

JOKŪBAUSKAS, Norbertas Stasys
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In this interview, Norbertas Stasys Jokūbauskas, a military officer born on 6 October 1916 in Skuodas, talks about his duties guarding the Kovno (Kaunas) ghetto and also discusses his participation in two separate mass killings at the Ninth Fort. He explains that while guarding the ghetto, he attempted to rescue a Jewish girl and her mother. With regard to the mass killings at the Ninth Fort, he insists that his duties were comprised of guarding the pile of clothing of the victims as they undressed and that he only fleetingly saw the graves at the Fort. He talks about a few Jewish women he recognized at the Ninth Fort and provides one victim's name. He adamantly asserts that he did not give any orders or participate in the actual shooting during both mass killings at the Ninth Fort. This interview also includes testimony about his military campaigns in Latvia near the end of the war.

Box 1, Tape 1

[01:] 00:09:05 – [01:] 09:43:12
00:00

There is a conversation going on while the tape card is being displayed, though it is barely comprehensible. The taping of the interview starts mid-conversation.

[01:] 00:40:19
00:35

A: ...he graduated from the Švėksnos gymnasium.

Q: Kazimieras?

A: Kazimieras.

Q: I am asking you to first – tell me your name, surname, birth day, month, year, and where you were born.

A: Now?

Q: Yes.

A: I am...is this what I should say?

Q: Yes.

A: I am Norbertas Stasys Jokūbauskas, born sixteen...nineteen...in 1916, October first, in Skuodas, in **Oskolai [Oskola]** village. I no longer remember.

Q: Now talk a little about your family. What was your family like, where did your parents work?
How many children were there in your family?

A: I don't want to discuss this – my family.

Q: Fine.

A: What?

Q: If no, then don't.

A: My...

Q: Just begin...

A: No no. My brother died, he was an engineer in the Building Ministry. My sister died, she worked as an accountant at the garment factory, she died, she was younger than me.

Q: No, so no, so no... This is not really necessary...

A: I still have a sister in Canada, she's been living there a long time with her husband. And one sister in Alytus.

[01:] 02:05:06

02:04

Q: OK, now about the army. And now talk about, when, altogether, did your military service start?

A: My service...in '38 it seems, in '38. The war college in Panemunė. In '39 I was promoted to lieutenant. I was in Plungė, in the 6th regiment, and with...I participated there with the interned Poles. Lots of Poles were interned there.

Q: Where were you?

A: That was... They were in Palanga... until the Russians came. Until the Russians came. Where did they put those Poles, or did they kill them in Katyn? Well, there were a lot of military officers – I knew them.

Q: Yes, so those Poles are in Katyn.

A: Maybe they took them there. I don't know where.

Q: Yes.

A: There were many Polish soldiers. Lots. All, all of those villas were taken over. The high hill... the officers lived with Countess Tiškevičiene, where the Amber museum is now. To me... I was instructed to watch over the officers who lived there. So I was with the Countess Tiškevičiene that first time. The colonels were sitting there, but they belonged to me, right? *[laughs]*

Q: They were your prisoners?

A: They were prisoners. But they were free. They... we...an undertaking, that they... They had our documents, they were given food, but oh they were ____ .

[01:] 04:04:13

04:07

A: I arrived, the porter led me up these stairs, led me up the other side. These colonels were sitting there, Tiškevičienė – the Countess. Well I am a “sir” to them, am I not? *[snickers]* ____ it doesn't matter. So I spoke with the Countess Tiškevičienė, she gave me her hand. *[puts his hand out]* She knows how to present her hand. *[kisses the back of his hand]* Mister Lieutenant kissed her hand. Sat him down. At that time, I spoke French. Our language (instruction) was strong. Well maybe my speech seemed funny to them, how I spoke French.

Q: From the gymnasium (high school)?

A: Yeah. We...languages were taught strongly there for us. How did my speech seem to them **Oh, oui Monsieur** [FRENCH]. **Comtesse**. There was no leadership from me, I will admit, the Countess is sitting here no... the porter leads me in, I kiss her hand. *[nodding]* I thank her: **Merci, madame Comtesse** [FRENCH]. Like this. **Au revoir, Monsieur Lieutenant. Je vous** [FRENCH]... Well that is all.

