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**1941-1944. NAZI OCCUPATION. HOLOCAUST AND OTHER CRIMES
PERPETRATED BY NAZIS. PERSECUTION OF NON-JEWS. LITHUANIAN
ROMAS IN THE YEARS OF NAZI OCCUPATION**

Introduction

In the discussion of the given theme, in my opinion, the introductory comments are important, as they provide an insight into the specific situation of people of Roma origin in Lithuania and its context. According to the all-Union population census of 1979, the number of Roma people living in Lithuania was 2000¹, in 1989 – 2 718 persons². As the Council of Europe Committee for Migration maintains, around 3 000–4 000 Roma people were living in Lithuania in 1995. Certainly, these are rough figures, revealing probably only that comparing with other Central or Eastern European regions, the number of Roma people in Lithuania is relatively small³. The majority of Lithuanian Roma people are called polska roma. Their language and customs most closely resemble those of Polish Romas. It is believed that in the 15th century from there via Gudia [current Belarus] they came to Lithuania. Later Roma people were taught a settled way of life and taxed. Taxes were levied until the end of the 19th century and the Roma people were ruled by a Superior appointed by noblemen. The noblemen recruited Roma people to look after their horses and to be rough-riders. Following occupation of Lithuania by the Tsarist Russia, the majority of Roma people left the country. Those who stayed cultivated the land and crafts, especially smithery, their women were fortune-tellers and beggars. Up until World War II the structure of life of Lithuanian Roma people remained to a great extent stable. It should only be noted that during the period of the Lithuanian Republic (1918-1940) all Roma people had the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania and Lithuanian passports – a guarantor of all civil rights granted by the state. In the 20's and especially the 30's orientation towards a settled way of life was noticeable: in Alytus, Kaunas, Kybartai, Merkinė, Panevėžys, Šėduva, Šiauliai and other towns Roma people were buying and building houses, their children attended primary schools⁴. During the Soviet occupation Roma men performed mostly physical work:

they were drivers and metalworkers. The majority of women worked as dressmakers or were engaged in other sectors of consumer services, although a great number of them remained at home as housewives because of large families. A number of Romas were involved in retail trade, which was prohibited at that time. Important influence on the Lithuanian Roma community had the order of the Supreme Council of 1956 prohibiting a nomadic way of life. All Roma people had to register [with the relevant authorities] and find employment, also let their children to school. At present the majority of Roma people live in cities, Vilnius (mainly in Kirtimai district – called Parubanka by Roma people), Kaunas and Panevėžys. Since recently, as a result of unemployment which scourged their community, Roma people have started moving to rural areas and small towns where they can afford small farms. They are also seeking to immigrate to Western countries, most often to the UK. All local Roma people are Catholics. Only families which came over from Russia and Moldavia are Orthodox.⁵ Although the Lithuanian Roma community has preserved its language and archaic customs, there are signs of modern life too. In the years following the restoration of independence, since 1992 Lithuanian, Roma people started setting up their own non-governmental organisations⁶. It is difficult to forecast the scope of activities of these new organisations in the future, however, there is no doubt that they are influential in the shaping of Romas ethnic and civic self-awareness. Apart from social and educational issues important for Roma people of Lithuania, the leaders of their organisations have brought forward the issue of monuments to the people of Roma origin who suffered during WWII and financial compensation to them.

The topic of Roma people during WWII was in general discovered in Lithuania only a couple of years ago. The first among the historical researchers to discuss the topic in a more consistent manner was A. Bubnys in his study published in 1998 “Lithuania under German Occupation (1941-1944)”. According to the author, the number of Roma people executed during the wartime was 100-150. Recollections by Roma people who survived the German occupation three years ago were recorded by a famous author of documentaries S. Beržinis. Despite the scarcity of historical sources which complicates the investigation of the theme, a significant source of information is found in the recollections by surviving Lithuanian Roma people about the wartime. Author of this article in 1998-1999 interviewed 28 respondents of Roma origin and on the basis of their recollections prepared a study on “Lithuanian Roma People during

