of the ghetto guard was ‘to ensure that no Jew leaves the fenced quarter’⁴⁹.

The search of reliable evidence that the 3rd Battalion took part in the Jew extermination operation in Kaunas and periphery was not fruitful. To the best of our knowledge at that time such operations were regularly performed by the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion.

Most frequently guards of the ghetto were appointed from the 3rd Company of the 3rd Battalion. It is also known that the soldiers of this company (Commander Jun. Lieut. A. Gudelis) guarded the ghetto on 7, 8, 17, 21, 23–30 September 1941⁵⁰. The private of this company, Pranas Korsakas was, was punished and detained for 5-day for the violation of the ghetto guarding regulations. The order of the commander of the battalion said that ‘on 24 September this year, private of the 3rd company Korsakas Pranas being a guard in Vilijampolė was walking at the Ghetto hand in hand with other non-authorized persons, pushing one another and simultaneously allowing others to trade with the Jews freely over the fence.

[...] I hereby oblige the commanders of the guards and guards to arrest persons who are noticed wandering at the Ghetto fence or trading with the Jews and take them to the commandant’s headquarters.

I hereby warn all the soldiers of the battalion of their duty to keep duly guard at the Ghetto, otherwise they will be subject to military tribunal [...] for similar offences⁵¹.

The order of 29 November 1941 of the commander of the battalion, among other guards of the battalions, referred to the soviet prisoners of war and the ghetto Jews working in workshops ‘Gamyba’ in Vytauto Avenue (they were guarded by four soldiers)⁵².

In February 1942, the 3rd Battalion was renamed 11th Battalion. On 28 April 1942, the 11th Battalion (Commander Maj. Juozas Gruodis), including 15 officers, 99 non-commissioned officers, and 326 soldiers left for the Ukraine. At first, the battalion arrived in Zitomir by train, and later it was transferred to Korosten (Zitomir region). There the battalion was split into the groups of forty soldiers and guarded railway and other objects of military importance against partisans' attacks. The 1st Company of the battalion was sent to the town of Olevsk, the 2nd one to Ovrutch, and the 3rd one to Yelsk (Belarus). The headquarters of the battalion remained in the town of Korosten. In summer 1943 the whole battalion left for Krivoj Rog, and a few months later for Kirovograd⁵³.

On 21 May 1942, Capt. Jonas Jackūnas was appointed commander of the 11th Battalion⁵⁴. He led the battalion until November 1942. J. Jackūnas was replaced in office by Sen. Lieut. Albinas Lastas–Laustauskas. Capt. Jonas Butėnas is known to succeed him as Commander of the Battalion (until October 1943)⁵⁵. Later commanders of the 11th Battalion are not known.

In April 1943, the 11th Battalion jointly with the 12th Battalion of Lithuanian police and German units took part in a large scale anti-partisan operation in the area of Pinsk marshlands⁵⁶.

In June 1943, the 11th Battalion jointly with two German battalions and one Latvian battalion took part in the operation against the partisans of the Ukraine rebellion army (hereinafter UPA) in the regions of Rovno–Kostopol. At the township of Bialy joint German–Lithuanian–Latvian forces beat the brigade of Ukrainian partisans. In the battle, the Lithuanian battalion killed 25 partisans and took about 120 partisans as captives. Approximately 30 injured captives were executed immediately and the remaining 90 were sent to the camps of prisoners of war⁵⁷. In Ukraine and Belarus the 11th Battalion often confronted soviet partisans and carried out punishment operations against villages that supported partisans. The battalion suffered significant losses in the battle against the partisans. On the other hand, the 11th Battalion executed and arrested several hundred partisans and their supporters⁵⁸. The 11th Battalion did not take part in the killings of Jews during 1942–1944. In summer 1944, the 11th Battalion returned from the Ukraine to

Kaunas and was later dissolved (there is evidence that it was reorganised into 258th Battalion).

4th (7th) Police Battalion

The formation of the 4th Lithuanian Police Battalion was launched in Kaunas on 25 August 1941. Capt. Viktoras Klimavičius was appointed Commander of the Battalion, Capt. Juozas Butėnas was appointed Deputy Commander, Capt. Alfonsas Petrulis – Quartermaster Chief of the Battalion, Juozas Čerka – Commander of the 1st Company, Lieut. Jurgis Skaržinskas – Commander of the 2nd Company, Lieut. Aleksas Grinius – Commander of the 3rd Company (on 1 September 1941, A. Grinius was appointed Chief Signal Officer of the Battalion, and Capt. Stasys Vasiūnas was appointed Commander of the 3rd Company)⁵⁹. Until the middle of September 1941 the formation of the battalion was basically completed. At that time it consisted of three companies and supply detachment⁶⁰. In Kaunas the battalion was placed in Šančiai barracks, guarded military warehouses and bridges, and underwent military training⁶¹. On 1 February 1942, the 4th Battalion was renamed 7th Battalion⁶². On 1 April 1942, the 7th Battalion left for the Ukraine⁶³. At that time the battalion consisted of four companies. The battalion arrived in Vinica region where the companies of the battalion were split into small groups of 10–15 soldiers and guarded soviet prisoners of war who worked on a strategic motorway (Durchgangsstrasse IV). The headquarters of the battalion were located in Vinica, 4th Company was based in the town of Gaisino (Vinica region)⁶⁴. The 1st Detachment of the 4th Company (Commander Capt. Vaitiekus Steponkus) of the 7th Battalion is known to have taken part in the Jewish extermination in Vinica region for several times in 1942. According to approximate data, the soldiers of this company jointly with the German and Ukrainian policemen killed about 300 Jewish men, women and children.

For the first time the Jews were subject to execution at the end of August 1942 about 30 km away from Gaisino town on the way to Vinica. On the eve of the execution Commander of the 4th Company Capt. V. Steponkus received assignment by the Germans

to select 20–25 soldiers of the company for a particular mission. The following day, a squad of the 1st Detachment of the 4th Company left Gaisino in the truck sent by the Germans. The truck went 30 km away from Gaisino and took a side road. A group of German soldiers and SS officers were already waiting in the place of execution. The execution was led by SS Officer Krishtofejev (in other sources referred to as Krishtofel). He selected a group of Lithuanian soldiers for the execution. The remaining Lithuanian soldiers and officers (including V. Steponkus) had to guard the place of killings. Three trucks arrived at the place full of Jewish men, women, and children (approx. 120 persons). They were driven out of the trucks, taken to the pits and executed. The execution lasted for an hour. After the killings the soldier of 1st Detachment of 4th Company returned to Gaisino⁶⁵.