Q: And you were an officer then?

A: Yeah. Well you see, there were others to guard over, those soldiers – I don't know how many of them there were there... Because were signed their certificates, so that the Commandant Captain, a Lithuanian, I don't remember his surname, so that he alone wouldn't have to sign the document, we all signed for the Captain. There were many of them (soldiers), there were several thousand of them there. The **guards** *[guard]* there. *[pause]*

[01:] 06:08:20

06:17

Q: And then, were you in the army the entire time?

A: No, then I left. Then I went to University. I was enrolled in the Department of Law.

Q: In Kaunas?

A: Yeah. Well, *[takes a drag of his cigarette]* how long was I there? I was there for a year. Disarray – the Russians arrived... Four hundred... Suddenly in '41 _____ we... we listened from there, what will happen when. From Germany, right. These older female students lived on Savanorių prospect. We were playing **Preferans [Preference]** (card game) at night. We are listening – Hitler says – we are laughing. Well at that time, we did just as everyone did – to the Commandant's headquarters. I was given a detachment. And who they were, I did not recognize them. They gave us guns. I was first appointed to Senamiestis (Old Town). There Viliampolė— that Aleksotas bridge, right? That place. Well in Senamiestis – the Jesuit church, you know it, Kaunas—you know, right, the “Kovas” cigarette factory was there – well, to take care of that area.

[01:] 08:01:02
08:14

A: The Russians were still there. They were retreating from Aleksotas. They were retreating from Aleksotas. And then suddenly – a crash! And that bridge collapsed like that. *[gestures to show how the bridge collapsed]* On that... On that bridge there were Russian corpses lying there, horses – because they were retreating on horseback. Were they scared away... from Garliava (a city in the Kaunas region)... when very close, so they escaped. And those who pressed it (the detonator) – there were mines. They did not see that it was their own army. They walked and it collapsed with all of them. One of my soldiers ran away. He, it seems, had Bolshevik tendencies *[chuckles]* and he disappeared somewhere with his gun. And after that, when all of that arrived here, the Government was established here, everything was fine. Well the Germans... they did not like this, this thing. And I remained in the commandant's headquarters. I joined the 13th battalion which does not have a good reputation, you know this thing.

Q: Why?

A: Because of the killings. Well, it (the battalion) could not have done anything on its own. The orders came from from... from Jegeris (Jäger), from Jegeris (Jäger), this guy, you've heard of him, he was a Gestapo—

Q: Karlas Jegeris (Karl Jäger), This was Karl.

[01:] 09:36:09
09:53

A: Well, so...

Q: And did you see him?

A: Who?—

Q: Jegeris (Jäger).—

A: No, no, no. He did not (meet with) people like me, no. He organized, that... in Viliampolė there was that, well, that Jewish, what is it called... well—

Q: What, the ghetto?

A: No, no no, the labor camp...

Q: So, the ghetto.

A: The ghetto, the ghetto. There they were enclosed by a fence—this whole quarter—I don't recall now. Vilijamp—After you cross the bridge, on the right, down those small streets. All of those were fenced in. They were rounded up in there, and we had to go stand guard. *[makes a circular hand gesture]* So you arrive at night with a detachment of soldiers. The noncommissioned officers—I don't know because I did not walk around all of it... I did not take a look. My post was there, the soldiers leave—and did they have business dealings with those people, the Jews exchanged—I did not interfere. I just carried out (my duties) and...

[01:] 10:42:06

11:02

Q: So what was the title for your duties in the ghetto guard?

A: No, the battalion was there. We were ordered to guard the ghetto, but in shifts.

Q: And what were your duties called?

A: Lieutenant, detachment leader.

Q: The chief of the guard.