the Years of the Second World War”.⁷ Six of them – former prisons and concentration camps prisoners. The others shared information on their wartime experiences – mainly stories about hiding from White-bands and German soldiers, escapes from Pravieniškės and custody houses. Data collected also includes recollections of respondents about their late parents, stories told by prisoners who had experienced the atrocities of war. The most valuable material was obtained in Panevėžys city, towns of Pagėgiai and Troškūnai. In the process of collecting the recollections [the author] encountered certain specific problems, particular only to the Lithuanian Roma community. I shall mention only a few: majority of that generation Roma people are almost entirely illiterate, thus, it has been an uneasy task identifying the geographic location of imprisonment, date of arrest, ethnic and military and administrative affiliation of guards and executioners. The same surnames prevail among the Lithuanian Roma community, women often do not change their family names after marriage, thus, the task of identification of personalities has been a rather complicated one. It is hardly feasible that somebody would come up with a more solid list of Roma people who had been subjected to repression. Unless as the basis for such a list one would take Roma family names, which within the community are much more significant than the name and family name written down in the passport. In addition, a certain proportion of Lithuanian Roma people, potential respondents, have immigrated to other republics, while, in general, the greater part of potential respondents have already passed away.

In fact, there are not many written sources available on the given subject: only a few orders by Gestapo or the Lithuanian Police on the issue of Roma people. The number of Roma victims quoted in the Einsatzgruppen reports is often combined with that of asocial or criminal elements.⁸ It seems that the Roma issue was outside the scope of issues which were within the focus of the Lithuanian public in the wartime: the main official daily of that time “Naujoji Lietuva” did not publicise a single anti-Roma article or decree. Whereas anti-Semitic publications and orders could be found in almost each issue.⁹ The actual number of victims of Roma origin is, again, difficult to identify on the basis of Soviet sources – victims or fighters against the Hitlerite occupation often are referred to only as Soviet citizens. Even though a rather clear picture of the legal situation of Roma people in the wartime can be extracted from the

two volumes of document collections “Mass Killings in Lithuania” published in 1965 and 1973.

In the context under discussion works by foreign researchers, published memoirs do not provide even a framework picture of the Holocaust of Lithuanian Roma people. Even though there are sufficient research papers on the racist policies of Nazis, especially the Holocaust of Roma people in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, partly Poland, Hungary and the Balkan region. The circumstances described in the said countries disclose a pattern of policies pursued by Nazis with respect to Roma people, they help to identify the fundamental differences, which are also perceivable in Lithuania. Imprisonment of Roma people in concentration camps in Germany started in 1937. Roma people were treated especially cruelly in the big concentration camps: Roma people, especially children, were most often used for medical experiments. Here are some classical examples: there was a Robert Ritter and his assistant Eva Justin who became notorious for their experiments already before the war, Auschwitz doctor Josef Mengele, who was infamous for his extreme sadism and who experimented with Roma children. For comparison the following figures could be quoted: some 25 000 Roma people were brought to Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camps, out of them – 23 000 killed. We cannot learn the precise number of Lithuanian Roma people who were imprisoned in Auschwitz camp, because the retreating Nazis destroyed the archive. However, no Roma songs about this camp have been discovered in Lithuania, while Polish Roma people have such. It is not easy to present a precise figure of Roma people who perished in Europe during the Second World War. Like Lithuania, other European countries, either, did not have accurate statistical data about the number of Roma people who resided on their territories before the war. Researchers believe that from 220 000 to 500 000 Roma people could have been killed in Europe.¹⁰

PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE STATISTICAL DATA ON LITHUANIAN ROMA PEOPLE AND THEIR COMMUNITY

According to the study by A. Bubnys issued in 1998 “Lithuania under German Occupation (1941-1944)”, about 100-150 persons of Roma nationality were executed in the wartime.¹¹ Author of the present article has not met a single Roma family