The second execution of the Jews with the soldiers of the 1st Detachment of the 4th Company taking part was carried out at the beginning of September 1942 approximately 2 km away from the town of Nemirovo (about 30–40 km from Gaisino). The execution was led by the aforesaid SS Capt. Krishtofejev. More than ten soldiers and officers of the 4th Company took part in the execution (including the Commander of the Company, Capt. V. Steponkus, and Commander of the 1st Detachment Lieut. J. Damušis). This time, the number of Jews executed approximately equalled that of the executed at first (about 120 persons).

In the middle of September 1942, the 1st Detachment of the 4th Company took part in the killings of Jews for the first time, however, the circumstances of these executions are not known. The Commander of the Company, Capt. V. Steponkus, did not take part in the third operation⁶⁶.

The communication of 1st April 1950 from the MGB office of Gaisino region of the Ukrainian SSR specified that the Jews who were imprisoned in the camp in Michailovki village of Gaisino region were executed in autumn 1942. The total number of victims amounted to 400–450. The soldiers of the Lithuanian punishment detachment also took part in the execution⁶⁷. The majority of facts on the participation of the soldiers of the 7th Battalion in the Jewish extermination in Lithuania are not known.

Following the order of 30 November 1942 by the Commander of the Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania, Commander of the 3rd Company of the 7th Battalion Capt. Jonas Semaška was appointed new Commander of the Battalion. The former Commander of the Battalion, Capt. V. Klimavičius, was transferred to 252-E Battalion⁶⁸.

In the middle of November 1942, the whole battalion gathered in the town of Gaisino and, after a military training, was sent to the front at the beginning of December. The 7th Battalion was located in the town of Ostrogozsko in Voronez region. There the battalion fell into the encirclement of the Red Army. After the German and Hungarian units had broken the encirclement, the battalion withdrew suffering enormous losses (about 50% of its human capacity). Then following the order of German military authorities the battalion arrived in Charkov, and then returned to Kaunas by train in March 1943⁶⁹. Having returned to Kaunas the battalion was supplied with new soldiers and was sent to Vilnius district to fight partisans in May 1943. On the way to Vilnius a number of armed soldiers of the battalion deserted. Therefore, the Gestapo arrested Commander of the 4th Company Capt. V. Steponkus and Commander of the Detachment of the same company Sen. Lieut. J. Kamentauskas. The arrested were detained in (Lukiškių) prison of hard labour in Vilnius⁷⁰.

At that time the battalion consisted of three companies. One company of the battalion (probably the 2nd one) was based in Kamajai area. The soldiers of this battalion often faced soviet partisans. Probably in June 1943 five soldiers of this company perished in one of such battles. In July 1943, the soldiers of this company arrested two soviet partisans and handed them over to the Germans⁷¹. During the second half of 1943 one of the companies of the 7th Battalion guarded the Russian camp of refugees of war in Alytus. There were civilians who left Smolensk, Vitebsk, Oriol and other regions of Russia and Belarus. They were brought to Germany for hard labour from the camp in Alytus⁷².

Following the order (of 27 December 1943) by the Commander of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania, the battalion had to be dissolved before 22 January 1944. The order specified that the composition of the battalion had decreased by a large number, thus, the battalion's tactical use was impossible. At that time, there were only 12 officers, 116 non-commissioned officers, and 208 soldiers left in the 7th Battalion

(336 persons all in all). The headquarters of the battalion and the 1st Company were located in Alytus. The officers and the soldiers of the battalion were transferred to other Lithuanian Police Battalions: Capt. Antanas Ruzgys to 253rd Battalion, Capt. V. Steponkus and Sen. Lieut. Juozas Kamentavičius to the 1st Battalion, Lieut. Šimkus to 257th Battalion. 6 officers, 70 non-commissioned officers and 115 soldiers were transferred to the 257th Battalion in total; 2 officers, 33 non-commissioned officers, and 72 soldiers were transferred to the 2nd Battalion all in all; 1 officer, 13 non-commissioned officers and 21 soldiers were transferred to the 9th Battalion; 2 officers were transferred to the 1st Battalion and 1 officer (Capt. A. Ruzgys) to the 253rd Battalion. German Chief Signal Officer of the 7th Battalion Capt. Reininghaus was transferred to the 257th Lithuanian Police Battalion⁷³. Thus the 7th Lithuanian Police Battalion ceased to exist.

1st (Vilnius) Lithuanian Police Battalion

The 1st Police Battalion was formed in Vilnius on the grounds of the former Security service. The aide of the latter service Commander-General of Staff Lieut. Col., Jonas Juknevičius, was appointed Commander of the 1st Battalion on 1 August 1941⁷⁴. The majority of the battalion soldiers were formerly soldiers and officers of the 29th Territorial Corps of the Red Army, who at the beginning of war yielded themselves prisoners of the Germans or deserted units of the Soviet Army. On 16 August 1941, Capt. Petras Nazaras was appointed Commander of the 1st Battalion⁷⁵.

At the end of 1941, the headquarters of the battalion and 3rd and 4th Companies were based at Vilnius Didžioji Street No. 23, and the 1st Company and supply detachment of the battalion were located at Rasų Street No. 2 (in the premises of the former Viziečiai monastery)⁷⁶. In 1941, the companies of the battalion guarded bridges and military warehouses as well as the camps of prisoners of war in the town of Vilnius. The 1st company of the battalion is known to have taken part in the transfer of the Jewish families from their flats to Vilnius Ghetto in September 1941. Such an operation was carried out by this company in Trakai, too⁷⁷.