A: I am at that time the chief of the guard. This means I had a separate room, I remember, on the second floor of that house. I would lead the soldiers over, I would separate half of them—then they had their own quarters, I don't know, I did not go there. I couldn't say that—I did not see them. When it opened, I can't say... Whether they let people (Jews) out, or if they exchanged (goods)—there were a lot—But business was conducted. I know that they, that the soldiers had food, they had everything, and there... Well, I did not intervene, I did not leave... Only once did I dismiss the guard. On the first floor of my quarters there was a gate... a gate to exit the ghetto. I go to Žemaičių street in Kaunas to visit with friends – this Kevalaitis family... I arrive. There is a young Jewish girl. She was startled. So when she ___ she arrived with her star taken off, she—She was a student. Her mother, it turns out, was Mrs. Baronienė, a doctor (spelling of surname indicates she is a married woman, wife of Mr. Baronas)

Q: So you knew her before the war?

[01:] 12:17:10

12:41

A: No, I did not know them or her. She was startled. They were, she was an acquaintance of those Kaunas residents, the Kevalaitis family. They were students. I came by and she was scared. I said: why are you afraid? *[shakes his head]* We had a conversation – how to escape with her mother? Her mother, so she... I told her: this is a simple thing. I will be there on this and this day. I will be there, I said, I know what time I have to be there, because... I can let you (both) out. -Please. I will dismiss the guards. I have the right to send them away, right. A gentleman is a gentleman, you know: a gentleman is a gentleman. I will dismiss the guards. You and your mother will go out and leave for freedom. This is what happened. I came by. I waited the hour, I sent away the guards, well I told them to bring me something or I sent them somewhere over there: go over there. She arrives. But the.. that... Her daughter was Ms. Baronaitė (spelling of surname indicates she is an unmarried girl, daughter of Mr. Baronas). She was a student.

[01:] 13:29:09

13:56

A: And what? My mother refuses to go. Why? The mother said: What happens to all the Jews, may it also happen to me. "I will not go alone." I said: this is the time, I can't here. I am taking the risk for this trick. A German is not compassionate: in this position - **Verreter** [GERMAN] – and they punish you with the death penalty. Well, no, she won't go. I don't know if she survived, if she remembers, I don't know. Well, and then...

Q: Why did you take the risk, tell me? Why did you risk...

A: For letting her go.

Q: For letting her go. What would have happened if this was revealed?

A: Oooo. **Verreter** [GERMAN] Under the Germans, this is the death penalty.

Q: Did you know of any situations where our soldiers, Lithuanians, had been punished this way?

A: No... o how... Maybe they didn't let people out through the gate, maybe they did let them out. That whole quarter was small one storey houses, there in Vilijampolė. I had not walked around it. I just came by, dismissed them... The noncommissioned officers, they led people – they had their own quarters, I have my own small room. I did not go anywhere. I just smoked, they brought me food and came to relieve me and then I would leave.

[01:] 14:57:04

15:27

Q: How long was the watch?

A: Twenty-four hours. I... I ... let me say, I did not... if I had walked around the entire ghetto – I did not walk around it. I came to that location, and the noncommissioned officers – it was their duty and to distribute, they... I would come and I would sit. I did not want to

with the soldiers... if they found out that I was letting them out. It takes all kinds, as they say. So I relived the guards near that place, I sent them off to goodness knows where...

Q: Did none of the soldiers understand why they were being relieved?

A: What... O how... *[snickers]* they don't even think about what I am doing. Because a soldier does not have the right to think, he just has to obey.

Q: So Mr. Stasys, why did you do this?

A: You see, this is how it is. You understand me, the system I grew up in. It all seems very different to you. But I grew up, how to call it, between... in the system between the wars, up until the '40s, nationalism was unbelievably emphasized. Unbelievably. Not like it is now. I am shocked: with doctors, with simulations, they do not join the army. It was shameful – for a young man to not join the army. How will any girls love this kind of invalid? What? All of them—and one of my neighbors was not allowed into the army. He so wanted to join the army! He was a blacksmith, did he have asthma, they brought the hammer down and did not take him... “What’s wrong with that Levis” in Žemaitija terminology “What’s wrong with that Levis, they did not take him in the army.” (regional- Žemaitija-Samogitian saying) A waste. And here – there **bratcai** (?). So what was there... There was discipline. But it was shameful to not be taken... to not join the army. And now, I am surprised – 50% of young men are invalids. So what will come of them, nation?