where family members had not suffered in one or another way during World War Two: they had been executed, imprisoned in concentration camps, forcefully taken to labour camps or imprisoned in Lithuanian prisons, or at least had been in hiding. It is very important to give an answer to the following question: what number of Roma people lived in the Republic of Lithuania prior to the Nazi occupation? The issue is even more complex in view of the fact that prior to the war only a small proportion of Roma people led a settled way of life and therefore could not be covered by the 1923 population census in Lithuania. According to 17 September 1923 population census, only 284 persons of Roma nationality had been recorded in Lithuania.¹² Whereas the most prominent expert of inter-war Roma culture in Lithuania Izidorius Kisinias, disputing the statistical data of 1923, claimed in 1936 that the number of Roma people in Lithuania had to be not less than 1 500.¹³ There are no reasons why we should disbelieve the statements by one of the most prominent bibliographers of inter-war period given that Kisinias knew the Roma language, consistently researched their culture and has himself registered as many as 600 Lithuanian Roma people. Even in the Boston Encyclopaedia, relying on the said author, it is stipulated that “in fact there must have been at least 1500 [Roma people].”¹⁴ Thus, I believe we should concentrate on this particular number, i.e. 1500. However, what was the exact figure of Roma people who perished in World War Two? What was the scenario of their Holocaust in Lithuania? Is it possible to recreate it at least hypothetically?

According to the atlas of the world-famous Holocaust researcher Martin Gilbert, 1 000 Roma people were deported from Lithuania. From the neighbouring Latvia – 2 500, from Estonia – 1000.¹⁵ It is difficult to estimate the proportion that returned to Lithuania. It seems that the majority survived and did come back to Lithuania. Although in a later publication by the same author it is indicated that 1 000 Lithuanian Roma people were killed.¹⁶ There is no serious reason to doubt that such a number could have been deported. It is best evidenced in the historical memory of the elder generation Roma people. Certainly, not this number of people had been killed. According to the all-Union population census of 1959, some 1 238 Roma people resided in Lithuania. Certain other aspects come into play here. At the time of the said population census, Roma people, like elsewhere in the Soviet Union, had already for three years been leading a settled way of life, and therefore the quoted statistical data can be trusted. The spectrum of languages used [by them] is also important: out

of 1 238 Roma people, 1 089 indicated that they use Roma language, 100 – Lithuanian, 27 – Russian, 13 – other languages. As many as 1 122 persons indicated that Roma was their native language. It is important to note that only 27 persons mentioned Russian as the language used by them. While as many as 100 said that Lithuanian was the language they used.¹⁷ As it is known, of all the Soviet Union [Roma people], Russian Roma people have been and still are the most assimilated group, in many cases they lost their native language. Such statistics lead to the obvious conclusion that emigration of Roma people from other Soviet republics to Lithuania was really insignificant. Although Roma families are somewhat bigger than those of other Lithuanian ethnic groups, it would be more than naïve attempting to discuss the demographic leap that took place in the period of 14 years. The quoted statistical data, a couple of surviving documents and especially the recollections by survivors of war allow to conclude that the number of people who perished should not be less than 500. Thus, approximately every third [Roma] perished.

LITHUANIAN ROMA PEOPLE DURING THE YEARS OF NAZI OCCUPATION

It can be concluded relying on the surviving data and testimony provided by the interviewees, that the genocide against Roma people in Lithuania has not been as ruthless as in the countries mentioned earlier. In all probability this has been predetermined by several factors: 1) a relatively small proportion of Roma population [in the country]; 2) in the 20's a large proportion of Lithuanian Roma people began to lead a settled way of life; 3) according to the hierarchy of enemies drawn up by Nazis, there were more "serious" enemies in Lithuania: Communists and their collaborators who did not manage to retreat to the parts of Soviet Union, and, of course, the Lithuanian Jews. Even though, according to the Nazi theory, Roma people are identified with the lowest race, together with Jews, however, most probably for the reasons of propaganda, Roma people were often attributed to asocial and criminal elements. Therefore, at least the part of Lithuanian Roma people leading a settled way of life could hope that for some time they would remain untouched by the repression. Lithuanian Roma people somewhat fell into the background. This is also evidenced by the dates of orders by the units of Lithuanian police issued following the

Nazi directives. Enforcement of Nazi Germany directives and discriminatory orders in Lithuania did not start on the very first months of occupation.