At the end of 1941, 10 officers and 334 soldiers served in the 1st Battalion⁷⁸. In 1942, the 1st Battalion consisted of the headquarters and three companies. At that time 17 officers, 29 senior warrant officers, 59 non-commissioned officers and 282 'file' soldiers and privates served in the battalion (414 soldiers in total)⁷⁹.

From autumn 1942 to summer 1944, the battalion was led by Capt. Juozas Truškauskas. The 1st Battalion was unique in the sense that its headquarters were located solely in Vilnius during the whole period of the Nazi occupation.

In spring and summer 1943, the soldiers of the 1st Battalion took part in the execution of the Jews from Vilnius Ghetto and labour camp of Eastern Lithuania. In March 1943, following direction of Commissar of Vilnius district Horst Wulff, a part of the Jews from Švenčioniai, Ašmena and other towns of Eastern Lithuania (about 3 thousand persons) were transferred to Vilnius Ghetto, and the remaining were informed about their transfer to Kaunas Ghetto. On 5 April 1941, a train with the Jews from Eastern Lithuanian stopped in Paneriai. On the eve of the execution, one detachment (musician detachment or orchestra) of the 1st Battalion was assigned to go to the building of the German Security Police and SD in Vilnius (at that time - Gedimino 36). From that place the detachment went to Paneriai railway station. At midnight about 50 carriage-train with Jews arrived at the station. The soldiers of the battalion guarded the train. In the morning German Gestapo and policemen of Lithuanian Public Police arrived at Paneriai. The Jews were ordered to get out of the carriages. The detachment of the 1st Battalion soldiers escorted the Jews to the place of execution in the forest. Before the execution took place, the Jews had been undressed to their underwear and pushed into the pits. Valuable things of the Jews were collected by the German Gestapo officer who led the execution. After that, German Gestapo officers and some of the soldiers of the 1st Battalion fired at the Jews in the pits. As a result, all the Jews brought by train were killed, including men, women and children. Around midday another train with Jews arrived at Paneriai station. The Jews who were in the train were also killed in the forest of Paneriai. Only a small number of them escaped the place of massacre and saved their lives. It is believed that on 5 April 1943 the total number of 5 thousand Jews was killed in Paneriai⁸⁰.

In spring and summer 1943, a part of the 1st Battalion soldiers guarded labour camps of Vilnius Ghetto in Riešė, Kena and Bezdonys. These camps were established already in 1941. The Jews from the camps were to dig peat. Several hundred Jews worked in each of the camps. By May 1943, approximately 330 Jews worked in Bezdonys Camp (about 21 km away from Vilnius). In May 1943, non-commissioned officer of the 1st Battalion Borisas Baltutis was appointed Commandant of Bezdonys Camp. On 9 July 1941, SS Obersharführer Bruno Kitel and several other Gestapo officers arrived at the camp from Vilnius Gestapo. The purpose of their arrival was to liquidate the Jews of Bezdonys Camp. The Jews were forced from the barracks, drew them up in two ranks and check-up by list started. Then ten people were called each time, brought to the pit and shot dead. The remaining prisoners ran to their barracks and refused to go out. Then the Gestapo officers started firing at the barracks from a machine-gun and threw in several grenades. The barrack caught fire. The Jews running out of the barracks were shot dead, the remaining were burnt. In total, about 250–300 people were killed. A part of the prisoners escaped since they were not on the camp at the time of the execution⁸¹.

There were approximately 320 Jews working in Kena Labour Camp (25 km away from Vilnius) in May 1943. They dug peat in Margiø peat-bog. In May 1943, non-commissioned officer of the 1st Battalion Juozas Mačys was appointed Commandant of the Camp. The camp was guarded by 4 soldiers of the 1st Battalion as well. On 8 July 1943, the aforementioned B. Kitel and another officer of Gestapo (name unknown) arrived at the camp. B. Kitel said to the Commandant of the Camp, J. Mačys, that the Jews would be exterminated. The Jews were pushed into one barrack. Before the execution B. Kitelis collected valuables and money from the Jews. Then a police detachment arrived and surrounded the camp. The Jews were taken to pits in groups and executed. At first men were killed, then women and children followed. Firing was carried out by German Gestapo officers and policemen (who were likely to be the soldiers of Vilnius special detachment). The soldiers of the 1st Battalion escorted the condemned to the place of execution. About 240-300 Jews were killed in total⁸².

In May 1943, 197 Jews worked in Riešė Labour Camp. In April 1943, non-commissioned officer of the 1st Battalion Jonas Narkevičius was appointed Commandant

of the Camp. The camp was guarded by six soldiers of the battalion. Having learnt about the liquidation of Kena and Bezdony Camps, the workers of Riešė Camp started making efforts to escape from the camp. A part of the fugitives arrived at Vilnius Ghetto. Failing to manage the situation, J. Narkevičius requested assistance for the protection of Vilnius Camp and round-up of fugitives. The remaining Jews of Riešė Camp were taken to Vilnius Ghetto at the end of July the beginning of August 1943⁸³.

The search for information about the 1st Battalion's involvement in the execution of the Jews and guarding operation at a later stage (end of 1943 – 1944) was not successful. In summer 1944 the 1st Battalion ceased to exist.

2nd (Vilnius) Lithuanian Police Battalion

2nd Police Battalion was formed in Vilnius from the Order Maintenance Service which was led by Lieut. Col. Petras Vertelis. On 1 August 1941, he was appointed commander of 2nd Battalion⁸⁴ and continued in office until the beginning of October 1941. Later he was appointed commander of the 14th Police Battalion in Šiauliai and chief of self-defence units of Šiauliai district⁸⁵. P. Vertelis was replaced in office of the battalion commander by Capt. Aleksandras Kazakevičius. The formation of the 2nd Battalion was finally completed in the mid of October 1941. At that time 18 officers and 450 soldiers served there⁸⁶. Within the period in question, the 2nd Battalion mainly guarded military warehouses and was on patrol in the town of Vilnius and its environs. The battalion also underwent military training⁸⁷. There is evidence that the 2nd Battalion took part in transferring the Jews from flats to the ghetto (at the beginning of 1941) and escorting the arrested Jews to Lukiškių prison (end of August beginning of September 1941). According to the evidence given by the convicted soldiers of the battalion, at the end of August or the beginning of September 1941, the 2nd Company of the battalion (Commander Lieut. Pranas Sakalas) took approximately 500 Jews from Lukiškių prison and escorted them to Paneriai. These Jews were killed by German Security Police and SD special detachment.

