Vilnius — Town Research Report (1915–1945)

Lithuanian policemen, Security Police officers and the Lithuanian Special Squad seized, confined, robbed and shot the Jews of Vilnius under German command. Lithuania's encyclopedic city history, its Foreign Ministry and its capital's tourism pages still leave the killers unnamed.

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In 1941–1944 the Jewish community of Vilnius — about 57,000 to 60,000 people — was destroyed by a German plan carried out to a large extent by Lithuanian hands. A Lithuanian committee ordered the Jews to wear badges on 3–4 July 1941. One hundred and fifty Lithuanian officials were assigned, in the Germans' own words, to "take part in the liquidation of the Jews." The Lithuanian city police emptied the Jewish homes on 6 September. Lithuanian battalions escorted the prisoners and guarded the pits. The Lithuanian Special Squad shot them at Paneriai, and Lithuanian Security Police officers signed the orders that delivered Jewish children to that squad. By the end of 1941 about 33,000 Jews of Vilnius had been murdered. Fewer than 3,000 of the community survived the war.

Part I Findings

1 What Lithuanian actors did to Jews

1. On 3–4 July 1941 the Lithuanian Vilnius City and District Citizens' Committee and the Lithuanian Auxiliary Police ordered Jews to wear badges and imposed a 6 p.m. curfew. [Federal court finding, *United States v Lileikis*; Arad, pp 55–56. Established: judicial finding and historical account.]

2. On 13 July 1941 Einsatzgruppe B reported that the Lithuanian Ordnungsdienst in Vilnius had been instructed to take part in the liquidation of the Jews and that 150 Lithuanian officials were arresting Jews who were killed the same day. [Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 21. Established: German official report.]

3. Lithuanian Activist Front insurgents shot several dozen Jews and Soviet prisoners in the Franciscan garden on 24 June 1941, and Lithuanian units had killed small groups at Paneriai before the German Einsatzkommando arrived on 2 July. [Holocaust Atlas of Lithuania, citing Shur; Arad, pp 46, 65–66. Attributed.]

4. Lithuanian and Polish snatchers in white armbands seized Jewish men in July 1941 for a reported ten rubles a head; at least 4,000–5,000 men were shot at Paneriai by 20 July. [Dworzecki in Arad, p 67; LG Berlin 1962; Kay. Established for the killings; attributed for the payment.]

5. On 31 August 1941 two Lithuanians in civilian clothes staged a shooting at German soldiers that the German authorities used to justify killing 3,700 Jews — 864 men, 2,019 women and 817 children — on 2 September. [Arad, pp 102–104; Yad Vashem; Jäger report. Established.]

6. The Lithuanian Special Squad, recruited from Vilnius residents and commanded by Lithuanian officers under German supervision, shot the Jews of Vilnius at Paneriai from July 1941 to July 1944. [Paneriai Memorial; VLE; LGGRTC; Würzburg judgment of 1950. Established.]

7. On 6 September 1941 all seven stations of the Lithuanian city police under Antanas Iškauskas and the 1st and 3rd Lithuanian battalions drove the Jews of Vilnius from their homes into the ghettos and sealed their apartments. [Iškauskas report of 9 September 1941; Bubnys (2008). Established public report; attributed archival original.]

8. Lithuanian battalions escorted Jews from Lukiškės prison to Paneriai and surrounded the killing site; about twenty men of the 1st battalion shot Jews there on 5 April 1943. [Bubnys (2008). Attributed: scholarly account from archival records.]

9. Saugumas chief Aleksandras Lileikis signed the orders that placed six-year-old Fruma Kaplan and her mother in Lukiškės and transferred them to the German Security Police; they were shot on 22 December 1941. [*United States v Lileikis*. Established judicial finding.]

10. Saugumas officer Algimantas Dailidė personally arrested Jews hiding outside the ghetto and searched Mark Sapyro and inventoried his money for delivery to the German authorities; American courts found that he personally and directly persecuted Jews, and a Lithuanian court convicted him in 2006; he was not imprisoned following the conviction. [*United States v Dailide*; Eleventh Circuit (2004); Vilnius Regional Court (2006). Established.]

11. Vilnius police precincts fined Jews for walking on the sidewalk, breaking curfew or lacking the badge and passed those who could not pay to the Special Squad for execution. [Tomkiewicz, IPN. Attributed: archival case summaries.]

12. Mayor Karolis Dabulevičius selected the ghetto site with the German official Franz Murer and reported 429 Jewish houses and 71 workshops to the German city commissioner on 10 September 1941. [Arad, pp 101, 200–208. Attributed: Murer's testimony and published documents.]

13. Rector Mykolas Biržiška of Vilnius University signed orders expelling Jewish students on 19 September 1941, among them Matlė Olkinaitė, who had already been murdered. [Facsimiles published by Vilnius University. Established.]

14. Lithuanian Special Squad men and policemen stripped, beat and sexually assaulted Jewish women at the pits before shooting them, and sold the victims' clothing at the killing site. [Sakowicz's diary. Attributed: contemporaneous eyewitness diary.]

15. Lithuanian police and soldiers repeatedly took part in major actions against Vilnius Jews, including the Yom Kippur action of 1 October 1941 and the seizure of about 200 children from the HKP and Kailis camps on 27 March 1944. [Arad; Yad Vashem; Kruk. Attributed: scholarly reconstruction from testimony and documents.]

16. Lileikis died in 2000 without a verdict. Lithuanian courts convicted Gimžauskas and Dailidė, but neither was imprisoned following his conviction. [DOJ; Baltic Times; Feigin. Established.]

1A The system in one view

- **Ordering and excluding:** the Citizens' Committee, the Auxiliary Police, the municipality and the university (sections 8, 10F–10G).
- **Hunting and seizing:** the snatchers, the precinct police and the Saugumas (sections 9, 10B–10D).
- **Confining:** Lukiškės prison and the ghetto, guarded by Lithuanian police and battalions (sections 9, 10D–10E).
- **Escorting and guarding the pits:** the 1st, 2nd and 3rd battalions (section 10E).
- **Shooting:** the Special Squad, with German officers and German shooters (section 10A).
- **Taking the property:** the municipality, the police, the killers at Paneriai, Lietūkis and private buyers (section 2).
- **Commanding:** the German Security Police, the Einsatzkommandos and the German civil administration (section 10H).

The same person can appear in a capture record, a prison register, a transfer order and an execution card. The chain from the Lithuanian hand that seized a Jew to the Lithuanian hand that shot him is documented for named victims.

2 Forced labor, plunder and the people who profited

The murder of the Jews of Vilnius was accompanied, at every stage, by the taking of what they owned and the extraction of their labor. Lithuanian municipal offices, Lithuanian police, Lithuanian killers at Paneriai, a Lithuanian cooperative and private buyers all appear in the record as takers or recipients. German offices claimed most of the formal title and took much of the value.

- **Seizure before the ghetto.** In the first weeks of the occupation Lithuanian local authorities took over Jewish businesses and workshops. On 21 July 1941 the municipal Housing Department stopped issuing permits for Jews to change residence, and a July order banned the sale or transfer of Jewish property. Lithuanians carrying lists confiscated Jewish radios and other goods. [Arad, pp 56–58.]
- **Fines and levies.** Hingst's Regulation No. 1 of 2 August 1941 imposed the badge, a ban on sidewalks and transport restrictions; on 7 August the press reported 86 Jews fined between 1,000 and 15,000 rubles. On 6 August Franz Murer demanded five million rubles by the next day under threat of death. The Jewish delegates delivered 1,490,000 rubles, about 33 pounds of gold and 189 watches, without receipts. [Arad, pp 95–98.] A Lithuanian policeman told the detained delegates to pick the Jewish workers who would receive their clothing after they were shot. [Kruk, pp 70–72.]
- **The mayor's inventory.** On 10 September 1941 Mayor Karolis Dabulevičius reported to German city commissioner Hans Christian Hingst that the municipality held 429 Jewish houses and 71 workshops. Hingst demanded a more detailed account on 22 September; the

municipality delivered it on 25 September and promised an inventory of movable property. [Arad, printed pp 200–208, citing Documents Accuse, pp 225–226.]

- **Sealing and allocation.** On 6 September Vilnius police sealed the apartments of the Jews they had just driven out and notified the city council of the property left inside. [Iškauskas report of 9 September 1941; Arad, p 202, citing Documents Accuse, p 218.] A further directive told Lithuanian municipal and district officials and police to inventory Jewish property and hold it in Lithuanian offices for the Reich. [Arad, pp 202–203, citing Documents Accuse, pp 161–162.] Vytautas Brandišauskas's study of the expropriation of Jewish property identifies the Vilnius city and district committee preparing lists of intended assignees.

- **Rent from the condemned.** On 13 October 1941 the municipality ordered the ghetto to remit rents to the city with detailed accounts. Eight days later Lithuanian and German searchers emptied the smaller ghetto. On 1 December the municipality received the former smaller-ghetto district for non-Jewish housing. [Arad, pp 141, 157–158.]

- **Retention by Lithuanian officials and residents.** Lithuanian officials, police and private residents kept Jewish goods despite German claims to them; a Lithuanian nationalist underground organ claimed Jewish property for the Lithuanian nation. [Arad, pp 203–208, 355–356, citing Yerushalmi, p 224, Kruk, p 426, and *Laisvė* no 9, 25 May 1943.] German officials took their own share: Hingst later transferred more than 700 gold rings, more than 250 gold coins and currency to finance his administration and kept or distributed some items. [Arad, pp 205–207, citing Documents Accuse, pp 219, 266–267.]

- **Furs and valuables.** The 3 September 1941 order required Jews to surrender cash, gold, foreign currency and valuables, keeping 300 rubles. In December the authorities requisitioned furs under threat of death, and German and Lithuanian searches followed on 30 December. [Arad, pp 200–208.]

- **Homes taken over.** LGGRTC's notice of its Special Squad publication reports that men who joined the Special Squad moved into prestigious addresses in central Vilnius. Herman Kruk later visited former Jewish apartments: his own home at Kijowska Street 4 had been stripped of wiring, oven doors and fittings; other apartments had Lithuanian occupants or clerks, one had German lodgers. [Kruk, pp 653–656.]

2A The market at the killing site

At Paneriai the victims' clothing was sold within hours of the shooting. Kazimierz Sakowicz, who lived beside the site, recorded the sellers and buyers.

- On 23 July 1941 he described clothing piled in a barn, sacks and wagons of goods, and riflemen keeping watches and money and trading goods for alcohol. [Sakowicz, pp 11–14.]

- On 25 October 1941 trucks returned with Lithuanian personnel already dividing the victims' possessions. [Sakowicz, pp 34–37.] My article on the 1 November 1941 entry tests these entries against the Foreign Ministry's Paneriai wording.

• On 21 November 1941 a rifleman sold coats and galoshes to Wacław Tankun of Stary Międzyrzecz for 120 rubles and offered to pick clothing in his wife's size from the people still being shot. [Sakowicz, p 40.]

• On 2 July 1942 Rudzinski bought victims' clothing for 5,000 rubles borrowed from Stenia Kwiatkowska, pledging the goods as security; he showed Sakowicz a precious stone found in the clothing. [Sakowicz, pp 48–49.]

• On 18 February 1943 Władysław Klukas sold shoes Sakowicz described as still warm; hidden fur and a bloodstained suit appear in the same entry. In March bloodstained rags sold for 2,600 rubles. [Sakowicz, pp 61–66.]

• On 25 August 1943 Grygsztas received clothing for covering bodies and sold it wholesale to Sienkiewicz for 10,000 rubles. [Sakowicz, p 108.]

• On 4 November 1943 Sakowicz watched policemen lay out men's, women's and children's clothing for sale on Rudzinski's steps. [Sakowicz, pp 141–144.]

• In sworn testimony at Nuremberg on 27 February 1946, Avrom Sutzkever identified exhibit USSR-444, which he found in the district commissioner's building in July 1944, concerning the disinfection of clothing from Paneriai and its delivery to the Vilnius administration. [IMT, vol VIII, pp 302–307.]

2B The goods of the April 1943 victims

After the 5 April 1943 massacre of Jews from the provincial ghettos, the victims' luggage, household goods and food were carried back into Vilnius. Kruk recorded a report that the Lithuanian cooperative Lietūkis obtained twenty-six wagons of food. A wounded young man was carried among the goods to the ghetto hospital. [Kruk, pp 504–505.] Sakowicz distinguished the goods German and Lithuanian appropriators kept from the lesser goods sent to the ghetto's welfare institutions. [Sakowicz, pp 83–85.]

2C Forced labor and the wage that was taken

• **Labor allocation.** The German labor office set quotas; an October 1941 circular fixed wages by sex and age. The 3,000 yellow work certificates, each covering the holder, a spouse and two children under sixteen, protected at most 12,000 people in a ghetto of 27,000–28,000. Employers chose the names; the excluded were hunted in the next actions. [Arad, pp 143–148.]

• **Murer's April 1942 order** set hourly rates of 0.15 mark for men, 0.12 for women and 0.10 for children under sixteen, required employers other than the army and the municipality to pay additional sums to the German district treasury and deducted 0.30 mark per plate of soup. [Arad, pp 279–280.]

• **The late-1942 schedule.** Kruk recorded on 15 December 1942 nominal rates of 30 to 50 pfennig an hour, of which workers received at most 15; the remainder went to the Gebietskommissar. He estimated the commissioner's take from about 8,000 workers at an average margin of 25 pfennig an hour. The working day rose from eight to ten hours. [Kruk, p 430; Arad, p 335.]

- **Municipal tax.** A municipal order of 27 August 1942 imposed a per-capita tax on ghetto inmates, collected through the ghetto administration. [Arad, pp 273–295.]

- **Lithuanian police over the labor camps.** Lithuanian policemen supervised the peat and timber camps around Vilnius — Biała Waka, Bezdany, Kena and others. [Arad, pp 335–336.] Those camps were destroyed in June and July 1943 (section 9, Event 15).

- **Bribery for food.** Ghetto food director Khayim Trapido paid managers of a Lithuanian food-supply company for additional provisions; he was arrested on 26 January 1942 and released on 19 February after further payments. [Arad, pp 309–310.]

- **Ghetto accounts.** The ghetto administration recorded income of 658.6 thousand Reichsmarks and expenditure of 543.9 thousand for the first half of 1942, including 142.5 thousand for welfare. [Arad, pp 481–482.]

LGGRTC is asked to produce the municipal inventories of 10, 22 and 25 September 1941 with every allocation, occupant, purchaser and payment; the list of intended assignees identified by Brandišauskas; the addresses taken by Special Squad members; the Lietūkis receipts and distribution records for April 1943; and the payrolls and treasury receipts for Jewish forced labor (section 12).

3 What Lithuania tells the public

Lithuanian state texts on Vilnius fall into two groups. The specialist texts name the killers: the Paneriai Memorial calls the Special Squad a "Lithuanian auxiliary police squad" and names its officers; the Holocaust Atlas lists the Lithuanian auxiliary police and the squad's commanders among the perpetrators; VLE's Special Squad entry names Lithuanian volunteers; LGGRTC published 84 biographies of the squad's members in 2019. The texts most readers see do not.

- VLE's history of Vilnius names the Soviet army as the plunderer of 1939 and names no one for the murder of 1941.

- VLE's Paneriai entry does not mention the Special Squad.

- The Foreign Ministry's Paneriai statements of 2025 and 2026 name "Nazi occupation authorities" and, in 2026, anonymous "local collaborators."

- The government, the Seimas and the President marked the 85th anniversary in September 2026 with "Nazis and their local helpers," "the Nazi occupation" and "thousands of rescuers of Lithuania’s Jews."

- The city's tourism site says Paneriai was "organized and executed by the Nazis."

- LGGRTC's chronology calls the ghetto's police "the police," omits Yom Kippur 1941 and states that no mass killings took place from December 1941 to March 1943.

Section 15 quotes each text; section 16 states the findings against each.

4 What the documents materially contradict

- **The executors.** GoVilnius says the Nazis executed the Paneriai killings; the Paneriai Memorial, VLE and LGGRTC's own book say the Lithuanian Special Squad did the shooting (Count 9).
- **The end of the ghetto.** The Foreign Ministry said in 2025 that most ghetto prisoners were murdered at Paneriai on 23 September 1943; most were deported, and several hundred were shot at Paneriai (Count 6). VLE sends the women and children to Auschwitz-Birkenau; current reconstructions say Sobibor (Count 2).
- **The last camp prisoners.** VLE says all were shot on 3–4 July 1944; Arad estimates 150–200 HKP survivors and the Silent Heroes Memorial about 250, and the killings took place on 2–3 July (Count 3).
- **The "quiet" period.** LGGRTC says no mass killings occurred between December 1941 and March 1943; elderly prisoners were shot on 26 July 1942 and the Oshmyany selection took place on 23 October 1942 (Count 7).
- **The badge order.** VLE attributes the badge order to the German commandant; the Lithuanian Citizens' Committee and Auxiliary Police issued an order of their own on 3–4 July (Count 4).
- **The Saugumas.** The Paneriai Memorial says Saugumas officials "may have helped" arrest Jewish hostages in June 1941 and says nothing of the transfers to execution that American courts found they signed (Count 13).

5 What remains unverified and why

Original wartime files cited by courts and historians — the Lileikis and Dailidė exhibits, the municipal property inventories, the Special Squad interrogation files, the September 1943 transport records — were not examined for this report; they are held in Lithuanian and foreign archives and in court records. The appointment instruments of the mayor and the Saugumas chief, the verdicts of the 1977–1978 Vilnius trials and the postwar fates of the squad's Lithuanian commanders were not located. No property chain has yet been completed from a prewar Jewish owner to a named Lithuanian beneficiary. Section 18 lists each gap with its status and the record that would close it.

6 What the responsible institutions are asked to investigate and explain

LGGRTC is asked to obtain, examine and publish:

- the 3–4 July 1941 Committee and Auxiliary Police order and the appointment records of Dabulevičius, Iškauskas and Lileikis;
- the 10, 22 and 25 September 1941 municipal inventories, the movable-property inventory, the committee's assignee lists and every allocation, occupant, purchaser and payment; the addresses into which Special Squad members moved and their prewar Jewish owners;
- the police sealing reports of 6–7 September 1941 for all seven stations;
- the Lietūkis receipts and distribution records for April 1943 and the clothing-disinfection records identified by Sutzkever (exhibit USSR-444);

• Murer's April 1942 wage order, the payrolls and the treasury receipts;

• the full roster of the Special Squad with each member's documented acts, the interrogation files it cites, and the verdicts of the 1977–1978 Vilnius trials;

• the September 1943 transport records;

• an explanation of its statement that no mass killings of Jews took place between December 1941 and March 1943, given the killings of 26 July 1942, September 1942 and October 1942 (section 16).

VLE (the National Library) is asked to name the Lithuanian formations in its city-history Holocaust paragraph; to correct its Auschwitz-Birkenau destination and its statement that all remaining camp prisoners were shot; to add the documented acts of Dabulevičius, Žakevičius, Biržiška and the Lithuanian police to their entries; and to state the issuers of the 4 July 1941 badge order (section 16).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is asked to name the Special Squad and the Lithuanian police in its Paneriai statements and to restore "murdered" in its English text (section 17B).

Vilnius University is asked to publish instruction No. 21606 and a reconciled list of the Jewish students and staff removed in 1941 (section 10F).

The Vilnius municipality and GoVilnius are asked to name the perpetrators on their ghetto and Paneriai pages and to answer the open parts of request A50-38095/26 (sections 16, 17A).

Part II The full report, 1915–1945

7 The Jewish community before the war

7A The city, its names and its rulers

Vilnius, Vilna, Wilno and Wilna are the same city; source spellings are kept when a source is quoted. Paneriai (Ponar, Ponary) lies about ten kilometers southwest of the center and served as the killing site for the city and its region. Between 1915 and 1945 the city passed through German occupation in the First World War, competing armies and governments in 1918–1920, Polish rule from 1920 (formally from 1922) to September 1939, Soviet occupation from 19 September 1939, Lithuanian administration from 28 October 1939, Soviet occupation in June 1940 and annexation in August 1940, German occupation from 24 June 1941 and Soviet recapture on 13 July 1944. Pinkas Hakehillot Polin, vol VIII, "Vilna", [JewishGen translation.] Each act in this report is attached to the authority that ruled the city on the day it occurred.

7B Population

• **1897:** 63,841 Jews of 154,532 inhabitants (the narrative text of the same work gives 63,831, 41.5 percent). Pinkas Hakehillot, [population table.] The YIVO Encyclopedia gives roughly 63,000 (41 percent).

• **1916, German occupation count:** 60,613 Jews of 138,379. Forced labor for the German army, high mortality and emigration reduced the community during the First World War (YIVO).

- **1919:** 46,265 of 128,954; **1923:** 55,817 of 167,452 (Pinkas). Yad Vashem gives about 46,500 (36 percent) in 1921, about 85 percent of whom declared Yiddish as their mother tongue.

- **1931, Polish census:** 55,006 Jews of 195,071, 28 percent (Pinkas; Balkelis, *Contemporary European History* 16/4 (2007), note 18). The census asked about religion and home language rather than nationality.

- **1937:** 58,611 Jews (Pinkas).

- **Autumn 1939:** more than 55,000 Jews in a city of 200,000, plus 12,000–15,000 Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland (USHMM, "Vilna").

- **June 1941:** about 57,000 (Pinkas; Arad, introduction to the *Ponary Diary*, pp 3–4) to about 60,000, 30 percent of the population (Yad Vashem). Fewer than 3,000 Vilna Jews reached the Soviet interior in the June 1941 flight (Pinkas).

7C Jerusalem of Lithuania: institutions, learning and work

- **Religious life.** The Shulhoyf held twelve synagogues around the Great Synagogue, including the Vilna Gaon's synagogue, where his chair was left empty; a rabbinical court of twelve sat in the city. Interwar Vilna had more than 100 synagogues and prayer groups for some 58,000 Jews, many maintained by trades: bookbinders, haberdashers, brass casters, carpenters, bakers, furriers, tanners and tailors. Yad Vashem, [religious life.] Rabbi Chaim Ozer Grodzinski founded the local Agudas Yisroel in 1919; a council of yeshivas followed in 1924. He led Vilna's rabbinate until his death on 9 August 1940 (YIVO; Association of Jews of Vilna).

- **Books and scholarship.** The Romm press, active from 1810, printed the Babylonian Talmud in 1834–1854 and became the largest Jewish publishing house of its kind. Mattityahu Strashun's collection formed the Strashun Library beside the Great Synagogue. The YIVO Institute was founded in Vilna in 1925; Zalmen Reyzen, Maks Erik and Max Weinreich were among its members. (Pinkas; YIVO.)

- **Schools.** Five networks served the city: the Yiddish secular schools of the Central Education Committee (TsBK, linked to TSYSHO) with kindergartens, five schools and a gymnasium; Shul Kult with some 2,000 pupils; Tarbut, active from 1925, with the only Hebrew training college for kindergarten teachers in Poland; Tachkemoni with eleven schools and about 1,500 children; Horev/Yavneh with about twenty yeshivot and 200 heders. About 6,000 Jewish children attended state "Shabbatovka" schools; the ORT Technical College was the only Jewish school in Poland granting technical degrees. Yad Vashem, [education.]

- **Health and welfare.** The Jewish hospital, run since the mid-nineteenth century, was the largest of three in the city; OZE/TOZ ran clinics and summer camps for about a thousand children a year; the "Inexpensive Restaurant" served 150,000 meals in 1936. Yad Vashem, [medicine and mutual aid.]

- **Politics and press.** The Bund was founded in Vilna in October 1897. Zionist parties, Tze'irei Tsiyon (44 branches and some 2,000 members in 1925) and the illegal Communist Party were active; some 2,800 Vilna Jews emigrated to the Land of Israel in 1933 alone. Daily papers

included *Der Tog* (1922–1939), *Vilner Tog*, *Vilner Moment* and *Undzer Kurier*; Mendel Balberyszski edited *Der Tog*. Yad Vashem, [political organizations; Pinkas.]

- **Work.** In 1897, 46.4 percent of 26,745 Jewish breadwinners worked in industry, crafts and transport (Pinkas). The community's trades — tailoring, shoemaking, furriery, tanning, baking, printing, carpentry and metalwork — reappear in 1941–1944 as the skills that decided who held a work certificate (section 2C).

- **Communal archives.** The YIVO finding aid for the Vilna Jewish Community Council records, RG 10 describes relief work in 1915–1919 supported by American and German Jewish aid (folder 93, Hilfs-komitet; 94, audit reports 1916–1918; 95, child welfare 1916; 380, documents of the German occupation authorities 1915–1917), the Kehillah elected on 25 December 1918, its suppression under brief Bolshevik rule, and the Jewish Refugee Relief Committee of 1939–1940.

7D Violence and exclusion under Polish rule, 1919–1939

- **April 1919.** When the Polish army took the city on 19–21 April 1919, Polish soldiers killed about sixty Jews, mostly in the Lipówka district; the writer A. Vayter was shot by Polish legionnaires. Wołkonowski gives about sixty; Cohen gives about eighty. Wołkonowski, Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica 5 (2007), [abstract; Israel Cohen, *Vilna* (1943), pp 377–382; Lithuanian Jewish Community, 29 April 2019.] YIVO RG 10 folders 340 and 372 hold victims' statements and lists of the robbed. A separate YIVO record describes Polish legionnaires dragging Jewish men from a synagogue for forced labor.

- **1931–1938.** Anti-Jewish riots broke out on 9–10 November 1931, during which the National Democratic student Stanisław Wacławski died (Zackiewicz, Biuletyn Historii Pogranicza 11 (2011)). In 1935 the Polish authorities dissolved the elected Kehillah bodies and appointed an executive (YIVO). Jewish students at Stefan Batory University struck in February 1937 against seating rules (JTA); on 26 November 1937 Rector Aleksander Wójcicki decreed "ghetto benches." Arad records a synagogue bombing in 1935. [Arad, pp 1–5.]