It is not easy to identify the number of those who perished during the first weeks of war. A view of Lithuanian border towns set on fire which were inhabited by Roma people naturally urged them to go into hiding. Almost all respondents tell of fleeing the town, hiding in the forest or village, at the places of Lithuanians whom they knew. Later, after a week or two some Roma people returned, others stayed in hiding. Without doubt, they found their homes broken in and robbed. That the repression against Roma people was unleashed later than against the groups of populations mentioned earlier is evidenced by the fact that many Roma people recall how the Jews were driven along the streets of towns,¹⁸ speaking about later periods they recall Lithuanians whom they met already in Pravieniškės and other prisons. The first arrests started only after some months, massive arrests – most often after twelve even eighteen months. On the list of Wanted Persons of the Lithuanian Criminal Police since October 1941 featured 13 persons of Roma origin, in 1942 – as many as 23. However, it is symptomatic [of the events which followed] that the majority of them were wanted the first half year, i.e. before the repression on a more massive scale was unleashed¹⁹.

Only on 12 January 1942 Chief of the Otslande SS and of Police Force Jedicke ordered that “Roma people nomadizing in the country, because they transmit contagious diseases, especially the spotted fever, and represent an unreliable element, who do not follow the orders of German authorities and are not willing to occupy themselves with useful work, must be treated in the same way as Jews”.²⁰ During the period of Nazi occupation the status of Lithuanian Roma people gradually became similar to that of Jews. On 18 November 1942 Chief of German Security Police and SD in Lithuania ordered to collect all Lithuanian Roma people in Ežerėlis camp, and to seize their property. District police chiefs were issued orders to register and detain Roma people living in their relevant districts who did not have a permanent place of residence. They were to be used for peat digging.²¹ However, already on 23 November 1942 the letter of Panevėžys SS and Security Police Chief was less severe: “Roma people with steady employment and registered in *arbeitsamt* or with property and leading an orderly way of life should not be arrested yet, but each month reports

on them must be filed. Wives and minors may stay with their breadwinners. Other family members must be arrested if their employment potential is doubtful. Property of arrested Roma people must be taken over and delivered together with them”.²² A similar letter of 23.12.1942 by the Chief of German Police and SD in Lithuania Bartmann had been addressed to the Chief of Lithuanian security.²³ That the Lithuanian police followed these instructions is evident from the testimony by Veronika Fišerienė from Alytus: “Only Roma people were in prison. There were about thirty families. Men, women and children. <...> During wartime three families permanently lived in Alytus: Bieliauskas Matas had a house, my father, Bagdonavičius Antanas, and Alexander Bagdonavičius, my father’s brother. Other families found shelter at other people’s homes, they stayed in rooms of other apartments. Well, those who occupied the rooms – they were arrested. We were released, and those who were not anybody’s acquaintances— they were not released. I do not know where they are. We were released only for a three-month period.”²⁴

The greatest number of Roma people, especially children and old people, were executed in Lithuania, in Pravieniškės. This is evidenced not only by the surviving documents,²⁵ but also in the recollections of almost all respondents who shared their memories about Pravieniškės. “We were walking in the forest. And we hear – bang, bang – somebody is shooting. Again and again ... We did not pay attention to this. Then we were driven back to the camp – it was empty, and the floors were [just] washed. Not a single soul. The Polish women told us, they told to us how they were loaded, that small children were being thrown by their feet, like sticks. Most probably everything has been prepared – the pits and everything. There, too, they could hear the shootings. Somewhere around eighty, including the young ones. At that time we discovered youngsters, twelve, ten or thirteen years old... They were not executed, they left them. Locked them... How many of them? – Twelve or fourteen? They executed then the youngest and the oldest ones. Those twelve, thirteen year olds – they spared only them. They were locked in a different barrack, elsewhere”.²⁶

Other sites of killings are being mentioned: nearby Švenčionys, Kirtimai - Parubanka²⁷, Liudvinavas. Some Roma people also were among those who were executed on the first weeks of the war. They lie in mass graves, together with Jews, Lithuanians, and Poles. “We lived in a village, close to Ašmena. When Germans

came, they collected and killed everybody. There were Jews, and Roma people. Now all in one grave. They all were buried under ground. And I escaped.”²⁸

Talking about the unleashed arrests, temporary imprisonment facilities, treatment of Roma people by policemen, on the basis of memories supplied by witnesses we can conclude that there was no uniform system or specific treatment applied to arrested Roma people, a lot of things depended on the given circumstances. Different times of the day were being chosen to carry out the arrests; in some cases Roma people were taken away by policemen-turned former Lithuanian neighbours, in other instances Germans are mentioned. Lithuanians disclosed the places of residence of Roma people. Some cases have been recorded when Lithuanian policemen, most frequently former neighbours, friends of youth, warned Roma people against the dangers facing them.²⁹ Some Roma people were taken to Gestapo headquarters, to police stations or driven to the town prison by foot, still others – transported by vehicles. Later – excruciating weeks in imprisonment, most often in Gestapo or police premises, before being placed in Pravieniškės labour camp.