The report of German Security Chief and SD Commander K. Jäger and other sources informed that massacre of the Jews in Paneriai took place on 2 September 1941. On that day the detained Jews from Lukiškių prison were brought in columns to Paneriai and shot dead. The execution was carried out by 80 policemen, and the place of the execution was guarded by 100. Announcements of Commissar of Vilnius town Hans Hingst were placed, informing that the Jews fired at German soldiers on August 31 and, thus they were punished. According to the report by K. Jäger, 3,700 Jews (including 864 men, 2,019 women and 817 children) were executed in Vilnius on 2 September 1941⁸⁸.

Some of the soldiers of the battalion witnessed that probably at the end of September 1941, the soldiers of the 2nd Battalion escorted the columns of 2 thousand Jews to Paneriai and guarded the place during the shooting. The Jews were killed by German Security Police and SD special detachment⁸⁹.

According to the report by K. Jäger of 4 October 1941, 1,983 Jews were killed (432 men, 1,115 women and 436 children) in Vilnius⁹⁰. According to the available data, the 2nd Battalion did not take part in the Jewish extermination operations.

On 11 November 1941, the 2nd Battalion left for Lublin by train. At that time the battalion was composed of the headquarters and three companies. The battalion was assigned to guard the concentration camp near Lublin⁹¹. From February 1942 its soldiers were to serve as external guard of the camp. In the concentration camp the prisoners were guarded by the special German SS detachment (SS – Totenkopf Sturmabteilung). The Lithuanian policemen would be on patrol at the external part of barbed wire in between of the watch-towers. Moreover, they escorted transportation of prisoners from the railway station to the concentration camp, escorted prisoners to the place of work outside the camp and guarded them at the time of work⁹². The soldiers of the 2nd Battalion did not take part in the killing operations of the prisoners of the concentration camp. The executions were performed by German special SS detachments. In November 1942, the 2nd Battalion was called back from Lublin and returned to Kaunas on 7 December 1942⁹³. The 2nd Battalion in Lublin was replaced by the 252nd Lithuanian Police Battalion.

During 1943–1944, the 2nd Battalion was used to guard the objects of military importance and fight soviet partisans in Eastern Lithuania, Belarus (Svyriai district) and

Russia (Pskovo region). In July 1944, the battalion returned to Kaunas and retreated to the German border. In Marijampolė district the battalion fell under the attack of soviet artillery and cross-fire of tanks. A number of the battalion soldiers perished, others scattered around or retreated to Germany and were distributed in different German military formations⁹⁴.

3rd (Vilnius) Lithuanian Police Battalion

The formation of the 3rd Lithuanian Self-defence Battalion in Vilnius was launched on 1 August 1941 on the basis of the Labour Service which was operating at that time. Engineer Lieut. Col. Juozas Vitkus, former aide of the Labour Service, became first Commander of the 3rd Battalion. On 5 September 1941 Capt. Pranas Ambraziūnas was appointed new Commander of the Battalion⁹⁵. In October 1941, the headquarters of the battalion were established in Vilnius at Trakø 14⁹⁶.

The communication of 24 October 1941 by Chief of the German Order Maintenance Police in Vilnius Maj. M. Stötzel noted that the 3rd Battalion was led by police Sen. Lieut. (Oberleutnant der Schutzpolizei) Müller. The battalion underwent military training and was prepared to leave Vilnius. At that time 24 officers and 607 privates served in the 3rd Battalion. The battalion was divided into four companies. According to the number of military staff, it was the biggest of the five police battalions formed in Vilnius. The same communication by Maj. M. Stötzel noted that the battalions in Vilnius were used almost daily for 'ad hoc operations' (i.e. killings of the Jews)⁹⁷. Some of the evidence given by the 3rd Battalion soldiers to the Soviet security prove the battalion took part the Jew extermination operations. Before the departure of the 3rd Battalion to Minsk (on 12 November 1941) its soldiers had not only guarded objects of military importance in town and Vilnius Ghetto, but also twice escorted Jewish from the ghetto to the place of execution in Paneriai. 500-600 Jewish men, women and children were escorted each time to Paneriai. The first execution was at the turn of September - October 1941, and the second one was performed at the beginning of October. The massacre in Paneriai is known to have been carried out by the German Security Police

and SD special detachment. However, it is possible that during the time of the biggest operation not only the special detachment of 40 men but also the battalion soldiers who escorted the Jews took part in the execution. After the execution the soldiers of the special detachment and the battalion took better clothing and footwear of the killed⁹⁸. According to the witness of another soldier of the same battalion, in September 1941, one of the battalion's company twice escorted several thousand Jews from Lukiškių prison to Paneriai. This company not only escorted the condemned to the place of execution, but also fired at the Jews driven into the pits⁹⁹.

According to the report by SS Standartenführer K. Jäger of 1 December 1941, two mass killings were carried out in September. 3,700 Jews were executed on 2 September 1941 and 3,334 Jews on 12 September. On 4 October 1941, 1,983 Jews were executed in Paneriai¹⁰⁰.

On 12 November 1941, the 3rd Battalion (25 officers, 5 warrant officers, 20 non-commissioned officers, 55 junior non-commissioned officers, 23 'file' soldiers and 451 privates) left for service in Minsk. The soldiers of the 3rd Battalion who were left in Vilnius (55 all in all) were moved to serve in the 1st Lithuanian Police Battalion of Vilnius district¹⁰¹.

The 3rd Battalion stayed in Belarus until the middle of February 1944 and played an active role in fighting soviet partisans and their supporters. According to the information available, the 3rd Battalion did not take part in the executions in Belarus. The headquarters of the battalion were often located in Minsk, however, individual companies of the battalion took part in the battle operations against partisans and guarded military objects in Molodečny, Voločin, Vileikoje, Starobin, Lyda, Kopylis and other towns of Belarus. In July 1944, the 3rd Battalion headed towards Germany through Kaunas and Jurbarkas and was dissolved there¹⁰².