7E Lithuanian Vilnius, October 1939 – June 1940

- **The pogrom of 28–31 October 1939.** As power passed to Lithuania, Polish and Lithuanian rioters attacked Jews; a young Jew was killed on 28 October and some 200 Jews were wounded on 31 October. Lithuanian policemen took part and arrested young Jews who defended themselves. Pinkas, [WWII section; Arad, pp 11–19.] Mendel Balberyszski watched Lithuanian soldiers beat Jews with rifle butts; the Lithuanian commander sent patrols only after Dr. Jacob Wygodzki threatened to appeal to the Red Army commander. The archive's editors identify ethnic Poles as the principal rioters and reject the claim that the Lithuanian government instigated the pogrom. Lithuanian authorities took preventive measures before anticipated November disturbances, which passed quietly. [Arad, pp 11–19.]

- **Citizenship.** Article 3 of the law on the administration of Vilnius of 27 October 1939 granted citizenship only to persons who had been Lithuanian citizens under the 1920 peace treaty and lived in the region; about 100,000 Vilnius residents became "aliens" needing residence and work permits. Migration Law Center (a private legal-services publisher), [history;

Stravinskienė, Lietuvos istorijos metraštis 2016/1.] The measure fell mainly on Poles; Jews and Lithuanians made most use of naturalization (Stravinskienė).

- **Refugees.** About 10,000 Jewish refugees reached Vilna by the end of 1939 and some 14,000 were in Lithuania, mostly in Vilna, by June 1940 (Pinkas); USHMM estimates 15,000. The Joint Distribution Committee funded relief committees. In spring 1940 the government ordered yeshivot moved out of the capital to provincial towns (Pinkas). In Kaunas, Chiune Sugihara (highest visa number 2,139) and Jan Zwartendijk (highest 2,345) issued the transit and destination visas that let about 2,100 Polish Jews escape through Japan. JewishGen, [Sugihara database; USHMM.]

- **Official presentation and November prevention.** Arad reproduces an official Lithuanian news-agency announcement presenting the October 1939 violence as clashes between Polish youths and Jews and claiming that the police immediately restored order; his narrative records Soviet tanks entering the streets before order was restored. For the anticipated 10–11 November violence, the Lithuanian authorities offered Jews arms on condition of obedience to Lithuanian orders; Jewish representatives sought an autonomous self-defense framework. The Interior Minister warned school principals that police had orders to shoot those disturbing the peace. The November dates passed quietly. [Arad, printed pp 12–13; this is his published account and reproduced announcement, not a newly inspected Lithuanian original.]

- **Refugees at the frontier.** After Lithuania took over Vilnius and the border closed, Jews crossed from the Lida area toward Eišiškės from mid-November 1939. Zionist movements organized guides, money and food. Paid smugglers sometimes took the money and abandoned the refugees. Arad records hundreds intercepted by Soviet or Lithuanian patrols, arrests and returns, deaths from patrol fire or cold, and survivors arriving with frozen limbs. He does not allocate those deaths between the two patrol services. Crossings nearly ceased by late January 1940 as Soviet patrols strengthened and winter intensified. These figures concern attempted border crossings, not an additional count of Vilnius Holocaust victims. [Arad, printed pp 15–17.]

- **Continuing Jewish civic life.** Jewish organizations and the community council continued under Lithuanian administration in 1939–1940. Three Jewish daily newspapers appeared, and a Jewish Historical Committee gathered testimony about anti-Jewish acts in German-occupied Poland. The Zionist organizations linked with their counterparts in Lithuania and maintained communications abroad. [Arad, printed pp 13–14.]

7F Soviet rule, June 1940 – June 1941

The Soviet authorities nationalized 102 Jewish-owned factories and workshops in Vilna. Of 370 nationalized stores and businesses, 265 belonged to Jews (Arad, printed p 22). The English Pinkas translation instead describes 370 as Jewish-owned businesses; its denominator differs from Arad's. They dissolved communal institutions and parties at the end of June 1940, Sovietized the Jewish schools, turned YIVO into an "Institute of Jewish Culture" under the Academy of Sciences in January 1941, closed *Vilner Togblat* on 20 August 1940 and defined Zionist and Bundist leaders as enemies of the people. On 13–14 June 1941 about 16,000 people were deported from Lithuania, including Vilnius; Pinkas counts about 3,500 Jews among them. These are Lithuania-wide figures, not a Vilnius-city count. [Pinkas; Arad, pp 20–28.] Jews were

among the principal victims of Soviet confiscation and deportation. The equation of Jews with Soviet power, which Lithuanian activists used in 1941 to justify the attack on them, has no basis in this record.

8 June–July 1941: the Lithuanian bodies take power

- **The uprising.** Soviet institutions began leaving Vilnius on the night of 22–23 June 1941. Lithuanian soldiers of the Red Army's 29th Territorial Corps rose on the afternoon of 23 June; civilian Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) insurgents, convened by Stasys Žakevičius in the dean's office of the Vilnius University law faculty, set their own start for 19:00 that day. The German 7th Panzer Division entered the city at 08:00 on 24 June. Arūnas Bubnys, ["1941 m. birželio sukilimas Vilniuje", citing Rimkus, *Lietuvių sukilimas Vilniuje 1941 metais* (1984), pp 29–35.] The LAF's Vilnius staff was headed by Vytautas Bulvičius; the Front's 1941 program demanded that Jews be removed from Lithuania. My report on Bulvičius documents that program and VLE's silence on it. Arad quotes LAF declarations calling for the exclusion of Jews and the transfer of their property. [Arad, pp 35–38.]

- **The Citizens' Committee.** On the morning of 24 June the insurgents formed the Vilnius City and District Citizens' Committee (Vilniaus miesto ir srities piliečių komitetas): chairman Stasys Žakevičius, deputy Prof. Vladas Jurgutis, members M. Gudėnas, Kostas Kalendra, Col. Petras Masiulis, Adolfas Valeška and Emilija Putvytė. The German military commandant recognized it as the city's civil authority. It appointed Antanas Krutulis temporary mayor; Karolis Dabulevičius later replaced him. Antanas Iškauskas became city police chief and Bronius Draugelis county chief. Bubnys (alkas.lt), notes 38–39; Bubnys, ["Etniniai santykiai", *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 2011, no 1 (29), p 72.] Decree No. 1 of 24 June, signed by Žakevičius and the German commandant, gave Lithuanian police and army patrols enforcement powers; on 27 June Kalendra and Draugelis ordered the restoration of pre-June-1940 officials. [Arad, pp 41–43.]

- **The insurgents became police.** About 600 insurgents registered; when the LAF units were disbanded in July, many of them entered the police and the self-defense units. [Bubnys (alkas.lt), note 36, citing LYA f. K-1, ap. 58, b. 42905/3, l. 46.] On 31 July Dabulevičius became chief of the Vilnius Reconstruction Service, later the Self-Defense Service staff. VLE, ["Karolis Dabulevičius".]

- **The Committee's anti-Jewish order.** A federal court identified the 3 July 1941 order of the Vilnius City and District Citizens' Committee and the Vilnius City and District Auxiliary Police, imposing a curfew from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., among the anti-Jewish decrees issued by "the Lithuanian civil authority installed by the Nazis." [United States v Lileikis, 929 F. Supp. 31, 34 and n 7 (Government Tab 21).] Arad records the notice issued on 4 July by Žakevičius and Iškauskas imposing the badge and curfew from 8 July. [Arad, pp 55–56.] VLE's ghetto entry attributes the 4 July badge and curfew to the German commandant K. von Ostman and does not mention the Lithuanian order.

- **Exclusion by the Committee.** On 15 July 1941 Kalendra ordered that all citizens "except Jews" be treated equally regardless of nationality: „visi piliečiai, išskyrus žydus, … turi būti visur vienodai traktuojami.“ 3,167 Jews were dismissed from their workplaces under the

Committee's administration. [Bubnys, *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 2011, p 76.] On 21 July the municipal Housing Department stopped Jewish changes of residence. [Arad, pp 56–58.]

- **The Saugumas.** Aleksandras Lileikis, deputy chief of the Vilnius provincial Saugumas in 1939, returned with the Germans and within two months was named Saugumas chief for Vilnius province; he admitted heading it from August 1941 to July 1944. Its "Communist–Jewish Section" enforced the anti-Jewish decrees. Lileikis, 929 F. Supp. at 33–36; [DOJ, 19 June 1996.] B. Šidlauskas headed a Jewish section and a section for individual executions in the Lithuanian security police. [Arad, pp 89–91.] Einsatzgruppe A's commander reported that the reconstituted Lithuanian Security and Criminal Police "produced entirely satisfactory work." [Stahlecker report to 15 October 1941, IMT L-180, quoted in Lileikis, n 5.]

- **The Special Squad.** In the first half of July about 150 Vilnius residents, mostly Lithuanians, were selected to arrest, hold and shoot Jews. Juozas Banionis, review of Bubnys (2019), [Istorija 114 (2019), p 73.] The unit first appears in documents on 15 July 1941 with about 100 men in civilian clothes and white armbands. Paneriai Memorial, ["Monument in memory of the Jews killed in Paneriai".] Section 10A sets out its command and members.

- **German rule tightens.** In early July the Germans subordinated the Lithuanian police to Einsatzkommando 9 and disbanded Lithuanian military units; from 28 July Hans Christian Hingst governed as Gebietskommissar, with Franz Murer responsible for Jewish affairs. On 1 August the Lithuanian Provisional Government in Kaunas adopted its Regulations on the Status of the Jews (Žydų padėties nuostatai), issued over the names of Juozas Ambrazevičius and Jonas Šlepetys. [Arad, pp 50–52, 80–94.] German restriction of Lithuanian political autonomy did not end Lithuanian police participation in the persecution; it continued for three years.

9 The events, one by one

Each entry gives the date, the place, the Jewish victims, the German and Lithuanian actors in the source's words, the stages of the operation that the sources document and the sources. German counts come from the Jäger report of 1 December 1941 (German transcription, sheets 5–6; sheet 6), which records shooting dates under the heading "Teilkommando des EK.3 in Wilna"; dates of roundups in Jewish sources can precede them by a day or more.

Event 1 — 24 June – 3 July 1941: first killings and hostages

- **Victims:** dozens of Jews and Soviet soldiers killed in the Franciscan garden on 24 June (Shur, cited by Arad); sixty Jewish and twenty Polish hostages seized on 24–25 June, of whom six Jews were released on 22 July and the remaining Jewish hostages killed. Arad estimates about 500 Jews killed by Lithuanian units between 24 June and 4 July. [Arad, pp 46–48, 216–217.]

- **Actors:** Lithuanian units; Lithuanians killed small groups at Paneriai before Einsatzkommando 9 arrived on 2 July. [Arad, pp 65–66, citing the Filbert trial record.]

Event 2 — 4–20 July 1941: the snatchers and the shooting of the men

- **Victims:** Jewish men seized in streets, homes and workplaces. Einsatzkommando 9 reported 54 Jews shot on 4 July and 93 on 5 July, and 321 by 8 July. [Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 17; Nr.

21, as translated in Arad, Krakowski and Spector (eds), *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (1989), pp 13–15, 22–24.] The Berlin court that tried EK 9's commander Alfred Filbert found shootings at Paneriai from about 4 to 20 July and accepted at least 4,000 victims; EK 9's Schneider reported about 5,000. LG Berlin, 22 June 1962, 3 PKs 1/62; Alex J. Kay, ["Transition to Genocide, July 1941", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27:3 (2013), p 414: "at least 5,000 Jews, all of them men."] Sakowicz recorded the first mass shooting he saw on 11 July and estimated about 5,000 shot by 23 July. [Sakowicz, pp 11–14.]

- **German order and the Lithuanian police:** Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 21 of 13 July 1941 states: "Der Litauische Ordnungsdienst … wurde angewiesen, sich an der Liquidierung der Juden zu beteiligen. Hierfür wurden 150 litauische Beamte abgestellt, die die Juden festnehmen und [sie] in Konzentrationslager schaffen, wo sie [noch] am gleichen Tag der Sonderbehandlung unterzogen werden." ("The Lithuanian Ordnungsdienst … was instructed to take part in the liquidation of the Jews. 150 Lithuanian officials were assigned to this task; they arrest the Jews and take them to concentration camps, where they are subjected to special treatment the same day.") It adds that about 500 Jews were now being "liquidated" daily. BArch R 58/214, fol. 147; German text from the [PHDN, note 37, with both transcription corrections marked in brackets; the archival folio itself was not inspected.] Report Nr. 17 states that the Lithuanian police branches in Vilnius, subordinated to the Einsatzkommando, were drawing up lists of Jews.

- **Arrest:** Lithuanian and Polish youths in white armbands — the "hapunes," abductors — seized Jewish men and delivered them to police stations and Lukiškės; survivors testified that captors were paid ten rubles for each Jew. Mark Dworzecki, quoted in Arad, p 67, [reproduced by the Jewish Virtual Library; Arad, pp 67–68.] On 13 July house searches intensified in the Naugarduko and Užupio districts. [Arad, pp 71–74.] The Judenrat refused, by 24 votes to 1, a demand to deliver 150 men to the Special Squad's headquarters at 12 Vilniaus Street. [Arad, pp 68–71.]

- **Confinement:** Lukiškės prison.

- **Shooting:** EK 9 commanded and fired; Franz Schauschütz switched the shooters from machine guns to rifles. The Lithuanian Special Squad formed the majority of the firing parties under German officers. Arad, pp 75–77; Mantas Šikšnianas, ["Tarp masės ir individo", *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 39 (2016), p 96.]

- **Property:** Sakowicz on 23 July: clothing piled in a barn, sacks and wagons of goods, watches and money kept by the riflemen; "For the Lithuanians 300 Jews are 300 pairs of shoes, trousers and clothes." Sakowicz, pp 11–14, quoted by [Yad Vashem.]

Event 3 — 20 July – 30 August 1941: killings continue under the handover

- After EK 9's main body left on 20–23 July, a rear detachment remained until EK 3 took over Vilnius on 9 August. Arad estimates about 1,000 killed from 20 July to 8 August. Jäger records 425 Jewish men, 19 Jewish women and 17 communists shot in Wilna-Stadt between 12 August and 1 September. [Arad, pp 77–79, 99–100, 216–217; Jäger report, sheet 5.]

- On 6 August Murer demanded five million rubles from the Jewish community (section 2). On 24 August Jacob Wygodzki, the 86-year-old communal leader, was arrested; he died in prison

days later. On 24 August about 400 wives demanded news of husbands missing for weeks; a Lithuanian guard tried to arrest their delegates. [Arad, pp 96–99; Kruk, p 73.]

Event 4 — 31 August – 3 September 1941: the Great Provocation

- **Initiative:** On 31 August two Lithuanians in civilian clothes fired from a window at the corner of Stiklių (Glezer) and Didžioji (Wielka) streets near German soldiers, then accused Jews of the shooting; Lithuanians and German soldiers dragged two Jews out and shot them. On 1 September Hingst declared the whole community responsible. Arad, pp 102–104; Yad Vashem, ["Establishment of the Vilna Ghetto".]

- **Arrest and confinement:** The residents of the streets chosen for the ghetto were driven out between 31 August and 2 September and taken to Lukiškės, where guards stole their money. On 2 September Horst Schweinberger and three Special Squad men seized sixteen people, including ten members of the Judenrat; four were released. [Arad, pp 102–106.]

- **Shooting:** The Lithuanian Special Squad under German command shot the prisoners at Paneriai on 1–3 September. Jäger, 2 September, Wilna-Stadt: 864 Jewish men, 2,019 Jewish women and 817 Jewish children, 3,700 in all, "Sonderaktion, weil von Juden auf deutsche Soldaten geschossen wurde." Sakowicz gives at least 4,000 shot on 2 September. Jewish sources give higher estimates.

- **Survivors:** Six wounded women escaped the pits on 3–4 September; the children Yudis Trojak and Pesye Schloss described Lithuanian captors and shooters (section 11B).

Event 5 — 6–7 September 1941: the removal into two ghettos

- **Order and planning:** German. Murer testified that Hingst and von Renteln ordered the ghetto and that he selected the site with Mayor Dabulevičius. [Arad, p 101.]

- **Arrest and removal:** Iškauskas's city police — all seven stations — and self-defense units carried out the eviction and escort from 6 a.m. on 6 September (section 10D). The 1st and 3rd Vilnius self-defense battalions moved Jewish families from their homes into the ghetto; the 3rd evicted families from Užupis, Paupys and Polocko and then guarded the ghetto until November. Arūnas Bubnys, ["Lietuvių savisaugos dalinių Vilniaus apygardos batalionai", *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 24 (2008), pp 38, 44.] Families had fifteen to thirty minutes to pack. Lithuanian soldiers pushed the marchers while Germans photographed them. [Arad, pp 108–113; Kruk, pp 97–103.]

- **Victims:** About 29,000–30,000 people entered Ghetto I and 9,000–11,000 Ghetto II; about 6,000 were diverted to Lukiškės. Some 200 skilled workers and their families were released on 8–9 September; the rest were shot at Paneriai on 10–11 September. Jäger, 12 September, Wilna-Stadt: 993 men, 1,670 women and 771 children (Jäger's total, 3,334; the components sum to 3,434). [Arad, pp 113–116; Kruk, p 284.]

- **Property:** Police sealed the apartments; neighbors and officials looted them (section 2).

Event 6 — 15–17 September 1941: the transfer of the "unfit"

People without work papers were ordered into Ghetto II on 15 September; of about 3,000, only 600 arrived there and the rest went to Lukiškės and Paneriai. Jäger, 17 September, Wilna-Stadt: 337 men, 687 women and 247 children (1,271). Arad, pp 133–135; Yad Vashem, ["Aktionen … September–October 1941".] Converts and members of mixed families were hunted: Murer asked Lithuanian police on 10 September to watch non-Jewish spouses, and on 26 November demanded detailed lists of mixed families and their children, which the municipal Jewish-affairs official Petras Buragas forwarded to the Judenrat on 27 November. [Arad, pp 117–119.]

Event 7 — 1 October 1941: Yom Kippur

German and Lithuanian squads under Schweinberger seized about 1,700 people from Ghetto II at noon and about 2,200 from Ghetto I in the evening, including work-permit holders; Yad Vashem's account gives up to 800 later released from Lukiškės, while Arad gives a few dozen to a hundred. Arad explicitly states that this action is absent from Jäger's report; the 4 October entry belongs in his reconstruction to the separate 3–4 October action (Event 8). [Arad, pp 136–139; Yad Vashem.] Eugene Levin's Lithuania's Holocaust Chronology Skips Yom Kippur 1941 tests LGGRTC's chronology against this action.

Event 8 — 3–21 October 1941: the destruction of Ghetto II

- On 3–4 October about 2,000 were removed under a false promise of work; Arad, following Sutzkever, describes Moshe Frumkin leading a protest and flight and dozens being shot. His note also preserves Korczak's alternative account that the protesting group was returned to the ghetto. He associates Jäger's 4 October entry—432 men, 1,115 women and 436 children, totaling 1,983—with this separate action. On 13 October the municipality ordered the ghetto's rents remitted to the city. For the roundups of 15–16 October, Jäger records on 16 October 382 men, 507 women and 257 children (1,146). [Arad, pp 139–141.]

- On 21 October German and Lithuanian searchers cleared the remaining inhabitants; Jäger: 718 men, 1,063 women and 586 children (2,367). Arad reconstructs about 7,200 victims from Ghetto II, including transferees. On 1 December the district passed to the municipality for non-Jewish housing. USHMM: "German Einsatzgruppe detachments and Lithuanian auxiliaries destroyed ghetto # 2." Arad, pp 141–142, 157–158; [USHMM.]

Event 9 — 24–30 October 1941: the yellow-certificate actions

Only 3,000 yellow certificates were issued for a ghetto of 27,000–28,000 (section 2C). On 24 October German and Lithuanian forces surrounded Ghetto I after the certificate holders left for work; guards fired on people trying to escape and some took bribes; Murer and Weiss checked documents; Lithuanians searched houses and hiding places and killed people they found. Jäger, 25 October: 1,766 women and 812 children (2,578); 27 October: 946 men, 184 women and 73 children (1,203). On 29 October people lured into the former Ghetto II as a "safe place" were taken to Lukiškės; Jäger, 30 October: 382 men, 789 women and 362 children (1,533). Arad, pp 149–153; Yad Vashem, ["Aktionen in Ghetto I".] On 25 October Sakowicz watched trucks return with Lithuanian personnel dividing the victims' possessions and a column made up of women and children; a soldier had taken a woman's money on a promise to release her and her child.

[Sakowicz, pp 34–37.] On 30 October a Lithuanian officer shot an adolescent boy who ran, and a soldier bayoneted his mother. [Sakowicz, pp 37–38.]

Event 10 — 3–5 November 1941: the second yellow-certificate action

Certificate holders were moved to the former Ghetto II for two days; Gens and the Jewish police checked permits under German supervision; Lithuanians searched Ghetto I repeatedly and shot people they discovered. Jäger, 6 November, Wilna-Stadt: 340 men, 749 women and 252 children (1,341). [Arad, pp 153–157; Yad Vashem.] Thousands survived in hiding places (malines); Arad estimates 7,000–8,000 survived the 1941 raids this way.

Event 11 — 19–25 November 1941: Voronovo and the last Jäger entries

Refugees from Vilna detained by Belarusian police at Voronovo were shot by Lithuanian personnel brought there for the purpose; Jewish sources give 265 victims, and Arad proposes that Jäger's entry of 19 November (76 men, 77 women and 18 children, 171, under Wilna-Stadt) records this killing. Jäger's 25 November entry lists 9 men, 46 women and 8 children. [Arad, p 159; Jäger, sheet 6.] German military and civil offices objected to losing skilled Jewish workers, and Jäger wrote that he would have killed the remaining Jews but for their protests; he counted about 15,000 working Jews left in Wilna. [Arad, pp 164–170; Jäger, sheet 7.]

Event 12 — 3–22 December 1941: the last actions of 1941

German, Lithuanian and Jewish police prepared lists of 67, then 90, people with "criminal pasts" on 3–4 December; on 15 December about 300 Gestapo workers and their family members were killed after being told they were being evacuated for safety; from 20 to 22 December about 400 people without the 1,600 pink certificates were seized and sent to Paneriai. On 22 December Moshe Hauz and Goldstein resisted Lithuanians at the Spitalna Street 13 hiding place; Hauz was shot in the head and died in his wife's arms. [Arad, pp 159–163; Kruk, p 161.] The Saugumas's own transfers reached the pits in the same weeks: Chaja Lapyda was shot on 5 December and Gita and Fruma Kaplan and Lucija Pojevanskaitė-Sutarskaitė on 22 December 1941 (section 10B). About 20,000 Jews remained at the end of 1941.

Event 13 — 1942: the "quiet" period

- Selective killing continued. On 16 January 1942 Lithuanians surrounded Jewish workers buying food near Porubanek and fired as they fled; Daniel Jochelson was killed. [Kruk, p 173.] On 14 May German and Lithuanian soldiers beat, robbed and killed Yoyel Levin, about ninety, in hiding; the Germans took the money and the Lithuanians the fur coat. [Kruk, pp 288–289.]

- **July 1942:** Jewish police handed eighty-four elderly and chronically ill prisoners to Weiss and Lithuanian police on 26 July, who took them by truck to Paneriai and shot them. [Arad, pp 339–340; Kruk, pp 330–338.] VLE's "Getas" gives 150 old people killed on 17 July 1942; Sakowicz records shootings of elderly Jews in the same weeks.

- **September 1942:** women were shot at Paneriai for relations Arad describes as forced. [Arad, p 339.]

- **23 October 1942, Oshmyany:** 406 aged and sick Jews were surrendered to Germans and Lithuanians after German demands of 1,500. [Arad, pp 341–348.]

• LGGRTC's chronology states that no mass killings of Jews took place between December 1941 and March 1943 (section 16, Count 7).

Event 14 — 5 April 1943: the provincial trains

Jews from the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and other provincial ghettos, told they were going to Kaunas, were taken by train to Paneriai; 340 Vilna residents had volunteered to join relatives on the train. Lithuanian police took Gens and his escorts off at Paneriai; Lithuanian units surrounded the freight cars and took the occupants to the pits; Germans and Lithuanians shot those who resisted with fists, knives and revolvers or tried to flee. Arad gives about 4,000 killed that day. About twenty men of the 1st Vilnius battalion fired; Bubnys gives 4,000–5,000 victims. A German Security Police report recorded a wounded German sergeant and a Lithuanian officer shot and called the victims unfit for labor given "special treatment." [Arad, pp 359–367, citing Documents Accuse, pp 271–272; Bubnys (2008), pp 40–41; Sakowicz, pp 70–83; Maciejewski (section 11A).] Kruk recorded the wounded sixteen-year-old "Narob" from Oshmyany, shot in the leg, chin and arm by a gendarme and whipped while feigning death. [Kruk, pp 513–515.]

Event 15 — June–July 1943: the labor camps

• **Biała Waka, about 28–29 June:** after six workers took rifles from their Lithuanian guards and joined a partisan group, Bruno Kittel selected sixty-seven people for killing; Kruk records local Lithuanian police compiling the victim list and the German SD carrying out the shooting. [Arad, pp 368–369; Kruk, pp 579–580, 591.]

• **Kena, 8 July:** Kittel assembled the workers; Security Police and Lithuanians surrounded the building; about 240 were killed with gunfire and grenades. Commandant Juozas Mačys and four 1st Battalion soldiers guarded the camp. [Arad, p 369; Bubnys (2008), pp 41–42.]

• **Bezdany, 9 July:** Lithuanians killed about 350 (Arad); six men of the 1st police battalion guarded the camp under commandant Borisas Baltutis (Bubnys gives 250–300). A refugee from Łódź told Kruk he watched Lithuanians throw grenades into barracks where Jews were hiding and shoot those escaping the burning buildings; farmers were made to bury the dead. [Arad, p 369; Bubnys (2008), p 41; Kruk, pp 586–587.]

Event 16 — August–September 1943: Estonia and the final liquidation

• Himmler's order of June 1943 to liquidate the ghettos was carried out in Vilnius through roundups for Estonia in August and early September by German and Estonian forces; on 4 September hundreds of Jewish auxiliary policemen from the ghetto were handed to Lithuanian police for deportation to fill the quota. [Arad, pp 401–419.]

• On 14 September Neugebauer and Weiss, with a Lithuanian escort, took Jacob Gens to the Rossa prison, where Neugebauer shot him. [Arad, pp 425–427.]