The name of the site of Pravieniškės, quoted in fact by all of the respondents interviewed by me, is a potential symbol of the Holocaust against the Lithuanian Roma people. Some stayed in imprisonment there for six months, before being taken to Germany or France. They lived barracks, references are also made to a children’s barrack. There are testimonies that some Roma people were caught and taken there along with their horses, their most valued property. They were forced to use them food later. Exhausting work in the forests surrounding Kaunas, poor meals, regular physical punishments, degrading treatment, climate of fear – these [circumstances] are mentioned by all respondents. “Food in Pravieniškės was poor. We received soup, and small pieces of horsemeat. While the soup was almost all water. And two hundred grams of bread per person. And that was all. For breakfast they gave us tea,”³⁰ recalls Motiejus Matuzevičius from Panevėžys. It was in Pravieniškės labour camp where the most extensive killings of Lithuanian Roma people took place. During one such action around 50 Roma people were executed: young children and old people, i.e. those prisoners who were not fit for physical work. There was more than one such execution. It should be noted that Lithuanian Roma people imprisoned in custody houses or labour camps in Lithuania frequently risked their lives attempting to escape.

They most often succeeded.³¹ Having escaped from places of imprisonment they often found shelter at their relatives or other Roma people in their regular encampments, whose location was in fact known only to their community.

Following the imprisonment in Lithuania many Romas as labour force were taken for work to munitions-factories, concentration camps, most often to Germany and France. There they worked on munitions-factories, they worked as stonebreakers, repaired the roads and reconstructed cities after bombardment. They were also used for blue-collar jobs of loaders or cleaners. They met there imprisoned people from Lithuania: Romas, Lithuanians. They also met Italians, Jews, and Russians. Prisoners were most often guarded by Germans, Ukrainians, while Lithuanian guards are referred to only in the context of Lithuania, especially Pravieniškės. To many of them the war came to end with the liberation by the US troops. There were encounters with Soviet army too. Almost all respondents point out that the Americans offered to them not to come back to the-then Soviet Union. They turned down such proposals.³² The fact that almost all people of Roma origin returned to Lithuania as their homeland could, most probably, be explained by the customs of Lithuanian Romas : attachment to their family, traditions, native soil, Lithuanian language and traditions familiar to them. Thus, they linked their future prospects only with their native Lithuania. Only a few families emigrated to Belgium, the United Kingdom, Australia. It should be mentioned that respondents refer to those who perished outside Lithuania as memorable, individual cases. The larger majority survived. Later began an exhausting journey to Lithuania. Often by foot. Polish Romas helped. They mostly returned via Gardin. The majority returned of weak health, having lost their family members and property in camps. An even greater pain waited for them in Lithuania: houses turned to ashes, executed family members, news of those who perished in Pravieniškės. Many prisoners lost all of their brothers and sisters. For example, Motiejus Matuzevičius from Panevėžys lost all of his five brothers and sisters – he was the only one to survive. People often became depressed and were never able to achieve a moral recovery. According to the stories told by respondents, the majority of Romas , not less than 1000 persons, were deported from Lithuania. Therefore, we can with full certainty support the opinion of Martin Gilbert that 1 000 Roma people were deported from Lithuania. It should only be stressed that a greater majority of them returned.