10th (Panevėžys) Lithuanian Police Battalion

The 10th Police Battalion was formed in Panevėžys in August 1941. A big part of the battalion volunteers were participants of the revolt of June 1941 and so-called

partisans. The headquarters of the battalion were first based in Panevėžys in Vasario 16-osios street, and at the end of September 1941, moved to the former artillery barracks in Skaistakalnis (Panevėžys suburb). The soldiers of the battalion guarded military warehouses, railway, soviet prisoners of war, and underwent military training. The battalion consisted of 80–90 people in each of the three companies. In total, around 280–300 policemen served in the battalion in 1941¹⁰³. On 1 October 1941 with the establishment of the headquarters of the Lithuanian self-defence units and four districts, Col. Petras Genys (Maj. Ernest Bliudnik was Chief of Staff) was appointed Commander of Panevėžys district¹⁰⁴. It is known that by 8 September 1942, Maj. E. Bliudnik was appointed Commander of the Battalion, and later his office was taken by Col. P. Genys¹⁰⁵. The latter was Commander of the 10th Battalion until 30 November 1942¹⁰⁶. On 26 August 1942, 21 officers, 135 non-commissioned officers, and 204 privates served in the 10th Battalion¹⁰⁷.

There is information that in August 1941, the soldiers of the 10th Battalion forced the Jews to and guarded Panevėžys Ghetto. During the month in question, the battalion soldiers for several times escorted Jews and soviet activists to the place of execution in Žalioji forest¹⁰⁸. Some of the soldiers of the battalion took part in the mass killings of the Jews.

It is known that mass killings of Panevėžys Jews were carried out three times in August 1941, namely on 4, 11 and 23 August. According to the witness of the Chief Warden of Panevėžys Prison M. Bikėnas, at the beginning of August 1941, several German officers and a group of soldiers of the self-defence unit arrived at Panevėžys prison. Following their order no less than 200-300 prisoners were seated in trucks (the majority of them were young Jewish men) and taken to Žalioji forest (near Panevėžys–Vabalninkas road, approx. 13 km away to North East from Panevėžys). The execution place was guarded by the police battalion. German officers and soldiers performed the execution of the Jews. On 4 August 1941, 362 Jewish men, 41 Jewish women, 5 Russian communists, and 14 Lithuanian communists were exterminated¹⁰⁹.

On 11 August 1941, 450 Jewish men, 48 Jewish women, 1 Lithuanian communist, and 1 Russian communist were killed¹¹⁰.

A wide-scale massacre of Panevėžys Jews was carried out on 23 August 1941. The executions were carried out in Pajuostė forest (near Pajuostė village about 8 km away to East from Panevėžys). Two long pits (about 40 meters long) were dug in the forest. Before the execution started, the German SS obersturmführer (notoriously known J. Hamann had such a rank – note by A. B.) made a speech noting that following the order of the Führer all the Jews had to be exterminated. The Jews were taken in groups from Pajuostė by soldiers to the pits and shot dead. The Jews were escorted by the soldiers of the 10th Battalion. A part of the Lithuanian self-defence SS officers were selected and carried out the execution. The Jews were killed by the German soldiers, too. Having executed one of the Jewish groups, they were dug round by the Russian prisoners of war, and then another group of Jews was forced to the pit and, thus, killed. The execution lasted the whole day. Then, 7,523 Jews were executed (1,312 men, 4,602 women and 1,609 children)¹¹¹.

The 10th Battalion did not take part in later execution of the Jews.

Following the order by the Chief of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania of 21 January 1943, the 10th Battalion was dissolved. The officers of Panevėžys battalion were transferred to the 14th (Šiauliai) Battalion¹¹².

14th Lithuanian (Šiauliai) Police Battalion

The formation of the 14th Lithuanian Police (Self-defence) Battalion started in Šiauliai in August 1941. In autumn 1941, the battalion was composed of the headquarters and three companies. The headquarters of the battalion were located in Vilnius street in Šiauliai. The 1st Company of the battalion was located in Šiauliai, the second one in Telšiai, and the third one in Plungė. In October 1941, the Commander-General of Staff Lieut. Col. Petras Vertelis was appointed Chief of the Lithuanian Self-defence Units and Commander of the 14th Battalion. At different times between 1942–1944, the 14th Battalions were commanded by Capt. Stanislovas Lipčius, Capt. Jonas Matulis, Capt. Petras Puodžiūnas, Capt. Petras Nazaras¹¹³.

On 26 August 1942, 13 officers, 85 non-commissioned officers and 234 soldiers served in the 14th Battalion¹¹⁴.

The 14th Battalion guarded military warehouses, industrial enterprises, and railways in Šiauliai, Telšiai, and Plungė. The 1st Company of the battalion (55 soldiers) took part in the liquidation of Žagarė Ghetto on 2 October 1941. The soldiers of the company guarded the ghetto and escorted the Jews to the place of execution away from Žagarė to the park of Naryškinas estate.

After the execution, the battalion soldiers guarded the belongings of the victims in the ghetto for almost a week¹¹⁵.

During the liquidation of the Ghetto of Žagarė, the total number of 2,236 Jews (including 633 men, 1,107 women and 496 children) were executed¹¹⁶. The Jews were killed by the German Gestapo, detachment of Linkuva supplementary police ('partisans'), and the soldiers of the 14th Battalion. The search of reliable information about the involvement of the 14th Battalion in other Jewish extermination operations was not successful.

The 14th Battalion was dissolved in summer 1944 in Germany.

Conclusions

According to the relations with the Holocaust, the Lithuanian police battalions can be divided into four categories:

1) battalions which were systematically and largely involved into the executions of the Jews. The 1st (13th) and 2nd (12th) Battalions are attributed to this category. In 1941, these battalions killed tens of thousand Jews in Lithuania and Belarus.