• **23–24 September 1943:** Kittel ordered the ghetto evacuated. German and Ukrainian forces cordoned it; Germans and Lithuanians conducted the selection of women and children on 24 September. About 1,600–2,000 men went to Estonia and 1,400–1,700 women to Kaiserwald in Latvia; 4,000–5,000 women and children were deported to their deaths — to Majdanek in Arad's 1980 account, to Sobibor in his 2005 account and in USHMM's — and several hundred

elderly and sick people were shot at Paneriai. German officials took the ghetto's cash, equipment and workshop property. [Arad, pp 429–432; Sakowicz, p 118.] On 24 September Sakowicz watched busloads of prisoners, many of them children, stripped and beaten before Lithuanians shot them; on 25 September four women who escaped a train, one with both legs broken, were recaptured by Germans, handed to Lithuanians and shot, and their clothes exchanged for alcohol. [Sakowicz, pp 118–120.] On 9 September Lithuanians had beaten and sexually assaulted women at the pits before shooting them (section 11C).

Event 17 — October 1943 – March 1944: hiding, HKP and Kailis

Police searched for Jews in hiding after the liquidation, and neighbors denounced hiding places; prisoners brought from discovered hiding places were threatened into disclosures and shot. [Arad, pp 441–444; Sakowicz, pp 120–140.] About 2,300 Jews were held in the Kailis and HKP labor camps. On 27 March 1944 Weiss and Lithuanian policemen seized about 200 children from both camps under the pretext of vaccination; a mother who called Weiss a murderer was shot. [Arad, pp 441–442, citing Kaczerginski and the Weiss trial record, TR-10/381, p 14.]

Event 18 — 1943–1944: burning the dead

Under Aktion 1005, Jewish prisoners and Soviet prisoners of war were chained and forced to exhume and burn the bodies at Paneriai; in April 1944 a group escaped through a tunnel they had dug. Yitzhak Dugim recognized his sister's blouse among the remains. Arad, pp 444–445; [Fortunoff, ch 7.]

Event 19 — 2–3 July 1944: HKP and Kailis

On 2–3 July 1944 the remaining prisoners of HKP, Kailis and the smaller workshops were shot. Karl Plagge warned the HKP workers beforehand; Arad counts 150–200 survivors, the Silent Heroes Memorial about 250. The Paneriai Memorial dates the murders to 2–3 July 1944. [Arad, p 446.] The Special Squad moved to the Ninth Fort in Kaunas in July 1944 and then to Stutthof, where it was given about 1,200 Jewish women; it operated in Poland until early April 1945. [Šikšnianas (2016), pp 105–106; Banionis, p 74.]

Resistance and the plunder of Jewish culture

- **Cultural plunder.** In March 1942 the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg set up a sorting center in the YIVO building, where Jewish forced laborers had to select books, manuscripts and archives for shipment to Frankfurt; the rest was pulped or destroyed. YIVO, ["A Day at the Museum".] Members of the Paper Brigade, among them Avrom Sutzkever and Shmerke Kaczerginski, smuggled treasures into the ghetto and hid them. In 1941 Germans jailed the librarian Khaykl Lunski until he disclosed six hidden rare books (Appendix E32), and the municipal official Buragas forbade salvage of books and museum material from the smaller ghetto (section 10G).

- **Jewish resistance.** The United Partisan Organization (FPO), formed in January 1942 by Zionist, Communist and other groups and later joined by the Bund, mined a railway line in July 1942, sabotaged war production and printed clandestine papers; Yechiel Scheinbaum's group fought from Straszuna Street 12 in September 1943; some 80–100 FPO fighters escaped through the sewers on 23 September 1943 with help from couriers and two Lithuanian Communist

constables, and about 350 Vilna Jews eventually fought from the Rudniki forest. [Arad, pp 221–270, 410–435, 454–459.] Schools, a library, theater and welfare institutions continued inside the ghetto under the threat of death (Appendix C28).

10 The perpetrators

Grades used below: **A** — a judicial finding or a signed wartime document examined by a court or reproduced in facsimile; **B** — an official or scholarly account built on identified wartime documents; **C** — a witness or interrogation account published and evaluated by a historian; **D** — a lead requiring the original. The verb is the source's verb.

10A The Special Squad (Ypatingasis būrys)

- **What it was.** A Lithuanian unit of the German Security Police and SD in Vilnius, formed from Vilnius residents in July 1941. About 150 men were selected in the first half of July to arrest, hold and shoot Jews; many left after the first shootings, and LGGRTC's historian Arūnas Bubnys wrote that "those remained for whom such activity did not seem terrible and criminal" (as reported by Eugene Levin, Lithuania Published 84 Names). The squad numbered about 100 in July 1941, about 40 after the autumn actions and 45–150 at various dates; it received SD uniforms in 1942. Most members were Lithuanians, with some Russians and Poles. Banionis, p 73; [Paneriai Memorial; Monika Tomkiewicz, "The Prosecution and Punishment of the Perpetrators of Crimes Committed Against Jews in Ponary", *Polish-Jewish Studies* 4 (2023), p 225, n 4.] Recruitment ran through personal networks; unemployed men and post-office workers joined for pay. [Šikšnianas (2016).] VLE gives "more than 200" members at first and later up to 50. VLE, ["Ypatingasis būrys".]

- **What it did.** It shot Jews at Paneriai from July 1941 to July 1944 and operated in Švenčionys, Eišiškės, Naujoji Vilnia, Trakai, Semeliškės, Jašiūnai and Nemenčinė (VLE). The squad shot victims in groups of ten at the rim of the pits and kept execution cards annotated "befehlsgemäß behandelt" or "liqu." [Lileikis, 929 F. Supp. at 33.] LGGRTC's 2019 book reports nearly 18,900 Jews shot at Paneriai in September–November 1941 and 33,000–34,000 Vilnius Jews killed in the first year. [Banionis, p 74, reviewing Arūnas Bubnys, *Vokiečių saugumo policijos ir SD Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys 1941–1944 m.* (LGGRTC, 2019; English edition 2020).]

- **Lithuanian command (grade B).** Organizers: Junior Lt. Petras Jakubka and Mečys Butkus. Commander: Juozas Šidlauskas from 23 July 1941, who kept the men in line by threatening them with his pistol. Successor: Balys Norvaiša, with Balys Lukošius as deputy; both moved to a Lithuanian self-defense battalion in 1943, when Juozas Tumas took command. [Šikšnianas (2016), pp 94–98; VLE.]

- **German command (grade A–B).** Franz Schauschütz (EK 9), probably the first German leader, introduced rifles in place of machine guns. SS-Oberscharführer Martin Weiss directed the squad until 1943, then Fiedler. Horst Schweinberger was Security Police liaison from July 1941 to January 1942 and took part in the Great Provocation (VLE, "Horst Schweinberger"); August Hering (Herring) acted as interpreter and liaison and took part in actions in the ghetto, Lukiškės and Paneriai (VLE, "August Herring"). Kruk's edition spells the name "Schweinenberg."

• Named members and acts.

- Jonas Jakštas — approached people who emerged alive from the corpses after a mass shooting and fired his pistol twice (Borkovskis interrogation, 12 February 1973, LYA f. K-1, ap. 46, b. 4915, l. 90; Šikšnianas, p 103). Grade C. Killed in 1952 as a member of an armed band.

- Antanas Granickas — shot a woman at Paneriai; could not bring himself to shoot her child (O. Juzėnaitė-Miliauskienė interrogation, 20 May 1977; Šikšnianas, p 101). Sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal of the 43rd Army on 3 October 1945 with Władysław Kowalewski; executed 21 February 1946 (Tomkiewicz, p 239). Grade C act; grade B published scholarly account of the conviction, citing the judgment.

- Konstantinas Čičelis — described prisoners stripped and led to the pit ten at a time, and the strongest made to cover the bodies before being shot (interrogation of 28 October 1969, LYA K-1, ap. 45, b. 490, ll. 83–84; Bubnys, 2012 Lithuanian edition of Sakowicz, pp 10–11); gave poverty as his reason for joining (interrogation of 23 October 1946). Grade C.

- Mečys Butkus — said Norvaiša made him add "shooting" to a Lukiškės transfer receipt first written as "work" (Šikšnianas, as published by LRT). Grade C.

- Jan (Jonas) Borkovskis (Borkowski), Władysław Butkun (Vladas Butkūnas) and Józef Miakisz (Juozas Mekišius) — tried as Vilnius Special Squad members in Warsaw on 23–25 October 1973; sentenced to death on 30 November 1973; commuted to twenty-five years on 7 September 1974 (Tomkiewicz, p 235). Grade B: scholarly account citing the judgment; original judgment not inspected.

- Arkadijus Sakalauskas — sentenced to death in Warsaw on 23 November 1949; executed 16 November 1950 (Tomkiewicz, pp 234–235). Grade B: scholarly account citing the judgment; original judgment not inspected.

- Wiktor (Witold) Gilwiński, also known as Viktoras Macėjus Galvanauskas — sentenced to twenty-five years at Olsztyn on 3 June 1977; raised to death by the Supreme Court on 2 December 1977; commuted on 13 March 1978 (Tomkiewicz, pp 235–236). Grade B: scholarly account citing the judgment; original judgment not inspected.

- Jonas Germanavičius — sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal of the Baltic Military District in Vilnius on 27 October 1951; executed 14 April 1952 (Tomkiewicz, pp 239–240). Grade B: scholarly account citing the judgment; original judgment not inspected.

- Vincas Sausaitis — sentenced to death on 16 February 1978 (Šikšnianas, p 106). Justas Martišius and quartermaster Stasys Zalepūga appear as witnesses in the May 1977 Vilnius hearings; Gilwiński/Galvanauskas also testified as a witness. These citations do not establish that those witnesses were defendants. Grade B.

- Dionizas Golcas — sentenced to death by the Polish underground court as a member of "the special unit that murdered the civilian population at Ponary"; attempts on his life in May and June 1943 failed (Jarosław Wołkonowski, Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica V, p 130). Grade B.

- Other members named by Šikšnianas: Vladas Kliukas, Stasys Čeponis, Vladas Dervojedaitis, Petras Černiauskas, Česlavas Okunevičius, Julius Ožinskas, Vladas Paulaitis, J. Krasauskas, Antanas Martišius; reported in the cited files as killed during or after the war: Julius Ivinskas, Stasys Grikštas, Justas Paukštys, Michail Nikitin, Vaclovas Leniauskas, Hubert Dieninis. Membership only; acts not stated in the extracted text. The file report that Nikitin was accidentally shot is itself qualified as alleged. Grade B.

- Kiewelis — named in a May 1943 Sakowicz entry as shooting two Jewish fugitives and removing their gold teeth, on local witnesses' information (Sakowicz, p 82). Grade D.

• **Totals of postwar punishment.** LGGRTC's book reports that Soviet and Polish courts executed six squad members, commuted two death sentences to twenty-five years and sentenced nine to twenty-five years and ten to ten years; four of seven German commanders tried in West Germany were acquitted. Tomkiewicz separately records four commutations in Poland: the three Warsaw defendants and Gilwiński. That conflicts with the published aggregate of two; the aggregate is not a reconciled total. The institutional summary of four German acquittals also requires case-by-case separation from discontinued proceedings, including Ditz. Members who escaped went mainly to Great Britain, the United States and Australia. [Banionis, p 74; Šikšnianas, abstract.]

10B The Vilnius Saugumas: capture, paperwork and delivery to the killers

The Lithuanian Security Police (Saugumas) in Vilnius, headed by Aleksandras Lileikis with Kazys Gimžauskas as his deputy, hunted Jews who had escaped the ghetto or lived outside it, held them in Lukiškės prison and transferred them to the German Security Police and the Special Squad for execution. American courts reconstructed these chains from the Saugumas's own orders. Michael MacQueen's archival study of Vilnius police records identifies two routes: delivery to the Saugumas for investigation, and direct delivery to Lukiškės at the Special Squad's disposal for offenses such as buying food or appearing without the Jewish badge. Forged papers, hidden children and the people sheltering them generated further investigations. His note 52 identifies LCVA R-689, ap. 1, b. 23, the October–November 1941 event reports. [MacQueen, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12, no 1 (1998), pp 39–40, 48.] Bubnys's 1997 study of the German and Lithuanian security police, and what it leaves out, is examined in my article The Murder Was Administered.

• **Fruma Kaplan, six years old.** The federal court in United States v Lileikis found that Gita Kaplan and her six-year-old daughter Fruma left the ghetto and were sheltered by Adolfas and Juozapatas Domeikas. Lileikis signed the decision placing all four in Lukiškės at his disposition and then signed the transfer of Gita and Fruma to the German Security Police. Their execution cards record their killing on 22 December 1941. The Domeikas couple were imprisoned by the same decision; their later fate is not recorded in the judgment. [929 F. Supp. 31 (D. Mass. 1996), factual findings; Tabs 95, 124–125.]

• **Chaja Lapyda.** The same court traced a detention and transfer order signed by Lileikis for Chaja Lapyda to the execution record. [Tabs 100, 149.]

• **The truck trap.** A driver working for the Saugumas offered to take Jews out of Vilnius for payment and delivered at least three truckloads into police custody; prison and transfer records

lead onward to the execution system. [Lileikis, Tabs 155–159.] The Justice Department's 18 August 1998 account of the denaturalization of Adolph Milius (Adolfas Milinavičius) identifies two children among twelve people captured in this way and an inventory he signed for possessions taken from another group of escaped Jews: wedding rings, women's undergarments and gold dental crowns.

- **The Soak arrests.** The Dailidė appeal reproduces Milinavičius's report that Izrael and Riva Soak were staying at Leon Lejsak's apartment, 51 Krokuvos Street, waiting for transport toward Beniakonys. He named Leonas Kaulinis and Algimantas Dailidė as fellow participants in the search and arrest of 30 October 1941. Another report records twelve Jews captured that evening and a police escort assigned to prevent interference by other police. A 5 November list places the prisoners in Lukiškės at German disposal. [United States v Dailide, 227 F.3d 385 (6th Cir. 2000).]

- **Mark Sapyro.** On 3 November 1941 Dailidė searched Mark Sapyro (Sapiro) and inventoried his money, which was delivered to the German authorities. [Ibid.] The Eleventh Circuit's 2004 removal decision upheld the finding that Dailidė personally and directly persecuted Jews by interviewing prisoners, capturing escaping Jews and searching Sapyro, and that his acts went beyond assistance. [PDF pp 20–21.]

- **Gimžauskas.** The Justice Department's 1996 account identifies wartime orders bearing Gimžauskas's signature for the arrest, interrogation, imprisonment and transfer for execution of mainly Jewish civilians, one of them an American-born woman targeted on suspicion of being Jewish. Its February 2001 account reports his conviction in Lithuania for genocide for handing Jews over for execution and identifies a forty-two-year-old American-born victim.

10C Fines, prison and execution

Monika Tomkiewicz's study of Lukiškės documents Jews punished under rules that applied only to Jews and passed to the Special Squad when they could not pay. [Tomkiewicz, printed p 99, notes 146–151.]

- Wulf Kadiševič, arrested by Vilnius's Seventh Precinct on 4 August 1941 for curfew and badge violations, could not pay a 2,000-ruble fine and was transferred to the Special Squad.

- Elija Kantoras, arrested by the same precinct on 5 September, could not pay 5,000 rubles and was transferred to the Special Squad.

- Zamvelis Pompader could not pay 10,000 rubles and was executed on 16 September 1941.

- Liba Frenkiel, arrested for walking on the sidewalk, was released after paying 3,000 rubles.

- Beila Lewinson was arrested for escaping the ghetto on 11 December 1941 and executed on 22 December.

- Josel Imbryk was imprisoned on 31 January 1942 for buying meat outside the ghetto and shot on 14 March.

10D The Lithuanian public police and the ghetto removal

Antanas Iškauskas commanded the Vilnius city police. His report of 9 September 1941, reproduced in English at printed page 44 of Lithuania: Crime and Punishment, vol 5, describes the 6 September removal of the Jews into the ghettos: all seven Vilnius police stations acted simultaneously from 6 a.m.; exit roads were guarded; police evicted the Jews and self-defense soldiers drove them on; homes and sheds were sealed or livestock entrusted to neighbors, and the city council was notified; sick and disabled people were temporarily left in their apartments. The stations reported completion between 7 p.m. on 6 September and 5 a.m. on 7 September. The report cites LTSR CVA f. 689, ap. 1, b. 10, ll. 28–30; Bubnys gives R-689, ap. 1, b. 10, l. 37. My earlier article Forty-Six Thousand in Twenty-Four Hours maps the two references.

The Lithuanian public police then held the ghetto gate, searched returning workers and took their food. Kruk's entry of 16 September 1942 identifies the Fourth Lithuanian Precinct and its German commissar conducting gate inspections, sending confiscated food to the precinct and imprisoning people arrested in the street. [Kruk, pp 113, 359, 468.] Lithuanian policemen supervised the outlying labor camps (section 2C) and took part in the April 1943 Paneriai massacre, the destruction of the labor camps in July 1943 and the seizure of children from HKP and Kailis in March 1944 (section 9).

10E The Vilnius self-defense and police battalions

Six Lithuanian battalions with about 3,000 men existed in the Vilnius district by October 1941, formed from 1 August 1941 out of the Reconstruction Service units. Nearly all took part in the Holocaust: moving Jews into the ghetto, guarding it, escorting Jews from Lukiškės to Paneriai and guarding the killing site. [Bubnys (2008), abstract and p 37.]

- **1st Battalion** (commanders Jonas Juknevičius, Petras Nazaras, Izidorius Kraunaitis, Juozas Truškauskas): its 1st company moved Jews of Vilnius and Trakai from their apartments into the ghetto; it escorted prisoners from Lukiškės to Paneriai; about twenty of its soldiers shot Jews at Paneriai on 5 April 1943; its men guarded Kena (commandant Juozas Mačys) and Bezdany (commandant Borisas Baltutis) when the camps were destroyed in July 1943. [Bubnys (2008), pp 38–42.] Grade B.

- **3rd Battalion** (commanders Juozas Vitkus, then Pranas Ambraziūnas from 5 September 1941, later Vladas Žibas and Jonas Aleksa): evicted Jewish families from Užupis, Paupys and Polocko in September 1941, guarded the ghetto until November, escorted Jews to Paneriai and surrounded the killing site. [Bubnys (2008), p 44.] Grade B. Juozas Užkuraitis of the Third Police Battalion described guarding the Paneriai fence with orders to shoot escaping Jews (Šikšnianas, via LRT). Grade C.

- **2nd (Vilnius) Battalion:** escorted Jews to Paneriai twice in 1941 and guarded Majdanek in 1941–1942. Bubnys, ["Lietuvių policijos 2-asis (Vilniaus) ir 252-asis batalionai", *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 8 (2000).] My article How Many Jews Did Lithuanians Murder? sets out why no Lithuanian institution has produced a ledger of these battalions and their victims.

10F The university: Rector Biržiška's signed exclusions

On 19 September 1941 Rector Mykolas Biržiška of Vilnius University signed orders expelling Jewish students.

- **Chlaunė Meištovskis, chemistry.** The scanned order, PDF page 4, cites the Education Administration Higher Education Department's letter No. 21606 of 17 September 1941 and states: „iš Universiteto atleidžiu“ ("I dismiss [him] from the University"). The packet also preserves his eighth-semester registration.

- **Matlė Olkinaitė, philology,** and **Elijas Leiba Olkinas, pharmacy.** Orders bearing the same date, signature and reference remove Matlė Olkinaitė and Elijas Leiba Olkinas, each on PDF page 2. VLE's own Olkinaitė biography records that she was murdered in July 1941 and expelled posthumously on 19 September because of her nationality.

- **The reason.** The university's 10 May 2017 account of Meištovskis records that his scholarship was terminated from 1 July 1941 for „žydų tautybė“ ("Jewish nationality") and that nine Jewish teachers and researchers had already been dismissed. It distinguishes the departmental instruction of 17 September from the rector's order of 19 September. The same account records Biržiška's approval of an increased scholarship for Meištovskis in December 1940.

- **The university's own correction.** In its 2026 account of the Recovering Memory initiative, Vilnius University states that public discussion had emphasized the university's 1943 closure as a refusal of Nazi demands, while archival research established that its leadership implemented demands to dismiss students and staff. The account also records Biržiška's help to Vasily Lazerson and Ona Šimaitė.

VLE's biography of Biržiška records his 1940–1944 rectorship, offices and honors and omits the expulsion orders he signed (section 16, Count 11). The university is asked to publish the complete 17 September instruction No. 21606, its distribution and receipt records, the staff dismissal orders and scholarship decisions, and a reconciled list of the Jewish students and employees removed in 1941.

10G The Lithuanian civil administration

- **Stasys Žakevičius** (Žymantas), chairman of the Citizens' Committee — co-issued the 3–4 July 1941 badge-and-curfew order with Iškauskas. Grade A (federal court finding on the order; signature block as reproduced by Arad). VLE's biography omits the order.

- **Kostas Kalendra**, Committee member — ordered on 15 July 1941 that all citizens "except Jews" be treated equally; directed the registration of communists on 28 June with Iškauskas. Grade B.

- **Karolis Dabulevičius**, mayor — selected the ghetto site with Murer (Murer's testimony, grade C); reported 429 Jewish houses and 71 workshops to Hingst on 10 September 1941 and submitted further inventories on 25 September (grade B, Arad citing Documents Accuse); told Jewish representatives on 4 September that the ghetto was a German initiative without Lithuanian complicity, two days before his city's police carried it out. [Arad, pp 101–113, 200–208.]

• **Petras Buragas**, municipal official for Jewish affairs — forwarded Murer's demand for lists of mixed families and their children to the Judenrat on 27 November 1941; declared the remaining property of the smaller ghetto German and forbade salvage of books and museum material; ordered the ghetto to mark the anniversary of the German invasion in June 1942; issued ten of 200 requested yellow passes on 20 October 1941. Grade B. [Arad, pp 118–119, 141–142; Kruk, pp 138, 309–312.]

• **The municipal Housing Department** — stopped Jewish changes of residence on 21 July 1941; the municipality demanded ghetto rents on 13 October and took the Ghetto II district on 1 December 1941. Grade B.

10H German command and its later fate

• **Hans Christian Hingst**, Gebietskommissar from 28 July 1941 — ordered the yellow star on 2 August, blamed the whole community for the staged shooting of 31 August, demanded property inventories and transferred seized gold to his administration. Sentenced in 1948 at Bielefeld to seven years and a fine; died 1955. VLE, ["Christian Hans Hingst".]

• **Franz Murer**, Jewish affairs — extorted the August 1941 levy, selected the ghetto site, governed the gate and the labor system, whipped and humiliated prisoners. Sentenced by a Soviet military court to twenty-five years on 29 September 1948; returned to Austria in 1955; acquitted by a Graz jury on 19 June 1963. Lukas Nievoll, ["The Murer Case"; Tomkiewicz, pp 240–244.]

• **Martin Weiss** and **August Hering** — sentenced to life imprisonment at Würzburg on 3 February 1950, Weiss for aiding and abetting the killing of at least 30,000 people and personally killing seven, Hering for at least 4,000 and one. Hering's sentence was reduced to fifteen years in 1959; Weiss was released in 1977. [Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, Lfd. Nr. 192; Tomkiewicz, pp 226–227.]

• **Alfred Filbert**, commander of EK 9 — sentenced to life in Berlin on 22 June 1962 for joint murder, including at least 4,000 Jews in Vilnius between 4 and 20 July 1941; released in 1975. Alex J. Kay, [NDB-online; Tomkiewicz, pp 230–231.]

• **Horst Schweinberger** — acquitted at Wiesbaden in January 1973 for insufficient evidence (VLE).

• **Bruno Kittel** — destroyed the labor camps and the ghetto in 1943; no trial has been located.

• **Rudolf (Rolf) Neugebauer** — shot Gens on 14 September 1943; proceedings in Graz are recorded without a located verdict (Tomkiewicz, p 244, n 36).

11 What the killing process did to the victims

11A Stripping, beating and forcing victims to bury the dead

• **Čičelis's account.** In a published interrogation excerpt, Special Squad member K. Čičelis described prisoners brought to Paneriai, stripped and led to the pit ten at a time; stronger prisoners were made to cover the bodies and were then shot. Arūnas Bubnys reproduced this evidence in his introduction to LGGRTC's 2012 Lithuanian edition of Sakowicz's diary, citing

LYA K-1, ap. 45, b. 490, ll. 83–84, interrogation of 28 October 1969. [Lithuanian edition, pp 10–11.]

- **5 April 1943, as Sakowicz saw it.** A Lithuanian took a packet from a wounded young fugitive and shot him at close range; a student document identified him as Judel Szapiro, son of Benjamin, from the Švenčionys area. A Lithuanian beat another fleeing young man with a rifle butt; the next day Sakowicz and Gienia Ciesiulówna buried the remains and found papers naming Hirsz Berkowski of Gudogaj. A Lithuanian pushed a mother and her infant into a pit. Four Jewish prisoners were made to sort the clothing and cover the pit and were then shot. [Sakowicz, 2005 English edition, pp 78–79; 2012 Lithuanian edition, pp 90–95.]

- **5 April 1943, from the locomotive.** Locomotive driver Marian Maciejewski described Lithuanian and Belarusian guards striking with rifle butts the hands that reached through carriage windows and driving women, children and old men out under blows; escorts fired on fleeing families. He saw the German Martin Weiss shoot wounded people and a mother with her child. Maciejewski, [memoir published by Poland's Institute of National Remembrance, *Biuletyn IPN*, no 10 (21), October 2002, pp 76–83, especially 81–83.]

11B Children who climbed out of the pits

On 4 September 1941 Herman Kruk interviewed wounded child survivors of Paneriai in the Jewish hospital.

- **Yudis Trojak, eleven.** Lithuanian captors took her family from Szawelska Street 11 while the building janitor collected the apartment keys; the family was held in Lukiškės. At Paneriai she was placed, blindfolded, in a group of ten. She moved the cloth and saw bodies. A bullet wounded her left arm; a woman pulled her from the pit. She reached the city and underwent surgery. [Kruk, 2002, pp 90–91.]