Romas who stayed in Lithuania sought hiding in villages and forests. Their Lithuanian acquaintances helped. Romas who had work or were professionals of some sort could expect to enjoy the greatest peace. Those who led a settled way of life, i.e. had houses, and had been caught by the White-bands or policemen, were subsequently released, but remained under constant supervision. Nomadic people were executed. A very important circumstance: in the beginning of June 1942 the German Administration issued an order concerning a compulsory German stamp in passport, without which the pre-war passports became invalid.³³ Given the fact that a certain proportion of Romas did not have passports, they could not be aware of the compulsory German stamp, the threat of coming into the focus of police force meant finding oneself in one company with criminal and asocial elements, i.e. in the best case – sent for work to Germany or concentration camps. Romas found without valid documents were executed on the spot. A surviving document on the “Attack against the “Todt” organisation labour camp at Vilnius-Minsk railway segment” which reveals the shooting of 40 Roma men, women and children on 10 July 1942 – speaks for itself.³⁴

With the war coming to an end the persecutions of Romas subdued. “In Šakiai our bunkers were not far away, only about three kilometres. Food was only dispensed by Germans. Germans collected their kettles, I washed them for them. I brought home [food] and ate it. Germans did not say anything about this. They were quite close, I used to go to them. They knew that we lived in the forest”.³⁵ There were cases when members of the Roma community maintained links with Soviet partisans, some Romas served in the Soviet Army during wartime.³⁶ Stories were told about Romas hiding Jewish children. It seems that in Žemaitija today still lives a Roma of Jewish origin, who, still a baby, at the last minute was given to the familiar Romas. However, such cases are less frequent and individual. Like an unusual story of a Roma man Arlauskas-Mitras from Kaunas who collaborated with Nazis, but on some occasions helped Roma people. The story of a Roma man who served the Gestapo is not some modern mythology about a local Schindler. This has been confirmed by a number of senior age Roma people from Kaunas.³⁷ Moreover, that for this activity he was tried by a Soviet court. However, this case represents a rare exception, not some rule.

CONCLUSIONS

1. During the period of Nazi occupation Roma people in Lithuania were viewed as a lowest race representatives, their legal status being equal to that of Jews. Apart from a racist treatment, attempts were made to identify Roma people with asocial elements, who bring no benefit to society and who should be isolated from society.
2. Principal responsibility for the Holocaust of Roma people in Lithuania must be assumed by the Nazi occupational authorities. In the first place the SS and SD units. The Lithuanian police was also forced to collect and bring Roma people to the places of imprisonment and guard them. It is hardly possible that the actual executioners of Roma people in Lithuania will ever be established.
3. At least 500 Lithuanian Roma people were killed. Around 1 000 Roma people following their temporary imprisonment in Lithuania were deported to Germany and France.
4. Repression against the Lithuanian Roma people started later than against Soviet collaborators, Communists and Jews. Individual cases of repression were recorded around 1-2 months later, the main arrests started within a year or 18 months. Although it should be noted that in the small border towns Roma people were also executed during the first weeks of war.
5. Roma people leading a settled way of life, i.e. those who owned houses, were arrested, subsequently released and placed under supervision. However, in some cities, eg. Panevėžys, this arrangement was not applied.
6. Arrested Roma people were temporarily placed in the custody houses of county police or in prisons, after that - sent to the central distribution station – Pravieniškės labour camp. Many of those imprisoned spent in Pravieniškės over 6 months. Later, in groups, they were taken to Germany or France. The Lithuanian Roma people were most often placed in small concentration camps, or in the barracks at munitions-factories. Only before the end of the war a certain number of repatriated Roma people found themselves in the best-known massive extermination camps.
7. The majority of Roma victims perished in Lithuania, mainly at Pravieniškės labour camp. Around 50 Roma people could have been executed during one

action: young children and old people, as unfit for physical work. According to stories told by respondents, we may assume that there was more than one such action, which is evidenced by the surviving documents. The sites of mass killings should be near Kirtimai-Parubanka, in Šalčininkai district. Roma people were also executed in the 9th Fort and at Paneriai. A total of around 500 Roma people were executed.

8. Lithuanian Roma people being imprisoned in custody houses or labour camps sought to escape, often successfully. Having escaped imprisonment they most often found refuge at their relatives or other Roma people at their regular encampments.
9. Persecution of Roma people became less intense towards the end of the war.
10. The majority of Roma people (save a couple exceptions) after the war returned to Lithuania as their homeland.
11. Stories told by Roma people about the Nazi occupation in Lithuania are consistent with documents which survived in Lithuania and which are related to the Roma issue, stories by witnesses provide an additional source of important information on them.

¹ Population of the Lithuanian SSR. – V., 1980. – P. 22.

² Ethnic Minorities in the Republic of Lithuania. - V., 1989. – P. 13.