2) battalions whose involvement in the Holocaust was episodic and less important (participation in one-off Jewish killings, guarding the places of executions, escorting the Jews to the places of executions, guard of ghettos and concentration camps). Kaunas 3rd (11th), 4th (7th), 252nd, Vilnius 1st, 2nd and 3rd Battalions, Šiauliai (14th) and Panevėžys (10th) Battalions are attributed to this category. The said battalions took part in the killings of the Jews once or twice and executed a relatively small number (compared to the number of Jews executed by 1st (13th) and 2nd (12th) Battalions). In 1943, the 252nd

Police Battalion guarded Maidaneko Concentration Camp, but did not take part in the direct execution of the Jews, Kaunas 3rd (11th) Battalion guarded the Ghetto of Kaunas in 1941, however, they took no part in the execution directly.

3) battalions which did not take part in the Holocaust according to the information available. These are Kaunas 5th, 8th and 9th Battalions, Vilnius 4th, 6th (railway guard) and the battalions formed in 1942–1944, including those of 250th, 251st, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th and 259th. The fact of involvement of Vilnius 15th Battalion in the execution of the Jews in Belarus in autumn 1941 is unclear, and a direct answer cannot be given to that question.

4) at this stage of research, it is evident that in one form or another 10 battalions (out of 25) took part in the Holocaust, 14 battalions were not involved, and the involvement of one battalion still remains questionable. Data available at present allows to state that there were about 1,000 policemen who directly performed the executions or guarded the victims of the ‘operations’ who served in the battalion, and their actions in Lithuania and outside Lithuania resulted in approximately 78,000 (seventy eight thousand) executed Jews, without including victims of other nationalities and members of other groups as well as soviet prisoners of war.

¹ J. Vicas, *SS tarnyboje (Serving the SS): Publication of documents about the crimes committed by Lithuanian defence units*, V., 1961, p. 116; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, V., 1965, part. 1, p. 347.

² K. Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord. Die litauische Hilfspolizei, das Rollkommando Hamann und die Ermordung der litauischen Juden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996. Exhaustive review of K. Stang’s book was written by Dr. A. Anušauskas. See *Genocidas ir rezistencija (Genocide and Resistance)*, 1998, No. 1(3), p. 121–128.

³ Henry L. Gaidis, *A History of the Lithuanian Military Forces in World War//1939–1945*, Chicago, 1998, p. 46.

⁴ LCVA, f. R–660, ap. 2, file 264, p. 18.

⁵ Ibid., p. 13–14.

⁶ ‘Vilniaus miesto karo vado įsakymas’ (‘Order by the Military Commander of Vilnius Town’), *Naujoji Lietuva*, 1941, June 29, No. 1.

⁷ LCVA, f. R–660, ap. 2, file 264, p. 9.

⁸ Order of 14 July 1941 by German Battle-Field Commander Col. A. Zehnpfennig, *ibid.*, file 248, p. 8.

⁹ Order No. 3 of 11 August 1941 to the units of Self-defence Service, *ibid.*, file 261, p. 175.

¹⁰ Letter of 24 October 1941 by the Chief of the German Order Maintenance Police in Vilnius, Maj. M. Stötzel, to the Chief of SS and Police of Vilnius town, *ibid.*, f. R–658, ap. 1, file 1, p. 17.

¹¹ P. Stankeras, *Lietuvio policija 1941–1944 metais (Lithuanian Police during 1941–1944)*, V., 1998, p. 126.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 119–120.

¹³ Order of 15 September 1941 by Chief of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania Maj. A. Engel, LCVA, f. R–689, ap. 1, file 7, p. 3.

¹⁴ J. Vicas, *SS tarnyboje*, p. 15–16; LCVA, f. R–683, ap. 1, file 8, p. 1.

- ¹⁵ S. Knezys, "Kauno karo komendantūros Tautinio darbo batalionas 1941 m." (National Labour Battalion under Kaunas Military Commandant's Headquarters), *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2000, No. 1(7), p. 127.
- ¹⁶ Order No 9 of 28 June 1941 by Kaunas Military Commandant, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 2, file 1, p. 28.
- ¹⁷ Communication of 28 June 1941 by Kaunas Military Commandant, *ibid.*, p. 35.
- ¹⁸ S. Knezys, "Kauno karo komendantūros...", *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2000, No. 1(7), p. 128.
- ¹⁹ Order No. 1 of 1 July 1941 to the TDA battalion, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 2, file 1a, vol. 2, p. 152.
- ²⁰ Order No 7 of 7 July 1941 to the TDA battalion, *ibid.*, ap. 2, file 1a, p. 6-12.
- ²¹ Communication of 1 July 1941 by the Commander of Operational Detachment No 1b, E. Ehrlinger, Centre for Collection of Historical Documents in Moscow (hereinafter – IDKSC), f. 500, ap. 1, file 756, p. 4.
- ²² K. Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord. Die litauische Hilfspolizei, das Rollkommando Hamann und Ermordung der litauischen Juden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, S. 100, 101.
- ²³ Report No. 14 from USSR of 6 July 1941, BAP, R58/214, S. 83-84; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 131.
- ²⁴ S. Knezys, "Kauno karo komendantūros...", *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2000, No. 1(7), p. 133.
- ²⁵ S. Knezys, "Kauno karo komendantūros...", *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2000, No. 1(7), p. 133-134.
- ²⁶ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 132.
- ²⁷ Interrogation protocol of J. Vosylius of 10 April 1961, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47337/3, vol. 1, p. 29-33.
- ²⁸ Interrogation protocol of P. Zelionka of 29 November 1968, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47588/3, vol. 2, p. 224-226; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 132.
- ²⁹ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 133.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135; Interrogation protocols of V. Barauskas of 20 and 21 August 1968, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47558/3, vol. 1, p. 9-23.
- ³¹ Interrogation protocol of P. Matiukas of 15 January 1962, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47337/3, vol. 1, p. 226-237; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 135.
- ³² *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 135; Interrogation protocol of I. Vylis-Velavičius of 24 December 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47337/3, vol. 10, p. 172-173.
- ³³ Quotation from *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 138.
- ³⁴ H. Krausnick, *Hitlers Einsatzgruppen*, S. 124-125.
- ³⁵ K. Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord*, S. 154, 155.
- ³⁶ K. Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord*, S. 155.
- ³⁷ K. Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord*, S. 160.
- ³⁸ Communication of 7 August 1941 by the Chief of German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, F. Lechthaler, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 5, p. 179.
- ³⁹ Order No. 1 of 26 August 1941 to the 2nd Supplementary Police Service Battalion, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 3, p. 113-117.
- ⁴⁰ Interrogation protocol of Z. Kemzūra of 4 October 1961, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47386/3, vol. 1, p. 93.
- ⁴¹ Order No. 42 of 6 October 1941 to the 2nd Supplementary Police Service Battalion, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 3, p. 159-163.
- ⁴² Judgement of 20 October 1962 in the criminal case of A. Impulevičius's, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47386/3, vol. 9, p. 378-379.
- ⁴³ Quotation from *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 314-317.
- ⁴⁴ Judgement of 20 October 1962 in the criminal case of A. Impulevičius, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 47386/3, vol. 9, p. 377, 379.
- ⁴⁵ Excerpt from the interrogation protocol of J. Stanislovaitis of 10 May 1948, *ibid.*, file 41055/3, p. 96-97.
- ⁴⁶ Order No 1 of 15 August 1941 to the 3rd Supplementary Police Battalion, LCVA, f. R-1, ap. 1, file. 3, p. 29.
- ⁴⁷ Order No 2 of 25 August 1941 to the 3rd Supplementary Police Battalion, *ibid.*, p. 30.
- ⁴⁸ Order No 4 of 1 September 1941 to the 3rd Supplementary Police Battalion, *ibid.*, p. 34.
- ⁴⁹ Order No 1 of 1 September 1941 to the 3rd Supplementary Police Battalion, *ibid.*, p. 1, l. 3.
- ⁵⁰ LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 3, p. 36, 41, 45-51.
- ⁵¹ Order No 19 of 26 September 1941, *ibid.*, p. 49.