- **Pesye Schloss, sixteen,** of Strashun Street 9. Lithuanians seized her on 2 September. After prison the captives were marched out, supposedly to work; the children were put on trucks. At Paneriai she saw men stunned by blows to the head and shot, and she identified Lithuanians doing the work under a German. Her last group of ten included five relatives. Her mother held an arm behind her back to shield her; a bullet passed through her mother into Pesye's arm. A soldier saw she was alive, took her shoes and shot her in the foot. She escaped from the pit. [Kruk, pp 91–92.]

- Both girls survived with help on the way back: shelter, milk, the washing of their wounds and guidance to Vilnius, including help from Lithuanian women. Six wounded women who escaped the pits on 3–4 September described blindfolded groups of ten and Lithuanian firing squads. [Arad, pp 102–104, citing Kruk, Kaczerginski and Dworzecki.]

- **Dina Levine Baitler, seven,** survived among the bodies at Ponary with an injured leg and heard guards return to shoot the wounded who called for help. [Testimony reproduced by the Association of Jews of Vilna; the passage does not state the guards' nationality.]

11C Rape and sexualized violence

- **At Paneriai, 9 September 1943.** Sakowicz recorded Lithuanian personnel beating women over the head until they took off their underwear and then touching their naked bodies; on German orders the women were pushed into the pit and shot. Later conversation supplied the total of seventeen and identified three Polish girls among the Jewish women. [Sakowicz, pp 109–111.]

- **Germans hunting girls.** Wiera Goldman said Germans came at night to rape young girls; she hid in old clothes and a cellar, jumped out during one intrusion and hid in bushes, and her mother intervened when the men touched her younger sister. Fortunoff, [Remembering Vilna, ch 3.]

- **Arrested by Lithuanians, humiliated by a German.** William Begell said Lithuanian police arrested his mother and aunt over their embroidered Jewish badges; a German sergeant took them to air-force barracks and forced them to remove their underwear and clean windows. They came back dirty and crying. [Same chapter.] Sheila Zwany recalled naked families driven out at night under armed guard.

- **Searches of women's bodies.** On 2 February 1942 Kruk recorded an engineer's wife's account of Jewish ghetto police stripping people and women searching other women's genitals for food and money. [Kruk, pp 191, 193–194.] On 28 December 1942, under Murer's supervision, men and women were forced to strip naked in the same room; when a woman turned to the wall, Murer ordered her to turn around. People found with money were whipped, a girl for a small quantity of bread and a woman for fifteen pfennig. [Kruk, pp 440–441.] In February 1943 Murer ordered women in the bath not to cover their breasts and mocked their bodies. [Kruk, p 466.]

- **Brothel evidence.** On 20 April 1942 Kruk wrote that he held a Wehrmacht brothel receipt specifying a woman, a room and a date, and connected the Subocz brothel with women previously seized in the streets. [Kruk, p 266.] Weiss took women accused of relations with Germans; in September 1942 women were shot at Paneriai for relations Arad describes as forced. [Kruk, pp 362, 365, 372; Arad, p 339.]

Violeta Davoliūtė's study of local testimony argues that accounts of rape by local perpetrators have not been integrated into Lithuanian public memory; her interview sample covers provincial Lithuania, not the large cities. The popular commemorative and encyclopedia pages listed in section 15 do not mention sexual violence against the Jews of Vilnius (section 16, Count 14).

11D Guarding the pits and recording their purpose

Mantas Šikšnianas's Lithuanian Institute of History study, published by LRT, cites interrogation accounts that give "guarding" its content. Borkovskis described night duty after a mass shooting: people emerged alive from among the corpses and Jonas Jakštas approached and fired his pistol twice. Mečys Butkus said Norvaiša made him add "shooting" to a prison-transfer receipt first written as "work." Juozas Užkuraitis of the Third Police Battalion described guarding the fence at Paneriai under orders to shoot Jews who tried to escape. These are interrogation accounts as published and evaluated by the historian.

11E Torture in custody and at work

- On 30 September 1941 women in the Kalwaryjska barracks were forced to dig a pit, bury one of their number up to her head and dig her out; the surrounding passage concerns German labor abuse and does not name the perpetrators or the victim. [Kruk, p 122.]

- Released food director Khayim Trapido told Kruk of repeated beatings in Gestapo and Lukiškės custody to make him name the people who had supplied gifts used to buy food. Jewish prisoners were segregated, given half the non-Jewish ration and denied a doctor; some died. He had been arrested on 26 January and released on 19 February 1942. [Kruk, p 218.]

- In May 1943 Lithuanian men in civilian clothes arrested Jewish workers in the Lidzki Street weapons case. A prisoner was brought back in chains under Weiss, Mayer and other Gestapo men and tortured for two and a half hours. The absent comrade's mother, younger brother and fictitiously registered wife were seized; the wife was later released. [Kruk, pp 529–532.]

- On 4 April 1943 Marek Kozik was released ill and broken after two beatings meant to make him denounce coworkers; he refused. [Kruk, p 497.]

- Jewish ghetto police and officials also beat prisoners: Levas beat Esther Widman for bringing in potatoes; Mrs Trocka lost an eye after a beating Levas denied; Gens beat Dr Steinman until he was bloody and unconscious after the doctor refused a forest assignment, with Donin as witness. [Kruk, pp 234, 318, 320.] These acts occurred within the German-imposed ghetto system. The cited entries identify the assailants; they do not establish a specific German order for each beating.

12 Property: what each chain shows and what is missing

No single Jewish house, workshop or apartment in Vilnius has yet been traced in this research from its prewar owner through seizure, allocation and occupancy to a named Lithuanian beneficiary. The documented links are: the municipal inventories of 10, 22 and 25 September 1941 (429 houses, 71 workshops); the September police sealing reports; the Housing Department's freeze of 21 July 1941; the municipality's receipt of the Ghetto II district on 1 December 1941; the Vilnius committee's lists of intended assignees (Brandišauskas); the Special Squad members' moves into central addresses (LGGRTC notice); Kruk's observation of Lithuanian occupants and clerks in former Jewish apartments, including his own at Kijowska Street 4; the named sellers and buyers of victims' clothing at Paneriai; and the Lietūkis food report of April 1943 (section 2). LGGRTC is asked to produce the documents that join these links into ownership chains, with fond, inventory, file and leaf (section 6).

13 The count ledger

This ledger presents selected population, action and survival series with their sources, scope and overlaps. The detailed source intakes retain further dated estimates and workforce counts. Figures are not added across rows that describe the same people.

- **Jewish population, June 1941:** about 57,000 (Pinkas; Arad) to 60,000 (Yad Vashem), including refugees.

- **Victims of Lithuanian units, 24 June – 4 July 1941:** about 500 (Arad's estimate, pp 216–217).

- **EK 9 period, 4–20 July 1941:** at least 4,000 (LG Berlin 1962) to about 5,000 (EK 9's Schneider; Kay; Arad), all men.

- **20 July – 8 August 1941:** about 1,000 (Arad's estimate).

- **Jäger, Wilna-Stadt, 12 August – 25 November 1941:** Jäger's own totals sum to 21,169; the listed components sum to 21,273, of whom 21,234 were Jews. The difference is 104: Jäger entered 3,334 for 12 September where the components sum to 3,434, and the 17 September printed total of 1,271 excludes four Lithuanian communists listed in that entry. These are discrepancies within the document, not additional independently identified victims. The Teilkommando Wilna also recorded 15,454 victims in the district towns (Nemenčinė, Naujoji Vilnia, Riešė, Jašiūnai, Eišiškės, Trakai, Semeliškės, Švenčionys); these are not Vilnius city figures. [Jäger, sheets 5–6.]

- **Arad's reconstruction for 1941:** 33,000–33,500 Vilnius Jews murdered, built from the components above plus about 3,900 Yom Kippur victims, about 850 in December and 500–1,000 individual killings. [Arad, pp 209–217.] LGGRTC's 2019 book gives 33,000–34,000 killed in the first year and nearly 18,900 shot at Paneriai in September–November 1941. Yad Vashem gives a range of 26,881 (German sources) to 61,898 (Jewish sources) for July–December 1941. USHMM gives about 40,000 killed at Ponary by the end of 1941.

- **Ghetto populations, 6 September 1941:** about 29,000–30,000 in Ghetto I and 9,000–11,000 in Ghetto II; about 6,000 diverted to Lukiškės (Arad; Kruk; Yad Vashem).

- **Remaining at the end of 1941:** about 20,000 (Yad Vashem); Jäger counted about 15,000 working Jews and families.

- **Ghetto census, 27–29 May 1942:** 15,507 named prisoners. Vilna Gaon Museum, Vilniaus getas: kalinių sąrašai, vol 1 (1996); [JewishGen index.]

- **26 July 1942:** 84 elderly and sick prisoners shot (Arad; Kruk; Sakowicz's estimate of about 150 for the same period differs).

- **5 April 1943:** about 4,000 (Arad) or 4,000–5,000 (Bubnys) Jews from provincial ghettos shot at Paneriai.

- **June–July 1943:** Biała Waka 67; Kena about 240 (Arad) or 240–300 (Bubnys); Bezdany about 350 (Arad) or 250–300 (Bubnys).

- **23–24 September 1943:** 1,600–2,000 men to Estonia; 1,400–1,700 women to Kaiserwald; 4,000–5,000 women and children to Sobibor (Arad 2005; USHMM) or Majdanek (Arad 1980); several hundred shot at Paneriai.

- **27 March 1944:** about 200 children taken from Kailis and HKP.

- **2–3 July 1944:** the remaining prisoners of HKP, Kailis and the workshops shot; 150–200 (Arad) or about 250 (Silent Heroes Memorial) HKP survivors.

- **Survivors of the community:** 2,000–3,000 of about 57,000 under occupation (Arad's synthesis, pp 461–470).

• **Paneriai, all years, all victim groups:** the Soviet commission gave more than 100,000; the Würzburg court found at least 30,000 for Weiss's unit; the Paneriai Memorial gives 50,000–70,000 victims, mostly Jews, and keeps the inherited figure of 70,000 Jews on the monument; VLE gives 100,000, including 70,000 Jews. Paneriai received victims from the whole region; a Paneriai total is not a Vilnius city total.

14 After the war

14A Soviet, Polish and German trials

Soviet and Polish courts tried Special Squad members from 1944 to 1978 (section 10A). West German courts convicted Weiss and Hering (1950) and Filbert (1962); Banionis reports four acquittals among seven German commanders (p 74), an aggregate qualified in section 10A; and Schweinberger was acquitted at Wiesbaden in 1973; an Austrian jury acquitted Murer (1963) after a Soviet court had sentenced him (1948); proceedings against Heinrich Ditz and six others for the shooting of 2,000 Jews at Paneriai in late 1942 were discontinued at Frankfurt in 1959 (section 10H; Tomkiewicz, p 228). Tomkiewicz's 2023 account identifies the Institute of National Remembrance investigation of crimes against Jews in the Vilnius region as S 87.2006.Zn, with 42 volumes (pp 227, 236); its current procedural status was not established.

14B The American cases and Lithuania's response

• **Lileikis.** The Justice Department filed its complaint in September 1994; on 24 May 1996 Judge Richard Stearns stripped Lileikis of his citizenship, finding his Saugumas conduct participation in persecution and observing that his later life "does not atone for the tens of thousands who died under his command" (DOJ, 19 June 1996; J. Weekly). He arrived in Vilnius on 18 June 1996, after the citizenship judgment. Lithuania sent genocide charges to the Vilnius court on 6 February 1998 (DOJ); the charge was handing 75 Jews to German death squads. He fainted at hearings in 1998 and 2000 and died on 26 September 2000 without a verdict (Baltic Times). On 15 September 1998 the U.S. State Department publicly expressed deep disappointment that Lithuania had not tried him. Judy Feigin's history of the Office of Special Investigations records that Lithuania first said in February 1995 that it lacked evidence to open an investigation, opened one before the president's visit to Israel, later insisted on eyewitnesses despite the documents, disputed whether the 1924 extradition treaty applied, and that a Lithuanian judge rejected an American proposal for an international medical panel; after his death the prosecutor general stated that his office had had sufficient evidence of his role in genocide. [Feigin, printed pp 459–465, 479–481.]

• **Gimžauskas.** His U.S. citizenship was revoked by default judgment in 1996 (DOJ). On 14 February 2001 the Vilnius Regional Court found him guilty of genocide for signing orders handing Jews to the Nazis and held that interrogating Jews and handing them to the German security forces was participation in murder. It imposed no sentence because of his age and illness (Baltic Times; JTA).

• **Dailidė.** Denaturalized in 1997 and affirmed in 2000; ordered removed in 2002; he left for Germany in December 2003. The Eleventh Circuit upheld the removal order on 18 October 2004 and recorded that it had never been executed (opinion, footnote 1). In January 2004 a Lithuanian prosecutor said there was insufficient evidence for genocide charges (Baltic

Times). Indicted in November 2005 under Criminal Code Article 100 for the persecution of fifteen named people, he was convicted on 27 March 2006 and was not imprisoned; contemporary accounts differ in describing the technical sentencing disposition. The prosecution had asked for five years (Baltic Times). The Court of Appeal left the judgment in force on 4 July 2008 (tv3.lt reports). My article No punishment for Dailidė compares that outcome with the prosecution of speech in Lithuania today.

- **Milius (Milinavičius).** Denaturalized in Tampa on 17 August 1998; he had already left for Vilnius (DOJ, 18 August 1998). The DOJ release of 11 July 2001 records his death in Lithuania in 1999. No Lithuanian prosecution was located in this research.

- **Balsys.** Aloyzas Balsys, chief of a Vilnius Saugumas precinct office from at least November 1941, lost his Fifth Amendment claim based on fear of foreign prosecution in the U.S. Supreme Court (*United States v Balsys*, 524 U.S. 666 (1998)) and left for Lithuania in May 1999 (DOJ). No Lithuanian proceeding against him has been located.

Neither Gimžauskas nor Dailidė was imprisoned following his Lithuanian conviction; Lileikis died before judgment. The convictions and the absence of imprisonment are distinct findings.

14C Rehabilitations and their annulment

Under the rehabilitation law of May 1990, which excluded war criminals from eligibility, Lithuania rehabilitated people convicted by Soviet courts; English-language press reports called these decisions “pardons.” By September 1991 the Simon Wiesenthal Center had identified up to 125 who may have committed war crimes (Newsweek). In September 1997 the Supreme Court posthumously annulled the 1991 pardon of Petras Krikščiūnas, whom Soviet authorities had accused of killing Jews in Vilnius (JTA).

14D Vilnius honors and their removal

- On 24 July 2019 the Vilnius City Council voted 21 to 16 to rename Kazys Škirpa Alley as Trispalvės alėja; Mayor Remigijus Šimašius said a man who "promoted the Holocaust cannot be honored in the city of Vilnius" (LRT). Stickers restoring the old name appeared in 2020 and 2021 (Lithuanian Jewish Community).

- The municipality removed the Noreika plaque from the Wróblewski Library on 27 July 2019 (LRT); activists put up an unauthorized replacement in September 2019 (Baltic Times); in October 2019 the Prosecutor General's Office called the mayor's removal illegitimate because the council had installed the plaque (LRT). Section 17A records my correspondence with the municipality.

The library’s deputy director R. Cicėnienė invoked Noreika’s state awards and court rehabilitation in a 6 September 2019 BNS account, describing him as „visais atvejais reabilituotas teismo“ ("rehabilitated by a court in every respect"). The reported willingness to retain the plaque was conditional on coordination and legalization. A 30 September 2019 TV3 account quoted LGGRTC’s 2015 characterization that Noreika had been drawn into paperwork concerning Jewish isolation. These dated positions show how rehabilitation and administrative language were used to defend an honor in Vilnius; they do not supply a court adjudication

clearing the documented anti-Jewish acts. The 2015 certificate itself was not newly inspected here.

14E Testimony

The principal Jewish sources for Vilnius are the diaries of Herman Kruk, Yitskhok Rudashevski and Zelig Kalmanovitch; the memoirs and studies of Mark Dworzecki (1948), Shmerke Kaczerginski (*Khurbn Vilne*, 1947), Avrom Sutzkever (*Vilner geto*, 1946; English 2021) and Mendel Balberyszski (*Stronger than Iron*, Yiddish 1967; English 2010); Leyzer Ran's *Jerusalem of Lithuania* (1974); the testimony of Sutzkever at Nuremberg; and the Fortunoff Archive's Remembering Vilna. Kazimierz Sakowicz's Polish diary from Paneriai records the killing site from outside. Appendices C–E set out what this report draws from them.

15 What Lithuania says

Texts were examined on 31 October 2026. Fresh HTML/text downloads verified the linked VLE, GoVilnius and Paneriai pages and the current original Foreign Ministry texts of 2025 and 2026. Some other communications were examined as dated Internet Archive snapshots, embassy reposts or press reproductions, as linked. The LGGRTC chronology remains based on the August –September 2026 cache and its book notice on the recorded earlier retrieval; both current URLs returned HTTP 403. These are source-text checks, not fresh browser screenshots. Translations are mine.

15A The National Encyclopedia (VLE)

- **"Vilniaus istorija":** „1939 09 19 Vilnių užėmė ir apiplėšė SSRS kariuomenė“ ("On 19 September 1939 the USSR army occupied and plundered Vilnius"). The Holocaust paragraph that follows describes the Jews as confined (*uždaryta*), murdered (*nužudyta*) and the community destroyed (*sunaikinta*), with no actor. About 50,000 confined, more than 33,000 murdered by the end of 1941.

- **"Vilniaus getas":** „Vykdydami diskriminacinius okupacinės valdžios įsakymus vietiniai kolaborantai (lietuviai, lenkai, baltarusiai, rusai) žydus suimdavo gatvėse, butuose, darbovietėse“ ("Carrying out the discriminatory orders of the occupation authorities, local collaborators (Lithuanians, Poles, Belarusians, Russians) arrested Jews in the streets, apartments and workplaces"); the prisoners were „sušaudomi vokiečių saugumo policijos (ir Ypatingojo būrio) narių“ ("shot by members of the German security police (and the Special Squad)"); „Naciai ir jų vietiniai pagalbininkai į abu getus suvarė daugiau kaip 40 000 žydų“ ("The Nazis and their local helpers drove more than 40,000 Jews into both ghettos"). A caption states that Lithuanian police guarded the main gate from outside. The badge and curfew from 4 July 1941 are attributed to an order of the German commandant K. von Ostman: „remiantis Vilniaus komendanto K. von Ostmano įsakymu“; the Lithuanian Citizens' Committee and Auxiliary Police order is not mentioned. The entry states that the Special Squad shot at least 21,000 Jews at Paneriai by the end of 1941 but does not say the squad was Lithuanian. For September 1943: „Nedarbingi asmenys ir vaikai perkelti į Auschwitzo-Birkenau koncentracijos stovyklą (Osvencimas)“ ("People unfit for work and children were transferred to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp"). For July 1944: about 3,000 prisoners in Kailis and HKP and others in the workshops, „visi jie 1944 07 03–04 sušaudyti Paneriuose“ ("all of them were shot at Paneriai on 3–4 July 1944").

- **"Aukštųjų Panerių žudynių vieta ir kapai":** „naciai … laikė ir žudė (padedami vietos kolaborantų) karo belaisvius … Manoma, kad 1941 07–1944 07 nužudyta apie 100 000 įvairių tautybių žmonių; žydų (apie 70 000)“ ("the Nazis … held and killed (assisted by local collaborators) prisoners of war … It is believed that from July 1941 to July 1944 about 100,000 people of various nationalities were murdered; Jews (about 70,000)"). The Special Squad is not mentioned.

- **"Ypatingasis būrys":** a German Security Police unit composed of Lithuanian volunteers, commanded from 23 July 1941 by J. Šidlauskas; it contributed to the persecution and extermination of Jews in Vilnius, Paneriai and seven other localities. Accurate control.

- **Biographies:** "Karolis Dabulevičius" records his resistance and his 1941–1944 mayoralty and omits the ghetto-site selection and property reports; "Stasys Žakevičius" records his leadership of the uprising and the Committee and omits the 3–4 July order; "Mykolas Biržiška" records his rectorship and omits the expulsions; "Lietuvos policija" describes its restoration and subordination to German command in 1941–1944 and omits arrests of Jews, the ghetto removal, guarding and transfers to execution; "Kazimieras Gimžauskas" gives extensive resistance and rescue claims, including thousands saved according to P. Padalis, and records the 2001 guilty finding.

15B The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- **25 September 2025, Vice-Minister Audra Plepytė:** „Tą dieną 1943 m. nacių okupacinė valdžia likvidavo Vilniaus getą ir Panerių miške nužudė didžiąją dalį gete kalintų žydų“ ("On that day in 1943 the Nazi occupation authorities liquidated the Vilnius Ghetto and murdered in the Paneriai forest most of the Jews imprisoned in the ghetto"); „netekome maždaug 190 tūkstančių nužudytų mūsų bendrapiliečių žydų“ ("we lost about 190,000 of our murdered Jewish fellow citizens"). The English version reads "Lithuania lost around 190,000 Jews."

- **24 September 2026, Vice-Minister Vidmantas Verbickas:** „prisimenant 1943 m. nacių okupacinės valdžios ir vietinių kolaborantų likviduotą Vilniaus getą ir Panerių miške nužudytus žmones“ ("commemorating the Vilnius Ghetto liquidated in 1943 by the Nazi occupation authorities and local collaborators, and the people murdered in the Paneriai forest"). The killers at Paneriai are not named.

- **5 August 2025, Minister Kęstutis Budrys with President Herzog:** "Tens of thousands of innocent lives, mostly of fellow Lithuanian Jews, were ended in the most brutal way in Paneriai."

- **8 April 2021, Minister Gabrielius Landsbergis (as reposted by the Embassy in Washington):** „Nacistinės Vokietijos režimas ir jo vietiniai kolaborantai Europoje nužudė 6 milijonus žydų … tarp jų – apie 200 tūkstančių Lietuvos žydų“ ("The Nazi German regime and its local collaborators in Europe murdered six million Jews … among them about 200,000 Lithuanian Jews").

15C Government, Seimas and President, the 23 September commemoration

- **Ministry of Culture, 18 September 2026:** „Šį gyvenimą brutaliai nutraukė okupacijos … Žudynėse dalyvavo nacių okupacinės struktūros ir jų vietiniai talkininkai“ ("This life was

brutally cut short by the occupations … Nazi occupation structures and their local helpers took part in the killings"); „rugsėjo 23 dieną getas buvo galutinai sunaikintas“ ("on 23 September the ghetto was finally destroyed").

- **Department of National Minorities, report of the 2026 ceremony:** „1943 m. nacistinės okupacinės valdžios likviduotą Vilniaus getą … Šį gyvenimą brutaliai nutraukė nacistinė okupacija“ ("the Vilnius Ghetto liquidated in 1943 by the Nazi occupation authorities … This life was brutally cut short by the Nazi occupation"). Prime Minister Mindaugas Sinkevičius, as reported by LRT: „Paneriai nėra tik žydų tragedijos vieta. Tai Lietuvos tragedijos vieta“ ("Paneriai is not only a site of Jewish tragedy. It is a site of Lithuania's tragedy"), followed by words, lies, indifference and "cowardly silence" as the preconditions of the killing.

- **Seimas, press release on the 24 September 2026 resolution on the 85th anniversary:** „nacių ir jų vietinių talkininkų vykdytų žudynių metu buvo nužudyta didžioji dalis Lietuvos Respublikos piliečių žydų“ ("in killings carried out by the Nazis and their local helpers, most of the Jewish citizens of the Republic of Lithuania were murdered"), followed directly by the Soviet repression and June 1941 deportation of Jews. Seimas Speaker Juozas Olekas, 23 September 2025: „Seneliai ir ligoniai geto likvidavimo metu sušaudyti Paneriuose“ ("The elderly and the sick were shot at Paneriai during the liquidation of the ghetto"); the release elsewhere uses the formula "the Nazis and their collaborators" and names no Lithuanian unit or person, while it names Stalin and the Soviet authorities.

- **President Gitanas Nausėda, 18 September 2026** (as reported by LRT): awarded 36 people who saved Jews „nuo nacių genocido“ ("from the Nazi genocide") and praised „tūkstančių Lietuvos žydų gelbėtojų apsisprendimas … jų pasiryžimas ginti savo bendrapiliečių gyvybes“ ("the decision of thousands of rescuers of Lithuania's Jews … their resolve to defend the lives of their fellow citizens"). The rescuers are fellow citizens honored by the Lithuanian state; the only killers named are Nazis.

15D The city of Vilnius

- **GoVilnius, Paneriai visitor center:** "Paneriai is the site of the largest mass murder organized and executed by the Nazis in Lithuania"; Lithuanian: „Paneriai – didžiausia nacių organizuotų ir vykdytų masinių žudynių vieta Lietuvoje.“ The same sentence appears on the Jewish heritage hub.

- **GoVilnius, "The Big and Little Ghetto":** "There were about 29,000 Jews in the Great Ghetto, most of who were killed in Paneriai" — and of the Great Synagogue courtyard: "Soviet authorities destroyed them all."

- **Vilnius City Council, 24 July 2019:** Mayor Šimašius, renaming Škirpa Alley, quoted Škirpa's call to "get rid of all the Jews"; councillor R. Vaisbrodas stated that Škirpa, as LAF leader, contributed to raising antisemitism to the political level (15min/BNS). Accurate control. On removing the Noreika plaque, Šimašius said in a statement to BNS that Noreika took on the occupiers' task "to isolate Jews and confiscate their property" (15min/BNS).

- **Wróblewski Library of the Academy of Sciences, 6 September 2019:** its deputy director said Noreika is a person "rehabilitated by a court in every respect" and said the unauthorized plaque could remain subject to coordination and legalization (15min/BNS; TV3).

15E The Paneriai Memorial and the Holocaust Atlas (Vilna Gaon Museum)

- **Monument to the Jews, 1991:** „AMŽINAS ATMINIMAS 70 000 VILNIAUS IR APYLINKIŲ ŽYDŲ, KURIUOS ČIA, PANERIUOSE, NUŽUDĖ IR SUDEGINO NACISTINIAI BUDELIAI IR JŲ TALKININKAI“ ("Eternal memory to 70,000 Jews of Vilnius and its environs whom the Nazi executioners and their accomplices murdered and burned here in Paneriai"). The page's explanatory text calls the squad a Lithuanian auxiliary police squad („šiame lietuvių pagalbinės policijos būryje“) and its officers Jakubka, Butkus, Šidlauskas and Norvaiša, adding that Weiss commanded it in fact.