³ Roma People in Lithuania and Europe. Compiled by S.Vaitiekus. - V., 1998. – P. 14.

⁴ Kisinias, I. The Ways and Culture of Lithuanian Roma People. *Trimitas* publication. Kaunas, 1936, Issue No. 11. – P. 262.

⁵ The most widespread Roma families living in Lithuania are: Hopy, Bauži, Čiriki, Stachiri, Baltruiki, Fliuki, Gadžiore, Gelbuty, Bachurja, Busilionki, Jiežiuki, Valiuki, Kalci, Seronki, Buldari, Žiurki, Lotfi.

⁶ In 1992 Lithuanian Roma community was established, in 1995 – Lithuanian Roma community “Romano džijipe” (Roma Life). In 1996 in Pasvalys Roma community “Romano divs” started its activities, in 1997 in Vilnius – Lithuanian Roma Community “Romany jagory” (Roma Fire), in 1998 in Panevėžys – Roma community “Nove drom” (New Path). In 1999: “Romani bach” (Vilnius), association of Roma societies “Mission of Roma People”(Kaunas), National Roma people charity and support foundation (Kaunas), “Romen” (Kaunas), “Romano drom”

(Ukmergė) and the most recent “Kamo tire roma” (Kaunas). See: Ethnic Minorities in Lithuania. V., 1999. – P. 21.

⁷ Study on “Lithuanian Roma People during the Years of the Second World War” . – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

⁸ The Einsatzgruppen reports. Edited by Y. Arad, Sh. Krakowski, Sh. Spector. – New York, 1989, - P. 309, 318, 326.

⁹ *Naujoji Lietuva* daily. – Vilnius, 1941 – 1944.

¹⁰ Sinti and Roma. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum., 1999

¹¹ Bubnys, A., Lithuania under German Occupation (1941 – 1944).- V., 1998, - P. 227.

¹² Population of Lithuania. Data of the First Universal Population Census of 17 September 1923. Kaunas, 1923, - P. XXXVI.

¹³ Salys. A., Kisinias, I. Roma People. – Kaunas, 1936, - P. 9.

¹⁴ Lithuanian Encyclopaedia. Volume IV. – Boston, 1954, - P. 184.

¹⁵ A. Fraser. The Gypsies. - Oxford & Cambridge, 1997, - P. 263.

¹⁶ M. Gilbert. Never again. - In association with the Imperial War Museum. , 2000, - P.147.

¹⁷ Data of 1959 all-Union population Census. State Statistical Publishing house of the Lithuanian SSR.– Vilnius, 1963, – P. 160.

¹⁸ Memories of Elena Beresnevičiūtė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

¹⁹ Criminal Police News. Issued by the Security Department. - Kaunas, 1941 –1942.

²⁰ Massive Killings in Lithuania - Volume I. - V., 1965. – P. 40.

²¹ A. Bubnys. Lithuania under German occupation (1941 – 1944).- V., 1998, - P. 228

²² Massive Killings in Lithuania - Volume II. - V., 1973. – P. 24 - 35.

²³ A. Bubnys. Lithuania under German occupation (1941 – 1944).- V., 1998, - P. 228

²⁴ Memories of Veronika Fišerienė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

²⁵ Massive Killings in Lithuania - Volume I. - V., 1965. – P. 40

²⁶ Memories of Aleksas Aleksandravičius. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

²⁷ The Age of Recollections. Rromm p-o drom. Bialystok ., 1994 11 1/2,- P 8.

²⁸ Memories of Vanda Stankievič. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

²⁹ Memories of Veronika Fišerienė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³⁰ Memories of Motiejus Matuzevičius. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³¹ Memories of Ona Arlauskienė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³² Memories of Sofija Sinkevičienė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³³ *Naujoji Lietuva* publication. – Vilnius, 1941 – 1944.

³⁴ Massive Killings in Lithuania - Volume I. - V., 1965.; Volume II. - V., 1973

³⁵ Memories of Jonas Brižinskas. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³⁶ Memories of Svetlana Brižinskaja. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.

³⁷ Memories of Adelė Matuzevičiūtė. Study on Lithuanian Roma People in the Years of World War Two. – V. – 1998 –1999. From the personal collections of Vytautas Toleikis.