- ⁵² Order No 5 of 29 November 1941 to the 3rd Defence Battalion, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 1, p. 38.
- ⁵³ Interrogation protocol of K. Dėdelė of 31 January 1951, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 25638/3, p. 18-20.
- ⁵⁴ Order No 46 of 24 July 1942 to the self-defence formations of Kaunas district, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 30, p. 94.
- ⁵⁵ Interrogation protocol of J. Jackūnas of 20 February 1952, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 24993/3, vol. 1, p. 52.; Interrogation protocol of E. Žukauskas of 10 December 1944, *ibid.*, file 4508/3, p. 22.
- ⁵⁶ Certificate by KGB of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic of 18 December 1975 on the 11th Police Battalion, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 45, file 295, p. 148.
- ⁵⁷ Interrogation protocol of E. Žukauskas of 11 December 1944, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file. 4508/3, p. 37-38.
- ⁵⁸ Certificate by KGB of the Lithuanian SSR of 18 December 1975 on the 11th Police Battalion, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 45, file 295, p. 148-149.
- ⁵⁹ Order No. 1 of 30 September 1941 to the 4th Supplementary Police Service Battalion, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 2, file 1a, vol. 2, p. 106.
- ⁶⁰ Order No. 4 of 10 September 1941 to the 4th Supplementary Police Service Battalion, *ibid.*, p. 111-116, 119-120.
- ⁶¹ Interrogation protocol of B. Butėnas of 1 March 1950, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 41483/3, p. 98.
- ⁶² Order No. 9 of 1 February 1942 to Kaunas Self-defence Units, LCVA, f. R-1018, ap. 1, file 101, p. 16 a. p.
- ⁶³ Order No. 5 of the Commander of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania of 9 April 1941, LCVA, fond. R-659, inventory. 1, file 19, p. 92.
- ⁶⁴ Interrogation protocol of V. Steponkus of 27 October 1950, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 36532/3, p. 20-22; according to the evidence of 26 September 1942, the headquarters of the 7th Battalion were established in the town of Litin (Vinica region). At that time 9 officers, 164 non-commissioned officers and 304 soldiers served in the battalion (See. *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 324.
- ⁶⁵ Interrogation protocol of V. Steponkus of 6 December 1950, *ibid.*, p. 60-61; Interrogation protocol of A. Dagys of 24 October 1950, *ibid.*, p. 71-72.
- ⁶⁶ Interrogation protocol of V. Steponkus of 6 December 1950, *ibid.*, p. 61-63.
- ⁶⁷ Communication of the KGB office of Gaisino region of Ukrainian SSR of 1 April 1950 to the chief of interrogation division of Kaunas town, board of KGB, the Lithuanian SSR, *ibid.*, p. 203-9.
- ⁶⁸ Order of the Order Maintenance Police Commander in Lithuania of 30 November 1942, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 20, p. 4.
- ⁶⁹ Interrogation protocol of V. Steponkus of 7 November 1950, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 36532/3, p. 39-40.
- ⁷⁰ Interrogation protocol of V. Steponkus of 7 November 1950, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 36532/3, p. 41-42.
- ⁷¹ Interrogation protocol of L. Jucys of 20 January 1950, *ibid.*, file 41483/3, p. 22-23.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.
- ⁷³ Order of the Commander of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania of 27 December 1943, LCVA, f. R-717, ap. 1, file 1, p. 254-256.
- ⁷⁴ Order No 3 of 11 August 1941 to the units of Self-defence Service, LCVA, f. R-660, ap. 2, file 261, p. 175.
- ⁷⁵ Order No 5 of 19 August 1941 to the units of Self-defence service, *ibid.*, file 226, p. 147.
- ⁷⁶ Information of 23 December 1941 about placement of the police battalions in Vilnius, LCVA, f. R-659, ap. 1, file 2, p. 148.
- ⁷⁷ The history of the 1st Company of the 1st Battalion. June 1942, LCVA, f. R-661, ap. 1, file 4, p. 3-4.
- ⁷⁸ Communication of 24 October 1941 by the Commander of the Order Maintenance Police, Major Stötzel, LCVA, f. R-658, ap. 1, file 1, p. 17.
- ⁷⁹ List of military staff of the 1st Battalion, 1942, LCVA, f. R-661, ap. 1, file 2, p. 1.
- ⁸⁰ Interrogation protocol of J. Oželis-Kozlovskis of 16 December 1944, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 27968/3, p. 12-18; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 172.
- ⁸¹ I. Guzenberg, *Vilniaus geto darbo stovyklos ir 1942 m. gyventojų surašymas, Vilniaus getas: kalinių sąrašai (Census of the inhabitants of the Labour Camp of Vilnius Ghetto, Vilnius Ghetto, list of former prisoners)*, V., 1998, vol. 2, p. 12-13; J. Oželis-Kazlauskas interrogation protocol of 16 December 1944,

LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 27968/3, p. 18-20; minutes from the sitting of the military college of the Supreme Court of the USSR of 27 January 1945, *ibid.*, p. 338.