Q: Well, I—

[01:] 17:08:18
17:45

A: And now I look – I am sitting inside as they walk past me – 20-21 years old in groups of four or five. Where do they work? Where do they work? But they smoke... I smoke “Klaipėda” (cigarette brand) *[holds up and shows his cigarette]*. When I see them, they smoke “Marlboro” (cigarette brand) right?

Q: It's unclear which is worse. *[laughs]*

A: What?

Q: It's unclear which is worse.

A: Well no.

Q: Mister Norbertas, but that Jewish girl – why did you let her go? Why did you want to let her go?

A: O why? I could have let them all go. If they asked me to. I did not know them. She came, I came – she was startled. I was dressed in uniform, well you know, the girl got scared. We

talked it out – I was friends with the Kevalaitis family. I knew them. I finished high school together with one of them, and he is now in California, an engineer, he receives a pension. They built themselves a villa, it was 100 kilometers for me... So there, with ____...(mumbling) I had met with... I drove over to his house... So I went inside – we're like old friends – to see him. I went inside – that Ms. Baronaitė is sitting there. Well, you know how scared they—

Q: Yes.

A:--get of scoundrel like us, yeah. *[laughs]*

Q: But you knew that you were taking a risk, that the Germans would kill you for this.

A: What?

Q: But you knew that the Germans could kill you for that.

A: Oh, but no one ever saw this. That I was sitting there with her—I was neither... I was not at work, I was just visiting, we were friends, smoking and talking there. And I... She was startled. Then he said: Don't be afraid of him. Well we talked about how to leave. I said: this is a simple thing. If I walked in and talked to all of the soldiers, then you don't know what will happen. They'll find out, no? With two eyes... It is not good when there are four eyes, three, six eyes.

Q: Six is bad.

[01:] 19:02:17
19:43

A: Well so I said: when I am there, I can let you and your mother out. If three had gone, I would have let them out. And when... When you leave, how will you prove that I let her go? What will she say- he let me go. "How?" What? They did not have any rights. Their testimony was not valid, right? And the soldiers did not see me. I would say, maybe someone let them out. Oh not me... I would say: I'm not guilty. They won't catch me – I'm not a thief, right. But she refused. I don't know, maybe she... Maybe she stayed, didn't stay, or left—That is that. Well then suddenly—what happened there, was... Get ready – we were going to be taken to the war front in airplanes... transport airplanes. Those **luft** [GERMAN] how they were called... *[shrugs his shoulders]* Then – no. Something did not work out for them. Then—

Q: So when was this danger?

A: Well, they transported us, what... the autumn of (nineteen forty) one. I can't really say for certain now. Well it was either in the spring of '42 or... When there was a thaw— We were given a train, I mean, to pack up all our belongings, all of the train cars. We packed up into a military, in Šančiai (near the city of Kaunas)

[01:] 20:46:22

21:32

A: Passenger cars for the officers. For those poor, the soldiers, right?... *[snickers]* They transferred up to Dedovičiai. Dedovičiai is this... Dedovičiai... One road, as I said, goes toward Leningrad... Dno (Дно -Russia) is the station at the crossroads. They transported us from Dno to Dedovičiai. They housed the soldiers – we were surprised – their middle school, two floors, wooden. We— there are no (buildings) like that here. Corners *[crosses arms to show how the corners were constructed]*, well how ancient corners were built (log construction) How long we stayed there – the order. This much snow *[gestures to show snowfall]* Daroškinas village in the middle. Kipinas on the right, the village on the right, **Zapolje** – I used to say **Zapolje [Zapole]**, with a French pronunciation...

Q: Zapole (village in northwestern Poland)

A: Zapolè is how it should be pronounced. One company there, me and the patrol here. Here on the right... We dug these trenches, made bunkers. We would go out on reconnaissance missions.

[01:] 22:19:00

23:08

A: Oh and our spies would get stuck there. And there on the other side there were the “vanka” (Russians) with... as they’re called, using bad words. They... then the captured prisoners said: let’s attack. They did not sync their watches *[points at his wristwatch]*. You know how it is. Just like how Napoleon’s army was defeated – a part of the army did not manage to arrive on time to that place, Waterloo. So this happened to them and a section did not arrive. One half began the attack, the other was late. They were beaten back there... some of our soldiers died there, now I don’t remember how many.