- **Memorial history:** „vietiniai baltaraiščiai suimdavo“ ("local white-armbanders arrested"); „Daugumą narių sudarė lietuviai“ ("most members were Lithuanians"); and, of the hostages seized under the German commandant's order of June 1941: „Žydus kaip įkaitus naciams galėjo padėti suimti Valstybės saugumo Vilniaus apygardos, kitų lietuviškų valdžios įstaigų pareigūnai“ ("Officials of the Vilnius district State Security and other Lithuanian government agencies may have helped the Nazis arrest the Jews as hostages").

- **Entrance sign:** the Soviet inscription said "the Hitlerites shot more than 100,000 Soviet people"; the plaques installed in 2004 state that "one hundred thousand people" were murdered at Paneriai, with no perpetrator.

- **Monument to Lithuanians, 1992:** „LIETUVIAMS NUŽUDYTIEMS OKUPANTŲ 1941“ ("To Lithuanians murdered by the occupiers, 1941").

- **Holocaust Atlas of Lithuania, "Žydų žudynės Paneriuose" and "Vilniaus getas":** Lithuanian white-armbanders (LAF members) shot several dozen Soviet prisoners and Jews in the Franciscan garden on 24 June 1941; Lithuanian police battalions escorted prisoners from Lukiškės to Paneriai; on 27 September 1943 policemen of the 4th precinct detained 32 Jews escaping the ghetto and handed them to the German Security Police; „vokiečių ir lietuvių administracinė valdžia įsteigė getą“ ("the German and Lithuanian administrative authorities established the ghetto"); perpetrators listed include the Special Squad with its commanders and the Lithuanian auxiliary police. Accurate control.

15F LGGRTC

- **Chronology of the Holocaust:** a periodization by Arūnas Bubnys (cached copy, August–September 2026). It names Hingst, Murer and Dabulevičius as planning the ghetto; states „1941 m. rugsėjo 6 d. Vilniaus žydai policijos buvo perkelti į getą“ ("on 6 September 1941 the Jews of Vilnius were moved into the ghetto by the police"); states that „po kelių 1941 m. spalio mėn. įvykdytų akcijų“ ("after several actions carried out in October 1941") the small ghetto was liquidated, without the Yom Kippur action; and states for December 1941 – March 1943: „„Stabilizacijos laikotarpis“, kurio metu masinių žydų žudynių nevyko“ ("the 'stabilization period', during which no mass killings of Jews took place").

- **Notice of its Special Squad book:** "For the first time, the list of the murderers of Jews at Paneriai is published": 84 member biographies, 17 Nazi officials, mass murder as the squad's purpose; the Centre's description of the book also reports members moving into central Vilnius addresses (edition 4 capture). Accurate control.

• **As quoted in 2019:** LGGRTC said the LAF under Škirpa raised antisemitism to the political level and "this may have encouraged part of Lithuania's residents to become involved in the Holocaust" (15min, 24 July 2019); its 2015 finding said Noreika "did not take part in mass extermination operations against Jews" (TV3, 30 September 2019).

15G An MP's statement on the Seimas website

On 30 July 2019 MP Mindaugas Puidokas issued a press statement on the Seimas website opposing the renaming of Škirpa Alley. It quoted Vidmantas Valiušaitis: „K. Škirpa nebuvo antisemitas, negalvojo apie „Lietuvą be žydų““ ("Škirpa was not an antisemite and did not envisage 'Lithuania without Jews'"). Puidokas portrayed the council's decision as a violation of the presumption of innocence. This is his statement, not a resolution of the Seimas or a government position. The LAF record against which it must be assessed appears in section 8 and Count 15.

16 Findings against the institutions

Each count states the text, the record, the effect, the institutional information available, notice, persistence, the level of finding and the correction sought. Level 1 means a material omission or misstatement proven on the record; higher levels require proof of continuation after notice and of intent, which is stated only where established. The IHRA Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion (2013), non-binding, lists among forms of distortion "intentional efforts to excuse or minimize the impact of the Holocaust or its principal elements, including collaborators and allies of Nazi Germany"; IHRA's *Understanding Holocaust Distortion* (2021) applies it. Lithuania's Supreme Court has held that crimes can be minimized through omission (LAT 2K-173-1073/2025, ¶¶ 15–19). Both are cited as interpretive standards only.

Count 1 — VLE, "Vilniaus istorija" — agency displaced

• **Says:** the Soviet army "occupied and plundered" Vilnius; the Jews were confined and murdered, without naming an actor (15A).

• **Record:** EM Nr. 21; Jäger; the Iškauskas report; the Special Squad's shootings (sections 8–10).

• **Effect:** a reader of the city's history learns who plundered Vilnius in 1939 and not who killed its Jews in 1941.

• **Institutional information available:** VLE's own "Vilniaus getas" and "Ypatingasis būrys" entries.

• **Notice:** none specific to this entry. **Still says:** unchanged on 31 October 2026.

• **Level:** 1.

• **Correction sought:** LT: „Žydus suiminėjo Lietuvos policija ir Saugumas; į getą juos varė ir getą saugojo Lietuvos policija ir savisaugos batalionai; Paneriuose juos šaudė daugiausia iš lietuvių sudarytas Ypatingasis būrys, vadovaujamas vokiečių saugumo policijos ir SD.“ EN: "Lithuanian police and the Saugumas arrested Jews; Lithuanian police and self-defense battalions drove them into the ghetto and guarded it; at Paneriai they were shot by the Special

Squad, composed mostly of Lithuanians, under the command of the German Security Police and SD."

Count 2 — VLE, "Vilniaus getas" — the Auschwitz destination

- **Says:** children and people unfit for work were sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau in September 1943 (15A).
- **Record:** Arad (2005) and USHMM: Sobibor, or murder at Paneriai; Arad (1980): Majdanek. The Museum's child-survivor page gives Majdanek and Auschwitz.
- **Effect:** places the murder of 4,000–5,000 women and children at Auschwitz, a destination the principal reconstructions do not support (Arad 2005 and USHMM: Sobibor).
- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „1943 m. rugsėjo 23–24 d. 4–5 tūkst. moterų ir vaikų išvežta į naikinimo stovyklas Lenkijoje (daugiausia į Sobiborą) ir ten nužudyta; keli šimtai senų ir ligotų žmonių sušaudyta Paneriuose.“ EN: "On 23–24 September 1943, 4,000–5,000 women and children were deported to killing centers in Poland (mainly Sobibor) and murdered there; several hundred elderly and sick people were shot at Paneriai."

Count 3 — VLE, "Vilniaus getas" — "all of them were shot"

- **Says:** all remaining prisoners of Kailis, HKP and the workshops were shot at Paneriai on 3–4 July 1944.
- **Record:** 150–200 (Arad) or about 250 (Silent Heroes Memorial) HKP prisoners survived; the Paneriai Memorial dates the murders to 2–3 July 1944.
- **Effect:** erases the survivors and their rescuer, Karl Plagge, and dates the killings a day later than the Paneriai Memorial.
- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „1944 m. liepos 2–3 d. dauguma likusių HKP, Kailio ir dirbtuvių kalinių sušaudyta; Arado duomenimis, slėptuvėse išsigelbėjo apie 150–200 HKP kalinių; memorialas „Tylūs didvyriai“ nurodo apie 250.“ EN: "On 2–3 July 1944 most of the remaining prisoners of HKP, Kailis and the workshops were shot; Arad estimates that 150–200 HKP prisoners survived in hiding; the Silent Heroes Memorial gives about 250."

Count 4 — VLE, "Vilniaus getas" — the Lithuanian issuers omitted

- **Says:** the badge and curfew applied from 4 July 1941 under an order of the German commandant K. von Ostman; "local collaborators (Lithuanians, Poles, Belarusians, Russians)" arrested Jews; the Special Squad shot at least 21,000 Jews at Paneriai by the end of 1941 (15A).
- **Record:** a federal court found that the Vilnius City and District Citizens' Committee and the Vilnius City and District Auxiliary Police issued an anti-Jewish order of 3 July 1941 imposing a 6 p.m. curfew (Lileikis, n 7); Arad records the Žakevičius–Iškauskas notice of 4 July (pp 55–56). EM Nr. 21 assigns the arrests to 150 Lithuanian officials. The Special Squad was composed mostly of Lithuanians (Paneriai Memorial; VLE, "Ypatingasis būrys").

- **Effect:** the reader sees a German order and a German-led squad; the Lithuanian authors of the order and the Lithuanian composition of the squad disappear, and the arrests are spread across four nationalities.

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „1941 m. liepos 3–4 d. Vilniaus miesto ir srities piliečių komitetas (pirm. S. Žakevičius) ir pagalbinės policijos vadas A. Iškauskas įsakė žydams nešioti skiriamuosius ženklus ir įvedė komendanto valandą. Ypatingąjį būrį sudarė daugiausia lietuviai.“ EN: "On 3–4 July 1941 the Vilnius City and District Citizens' Committee (chairman S. Žakevičius) and auxiliary police chief A. Iškauskas ordered Jews to wear identifying badges and imposed a curfew. The Special Squad was composed mostly of Lithuanians."

Count 5 — VLE, "Aukštųjų Panerių žudynių vieta ir kapai" — the killing unit omitted

- **Says:** Nazis killed prisoners of war "assisted by local collaborators"; about 70,000 Jews "were murdered"; 100,000 victims in all (15A).

- **Record:** the Special Squad, the 1st and 3rd battalions and the Lithuanian police (sections 9–10); the Paneriai Memorial calls the Soviet 100,000 an exaggeration.

- **Effect:** the encyclopedia's entry for the site does not name the unit that did most of the shooting there.

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** add: LT: „Žydus Paneriuose šaudė daugiausia iš lietuvių sudarytas Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys (vad. J. Šidlauskas, B. Norvaiša), pavaldus vokiečių saugumo policijai ir SD; suimtuosius konvojavo ir žudymo vietą saugojo lietuvių savisaugos batalionai.“ EN: "The Jews at Paneriai were shot mainly by the Vilnius Special Squad, composed mostly of Lithuanians (commanders J. Šidlauskas and B. Norvaiša) and subordinate to the German Security Police and SD; Lithuanian self-defense battalions escorted the prisoners and guarded the killing site."

Count 6 — Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 25 September 2025 and 24 September 2026 — Lithuanian killers omitted

- **Says:** in 2025 the "Nazi occupation authorities" liquidated the ghetto and murdered most of its prisoners at Paneriai; in 2026 the "Nazi occupation authorities and local collaborators" liquidated the ghetto, and the people at Paneriai "were murdered" (15B).

- **Record:** most of the ghetto's prisoners in September 1943 were deported to Estonia, Latvia and Sobibor; several hundred were shot at Paneriai, by Lithuanians under German orders and with German participation (Event 16). The Paneriai killings of 1941–1944 were carried out mainly by the Special Squad.

- **Effect:** the state's foreign-facing account names only Germans, then an anonymous "local" category, and in 2025 misstates where the ghetto's last prisoners died.

- **Institutional information available:** the Paneriai Memorial and LGGRTC's own 2019 book, both state institutions.

• **Notice:** my request of 18 September 2026, registered as No. 2-15926 on 21 September 2026 (section 17B). **Persistence:** the 24 September 2026 text, published three days after registration, still did not name the Lithuanian killers.

• **Level:** 1, with notice and persistence recorded. **Correction sought:** LT: „1943 m. rugsėjo 23–24 d. nacistinė okupacinė valdžia likvidavo Vilniaus getą. Paneriuose 1941–1944 m. žydus šaudė vokiečių saugumo policijai pavaldus Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys, sudarytas daugiausia iš lietuvių; juos suiminėjo, konvojavo ir saugojo Lietuvos policija ir savisaugos batalionai.“ EN: "On 23–24 September 1943 the Nazi occupation authorities liquidated the Vilnius Ghetto. At Paneriai in 1941–1944 Jews were shot by the Vilnius Special Squad, composed mostly of Lithuanians and subordinate to the German Security Police; Lithuanian police and self-defense battalions arrested, escorted and guarded them." Add LT: „Dauguma likvidavimo metu gete likusių kalinių išvežta į stovyklas; keli šimtai senų ir ligotų kalinių nužudyta Paneriuose.“ EN: "Most prisoners remaining at liquidation were deported to camps; several hundred elderly and sick prisoners were murdered at Paneriai." The English translation should also say: "About 190,000 of Lithuania’s Jews were murdered."

Count 7 — LGGRTC, Holocaust chronology — "no mass killings"

• **Says:** December 1941 – March 1943 was a „Stabilizacijos laikotarpis“, during which „masinių žydų žudynių nevyko“ (15F).

• **Record:** elderly and sick ghetto prisoners shot at Paneriai in July 1942 — 84 handed over on 26 July (Arad; Kruk), 150 killed on 17 July according to VLE's own general ghetto entry; women shot in September 1942; 406 people from Oshmyany selected by the Vilnius ghetto police and handed to Germans and Lithuanians on 23 October 1942; selective killings throughout (Event 13). VLE's "Vilniaus getas" states: „Nuo 1942 Vilniaus geto žydai naikinti nedidelėmis grupėmis“ ("From 1942 the Jews of the Vilnius ghetto were destroyed in small groups").

• **Effect:** categorically excludes mass killings during a period in which the record documents murders of groups of Jews, including elderly and sick prisoners. VLE’s ghetto entry describes mass killings as less intensive in January 1942–March 1943 than in the second half of 1941, rather than absent.

• **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „1941 m. gruodžio–1943 m. kovo mėn. masinių akcijų sumažėjo, tačiau žudynės tęsėsi: 1942 m. liepos mėn. Paneriuose sušaudyta keliasdešimt senų ir ligotų geto kalinių, 1942 m. spalio 23 d. Ašmenoje vokiečiams ir lietuviams perduoti 406 seni ir ligoti žmonės.“ EN: "From December 1941 to March 1943 the mass actions decreased, but the killing continued: in July 1942 dozens of elderly and sick ghetto prisoners were shot at Paneriai; on 23 October 1942, 406 elderly and sick people were handed over to Germans and Lithuanians at Oshmyany."

Count 8 — LGGRTC, Holocaust chronology — the police unnamed and Yom Kippur omitted

• **Says:** „1941 m. rugsėjo 6 d. Vilniaus žydai policijos buvo perkelti į getą“; the small ghetto was liquidated „po kelių 1941 m. spalio mėn. įvykdytų akcijų“ (15F).

• **Record:** the Lithuanian city police under Iškauskas, the 1st and 3rd battalions (section 10); the Yom Kippur action of 1 October 1941 (Event 7). The chronology names Lithuanian police in its April 1943 and labor-camp entries.

• **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** name „Vilniaus miesto lietuvių policija (vad. A. Iškauskas) ir savisaugos batalionai“ ("the Vilnius city Lithuanian police (chief A. Iškauskas) and self-defense battalions") and add „1941 m. spalio 1 d. (Jom Kipuro dieną) vokiečiai ir lietuviai iš abiejų getų suėmė apie 3 900 žydų“ ("on 1 October 1941 (Yom Kippur) Germans and Lithuanians seized about 3,900 Jews from both ghettos").

Count 9 — GoVilnius — the Lithuanian shooting unit omitted

• **Says:** Paneriai is the site of mass murder "organized and executed by the Nazis"; the Jews of the ghetto "were killed"; Soviet authorities "destroyed" the synagogue courtyard (15D).

• **Record:** the Paneriai Memorial, which GoVilnius promotes, names the Lithuanian squad that executed the killings.

• **Effect:** attributes organization and execution to Nazis without naming the predominantly Lithuanian Special Squad that carried out the shootings; the same tourism account expressly names Soviet authorities for destruction of buildings.

• **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „Paneriai – didžiausia masinių žudynių vieta Lietuvoje. Žudynes organizavo nacių okupacinė valdžia; žydus šaudė daugiausia iš lietuvių sudarytas Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys.“ EN: "Paneriai is the largest mass-murder site in Lithuania. The killings were organized by the Nazi occupation authorities; the Jews were shot mainly by the Vilnius Special Squad, composed mostly of Lithuanians."

Count 10 — Government, Seimas and President, 18–24 September 2026 — rescuers honored, killers foreign

• **Says:** "Nazi occupation structures and their local helpers" (Ministry of Culture); "the Nazi occupation" (Department of National Minorities); "the Nazis and their local helpers," followed by Soviet repression of Jews (Seimas); rescuers of Lithuania's Jews defending "the lives of their fellow citizens" "from the Nazi genocide" (President); Paneriai as "a site of Lithuania's tragedy" (Prime Minister) (15C).

• **Effect:** in the state's commemorative texts for the 85th anniversary, Lithuanians appear as rescuers and mourners; the killers are Nazis or anonymous "local helpers."

• **Level:** 1 for the commemorative corpus; the pattern across the institutions is documented here and set against the accurate controls in Appendix A1. **Correction sought:** name the Lithuanian formations in each commemorative text, as the Paneriai Memorial does. LT: „Vilniaus žydus suiminėjo ir konvojavo lietuvių policija bei savisaugos batalionai; Paneriuose juos šaudė daugiausia iš lietuvių sudarytas Ypatingasis būrys, pavaldus vokiečių saugumo policijai ir SD.“ EN: "Lithuanian police and self-defense battalions arrested and escorted Vilnius Jews; at Paneriai they were shot mainly by the predominantly Lithuanian Special Squad under German Security Police and SD command."

Count 11 — VLE biographies — the acts left out

- **Dabulevičius:** omits the ghetto-site selection and the 429-house and 71-workshop inventory. **Žakevičius:** omits the 3–4 July order. **Biržiška:** omits the signed expulsions of 19 September 1941, which VLE's own Olkinaitė entry acknowledges. **"Lietuvos policija":** omits arrests of Jews, the ghetto removal, guarding and transfers to execution. **Gimžauskas:** gives extensive rescue claims and the guilty finding without the orders and victims the conviction rested on.

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** add to each entry the documented act in one sentence with its source, for example for Biržiška: LT: „1941 m. rugsėjo 19 d. pasirašė įsakymus pašalinti iš universiteto žydų tautybės studentus (Ch. Meištovskį, M. Olkinaitę, E. L. Olkiną).“ EN: "On 19 September 1941 he signed orders expelling Jewish students from the university (Ch. Meištovskis, M. Olkinaitė, E. L. Olkinas)."

Count 12 — Kretinga municipal library, biography of Petras Buragas — the Jewish-affairs function omitted

- **Says:** the library's biography describes him as the mayor's referent/administrative official in Vilnius and recounts his Stutthof imprisonment and suffering under the NKVD.

- **Record:** municipal official for Jewish affairs; forwarded the mixed-family list demand; declared smaller-ghetto property German (section 10G).

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „P. Buragas Vilniaus savivaldybėje tvarkė žydų reikalus; 1941 m. lapkričio 27 d. perdavė Judenratui F. Murerio reikalavimą pateikti mišrių šeimų ir jų vaikų sąrašus.“ EN: "P. Buragas handled Jewish affairs in the Vilnius municipality; on 27 November 1941 he forwarded Murer’s demand for lists of mixed families and their children to the Judenrat."

Count 13 — Paneriai Memorial — the later proven Saugumas role omitted

- **Says:** Saugumas officials „galėjo padėti“ ("may have helped") the Nazis arrest Jews as hostages in June 1941; the Memorial's history does not state the Saugumas's later arrests and transfers to execution; the 2004 entrance plaques say "one hundred thousand people" were murdered, with no perpetrator (15E).

- **Record:** American court findings on signed Saugumas transfers of named Jews to execution in 1941 (section 10B).

- **Effect:** the Saugumas appears only as a possible helper in one episode; its proven role in the killing system is absent. The 2004 plaques replaced the Soviet "Hitlerites" with no agent at all.

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** LT: „Lietuvių saugumo policijos Vilniaus apygardos pareigūnai suiminėjo žydus ir perduodavo juos vokiečių saugumo policijai; A. Lileikio byloje nustatyti jo pasirašyti įsakymai perduoti įvardytus žydus sušaudyti.“ EN: "Officials of the Vilnius district Lithuanian Security Police arrested Jews and transferred them to German Security Police; signed transfer orders in the Lileikis case sent named Jews to execution."

Count 14 — The commemorative and encyclopedic corpus — sexual violence absent

- **Says:** the popular commemorative and encyclopedia pages listed in section 15 do not mention sexual violence against the Jews of Vilnius.

- **Record:** Sakowicz's 9 September 1943 entry (Lithuanians beating and sexually touching women before shooting them); the Fortunoff and Kruk testimony (section 11C).

- **Level:** 1. **Correction sought:** VLE's "Vilniaus getas" and Paneriai entries should state: LT: „1943 m. rugsėjo 9 d. K. Sakowiczius užrašė, kaip lietuviai Paneriuose mušė moteris, vertė jas nusirengti ir lietė jų nuogus kūnus prieš sušaudymą.“ EN: "On 9 September 1943 Sakowicz recorded Lithuanians at Paneriai beating women, forcing them to undress and touching their naked bodies before the shooting."

Count 15 — A parliamentary website carrying an MP's denial of Škirpa's antisemitism

- **Text and attribution:** the 30 July 2019 statement of MP Mindaugas Puidokas, quoted in section 15G, republishes Vidmantas Valiušaitis's denial and attacks the street-renaming decision. Publication on the Seimas website records parliamentary dissemination, not adoption by the Seimas as a body.

- **Record and correction sought:** the public account must address Škirpa's LAF leadership and the movement's anti-Jewish declarations. Arad reproduces declarations threatening Jews and demanding permanent exclusion and deprivation of civil rights [pp 35–36]. LT: „K. Škirpa vadovavo LAF; jo vertinimas turi apimti LAF antisemitinius pareiškimus ir jų dokumentų kilmę.“ EN: "Škirpa led the LAF; an assessment of him must address its antisemitic declarations and their documentary provenance." Attribute particular documents and acts individually rather than treating leadership as proof that he authored every text.

- **Level:** documented public denial and conflicting historical evidence; no finding here that the parliamentary institution adopted the denial or that the MP intended concealment.

17 Notice and response

17A The Noreika plaque in Vilnius

The memorial plaque to Jonas Noreika on the building of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences honors a man whose 1941 orders as head of Šiauliai District sent the Jews of the district's towns into ghettos and to their deaths. That record is set out in my report “I Order”. The Vilnius question concerns the honor and how the municipality handled the evidence.

- **10 May 2015.** I asked the municipality to examine the propriety of honoring Noreika.

- **30 July 2015.** The mayor's letter A51-73764/15 acknowledged the LGGRTC findings cited in the dispute and asked the Wróblewski Library to decide on the plaque. Six enclosure pages referenced in that letter were absent from the copy later supplied.

- **1 November 2015.** I requested removal on permit-compliance grounds.

- **26 August 2016.** My counsel asked what action the municipality had taken.

- **September 2026.** A consolidated records request sought the 2015 appeal file, the 2016 counsel inquiry and a recipient copy of a lost April 2019 letter.
- **12 October 2026.** The municipality's response A51-170503/26 supplied the 2015 mayoral letter and declined to examine the remaining parts of the request on stated procedural grounds. The same day I sent a signed reconsideration request, registered as A50-38095/26, seeking the missing enclosure pages and the routing and reply records. The municipality acknowledged registration and referral. A search of correspondence through 31 October 2026 located no substantive answer.

The current physical state of the plaque was not verified for this report.

17B The Foreign Ministry's Paneriai statements

- **18 September 2026.** I filed a signed request asking the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to correct its 25 September 2025 Paneriai publication, which names "Nazi occupation authorities" and omits the Lithuanian shooters, and its 2026 commemorative communications; the 2025 text is examined in Foreign Ministry Named Nazis, Not Local Killers. The Ministry registered the request on 21 September 2026 as No. 2-15926.
- **19 September 2026.** I filed a signed records request for the drafting, sourcing and approval records behind six Ministry Holocaust communications, including the 8 April 2021, 5 August 2025 and 25 September 2025 Paneriai texts. It was registered on 21 September 2026 as No. 2-15933. The request also records that the Ministry's Lithuanian text, „netekome maždaug 190 tūkstančių nužudytų … žydų“ ("we lost about 190 thousand murdered … Jews"), became "Lithuania lost around 190,000 Jews" in English, dropping "murdered."
- **23–24 September 2026.** The Ministry's 2026 Paneriai text, published three days after it registered my request, attributed the ghetto's liquidation to "Nazi occupation authorities and local collaborators" and did not name the Lithuanian killers at Paneriai (section 15B). I documented it in Lithuania's MFA Mourns Jews, Omits the Shooters.
- **Disposition.** The correspondence search through 31 October 2026 located no substantive answer to these Paneriai requests. The Ministry’s letter of 30 October 2026, No. (24.1E)3-6928, signed by Chancellor Aistė Stakėnienė, declines six other requests in their stated scope on workload, breadth, creation-of-new-information and access grounds. Its first page enumerates those six registrations; neither Paneriai No. 2-15926 nor No. 2-15933 appears. This letter therefore supplies no decision on either Paneriai request. [Letter, pp 1, 5–6; registration metadata, p 8; original electronic-document copy retained in the research record.]

17C Corrections addressed in this report

No correction request based on the new Vilnius findings in this report has yet been filed. The questions in section 6 are addressed to the institutions named there.

18 What remains unknown

Each gap carries one status: NOT FOUND (searched for and not located), NOT INSPECTED (located but not examined) or NOT ACCESSIBLE (access blocked).

- **The full text of the 3–4 July 1941 Committee and Auxiliary Police order** — NOT INSPECTED. It decides exactly which restrictions Žakevičius and Iškauskas imposed. Likely held in LCVA and printed in *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, vol 1 (1965); filed as Government Tab 21 in the Lileikis case.

- **Dabulevičius's appointment instrument and date as mayor; Lileikis's appointment as Saugumas chief** — NOT FOUND. Likely in LCVA f. R-643 (Vilnius municipality) and the Saugumas personnel files.