⁸² I. Guzenberg, *Vilniaus geto darbo stovyklos..., Vilniaus getas: kalinių sąrašai*, vol. 2, p. 14; minutes from the sitting of the military college of the Supreme Court of the USSR of 27 January 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 27968/3, p. 330-331.

⁸³ I. Guzenberg, *Vilniaus geto darbo stovyklos..., Vilniaus getas: kalinių sąrašai*, vol. 2, p. 14-15; minutes from the sitting of the military college of the Supreme Court of the USSR of 27 January 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 27968/3, p. 339.

⁸⁴ Order No 3 of 11 August 1941 by Commander General of Staff Lieut. Col. A. Špokevičius to self-defence formations, LCVA, f. R-689, ap. 1, file 223, p. 19.

⁸⁵ Interrogation protocol of P. Vertelis of 23 March 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file P-19894, p. 41.

⁸⁶ Communication of 24 October 1941 by Vilnius Police Commander Stötzel to SS and Police Commander in Vilnius, LCVA, f. R-658, ap. 1, file 1, p. 17.

⁸⁷ Interrogation protocol of A. Mėšlius of 30 March 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 45641/3, vol. 1, p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 137, 170; K. Sakowicz, *Dziennik pisany w Ponarach od 11 lipca 1941 r. do 6 listopada 1943 r.*, Bydgoszcz, 1999, s. 51-52; copy of interrogation protocol of I. Koskus of 27 November 1951, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 8, file 137, p. 171.

⁸⁹ Copy of K. Kizys interrogation protocol of 31 December 1951, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 8, file 152, p. 43.

⁹⁰ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 136.

⁹¹ LCVA, f. R-660, ap. 2, file 261, p. 37-38; interrogation protocol of A. Mėšlius of 30 March 1945, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 45641/3, vol. 1, p. 20.

⁹² Interrogation protocol of A. Sinkevičius of 5 October 1944, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹³ Interrogation protocol of A. Mėšlius of 31 March 1945, *ibid.*, p. 24-24 a. p.; communication of 20 February 1943 from the Commander of Maidaneko Concentration Camp SS security detachment, Archiwum państwowe muzeum na Majdanku, I f. 5, k. 191.

⁹⁴ Interrogation protocol of A. Stasiukynas of 29 November 1951, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 24976/3, vol. 1, p. 19; P. Stankeras, *Lietuvio policija 1941-1944 metais*, V., 1998, p. 178-179.

⁹⁵ Order No 3 of 11 August 1941 to the formations of self-defence service, LCVA, f. R-689, ap. 1, file 223, p. 19; order No 12 of 8 September 1941 to Vilnius self-defence service units, *ibid.*, f. R-660, ap. 2, file 226, p. 103-104.

⁹⁶ Communication of 22 October 1941 by the police chief of Vilnius Town, LCVA, f. R-659, ap. 1, file 59, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Communication of 24 October 1941 by the Commander of the German Order Maintenance Police in Vilnius Maj. M. Stötzel to Vilnius town SS and police chief, LCVA, f. R-658, ap. 1, file 1, p. 17; order No. 16 of 16 September 1941 to self-defence units, *ibid.*, f. R-660, ap. 2, file 261, p. 94.

⁹⁸ Interrogation protocol of K. Dreinius of 4 March 1949, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 15380/3, p. 14-17.

⁹⁹ Interrogation protocol of J. Medžiulis of 20 January 1945, *ibid.*, ap. 8, file 8, p. 155-157.

¹⁰⁰ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, V., 1965, part 1, p. 136.

¹⁰¹ Order No 20 of 4 December 1941 to Vilnius district self-defence units, LCVA, f. R-660, ap. 2, file 261, p. 19.

¹⁰² Interrogation protocol of M. Adomaitis of 23 August 1944, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 45577/3, p. 15; copy of interrogation protocol of P. Ambraziūnas of 30 October 1950, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 8, file 132, p. 152-153.

¹⁰³ Interrogation protocol of P. Krivickas of 28 August 1948, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 11502/3, p. 45-46.

¹⁰⁴ LCVA, f. R-683, ap. 1, file 8, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Order No 52 of 16 September 1942 to LSD, *ibid.*, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file 20, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ Order No 70 of 27 November 1942 to LSD, *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 323.

¹⁰⁸ Interrogation protocol of K. Kazlauskas of 19 March 1946, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 38731/3, p. 13-14; interrogation protocol of J. Urbonas of 29 November 1949, *ibid.*, file. 22896/3, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Interrogation protocol of M. Bikėnas of 11 July 1968, *ibid.*, ap. 46, file 1265, p. 16-18; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 132.

¹¹⁰ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 132.

¹¹¹ Interrogation protocol of J. Dzvonkus of 9 July 1968, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 46, file 1265, p. 10–12; *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 132.

¹¹² Order of 21 January 1943 by the Chief of the German Order Maintenance Police in Lithuania, LCVA, f. R-1018, ap. 1, file 96, p. 8.

¹¹³ Certificate on the 14th Battalion of 6 May 1953 by KGB of the Lithuanian SSR, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 47, file. 1268, p. 61, 141; interrogation protocol of P. Vertel of 16 March 1945, *ibid.*, ap. 58, file. P-19894, p. 29; Order No. 62 of 29 October 1941 to LSD, LCVA, f. R-1444, ap. 1, file. 20, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 323.

¹¹⁵ Interrogation protocol of J. Smilgevičius of 7 April 1947, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 58, file 5950/3, p. 28–32, 129.

¹¹⁶ *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, part 1, p. 135.