Q: So was this your first battle?

A: Yeah.

Q: In Russia.

A: Yeah. So spies were killed. This is what happened. Why should they be set free? According to me, you can shoot a soldier – the enemy, right? But you can’t defile him. And they would defile them. When they captured the spies. They retreat. You find it. Well what... they poke their eyes out with a dagger, fill the sockets with clay. Well, defiled. We do not to this, cultured people.

Q: This is sadism.

A: What?

Q: Sadism.

A: Yeah. Then they got caught by us. Then, when I said, they plead ignorance: **нет нет нет Niet niet niet** [RUSSIAN] You were there.

[01:] 23:51:16

24:44

Q: And when they were apprehended by you, did they understand that they were captured not by the Germans, but by Lithuanians?

A: Several of us spoke... I didn't speak... Lith-- Russian. I am a Žemaitis (Samogitian- region in Lithuania), we did not speak Russian there. A few of those knew Russian who... Well what, Lithuanians... If you interrogated in Russian, they would talk. I am there, I talk, but at that time I didn't know any Russian. Well, if he is captured – he's guilty. So he pleads. The soldiers are angry. They want to kill him. I (said): this is none of your issue. We have to obey orders. This was the order of things. I don't know how it is now. And so I say: Let the beggars go. And then he at the moment, when I order them to let him go – he, like I said: **bogoslavliu vas, gospodin Kommandant** [RUSSIAN] "Bless you, sir Commandant" I laugh: so you even understand in Lithuanian that there is danger. I sa— say, So this is how I joke: tell him I am going to change my mind. You see, how easy it is to play jokes, when you are protected by those steel bars. I am joking: I can change my mind. But if you let him go and say: take him out and kill him. I did not say anything.

Q: So the soldiers knew that you were letting them go?

A: So what – that's what I said to them. They said to me, my translator says, he translated for me. **Nicht Van__** [GERMAN], this is none of your business. I say, ah. One time I said this: one beggar more, one beggar less – this won't win the war. Let him go. But after 40 years in Lithuania they don't know Lithuanian. So when you let this one go, when I said—I remember those words **bogoslavliu vas, gospodin Kommandant** [RUSSIAN]. I, when he said this—I said, I can change, I joked... I can change my mind. This is a trick, right. I am protected. You can't even get near me. My scoundrels won't ever let you by.

[01:] 26:15:21

27:13

Q: So Mr. Stasys, you were taking another risk here, if a German found out about this?

A: Oh no. This location was my territory. I was like a Commandant then. The territory belonged to me. Like an acting Commandant... So how would they find out? Well... *[snickers]* The Germans—those... They killed their own people. If a prisoner or a corpse *[puts his hand in his pocket]* There were, there were those and may they rot, those who search through the pockets of a dead person. This was strictly forbidden. Well, this base robbery. Unfitting a person. So, So... You can kill a person. Poke out the eyes, everything—genitals. Well oh my god... deserving of death (death penalty), even though I am against death (death penalty). I—this is why I am alive. Well this is how it is. But I am surprised: after 30-40 years they come to collect a pension – **po ruski govorit** [RUSSIAN] they speak Russian. They don't know (Lithuanian). "We do not know." How hard is it to

learn? All of the Russians in Canada speak English. The French speak German. Within a year they all learn. But they don't want to.

Q: Don't want to.

[01:] 27:52:04

28:55

A: They get used to it being this way. Well those things. So I was in that battalion. The Major and the Staff Major. He was a great officer. He graduated from a military university. When he stationed us, planned—we were all underground, you couldn't see us. All of the openings, the bunkers, everything was underground. Openings to shoot through... directed at—machine guns affixed, set up. The Germans arrived to take a look. Like this. "Great, what a (strategic) point." We were moved out. Who is stronger, more powerful? We were moved out, oh for us—I don't know, how it was well. And then we—There, did they drive me out of there—*[thinking]* We the officers gathered to play Preferans (card game). We had cognac, Hennessey or Martel...

Q: Where did you get the cognac?