- **The municipal property inventories of 10, 22 and 25 September 1941 and the allocation records** — NOT INSPECTED. They decide who received which Jewish houses and workshops. Cited by Arad through *Documents Accuse*, pp 225–226; Yad Vashem O-18/148, O-18/149, O-18/151.

- **The Vilnius committee's lists of intended property assignees** — NOT INSPECTED (Brandišauskas, 2002).

- **The addresses taken by Special Squad members** — NOT INSPECTED (LGGRTC, 2019 book).

- **The Lietūkis receipts for the April 1943 victims' food** — NOT FOUND.

- **Labor payrolls, treasury receipts and the April 1942 Murer order** — NOT INSPECTED.

- **The Lileikis case exhibits (Tabs 21, 95, 100, 124–125, 149, 155–159), the Dailidė arrest and inventory records and the Gimžauskas orders** — NOT INSPECTED. The American judgments describing the Lileikis and Dailidė records were read; the Gimžauskas orders were known through DOJ accounts, not an inspected Lithuanian judgment.

- **The Iškauskas report of 9 September 1941 in the original Lithuanian** — NOT INSPECTED; the English reproduction was read. LCVA f. R-689, ap. 1, b. 10.

- **The Special Squad interrogation files** (LYA f. K-1, ap. 46, b. 1234, 1251, 1290, 4907–4916; ap. 45, b. 490; ap. 58, b. 8890/3, b. 47746/3) — NOT INSPECTED; cited through Šikšnianas and Bubnys.

- **The LGGRTC 2019 book's list of 84 members and 17 German officials and its conviction data** — NOT INSPECTED; read through Banionis's review and LGGRTC's notice.

- **The original Vilnius judgment sentencing Sausaitis on 16 February 1978 and the May 1977 hearing record** — NOT INSPECTED. The published references identify Galvanauskas/Gilwiński, Martišius and Zalepūga as witnesses, not defendants; judgments against them cannot be inferred from those references.

- **The postwar fates of Šidlauskas, Norvaiša, Lukošius, Butkus, Jakubka and Tumas** — NOT FOUND.

- **The September 1943 transport documents** — NOT FOUND. They decide the destination of the 4,000–5,000 women and children.

- **The 2008 Dailidė appeal ruling text and case number** — NOT FOUND.

- **The current physical state of the Noreika plaque** — NOT INSPECTED.

- **LitvakSIG records** — summary counts reported but not independently validated; direct query blocked (Appendix B). Individual records and images were not examined.

19 Anticipated defenses and the published positions to be answered

- **German command and Lithuanian acts, as discussed in Furmonavičius's argument (Appendix A2).** German officials organized and commanded the killing. This report names Hingst, Murer, Weiss, Filbert, Schweinberger, Kittel and Neugebauer and their acts. German command does not remove the acts of the Lithuanians who carried it out. The Special Squad that fired at Paneriai was recruited from Vilnius residents and commanded by Lithuanian officers; the Lithuanian police emptied the city's Jewish homes on 6 September 1941; Lithuanian Saugumas officers signed the orders that delivered named children to execution (sections 9–10).

- **Marginality in Furmonavičius's account (Appendix A2).** Bubnys, writing for LGGRTC, records a Special Squad of between 45 and 150 men at different dates; LGGRTC's own notice publishes 84 member biographies. Arad's composite reconstruction attributes most of the roughly 33,000 Jews murdered in Vilnius in 1941 to actions in which this unit fired (section 13). The unit's changing size does not reduce the documented number of victims or the responsibility established for particular members by the evidence.

- **"The Lithuanian police were rightless servants of the Germans."** The phrase comes from a 1974 self-description by Vytautas Reivytis, repeated in a 2022 LRT essay. The essay's continuation itself acknowledges lethal Saugumas transfers and integral participation in persecuting Jews. American courts found that Dailidė's acts went beyond assistance (section 10B).

- **Bubnys's distinction between shooting and transfers (Appendix A3).** The American judgments do not attribute personal shooting to Lileikis. They find that his signed orders placed named Jews, including a six-year-old child, in the custody of the men who shot them. A signature on a transfer to execution is participation in the murder.

- **The legal scope of the American judgments.** They were civil denaturalization and removal proceedings. Their factual findings rest on the Saugumas's own wartime orders, authenticated and tested in adversarial litigation. Lithuania's own courts later found Gimžauskas guilty of genocide (2001) and Dailidė guilty of persecution under Criminal Code Article 100 (2006) (section 14).

- **The source basis and interrogation evidence.** The central findings of this report do not depend on Soviet interrogations. They rest on German reports (Jäger, the Einsatzgruppen reports), the Lithuanian police chief's own 9 September 1941 report, signed Saugumas orders, contemporary Jewish diaries (Kruk, Rudashevski, Kalmanovitch), the Polish neighbor Sakowicz's diary and survivor testimony. Interrogation accounts are identified as such. The wider killing system is independently documented by these other source classes; this does not establish independent corroboration of every individual act recounted in an interrogation.

- **Arad's assessment of Sakowicz's prejudice.** His editor Arad acknowledges that prejudice. Sakowicz's observations of German shooting are recorded alongside his observations of

Lithuanian shooting, and the Lithuanian composition of the Special Squad is confirmed by the Paneriai Memorial, LGGRTC and VLE.

- **The Refugee Archive editors' assessment of the 1939 pogrom (section 7E).** This report attributes the October 1939 pogrom as the sources do: Polish rioters, Lithuanian soldiers and police who beat Jews and arrested Jewish defenders, and later Lithuanian preventive measures (section 7).

- **Resistance and rescue in the official biographies (section 15A).** Their resistance and rescue acts are recorded here. They do not cancel the mayor's site selection and property reports or the rector's signed expulsions; a biography that records only the first misleads (section 16).

- **The specialist institutional accounts (Appendix A1).** Some of their texts do, and this report cites them as accurate controls. The defect lies in the general texts readers see first — the city history, the Foreign Ministry's Paneriai statements, the tourism pages — and in specific false statements (section 16).

- **The standards for evaluating omissions.** Under the IHRA Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion, distortion includes "intentional efforts to excuse or minimize the impact of the Holocaust or its principal elements, including collaborators and allies of Nazi Germany." Lithuania's Supreme Court has held that crimes can be minimized through omissions (LAT 2K-173-1073/2025, ¶¶ 15–19). Both are cited here as interpretive standards; the counts in section 16 are stated at the level the evidence supports.

20 Sources

Short citations in brackets refer to the following works. Web sources are linked where they are cited.

1. Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980). Printed page numbers.

2. Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Diary, 1941–1943: A Bystander's Account of a Mass Murder*, ed. Yitzhak Arad (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Lithuanian edition, *Panerių dienoraštis 1941–1943 m.*, introduction by Arūnas Bubnys (LGGRTC, 2012).

3. Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944*, ed. Benjamin Harshav, trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven: YIVO and Yale University Press, 2002).

4. Einsatzgruppen reports: *Ereignismeldungen UdSSR* Nr. 17, 21 and 24 (July 1941), BArch R 58/214; Yitzhak Arad, Shmuel Krakowski and Shmuel Spector (eds), *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989); German text of Nr. 21 as transcribed by PHDN.

5. Karl Jäger, "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereich des EK. 3 bis zum 1. Dez. 1941 durchgeführten Exekutionen," 1 December 1941, German transcription, sheets 1, 5–7.

6. *United States v Lileikis*, 929 F. Supp. 31 (D. Mass. 1996); *United States v Dailide*, 227 F.3d 385 (6th Cir. 2000); *Dailide v U.S. Attorney General* (11th Cir. 2004); *United States v Balsys*, 524 U.S. 666 (1998); U.S. Department of Justice releases cited in sections 10B and 14B.

7. Judy Feigin, *The Office of Special Investigations: Striving for Accountability in the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, ed. Mark M. Richard (U.S. Department of Justice, draft dated December 2008, released 2010), printed pp 459–481.

8. Arūnas Bubnys, "1941 m. birželio sukilimas Vilniuje" (republished 2020); "Etniniai santykiai nacių okupuotoje Lietuvoje 1941–1944 m.," *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 2011, no 1 (29); "Lietuvių savisaugos dalinių Vilniaus apygardos batalionai (1941–1944 m.)," *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 24 (2008), pp 35–61; "Lietuvių policijos 2-asis (Vilniaus) ir 252-asis batalionai," *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 8 (2000); *Vokiečių saugumo policijos ir SD Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys 1941–1944 m.* (LGGRTC, 2019), as reviewed by Juozas Banionis, *Istorija* 114 (2019), pp 72–75; *The Holocaust in Lithuania 1941–1944* (LGGRTC, 2020).

9. Mantas Šikšnianas, "Tarp masės ir individo. Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys 1941–1945 m.," *Genocidas ir rezistencija* 39 (2016), pp 93–110.

10. Monika Tomkiewicz, "The Prosecution and Punishment of the Perpetrators of Crimes Committed Against Jews in Ponary and Other Execution Sites in the Vilnius Region," *Polish-Jewish Studies* 4 (2023); Tomkiewicz, study of Lukiškės prison (IPN).

11. Michael MacQueen, "The Context of Mass Destruction: Agents and Prerequisites of the Holocaust in Lithuania," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12, no 1 (1998).

12. Alex J. Kay, "Transition to Genocide, July 1941: Einsatzkommando 9 and the Annihilation of Soviet Jewry," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27, no 3 (2013), pp 411–442.

13. Antanas Iškauskas, report of 9 September 1941, in *Lithuania: Crime and Punishment*, vol 5, printed p 44; LCVA f. R-689, ap. 1, b. 10.

14. Vytautas Brandišauskas, study of the expropriation of Jewish property, *Genocidas ir rezistencija* (2002).

15. *Pinkas Hakehillot Polin*, vol VIII, "Vilna" (Yad Vashem), JewishGen translation; YIVO Encyclopedia, "Vilnius"; Yad Vashem, *The Story of the Jewish Community of Vilna* (online exhibition); USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia, "Vilna" and "Polish Jewish Refugees in Lithuania, 1939–40."

16. Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, *Remembering Vilna* (Yale University).

17. Vilnius University, *Grįžtanti atmintis* (Recovering Memory) facsimiles and accounts, 2017 and 2026.

18. Lithuanian institutional texts quoted in section 15. Fresh HTML/text downloads on 31 October 2026 verified 34 of its 36 linked sources, including downloads of dated archive snapshots; direct current MFA 2025 and 2026 texts were also checked. The two LGGRTC URLs remained blocked. Access routes, dates and hashes are recorded separately; no fresh browser screenshots are claimed.

19. Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, vol VIII, pp 302–307 (Sutzkever testimony, 27 February 1946).

20. Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, Lfd. Nr. 192 (LG Würzburg, 3 February 1950).

Author's statement

I am the descendant of Lithuanian Jews murdered in the Holocaust and a doctoral candidate in Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Gratz College. I publish this report so that the people who seized, robbed and shot the Jews of Vilnius are named in the record, and so that the Lithuanian institutions responsible for that record can test it. The findings are not exhaustive. I invite documented corrections and counterevidence at ggochin@gmail.com, will consider any substantiated material, and will publish dated corrections where they are justified.

Appendix A Institutional contradiction and verification

This appendix records, for each institutional text examined, the documents that support or contradict it, the accurate control texts, and the scholarly positions published by or through LGGRTC that bear on the counts in section 16. Publication by LGGRTC does not itself establish a claim's truth. The documents, methods and arguments must be assessed against the identified primary records and independent scholarship.

A1 Accurate controls

- **VLE, "Vilniaus getas":** names local collaborators including Lithuanians as arresting Jews, states that German Security Police and Special Squad members shot them at Paneriai and that Lithuanian guards held the outer gate. Control for Counts 1, 4 and 5.

- **VLE, "Ypatingasis būrys":** names Lithuanian volunteers and the towns where the squad killed. Control for Counts 1 and 6.

- **VLE, "Getas":** states that the Nazis and the Lithuanian administration executing their orders established the ghettos, that Nazis and local helpers appropriated the property of those driven in, and that German and Lithuanian guards held the gates. Control for Counts 1 and 3.

- **Paneriai Memorial, history and Jewish monument page:** names the squad's Lithuanian composition, organizers and commanders and German supervision; corrects the Soviet figure of 100,000. Its HKP–Kailis page corrects a date on the monument. Control for Counts 1, 5 and 6.

- **LGGRTC, notice of its Special Squad book:** describes mass murder as the squad's purpose and publishes 84 member biographies. Control for Counts 1 and 6.

- **Vilnius University, 2026 account:** acknowledges that its leadership implemented the dismissal of Jewish students and staff. Control for Count 11.

A2 German command and claimed marginality

In LGGRTC's 2020 English volume, Furmonavičius treats Lithuanian participation as marginal under German command [pp 39–41]. The child survivors Kruk interviewed identified Lithuanian captors and shooters; Ereignismeldung Nr. 21 records 150 Lithuanian officials assigned to arrest Jews for liquidation; the 1st and 3rd Vilnius battalions removed, escorted and guarded (sections 9–10).

A3 Shooting and participation

Bubnys separates the Vilnius Saugumas from the massacres while documenting its transfers to execution and calling it an integral part of persecution [2020 volume, pp 334–344]. The American courts found that signed Saugumas transfers delivered named Jews to execution (section 10B).

A4 Roster arithmetic

Augustine Idzelis calls the retention of twenty-six of forty-eight members a fifty-four percent turnover; the departures are forty-six percent. Ten non-Lithuanians among thirty-nine members leave a Lithuanian majority. [2020 volume, pp 357–359.] The Eleventh Circuit upheld the Board of Immigration Appeals' adverse assessment of Idzelis's expert evidence in the Dailidė case, including his definition of mass killing by the number of killers rather than victims. [Dailide v U.S. Att'y Gen., PDF pp 18–19.] LGGRTC must explain its later use of his work in light of that finding.

A5 The 252nd Battalion

Bubnys records three Vilnius escapees shot near Valkininkai and then cites the battalion's late formation to explain its nonparticipation in extermination. [2020 volume, pp 404, 407–411.] The account must specify whether its nonparticipation claim concerns organized mass campaigns; the three individual killings remain crimes requiring explicit treatment.

A6 Political and ethnic persecution

Bubnys dates the Lithuanian Security Police's shift to ethnic persecution to about mid-August 1941 [2020 volume, pp 332–334, 343]. The Seventh Precinct arrested Wulf Kadiševič on 4 August for badge and curfew violations and sent him to the Special Squad when he could not pay; the Committee's badge order dates from 3–4 July (sections 8, 10C). These Committee and public-police records establish earlier ethnic persecution by those bodies. Assessment of the Security Police periodization requires its defined case universe and its relationship to the wider machinery; evidence for one body does not alone date another’s operations.

A7 The police memoir defense

LRT's 8 May 2022 Vaitiekus excerpt is headlined with the description of the police as rightless armed slaves, which its text attributes to Reivytis's 1974 self-description. The 21 May continuation acknowledges lethal Saugumas transfers and integral participation in the persecution of Jews.

A8 The 1941 total and its sources

Arad's reconstruction (33,000–33,500), LGGRTC's (33,000–34,000), the Jäger city entries (21,234 Jews, 12 August – 25 November) and EK 9's July figure (at least 4,000–5,000) are compatible; Arad's total incorporates the others (section 13). The VLE ghetto entry's "at least 21,000" by the Jäger report corresponds to the Jäger city entries.

A9 Sexual violence

Violeta Davoliūtė's study argues that accounts of rape by local perpetrators have not been integrated into public memory. The popular commemorative and encyclopedia pages listed in section 15 do not mention the sexualized violence recorded at Paneriai on 9 September 1943 or inside the ghetto (section 11C).

A10 Resistance as the cause of liquidation

VLE's ghetto entry places the decision to abolish the ghetto after the resistance of 1 September 1943. Himmler's general liquidation order was issued in June 1943, and the August deportations and the Germans' knowledge of the underground preceded September. [Arad, pp 401–419, 436–440.] The entry should present the general order, the successive deportations and the final liquidation as distinct steps.

A11 Which smaller-ghetto population

VLE and LGGRTC state that all inhabitants of the smaller ghetto were killed. Arad describes 2,000–3,000 people who moved or escaped from the smaller ghetto into the larger one. [Arad, pp 133–142.] The entries should state whether they mean everyone ever confined there or those remaining at the final clearance.

A12 The university's short biography of Meištovskis

The university's short biography dates his removal to 17 September 1941; his signed expulsion order is dated 19 September and cites the departmental instruction of 17 September. The university's 2017 account distinguishes the two; the short biography should too.

Appendix B LitvakSIG All Lithuania Database search log

- **Date:** 31 October 2026.
- **Database:** LitvakSIG All Lithuania Database, search form at /search-ald/, which submits to the JewishGen database engine. No login was required. The landing page carried a notice that FamilySearch record images were temporarily inaccessible.
- **Queries:** Town = "Vilnius," default "Phonetically like (Beider-Morse)," all regions: 916,225 records. Town "is exactly" "Vilna," "Wilno" and "Vilnius": 937,024 records each. These are automated-agent summaries whose screenshots were not inspected. The exact-search total exceeds the phonetic total, and all three exact variants returned an identical total. The filter may have normalized variants or may not have applied as stated; neither explanation is established. Geographical scope is unverified. These are approximate index-size indicators, not verified Vilnius-city or victim counts.
- **Collections returned (exact search):** 1915 *Vsia Vilna* directory 18,122; passport and identity-document applications 83,561; directories and books 1,344; evacuation, exile and return 1,305; births 95,578; deaths 126,797; gymnasium students 6,424; marriages and divorces 43,973; overseas connections 24; revision lists 240,346; taxpayers and voters 51,561; **Vilnius Ghetto census 15,508**; **Vilnius household registers** 121,234 and 131,247.

- **Holocaust-era list:** the Vilnius Ghetto list of prisoners, 1942, names 15,507 prisoners from the census of 27–29 May 1942, taken from the Vilna Gaon Museum's *Vilniaus getas: kalinių sąrašai*, vol 1 (1996), with a second volume (1998) covering Kailis and the satellite camps of Baltoji Vokė, Bezdonys, Riešė, Kena, Pabradė, Peteša and Užutrakis.
- **Status:** SUMMARY COUNTS REPORTED, NOT INDEPENDENTLY VALIDATED. A further direct exact-town search for Vilnius, limited to the Vilnius/Vilna uyezd, was submitted to the JewishGen engine on 31 October 2026 and returned HTTP 403. Vilna, Wilno and Vilne were prepared as follow-up variants but were not submitted after that access block. Individual entries and original images were not examined. The substantive LitvakSIG record search remains open; the request parameters and access result are retained in the research record.
- **Use in this report:** the 1942 census supplies the ghetto population figure in section 13. The household registers and the 1942 census are the record set from which the prewar owners of the addresses in the September 1941 municipal inventories and the Special Squad members' later addresses can be identified (sections 12 and 18).

Appendix C Documentary chronology and source questions

These findings follow Arad's attributions and printed pages and distinguish his reconstruction from the wartime originals. National context appears where it explains an action in Vilnius.

C1 Violence and protection under Lithuanian administration

Polish mobs and Lithuanian policemen joined the October 1939 beatings and arrested Jewish defenders. Lithuanian preventive measures preceded anticipated November disturbances, which passed quietly. A January 1940 refugee-removal measure principally targeted Polish refugees and the city's Polish population. [Arad, pp 11–19.]

C2 Soviet economic and political coercion

The Soviet authorities nationalized Jewish businesses and housing, restricted communal organizations and education, and persecuted Zionist and Bundist activists. Some Jews gained state employment; others lost their livelihoods or were arrested and deported. [Arad, pp 20–28.]

C3 Flight during the German invasion

Transport shortages, rapid military movement and Soviet border restrictions obstructed flight in June 1941. People escaped on foot, by train and in scarce vehicles; others were turned back. Local residents handed some fleeing Jews to the Germans. [Arad, pp 29–38.]

C4 Initial Lithuanian administration and police powers

Arad identifies the citizens' committee under Stasys Žakevičius, police chief Antanas Iskauskas and officials restored under early occupation orders. Lithuanian police kept participating in persecution after the Germans restricted Lithuanian political autonomy in July. Vilnius's initial pattern was abduction and killing, unlike the large pogroms in Kaunas. [Arad, pp 41–52.]

C5 Restrictions and seizures before ghettoization

Jews faced identifying-mark rules, segregated shopping, exclusion from public facilities, medical restrictions, searches, theft and eviction. Municipal restrictions on Jewish changes of residence date from July, with bans on selling or transferring property. Successive German and Lithuanian notices, not one decree, imposed these measures. [Arad, pp 55–58.]

C6 Abduction and the route to Paneriai

Arad reconstructs seizure, confinement at Lukiškės and removal to Paneriai. He cites German reporting on Lithuanian arrest and escort personnel and testimony alleging per-person payment for capturing Jews. German Einsatzkommando personnel also fired and directed shootings. [Arad, pp 65–79.]

C7 The coerced Jewish council and work protections

The first council was formed under pressure. Arad describes disagreements over German demands for men, unsuccessful negotiations and the disappearance of men delivered for supposed work. Employment passes and German military protection temporarily saved some workers; other abductees never returned. Some taken for labor did return, sustaining false hopes about the rest. [Arad, pp 58–74.]

C8 German civil administration and extortion

Hingst and Murer exercised German civil authority alongside the Security Police and the military. In August 1941 Murer demanded a large levy, made threats and collected money, gold and watches. The collection is documented; personal appropriation by individuals is inferred. German agencies competed over the property. [Arad, pp 80–100.]

C9 The August provocation and September removals

A staged shooting accusation served at the end of August to justify collective violence. German and Lithuanian forces drove Jews from their homes and through the prison system; surviving women returned from the pits with accounts of the shootings. Arad's named witnesses identify Lithuanian firing squads. [Arad, pp 101–107, 172–179.]

C10 Municipal police and the creation of the ghettos

A September police report describes the 6 September operation: police surrounded districts, guarded escape routes, evicted residents and escorted them. Arad attributes implementation to Iskauskas's municipal police and associated units within German planning. Residents had little time to pack. The sealing of apartments and the looting transferred practical control of possessions. [Arad, pp 108–116, 200–203.]

C11 Mixed families and surveillance

The persecution extended to converts and mixed families: requests to monitor non-Jewish spouses, compile lists and solicit denunciations, met by refusals to denounce partners and help through family ties. On 26 November 1941 Murer requested detailed lists of mixed families and their children; on 27 November the municipal Jewish-affairs official Petras Buragas forwarded the demand to the Judenrat and Jewish police. [Arad, pp 117–119.]

C12 The destruction of the smaller ghetto

German selections increasingly separated those with work protection from those without. Repeated autumn actions moved prisoners between the ghettos with deceptive promises of work or relocation. The municipality demanded ghetto rents on 13 October and on 1 December transferred the former smaller-ghetto district for non-Jewish housing. [Arad, pp 133–158.]

C13 Work certificates and family selection

Yellow certificates protected a limited number of workers and dependents and excluded many others. Murer and Weiss checked documents; Lithuanian personnel searched houses and hiding places. Some Jewish police helped children or warned prisoners; others sent people toward detention. False families, purchased documents and hiding places could prolong survival. [Arad, pp 143–163.]

C14 Knowledge and testimony

From July 1941 people learned about Paneriai at different times, through eyewitness reports, rumors and wounded survivors, against restrictions on circulating accounts and disbelief that deportation meant murder. Arad distinguishes community leaders, political activists and the wider population. [Arad, pp 172–199.]

C15 Rescue and its risks

Jews survived through forged papers, hiding with non-Jewish acquaintances, Dominican nuns' assistance and the aid of the German soldier Anton Schmid, who was eventually executed. Fraudulent guides and custodians betrayed people seeking their property. [Arad, pp 180–199.]

C16 Confiscation orders and police inventories

Hingst's September registration order required disclosure of Jewish property, including goods held by non-Jews. Inventories, janitors' duties, police-station participation and instructions to preserve assets claimed by the Reich followed. Theft continued alongside the sealing instructions. [Arad, pp 200–208.]

C17 German seizures and private appropriation

German civil officials and the SS disputed furniture, bank assets, securities, gold and currency. Lithuanian officials and residents kept goods despite German claims. [Arad, pp 203–208.]

C18 The 1941 count reconstruction

Arad compares German reports with Kruk and the Shur/Heller accounts, challenges population assumptions and examines people who survived without ration cards. His Vilnius total of approximately 33,000–33,500 killed in 1941 is an argued synthesis, distinct from the Jäger report's subtotal and from a Paneriai total for the whole occupation. Component figures are omitted because the supplied text's breakdown and total disagree. [Arad, pp 209–217.]

C19 The decision to retain labor

German military and civil officials objected to losing skilled Jewish workers. Their intervention helped halt mass actions on the earlier scale; persecution and selective killing continued. [Arad, pp 164–171.]

C20 Couriers and the formation of the underground

Mostly female couriers carried information, money and organizing ideas across ghetto boundaries. The FPO emerged from cooperation among Zionist groups, Communists and others; the Bund joined later, and a separate fighting organization developed. Members disagreed over armed defense and departure to the forests. [Arad, pp 221–270.]

C21 Arms and external relationships

Arms came through purchase, theft from German facilities and contacts with individual soldiers and police. Outside organizations sometimes helped and sometimes failed to deliver promised support. Some Polish intermediaries aided Jews; some Polish formations and individuals were hostile. Relationships with Soviet partisans developed over time. [Arad, pp 239–270.]

C22 Searches and a named young resister

A Lithuanian sentry shot sixteen-year-old Z. Tiktin as he tried to obtain ammunition and fuses; Tiktin died in prison in April 1943. Arad relies on the testimony and publications he cites. [Arad, pp 239–262.]

C23 German control of the ghetto administration

Workplace reporting, pass rules and threats governed labor. Murer's instructions placed Gens under German authority; Lithuanian guards supervised movement. The July 1942 reorganization concentrated authority in Gens. [Arad, pp 273–295, 328 onward.]

C24 Taxes and the ghetto budget

The ghetto administration collected rents, fees, taxes, workshop income and food margins and financed welfare and other services. Unrecorded bribery funds and the occupation authorities' employer charges were separate channels. [Arad, pp 273–295.]

C25 Food deprivation and the search system

Insufficient rations made outside food essential. Forbidden procurement brought searches, beatings, confiscation, bribery and executions. Some guards warned workers or took bribes; others assaulted and arrested them. Witnesses describe Murer's personal brutality. [Arad, pp 296 –327.]

C26 Property recovery within persecution

Some non-Jewish custodians returned property; others betrayed its owners. A May 1942 scheme offered recovery while reserving a share for the German authorities; actual recovery could be smaller. [Arad, pp 296–327.]

C27 The prohibition on Jewish births

In February 1942 Jewish births were prohibited. Doctors and families responded with abortions, clandestine deliveries and altered registration dates. The hospital, a concealed infectious ward, kitchens and welfare networks sustained survival. [Arad, pp 296–327.]

C28 Schools and the preservation of evidence

Schools, religious teaching, theater, music and library work continued in confinement. The library collected orders and testimony on the persecution, later used to reconstruct it. Political groups and ghetto authorities disputed cultural life. [Arad, pp 296–327.]

C29 Later labor payments and satellite camps

In late 1942 wage schedules changed, payments were divided with the Gebietskommissar and the working day lengthened. Lithuanian police supervised peat and timber camps. An earlier schedule dated from April. [Arad, p 335.]

C30 Kena and Bezdany

The Kena camp was destroyed on 8 July 1943 and Bezdany on 9 July, by deception, cordons and killing. Arad gives approximately 240 victims at Kena and 350 at Bezdany and assigns German and Lithuanian roles for each operation. [Arad, p 369.]

C31 The underground crisis and liquidation

Arad follows the Wittenberg crisis, the conflict between preparing resistance and fearing collective punishment, Gens's killing and the final liquidation, under German threats and tightening selection. He distinguishes underground members, the wider population and groups escaping to the forests. [Arad, later chapters on the Wittenberg affair and liquidation.]

C32 Deportees and continuing persecution

The ghetto's destruction dispersed prisoners to labor and killing destinations, where further selections and deaths followed. Estonia, Latvia, the disputed killing-center transport and Paneriai were separate routes. [Arad, p 432 and following.]

C33 Children taken from HKP and Kailis

The children's action of 27 March 1944 at Kailis and HKP involved Weiss and Lithuanian policemen. Arad estimates approximately two hundred children removed from the two camps combined. A woman who confronted Weiss was shot. [Arad, pp 441–442.]

C34 Final killings and survival

Arad's July 1944 account gives a combined camp-liquidation estimate and separately identifies HKP survivors. His account, the Museum's dates and the Silent Heroes Memorial's survivor estimate are not reconciled camp by camp; all contradict the claim that no prisoner survived. [Arad, p 446.]

C35 Evidence destruction and postwar reconstruction

Arad's final reconstruction covers the forced exhumation and burning at Paneriai, the escape from that detachment, partisan activity and the return of survivors, who preserved testimony and sought relatives after the city's recapture.

C36 The elderly prisoners in July 1942

Jewish police detained elderly and chronically ill prisoners and on 26 July transferred eighty-four people to Weiss and Lithuanian police; the eighty-four were then killed at Paneriai. Gens argued that bargaining had reduced a larger German demand; contemporary reactions diverged. [Arad, pp 339–341.]

C37 Oshmyany and the limits of the labor strategy

The ghetto administration took part in selections outside Vilnius. At Oshmyany, after German demands and bargaining over quotas, it surrendered 406 elderly and sick people on 23 October 1942, who were not Vilnius city residents. Minutes and testimony preserve Gens's explanation and the criticism of it. [Arad, pp 341–351.]

The FPO sent Liza Magun to warn the Jews of Oshmyany after M. Ganionski reported the police mission. Magun entered under a non-Jewish identity, but the people she warned did not believe her. Arad’s note records that the Security Police arrested and murdered her in Vilnius in February 1943. [Arad, p 347 and n 10.]

C38 The April 1943 trains to Paneriai

Provincial ghettos were dissolved with promises of transfer to Kaunas. On 5 April the trains brought the prisoners to Paneriai instead. Lithuanian police removed Gens and the accompanying escorts; Lithuanian units surrounded the prisoners, and Germans and Lithuanians fired on those who resisted or fled. Arad gives approximately four thousand killed that day, including his estimate of those killed resisting or fleeing. Some passengers were diverted or held elsewhere; some escaped. [Arad, pp 359–367.]

C39 The report and aftermath of the April operation

A German Security Police report called the prisoners unfit for labor and recorded the operation as special treatment; Arad cites evidence of fit workers among the victims. Possessions were collected and distributed to needy ghetto residents after the massacre. Arad's account of the aftermath is partly obscured in the available scan; its references include Kruk, pp 503–510, and Balberyszski, pp 456–457. [Arad, pp 362–367; Documents Accuse, pp 271–272.]

C40 Biala Vaka and other satellite camps

After workers took weapons from Lithuanian guards and joined a partisan group, Kittel selected sixty-seven people for killing at Biala Vaka in late June 1943, a retaliation separate from the July destruction of Kena and Bezdany. Some German Todt personnel brought threatened Jewish workers back to Vilnius; other camps were emptied into the killing system. [Arad, pp 367–372.]

C41 The Wittenberg arrest and the city underground

The arrest demand followed the infiltration and destruction of a city Communist network. Two Lithuanian policemen and Dessler initially arrested Wittenberg at the July meeting; the FPO freed him. The ghetto was then threatened with collective destruction. Testimony on the surrender, Wittenberg's death and the underground's conflicting decisions differs on material points. The FPO, the city Communist committee and the broader antifascist coordinating bodies were related but distinct. [Arad, pp 374–395.]

Arad identifies the infiltrator as the Lithuanian agent J. Vaitkevičius. The German Security Police uncovered the city Communist committee; its secretary J. Vitas and committee member Kozłowski were arrested in late June 1943, tortured and killed. Kozłowski disclosed contact with Wittenberg during interrogation. On the night of 15 July, Dessler and two Lithuanian security policemen entered Gens's apartment and arrested Wittenberg before the FPO freed him. The account identifies Lithuanian infiltration and arrest; it does not identify a Lithuanian torturer of Vitas or Kozłowski. [Arad, pp 387–389.]

C42 Forest departure and reprisals

After the crisis, groups tried to establish forest bases. One departing group was ambushed; relatives and foremen were killed in retaliation, and identity records were used to track people. [Arad, pp 395–400.]

Arad records nine FPO members killed after the Leon Group, joined by workers from Novo-Vileyka, was ambushed; he considers some wounded captives to have been executed by the Security Police after interrogation. German police identified the group through identity discs and the ghetto card index. Thirty-two relatives and work foremen were taken to Paneriai and executed on 27 July 1943. Kittel then threatened execution of escapees' families, roommates, apartment residents, or entire buildings, and the other nine members of a work unit if one escaped. The departing party's component numbers overlap and are not separate victim totals. [Arad, pp 397–400.]

C43 Deportations to Estonia before the final liquidation

Himmler's June 1943 order and later German directives tied ghetto liquidation to concentration-camp labor and the killing of people judged unnecessary. August and early September roundups for Estonia involved German and Estonian forces, resistance, coercive quotas and Jewish administrative participation under threat. Letters from deportees briefly convinced some prisoners that transport meant possible survival. [Arad, pp 401–419.]

C44 September resistance and the murder of Gens

September fighting around Straszuna Street brought Scheinbaum's death and the killing of prisoners in hiding places. Arad attributes the absence of a general uprising to limited weapons, lost personnel and the belief that deportation could mean labor rather than immediate death. On 14 September Gens went to the Security Police despite a warning. Arad attributes his killing to Neugebauer and identifies a Lithuanian escort during the preceding detention. [Arad, pp 410–427.]

C45 The final selection and escape through the sewers

Different forces conducted the cordon, escort, search and selection in the September liquidation: Germans and Ukrainians, with German and Lithuanian participation in selecting women and children. Officials seized ghetto cash, equipment and workshop property. Underground members escaped through the sewers with help from couriers and two Lithuanian Communist constables. [Arad, pp 429–435.]

C46 People hidden after the ghetto was destroyed

Some Jews hid after September 1943, facing disrupted water supplies, police searches and denunciations, and moving into or through Kailis and HKP, whose possibilities changed over time. [Arad, pp 441–444.]

C47 The prisoners forced to burn the bodies

The Paneriai evidence-destruction detachment belonged to Aktion 1005 under Paul Blobel's overall operation. Under guard, Jewish prisoners and Soviet prisoners of war were forced to exhume and burn bodies. Arad describes the April 1944 tunnel escape, the pursuit, the surviving witnesses and replacement prisoners brought from Kailis. [Arad, pp 444–445.]

C48 Deportees through 1945

Vilnius deportees passed through the Estonian and Latvian camps, forced labor and selections, evacuation to Stutthof and death marches. Estimates for whole camps such as Klooga and Lagedi include prisoners of other origins. [Arad, pp 446–449.]

The Baltic camp system separated men and women, crowded prisoners into dilapidated huts, shaved their heads and supplied food below subsistence. Twelve-hour workdays, hunger and poor sanitation produced illness and deaths; selections removed sick and weakened prisoners for execution. Arad records about 800 children, elderly and sick prisoners taken from Estonian camps in mid-February 1944 to an unnamed death camp in Poland. That group was not exclusively from Vilnius. Later came further selections, sea transport to Stutthof, deaths aboard the ships and the January 1945 marches, during which SS guards shot people who fell behind. Whole-camp totals must not be added as further Vilnius-only deaths. [Arad, pp 447–449.]

C49 Jewish fighters and antisemitism in the forests

Jewish detachments dissolved or were integrated into Soviet partisan structures amid disputes over weapons, exclusion of women and families, and antisemitism among some partisans. Arad distinguishes Narocz and Rudniki, names Jewish commanders and traces phases of organization. [Arad, pp 449–460.]

In the Narocz forests Jewish families also faced hunger, harassment and German sweeps. The Soviet command dissolved the Jewish Mestj detachment on 23 September 1943 and disarmed many members, especially women. Arad reports about 130 Jews killed during the subsequent German sweep. He describes Glazman and thirty-five fighters surrounded by German troops on 8 October; only one girl escaped. These are forest-operation accounts involving different and potentially overlapping populations, not additional Lithuanian city-police victim totals. Arad

presents military organization and antisemitism as distinct factors in the dissolution. [Arad, pp 450–454.]

C50 The surviving population and Arad's synthesis

Arad estimates two to three thousand survivors from approximately fifty-seven thousand Jews under occupation, a city-community reconstruction. His estimate of those reaching the forests uses a different denominator; neither belongs to Paneriai's regional toll. [Arad, pp 461–470.]

C51 Published directives and financial appendices

Arad reproduces the Ostland provisional directives and the FPO regulations. The directives set property registration, receipts, transfers to the Gebietskommissar, restrictions, confinement and forced-labor payments as occupation policy. The FPO regulations reflect one stage and were later adapted. [Arad, pp 471–480.]

The financial appendix records ghetto administration income in the first half of 1942 of 658.6 thousand Reichsmarks and expenditure of 543.9 thousand, including 142.5 thousand for social welfare. [Arad, pp 481–482.]

C52 Further original sources

Arad's references identify Yad Vashem files O-18/148, O-18/149 and O-18/151 on the September 1941 confiscation disputes; JM/1195 documents 223, 224 and 280 on ghetto administration and industry; and the Filbert, Murer and Weiss proceedings on specific perpetrators. Their catalogue forms, completeness and final judicial dispositions are unchecked.

C53 Anti-Jewish agitation and the LAF

Before the German invasion, LAF declarations demanded anti-Jewish exclusion and made claims on Jewish property. Arad connects this agitation to the setting in which Lithuanian bodies took part in persecution. His quotations come from documentary editions. [Arad, pp 35–38.]

C54 Hostages and the death of Wygodzki

Sixty Jewish and twenty Polish hostages were seized in the first days of the occupation; six Jewish hostages were released on 22 July and the remaining Jewish hostages were killed. The elderly Jewish leader Jacob Wygodzki was arrested on 24 August and died in prison shortly afterward. [Arad, pp 46–48, 98–99.]

C55 Municipal participation and its contemporary explanation

Murer testified that Mayor Dabulevičius helped select the ghetto site. An attributed account records the mayor telling Jewish representatives on 4 September that ghettoization was a German initiative without Lithuanian complicity. The September police report shows Lithuanian personnel carrying out the removals under German planning. [Arad, pp 101–113.]

C56 The successive autumn actions

Arad distinguishes the 1 October Yom Kippur action, the 3–4 October removals, the 15–16 October actions and the final search of the smaller ghetto on 21 October. German and Lithuanian

forces conducted raids and transfers, using promises of work and movement between ghettos. [Arad, pp 133–142.]

The 24 October certificate action involved a cordon, document checks and house searches. Removals on 29–30 October exploited the former smaller-ghetto area as a deception. Searches on 3–5 November targeted people without accepted documents while thousands hid. Some bribed guards, obtained help or passed children into protected groups. [Arad, pp 149–157.]

C57 December selections and resistance

Arad separates the early December selection of people described as having criminal records, the 15 December deception of Gestapo-employed workers and their families, and the 20–22 December pink-certificate action. Jews resisted with arms from a hiding place on Spitalna Street and were killed. [Arad, pp 159–163.]

C58 Valuables and winter clothing

The 3 September demand required Jews to surrender cash, gold, foreign currency and valuables, keeping only three hundred rubles. December fur requisitions and German and Lithuanian searches added further confiscations. [Arad, pp 200–208.]

C59 Municipal tax and labor deductions

A municipal order of 27 August 1942 imposed a per-capita tax paid through the ghetto administration, separate from employer payments to the German treasury. In late 1942 nominal hourly rates were thirty, forty-four and fifty pfennigs by category; half went to the workers and half to the Gebietskommissar. The working day rose from eight to ten hours. [Arad, pp 273–295, 335.]

C60 Named food-related killing and historical blame displacement

In January 1943 Lyuba Levitska and another woman were killed over forbidden food procurement, according to the diaries and testimony Arad lists. [Arad, pp 296–327.]

Laisvė, no 9 of 25 May 1943, blamed killings on Germans and Poles wearing Lithuanian uniforms; an underground text claimed Jewish property for Lithuanians. [Arad, pp 355–356; Yad Vashem O-25/143, p 7.]

C61 Kailis and Oscar Glick

Oscar Glick used a false ethnic-German identity and worked with a German military officer to protect Kailis workers through their importance to military production. A January 1942 fire exposed him; he and his wife were then shot. [Arad, pp 148–149.]

C62 Vilnius refugees killed at Voronovo

Refugees from Vilnius who reached Voronovo in Belarus were detained and killed. Arad attributes the detention to Belarusian police and the shooting to Lithuanian personnel brought in for the purpose. Arad proposes, without establishing it, that a Jäger entry for 171 victims matches testimony reporting 265. [Arad, p 159.]

C63 Resistance before and beyond the FPO

Before the FPO formed, Jews attacked abductors and resisted removals. Later the underground ran a clandestine press, sabotaged industry, carried out a July 1942 railway attack associated with Vitka Kempner's group and aided Soviet prisoners of war. [Arad, pp 172–199, 239–262.]

C64 Food supply and bribery

Payments to managers of a Lithuanian food-supply company secured extra provisions. Trapido was arrested in January 1942 and released the following month after further bribery. [Arad, pp 296–327.]

C65 Women murdered during the period of relative stability

In September 1942 women were shot at Paneriai over relations with Germans that Arad describes as forced, citing contemporary diaries. The killings fell in the supposedly stable period of reduced mass actions. [Arad, p 339.]

Appendix D The dated Paneriai record

Kazimierz Sakowicz lived near the killing site. His diary records what he saw and heard, conversations with neighbors and perpetrators, and later information; each entry below says which. Pages are those of the 2005 English edition edited by Yitzhak Arad, who reconstructed some dates and reordered loose sheets. Sakowicz's term "Shaulists" is his own designation. Arad's preface notes Sakowicz's Polish national sympathies and prejudices toward Jews, Lithuanians and Soviet partisans. [Preface, pp xiii–xvii.]

D1 The road post and the first observed killings

In July 1941 Sakowicz recorded shooting, columns approaching Paneriai and a Lithuanian road post adding Jewish travelers to the prisoners. He described young shooters and Jewish men sent for shovels and burial work. [Entries of 11–23 July, pp 11–14; editorial context, p 7.]

The 23 July entry describes clothing piled in a barn, sacks and wagons carrying goods, riflemen keeping watches and money, and goods exchanged for alcohol. He saw the traffic; details of sales came from local information.

D2 Extortion and the taking of possessions

The August entries name Piotr Kiejzik in accounts of extortion from Jewish households and of the taking of a radio and clothing under the pretext of a weapons search. Another entry describes a Jewish man resisting a German who tried to seize his valuables. The diary also records a German releasing a Karaite at a pit after an identity challenge. [Entries of 1–2, 19 and 22 August, pp 15–19.]

D3 Women, children and reported violence in September

For 2 September Sakowicz recorded women and infants approaching the site and their cries when the destination became clear. Jankowski told him of drunkenness, assaults and a child thrown into a pit and shot; Krywkowa told him of an infant taken from a nursing mother and

killed. The entry for the next day records a Lithuanian rifleman beating a Jewish woman, dragging her into the forest and shooting her. [Entries of 2–3 September, pp 27–29.]

The diary also records wounded women escaping the pits and the ensuing market in women's clothing.

D4 The column of 25 October

Sakowicz timed a long procession and described trucks returning with Lithuanian personnel already dividing possessions. Women who recoiled at the destination were driven forward with rifle butts. A woman accused a soldier of taking money on a promise to release her and her child. Sakowicz also described a mother struck in the jaw, a small child thrown beyond the wire and the mother trying to shield the child. A separate escape attempt ended in a roadside shooting. [25 October, pp 34–37; the supplied edition places printed p 36 out of sequence.]

D5 A boy shot and his mother bayoneted

The 30 October entry records a mother urging her adolescent son to escape. A Lithuanian officer called to him to stop and shot him. When the mother rushed forward, a soldier bayoneted her, and other prisoners had to carry her. Sakowicz did not record whether she died. [30 October, pp 37–38.]

D6 Children, rifle butts and a buyer's requested size

The November entries record continued transports and accounts of children killed with rifle butts. On 21 November the diary names Tankun and his wife in a transaction for coats and galoshes, gives a reported price and records the rifleman's offer to obtain more clothing in the wife's size. [17–21 November, pp 39–40.]

The 7 December entry includes a separate killing of a mother and infant, which Sakowicz attributes to the witness account of Professor Henryk Rauchenbauer. [p 42.]

D7 The 1942 killings and their changing totals

The diary records shootings and the trade in clothing in July 1942, including the Rudzinski purchase, loan and precious stone. For 30 July it records elderly Jewish victims beaten and wounded people left to be buried, with an estimate of approximately 150. The editor's account gives eighty-four elderly ghetto prisoners and possibly other prisoners; the accounts' dates of detention, transport and killing differ. [July entries and editorial context, pp 46–50.]

In August the diary describes prisoners concealed under tarpaulins with personnel sitting above them, and reports riflemen and gamekeepers capturing Jews hiding in the forest. [25–26 August, p 51.]

D8 Bodies and clothing after German shootings

For 10 September 1942 the diary records a German party bringing a prisoner and killing him, and a later Lithuanian exhumation for clothing. In December Sakowicz recorded the pursuit of an injured escapee and Lithuanian shooting and rifle-butt violence. Editorial material identifies

Polish underground victims in that day's operation [10 September and 2 December, pp 52, 54–56.]

D9 The clothing trade in early 1943

The 18 February entry records chained prisoners, individual escorts and successive transports, followed by Klukas selling shoes, and accounts of a hidden fur and a bloodstained suit. A reported account of the shootings identifies Germans firing pistols and Lithuanians stripping the bodies. [pp 61–63.]

March entries describe further shootings, attempts to keep stolen clothing despite German demands, and a reported sale of bloodstained rags for 2,600 rubles. According to the accompanying explanation, the rags came from prisoners stripped of their better clothes before their transfer to Paneriai. Sakowicz learned this through conversations, not from a Saugumas clothing inventory. [5 and 20 March, pp 63–66.]

For 27 March Sakowicz recorded vehicles, shooting and return trips; the next day Jankowski identified the victims as elderly Jewish women and children. [p 67.]

D10 The two trains on 5 April

Sakowicz described German and Lithuanian cordons, passengers trying to escape, shooting around the trains and prisoners driven toward the pits. Women with children and infants were beaten. Children found under clothing were thrown into pits and shot. Germans fired revolvers and gave instructions during the handling of the bodies. [pp 70–78.]

The luggage, food, bedding, utensils and baby carriages left beside the trains belonged to the people being killed. Sakowicz's estimates for the trains and escape groups fall within Arad's figure for the day.

D11 Wounded people and the names left in documents

The April account describes a wounded woman coming out of a pit, bayoneted by one Lithuanian and shot by another. It records the killing of a wounded young man identified by a student card as Judel Szapiro, and a rifle-butt assault followed by the recovery of papers naming Hirsz Berkowski. Another recovered card bore the name Daniszewski Wigdor or Awigdor. [pp 76–83.]

After the killings, a wounded boy of about ten to twelve reached Sakowicz's courtyard and told him that his mother had urged him to escape. The diary also records men forced to sort clothing and cover bodies before they were killed. [pp 79–80.]

D12 Later accounts of robbery and burial

An account added in May attributes to a man called Kiewelis the shooting of two Jewish fugitives and the removal of their gold teeth. Sakowicz's information came from local witnesses. [p 82.]

Afterward the bodies were collected, and possessions and food were transferred to the ghetto's welfare institutions. Arad's editorial account cites Chaim Lazar Litai for the burial work of the

Jewish policemen. Sakowicz distinguished goods kept by German and Lithuanian appropriators from lesser goods taken back to the ghetto. [pp 83–85.]

D13 Small groups and sales continuing in May

For 3 May the diary describes bound prisoners escorted individually by Lithuanians, pushed into a pit and shot by Lithuanian riflemen; their clothes were sold within hours. Later entries record further transports and trading. Participants' claims about distant killing sites were rumors. A perforated cassock was sold after another operation involving mixed victim groups. [pp 86–90.]

D14 The summer camps and children's clothing

Arad's editorial account links the diary's report of prisoners brought in after an escape from a peat camp to Biala Vaka. The count of sixty-seven comes from Arad's reconstruction, not from Sakowicz. A June entry names a man called Jonas or Joska selling a young child's coat and beret and a sheet. [24–29 June, pp 93–94.]

Later July entries describe further shootings, a woman beaten, and two girls placed at the edge of a pit by a German and shot by Lithuanians. For 30 July the diary records four Jewish men and three Jewish women made to carry poles to a designated place and then shot; it does not identify the shooters. [July, pp 94–101.]

D15 Travelers robbed and bodies poorly covered

Summer entries record clothing torn open in searches for valuables and bodies disturbed where burial was insufficient. Personnel in police uniform searched and robbed travelers. Not every traveler or body in these entries is identified as Jewish. [July–August, pp 97–106.]

On 25 August the diary reports that Grygsztas received clothing as payment for covering bodies and sold it wholesale to Sienkiewicz for ten thousand rubles. [p 108.]

D16 Women stripped, beaten and humiliated

On 9 September 1943 Sakowicz recorded women beaten as they were forced to strip and subjected to sexualized humiliation by Lithuanians, then pushed toward the pits under German orders and shot. The number of victims and some of their identities came from later conversation. [pp 109–111.]

D17 Paid shelter followed by armed removal

A September background account describes a man called Tretiak, with variants of the name, placing wealthy Jews in villagers' houses, taking repeated payments and removing them at gunpoint when their money ran out. Reports differed on whether the removals ended at Paneriai or in killings in the forest. The villagers reportedly wrote a memorandum. [pp 114–116.]

The same account records local girls lending identity papers to Jewish women, who obtained work under the borrowed names.

D18 The liquidation days seen from Paneriai

The 24 September entry describes busloads of prisoners, many of them children, stripped and beaten before Lithuanians shot them; a German also fired a revolver. On 25 September the diary records a train continuing beyond Paneriai and four women who escaped from it, whom Germans recaptured and handed to Lithuanian personnel. One had both legs broken. They were killed and their clothing exchanged for alcohol. [pp 118–120.]

Arad's separate editorial narrative identifies Sobibor as the destination of the principal deportation group; the people shot at Paneriai were a different group.

D19 Hunting the people still in hiding

October entries record prisoners brought in after their hiding places were discovered, threats used to force disclosures, and the killing of the captives. At other times Sakowicz heard shooting but stated that vehicles and trees blocked his view of the killings. [pp 120–134.]

Later October entries, partly from local information, describe recaptured women with injured or broken legs taken back toward the killing site. [pp 139–140.]

D20 The market beside the continuing shootings

The diary repeatedly records trade after killings in October, including buyers waiting and goods offered the following morning. It attributes the appropriation of two Jewish families' possessions to Stenia or Stenka Kwiatkowska. [pp 126–138.]

On 4 November Sakowicz stated that he watched policemen lay out men's, women's and children's clothing for sale on Rudzinski's steps. His last surviving entry is dated 6 November 1943. [pp 141–144.]

D21 A named child survivor

Dina Levine Baitler was seven when she survived among bodies at Ponary with an injured leg. She describes wounded people calling for help and guards returning to shoot. The published testimony reproduced by the Association of Jews of Vilna does not identify the guards' nationality in that passage.

D22 Sworn testimony and the movement of clothing

In sworn testimony at Nuremberg on 27 February 1946, Avrom Sutzkever described the occupation of Vilnius. He described German street violence and the death of his newborn child, distinguishing what his wife saw from what he found afterward. He also identified exhibit USSR-444, a document he said he found in the district commissioner's building in July 1944, concerning the disinfection of clothing from Paneriai and its delivery to the Vilnius administration. [Trial of the Major War Criminals, vol VIII, pp 302–307.]

Appendix E The persecution recorded inside Vilnius

Herman Kruk recorded his own experiences, interviewed survivors and collected reports, documents and testimony inside the ghetto. The 2002 English edition also contains editorial

reconstruction, narrative chronicles and fictionalized pieces. Each entry identifies the source channel, including the later Fortunoff interviews. Citations are to printed pages.

E1 Queues and the first public assaults

On 28 June 1941 Kruk left a bread queue after a Lithuanian policeman abused and dispersed the people waiting. The next day he recorded separate Christian and Jewish queues imposed by Lithuanian police. On 10 July he described an armed Lithuanian civilian beating and kicking Jews and striking their heads with a rifle butt outside the Kijowska Street 4 bakery. A Christian protested and briefly restrained the attacker; Germans across the street smiled, and one photographed the scene. [Kruk, pp 50–51, 62.]

E2 A bloodied rabbi and searches of homes

The 5 July entry records Lithuanian captors leading the elderly rabbi of Kwaszelna Street 21, bareheaded and bloodied. When he fell, younger prisoners were forbidden to carry him. Women and children followed, screaming. His name and fate are not recorded. Kruk's July entries also describe men hunted from beds, cupboards and attics, and his own hiding place and watch arrangements. Lithuanian searchers entered his apartment without finding the hidden men. [Kruk, pp 56, 62–63.]

E3 A family's medical certificate offered no protection

On 26 August Nekhame told Kruk about a raid at Pilsudski Street 28. Her sixty-nine-year-old father, deaf and disabled, was beaten, his medical certificate thrown away and a gun pointed at him. She clung to his leg and was beaten in front of her children, who struck the attackers with their fists. Her mother was also beaten. The edition tentatively identifies the informant as Nekhame Trupianska. The account does not give the attackers' nationality or make clear whether the father was taken away. [Kruk, pp 74–75.]

E4 Threats accompanying the tribute

Kruk's 6–7 August account of the tribute demand records Murer threatening the Jewish delegates with shooting if the money was not collected. A Lithuanian policeman told the delegates to choose Jewish workers who would receive their clothing after their deaths. The delegates were eventually released. The successive amounts were installments and a later total. [Kruk, pp 70–72.]

E5 Forced removal and a vehicle driven through the crowd

Kruk's account of the September move into the ghettos records hurried eviction, forced sales at low prices and belongings taken before their owners reached the new confinement area. Lithuanian soldiers pushed the marchers while Germans photographed them. Kruk describes collapsing under his own baggage. Other entries record Germans and Lithuanians beating members of the smaller ghetto's council when they asked for written orders. A later account says Schweinberger drove fast through the crowded ghetto and ran over a woman and child; it does not record whether they died. [Kruk, pp 97–103, 112.]

E6 Abram Zeleznikov's beating

In Fortunoff's published Yom Kippur testimony, Abram Zeleznikov recalled hiding in a chimney. A Lithuanian arrested an older Jew who had tried to follow him, looked into the chimney, found Zeleznikov, pulled him out, beat him bloody and threw him down the stairs into the courtyard. In the same chapter, Henny Durmashkin Gurko describes handing the family's valuables to a Nazi who promised to bring back her imprisoned father. He did not return. She learned later of his fate at Paneriai.

E7 Kagan's account of the pit

Kruk's 4 March 1942 entry reproduces Kagan's testimony about 6 December 1941. Kagan described a bloody Gestapo beating before imprisonment, transport under Schweinberger (Kruk: Schweinenberg) and stripping in freezing weather. Prisoners who did not undress were beaten with rifle butts. Six Lithuanian riflemen shot successive rows of six. Kagan regained consciousness beneath bodies, heard further killing and escaped while the executioners divided the clothing. A poor Polish peasant sheltered him and helped him return to the ghetto. The time beneath the bodies and the temperature are Kagan's estimates; Kruk did not witness the execution. [Kruk, pp 223–225.]

E8 Teme Katz and her daughters

A survivor account recorded on 15 October 1941 and printed in Kruk's March 1942 material describes Teme Katz, coded Tsak, and her stepdaughters Feyge, seventeen, and Mine, ten. Katz reported confinement at Lukiškės, Lithuanian escorts and German orders at Paneriai. She described money accepted before mockery and blows, groups of ten driven to the pit, the wound to her calf and the cries of people beneath bodies and lime. She escaped with another woman and received help in a village. The edition decodes the witness's name. Kruk later recorded her difficulty obtaining a permit and the exhausting laundry work she took on. [Kruk, pp 257–260.]

E9 A man shot in his wife's presence

Kruk's 7 January 1942 entry records the killing of Moyshe Hauz on 22 December 1941. Captured in hiding at Szpitalna Street 13, Hauz resisted his Lithuanian captors and was shot in the head. He died in his wife's arms. Kruk obtained biographical information from the wife and does not say he witnessed the shooting. The editor corrects a later political identification of Hauz from her account. [Kruk, p 161.]

E10 Food buyers shot near Porubanek

On 17 January 1942 Kruk recorded an attack the previous day on Jewish workers buying food near Porubanek. Lithuanians surrounded them and fired as they fled. Daniel Jochelson was killed by two bullets; Blumental was wounded. Others were taken to Lukiškės. Jochelson's body came back on a peasant's sled. Kruk did not witness the incident. [Kruk, p 173.]

E11 A ninety-year-old robbed and killed

Kruk's 14 May 1942 entry describes German and Lithuanian soldiers finding Yoyel Levin, about ninety, hiding with peasant neighbors outside the ghetto during labor raids. He was beaten, robbed and killed. The account assigns the money to the Germans and the fur coat to the

Lithuanians, without naming them. The neighbors arranged his reburial in the Jewish cemetery and continued to hide his family. The editor corrects an impossible reference to Levin's earlier military service. [Kruk, pp 288–289.]

E12 A small child removed from a rescuer

Kruk's 3 May 1942 entry identifies Marian Bylinski of Wileńska Street 22 as sheltering a two-and-a-half-year-old child of the Kulbis family after the parents were taken. The Gestapo arrested Bylinski twice. A Lithuanian soldier brought him and the child to the Jewish police; the child cried at the separation. The father's former wife took the child in within the ghetto. [Kruk, p 279.]

E13 Food searches and violence inside the gate

Kruk watched a person beaten and deprived of three kilograms of potatoes while another person carrying twenty sacks of salt passed. He also records Levas beating Esther Widman over potatoes and a sixty-four-year-old shoemaker over two bundles of wood. These assailants were Jewish ghetto police. [Kruk, pp 234, 263–265.]

E14 Orders to whip and refusals to obey

The diary records Murer ordering a food smuggler whipped naked and Levas carrying out the punishment; the 27 and 30 March entries give different dates for the event. In another incident Major Frucht ordered twenty-five lashes for the tailor Gordon. Policeman Gordon, a different man, refused to administer them; Wasserman did so. Lubocki protested, and Frucht arrested both objectors. [Kruk, pp 251, 255–256.]

E15 Gens and Levas as named immediate assailants

Kruk's 4 July 1942 entry accuses Levas of beating the elderly Mrs Trocka over peas and bread; she lost an eye despite Dr Rucznik's operation. Levas said she had fallen against a door latch. On 5 July Kruk recorded Gens beating Dr Steinman for about fifteen minutes, leaving him bloody and unconscious, after the doctor refused a medical assignment in the forest. Donin is named as a witness. [Kruk, pp 318, 320.]

The 17 November 1942 entry reports Gens beating Borke Schneider so severely that he was in bed the next day, during an investigation into alleged use of gold for Revisionist party purposes. [Kruk, p 414.]

E16 The bodies of released prisoners

On 5 June 1942 Kruk described thirty-seven Jewish prisoners, twelve of them women, released from Lukiškės through Dessler's negotiations. He recorded their emaciation and the food provided on their return. The prisoners reported a daily ration of seventy grams of bread with thin soup or coffee, and selling their remaining clothes for food. [Kruk, pp 303–304.]

E17 Elderly prisoners and the July 1942 killing

Kruk's entries of 17–26 July record changing lists, concealment, temporary releases and transfers of elderly and ill people. The 26 July entry records twenty-five Jewish policemen bringing

eighty-four people to Weiss and Lithuanian military assistants for the journey toward Paneriai; two were reported to have died on the way. His later narrative of the Pospieszki victims, based on what returning people reported, identifies an armed Lithuanian convoy under Weiss. The figures of eighty, eighty-four and eighty-six refer to different selections and reports; Sakowicz's estimate is dated differently. [Kruk, pp 330–338, 639–647.]

E18 Murer in the women's bath

Kruk's February 1943 account describes Murer ordering the women not to cover their breasts and remarking that most were fat. The humiliation was tied to the policing of food and labor. [Kruk, p 466.]

E19 Two girls shot after a trading allegation

Kruk recorded a report from the Biała Waka peat workers that two Lithuanian Gestapo agents arrived on 1 April 1943, entered a peasant's hut, called out two girls and shot them outside the gate. The informants linked the shooting to an earlier trading allegation. The report names neither the girls nor the agents. [Kruk, p 493.]

E20 Family punishment and the return of clothing

Kruk's April 1943 entries describe the seizure of families and fictively registered dependents after earlier trading arrests. He recorded fourteen people taken from specific ghetto addresses; their clothing later reached Jewish workers at the Gestapo storehouse, and shootings were reported. The police thus punished relatives and people attached to the alleged traders' permits. [Kruk, pp 492–493.]

E21 Swirski and two small girls

Kruk's 25 June 1943 entry reports that Sholem Świrski, accused of buying weapons, and two girls aged seven and eight were among seventeen Jewish and Christian victims shot at Paneriai the previous day. The diary does not identify who shot each person. Its editorial note refers to Bebe Epstein's eyewitness account and Kaczerginski's publication. [Kruk, pp 544, 572.]

E22 Biała Waka and the preparation of a victim list

The 1 July 1943 entry gives sixty-seven Biała Waka victims: seventeen men, forty-three women and seven children. It states that local Lithuanian police compiled the list and the German SD carried out the operation. A later ghetto announcement presented the killing as collective punishment for six escapees. [Kruk, pp 579–580, 591.]

E23 Grenades and burning barracks at Bezdany

On 10 July 1943 an unnamed refugee from Łódź, working through HKP, told Kruk that he had watched the Bezdany operation from hiding. He described German deception and assembly of the prisoners, German shooting, Lithuanians throwing grenades into barracks where Jews were hiding, and shooting at people escaping the burning buildings. Peasants were brought to bury the dead. His approximate figures for victims and camp population differ from Arad's later reconstruction. [Kruk, pp 586–587; Arad, p 369.]

E24 A separate Kiena account

Kruk's 14 July entry records an account of Kiena by a Christian woman who had worked as a maid for his ghetto neighbor. She described Kittel and other Germans, an assembly, a speech and a signal, hidden truckloads of men, and shooting. Her account assigns no killing role to Lithuanians. [Kruk, p 590.]

E25 The labor of destroying the dead

Yitzhak Dugim's testimony describes chained prisoners exhuming and burning the Paneriai dead, German beatings, the extraction of gold teeth and his recognition of his sister's blouse. Samuel Bak describes identity numbers used to punish neighboring prisoners if someone disappeared.

Bak also recalls women resisting the HKP child seizure and being shot while he survived under a bed; the soldiers' nationality is not specified. Henny Durmashkin Gurko describes seeing a boy and girl hanged at Rossa; the episode notes give four victims. The chapter's accounts of shelter include aid, withholding of possessions, a coat traded for food and separation in a Gestapo cellar.

E26 The continued loss of homes in 1944–1945

William Begell's account of return describes the family's apartment being taken and an order to leave within three days; the family departed in March 1945, during the renewed Soviet period.

E27 A wounded adolescent whipped while feigning death

Kruk's 12 April 1943 material collects escape accounts from the trains sent to Paneriai. A sixteen-year-old from Oshmyany, called Narob in the text, described being shot in the leg, chin and arm by a gendarme and whipped while pretending to be dead. The gendarme's nationality is not given. A Christian woman gave him water, and he eventually reached the hospital. The editor suggests that the name may be reversed as Boran. Another adolescent described an attempted bribe of a Lithuanian guard, escape through a train window and shooting. [Kruk, pp 513–515.]

E28 A fatal beating attributed to Murer

In Mira Verbin's testimony, her brother-in-law substituted for her at work when she was ill. As he returned through the gate, Murer beat him near the ear. He was taken to the hospital and died. She also described her sister's subsequent collapse and grief.

Arie Distal's arms-smuggling account acknowledges police beating another prisoner to divert attention while he brought ammunition through the gate.

E29 A blood-libel allegation that collapsed

On 16 April 1943 Kruk recorded the wife of a Special Squad member alleging that her child had been taken into the ghetto. Mayer and Weiss arrived, and Weiss threatened the ghetto's children. Mother and child were then found outside Maistas, and the allegation collapsed. [Kruk, p 518.]

E30 Burakas and the administration of persecution

Kruk recorded Anna Simaite telling him that Burakas claimed the remaining smaller-ghetto property belonged to the Germans and prohibited expeditions to salvage books and museum

material. In June 1942 the diary records Burakas ordering the ghetto to celebrate the anniversary of the German invasion. Arad separately documents the forwarding of mixed-family lists. [Kruk, pp 138, 309–312.]

E31 Beatings, pursuit and women demanding answers

Kruk's 6 July 1941 entry reports elderly captives beaten for failing to keep pace on the way to Lukiškės, then released after an outcry in the street. It also records Lithuanian captors diverting groups that German employers had requested as labor. On 19 July neighbors told him that an armed Lithuanian civilian had chased a Jewish man into the courtyard, fired and searched a Christian neighbor's home without finding him. On 24 August approximately four hundred wives demanded answers about husbands missing for weeks; a Lithuanian guard tried to arrest their delegates. [Kruk, pp 57–58, 66, 73.]

E32 Violence, hunger and the seizure of rare books

Kruk's late-August entries record Germans taking Jews from Strashun Street 6 and returning them badly beaten after abuse near Paneriai; some injuries were described as fatal, but no individual death is recorded. A damaged September passage reports a religious Jew beaten and part of his beard cut off on the orders of a railroad official whose identity is missing. After ghettoization, eighty elderly people were reported lying on a stone floor for three days and nights without water or care. Germans jailed the librarian Khaykl Lunski and released him after he disclosed six hidden rare books. [Kruk, pp 75–76, 82, 108–109.]

Kruk also preserved Sergey Smorgonski's plea from the smaller ghetto after two days without food, money or possessions. The letter says that Oberhardt had failed to return as promised. [Kruk, p 137.]

E33 The police route taken by confiscated food

On 16 September 1941 Kruk recorded Lithuanian gate guards taking food from returning workers. Non-Jewish passersby took goods from the pile in the street; the remainder was later thrown to the Jewish side. The 16 September 1942 entry identifies the Fourth Lithuanian Precinct and its German commissar in gate inspections, with confiscated food sent to the precinct and people arrested in the street imprisoned. In March 1943 uniformed Lithuanian officials were reported taking workbooks to extort money; Jewish police handed two offenders to the Lithuanian police. [Kruk, pp 113, 359, 468.]

E34 Removal from the ghetto prison

The February 1942 diary discusses ghetto case 53, in which Khayim Rayman, Holts and Glezer were accused of robbing Herman Feigenbaum. Hering and two Lithuanians took the three and another man, Lev, from the prison through Strashun Street 3. Lithuanians then searched for their wives and children. The ghetto's own prosecution and sentence did not shield the accused. The entry does not record their final fate. [Kruk, pp 200–201.]

E35 Winter punishment and the forced-money box

Kruk's January 1943 entries describe Murer ordering workers to perform exercises in the snow for failing to greet him properly, Sunday labor seizures and the confiscation of gloves before

snow work. Two shoemakers threatened with death for leaving work early were released through Dessler's intervention. On 27 January the diary records Murer's order for a box into which workers had to deposit their money. Those found keeping money were whipped bloody; one received twenty-five lashes. Gens separately threatened absentees with lashes and successive prison penalties. [Kruk, pp 446, 450, 453.]

E36 Brothel evidence and accusations of forbidden relations

On 20 April 1942 Kruk wrote that he held a Wehrmacht brothel receipt specifying a woman, a room and a date. He connected the official Subocz brothel with women previously seized from the streets. The edition does not reproduce the receipt. [Kruk, p 266.]

September–October entries record Weiss demanding and taking women on allegations of forbidden relations with Germans, and Gens warning women about such relations and about makeup. [Kruk, pp 362, 365, 372.]

E37 Beatings before an official visit and a threatened reprisal

Kruk described Jewish police beating passersby and clearing streets before the December 1941 visit of Gestapo deputy Meler, who then pronounced the ghetto orderly. In July 1942 a German blackout commandant accused the hospital of signaling Soviet aircraft, threatened Gens with shooting and threatened the entire ghetto with machine guns. Gens denied the accusation despite the threat. [Kruk, pp 141–142, 335.]

E38 Shootings and an intervention at the gate

Kruk's 28 February 1942 entry reports that a German supervisor shot an unnamed Burbiszki worker fleeing after a food purchase; the worker died after returning to the ghetto. On 16 July the diary identifies Yitskhok Portnoy of the Nowa Wilejka railroad work unit, shot by a patrol after fleeing a guard's beating; the perpetrators' nationality is not specified. The 29 May entry recalls Weiss shooting a girl at Rudnicka Street 17 and also reports Weiss and Jewish gate guards intervening to save M. Stupel from a severe beating by another German. A January report describes a young German rescuing a Jewish woman from a Lithuanian escort bound for Lukiškės. [Kruk, pp 189, 221, 297–298, 329.]

E39 Refusing to denounce coworkers

On 4 April 1943 Kruk recorded the release of Marek Kozik, ill and broken, after two severe beatings intended to make him denounce coworkers. He had refused. The entry also records Heshl Straz volunteering to take the blame for an equipment fault; his coworkers intervened, and that case was abandoned. [Kruk, p 497.]

E40 Further children and disabled captives

The 6 May 1943 entry reports ten victims from Podbrodzie, four of them children, shot at Paneriai. It gives neither names nor individual shooters. Later May entries report that ten elderly or disabled victims were demanded and that Jewish police supplied seven, including nineteen-year-old Yoshke Motykański, and report Weiss's dissatisfaction and further demands. [Kruk, pp 531, 538–540, 543.]

In July Kruk recorded Kittel's demand for gold and restrictions on cash, confiscations by the ghetto police, and a report that Bentsien Okun had been shot at Paneriai after being found in a Christian home with three thousand rubles. The entry does not name his executioner. [Kruk, pp 584, 586.]

E41 Earlier exclusion and the 1939 violence

Fortunoff's childhood accounts from interwar Polish Vilna include a friend's blood-libel accusation attributed to church teaching, Jewish pupils stoned outside the Epsztejna school and a father compelled to pay a Polish front man after losing his employment in 1938. In the 1939 testimony, Abram Zeleznikov could not identify the pogrom's organizers and recalled Jewish resistance and Lithuanians stopping the violence. See also Balberyszski's account and its editorial assessment in section 7E.

E42 Coercion during flight and partisan service

Mira Verbin's and Abram Zeleznikov's forest testimony describes Soviet partisans confiscating Jewish fighters' possessions, officers wearing the confiscated goods, and sexual pressure involving access to food, soap and protection. These accounts concern Vilnius Jews who had left the ghetto.

Santrauka lietuvių kalba

1941–1944 m. Vilniaus žydų bendruomenė – apie 57–60 tūkst. žmonių – buvo sunaikinta vykdant nacistinės Vokietijos planą, kurį didele dalimi įgyvendino lietuviai; vien 1941 m. vasarą ir rudenį nužudyta apie 33 tūkst. Šioje ataskaitoje nurodomi konkretūs asmenys, institucijos ir jų veiksmai.

• **Įsakymai ir atskyrimas.** 1941 m. liepos 3–4 d. Vilniaus miesto ir srities piliečių komitetas (pirm. Stasys Žakevičius) ir pagalbinės policijos vadas Antanas Iškauskas įsakė žydams nešioti skiriamuosius ženklus ir įvedė komendanto valandą nuo 18 iki 6 val. (JAV teismo sprendimas Lileikio byloje; Y. Arad). Liepos 15 d. K. Kalendra įsakė vienodai traktuoti visus piliečius, „išskyrus žydus“; iš darbo atleisti 3 167 žydai (A. Bubnys).

• **Suėmimai.** 1941 m. liepos 13 d. vokiečių operatyvinės grupės pranešime rašoma, kad Lietuvos tvarkos tarnybai įsakyta dalyvauti „likviduojant žydus“ ir kad tam paskirti 150 lietuvių pareigūnų, kurie suiminėja žydus, sušaudomus tą pačią dieną. Iki liepos 20 d. Paneriuose sušaudyta ne mažiau kaip 4–5 tūkst. žydų vyrų.

• **Provokacija.** 1941 m. rugpjūčio 31 d. du civiliais apsirengę lietuviai inscenizavo šūvius į vokiečių karius; tuo pasinaudojus kaip pretekstu, rugsėjo 2 d. sušaudyta 3 700 žydų – 864 vyrai, 2 019 moterų ir 817 vaikų (Jägerio ataskaita).

• **Getas.** 1941 m. rugsėjo 6 d. visos septynios Vilniaus policijos nuovados, vadovaujamos A. Iškausko, ir 1-asis bei 3-iasis lietuvių savisaugos batalionai išvarė žydus iš namų į getus ir užantspaudavo jų butus. Meras Karolis Dabulevičius kartu su F. Mureriu parinko geto vietą ir rugsėjo 10 d. pranešė vokiečių komisarui apie 429 žydų namus ir 71 dirbtuvę.

• **Žudynės.** Vilniaus ypatingasis būrys, sudarytas daugiausia iš vilniečių lietuvių ir vadovaujamas lietuvių karininkų (P. Jakubka, M. Butkus, J. Šidlauskas, B. Norvaiša, B. Lukošius) bei vokiečių saugumo policijos (M. Weissas), 1941–1944 m. šaudė žydus Paneriuose. Lietuvių batalionai konvojavo kalinius iš Lukiškių kalėjimo ir saugojo žudymo vietą; 1943 m. balandžio 5 d. apie 20 1-ojo bataliono karių šaudė žydus Paneriuose. Iki 1941 m. pabaigos nužudyta apie 33 tūkst. Vilniaus žydų; karą išgyveno mažiau kaip 3 tūkst.

• **Saugumas.** Saugumo policijos Vilniaus apygardos viršininkas Aleksandras Lileikis pasirašė įsakymus, kuriais šešiametė Fruma Kaplan ir jos motina buvo įkalintos ir perduotos vokiečių saugumo policijai; jos sušaudytos 1941 m. gruodžio 22 d. A. Dailidė suiminėjo žydus, iškratė Marką Sapyro ir surašė jo pinigus, perduotus vokiečių valdžiai. Lietuvos teismai pripažino kaltais K. Gimžauską (2001 m.) ir A. Dailidę (2006 m.), tačiau nė vienas iš jų po apkaltinamojo nuosprendžio nebuvo įkalintas; A. Lileikis mirė 2000 m. nesulaukęs nuosprendžio.

• **Turtas ir darbas.** Savivaldybė, policija, žudikai Paneriuose, „Lietūkis“ ir privatūs pirkėjai paėmė žydų namus, daiktus, maistą ir drabužius; aukų drabužiai buvo parduodami Paneriuose kelios valandos po šaudymo. Priverstinio darbo užmokestį didžiąja dalimi pasiimdavo vokiečių administracija.

• **Universitetas.** 1941 m. rugsėjo 19 d. rektorius Mykolas Biržiška pasirašė įsakymus pašalinti žydų tautybės studentus, tarp jų jau nužudytą Matlę Olkinaitę.

• **Seksualinis smurtas.** K. Sakowicziaus dienoraštyje užfiksuota, kaip lietuviai prie duobių mušė ir lietė nuogas žydes prieš jas sušaudydami.

Ką sako Lietuvos institucijos. Panerių memorialas, Holokausto atlasas, VLE straipsnis „Ypatingasis būrys“ ir LGGRTC 2019 m. knyga įvardija lietuvius vykdytojus. Tačiau VLE straipsnyje „Vilniaus istorija“ įvardijama 1939 m. Vilnių apiplėšusi SSRS kariuomenė, o 1941 m. žudikai neįvardijami; VLE Panerių straipsnyje Ypatingasis būrys nepaminėtas; VLE geto straipsnyje nurodomas Auschwitzas (Osvencimas) vietoj Sobiboro ir teigiama, kad visi likę stovyklų kaliniai sušaudyti, nors Aradas nurodo apie 150–200 išsigelbėjusių HKP kalinių, o memorialas „Tylūs didvyriai“ – apie 250; Užsienio reikalų ministerijos 2025 ir 2026 m. Panerių pranešimuose minima tik „nacių okupacinė valdžia“ ir „vietiniai kolaborantai“; „GoVilnius“ teigia, kad Panerių žudynes „organizavo ir vykdė naciai“; LGGRTC chronologijoje teigiama, kad 1941 m. gruodžio–1943 m. kovo mėn. „masinių žydų žudynių nevyko“, nors 1942 m. liepos mėn. Paneriuose sušaudyta keliasdešimt senų ir ligotų geto kalinių (pačios VLE duomenimis – 150). 16 skyriuje pateikiamas kiekvienos institucijos teksto tikslus pataisymas lietuvių ir anglų kalbomis.

Ko prašoma. LGGRTC prašoma surasti, ištirti ir paskelbti 1941 m. liepos 3–4 d. įsakymą, savivaldybės turto inventorius ir paskirstymo dokumentus, Ypatingojo būrio narių sąrašą su kiekvieno veiksmais ir 1977–1978 m. Vilniaus teismo nuosprendžius, 1943 m. rugsėjo transporto dokumentus bei paaiškinti teiginį apie žudynių nebuvimą. VLE prašoma įvardyti vykdytojus ir ištaisyti klaidas; Užsienio reikalų ministerijos – įvardyti Ypatingąjį būrį ir lietuvių policiją; Vilniaus universiteto – paskelbti 1941 m. rugsėjo 17 d. raštą Nr. 21606; Vilniaus savivaldybės ir „GoVilnius“ – įvardyti vykdytojus.

Istorinė tiesa ir susitaikymas. Nuo 1945 m. praėjo 81 metai, nuo 1990 m. kovo 11 d. – 36 metai. Kviečiu atsiųsti dokumentais pagrįstus pataisymus ar priešingus įrodymus adresu ggochin@gmail.com; pagrįstus pataisymus paskelbsiu nurodydamas datą.