A: You see, it was the norm. Either 20 or 30 grams was the daily norm with your food. But there was also **Verpflegung** [GERMAN]- goods for a price. It was in the cellar, well, there was cognac for us officers. Right, if the Major, right. For him, he arrives and you pour him (a glass)... right. So we played Preferans for money, you know, right [laughs] Well, "to your health, to your health" *[mimes drinking from a glass]* "**prosit**" [GERMAN] Like Germans, right. This is the way: you raise it *[mimes raising a glass]* "**Prosit**" put it at the second button *[mimes placing the glass at mid-chest]*, right, and then you drink it back. So you see, right, the idiot's head got mixed up *[points at his head]* We got in an argument.

[01:] 29:55:12

31:03

Q: With whom?

A: With Sir Major, with my commander. Something, I insulted him severely. I don't remember. In the morning my friends (said) to me: well, you will remember what you did. You insulted the "square head." We used to call him "square" He was a small man, but his head was large.

Q: What was his surname?

A: Bliunekas, Bliunekas, Herr Staff Major. I—"Go apologize." I went to him: Sir Major, forgive me. That is all, go away.

Q: He didn't say that you were reconciled?

A: No no no.

Q: That is all.

A: No no.

Q: He did not say anything.

A: No no no. What is he going to say to me? I am a little insect. *[laughs]* Well, he did not say anything. The order – I was transferred to another Lithuanian battalion. Horses. Guards. They transported me to another one. From there—where did we end up. I don't remember those places. There was a former estate, something **Krasnaja**, there, from there... *[thinking]* On the railroad. They sent us at night – blizzard, wind. The officers, we were retreating. Two officers with compasses- one alone will get lost, right? You can't discern the sky from the earth. Two, it means, to regulate, no... that is, the blizzard, snow. Where did we end up? **Pskovo [Pskov]**, or **Polock [Polotsk, Polatsk]**, or toward **Velikiye Luki [Velikie Luki]** It's hard for me to remember those places, right?

Q: What war front was it?

[01:] 32:03:00

33:16

A: That same... barren. A river there, I remember: the river **Šelon**... It flows into... there the Lake **Onega [Onego]**. The Shelon, well it's smaller than the Nemunas? (river in Lithuania)

Q: So this was the Leningrad blockade?

A: What?

Q: You were holding the Leningrad blockade?

A: No no no. We were over there in Russia. When I was transferred, we did not return. And when you retreat. The order to retreat. And to burn everything, they said. *[laughs]* Incendiary bullets, right. *[demonstrates holding a rifle]* Pop, pop, that pop, bibibibi *[sounds of gun shots, machine gun fire]* No one was concerned about this thing. We retreated to **Polock [Polotsk, Polatsk]**, I don't... a railway bridge, through where, I don't remember. When a Russian bomb carrier or something flew over, when it crashed, I don't remember in which city, in the city square—did we shoot it down with a machine gun, with that ____ *[gestures, searching for the word]* There were Dutchmen enlisted to work there. They were dressed in gray – I think those Dutchmen were ours. One of them, the Dutchmen, died when they were bombarding. And then I also found out, either with our bullets or... when it crashed—what is that city?—the plane crashed in the city square.

[01:] 34:00:16

35:19

A: From there our orders were to retreat again, to retreat... In which direction? We moved toward Daugavpils (Latvia). Toward Daugavpils. From Daugavpils, forward. O—Ogre (Latvia), where there is an electric power plant, in Ogre. From there we were sent north, to Limbaži. The Gauja river in Latvia is beautiful. And then right by Gauja, right by Gauja. It is the most beautiful river. We were there. They already, the Russians were attacking. Because all of the roads were *[makes an "X" with his hands to indicate the roads were blocked]* from the tanks, all sorts of metal sticks – erected for the tanks.

Q: So you were just walking on foot, or did you drive?

A: I was on horseback. The soldiers were on foot. From there the Russians pushed us back from Limbaži, it seems, Limbaži, but there from the Gauja (river), toward Saulkrasti. Yes in Latvia.... Saulkrasti, just like, let's say, the Šventoji (river in Lithuania), there in the north beyond Rīga. In that direction. From there, the Russians pushed us back—we ended up in... we went through Rīga. What swamps, what bogs, these large areas like that. There were partisans there. We were sent there to capture them. From there, they sent us to—we received orders- to East Prussia, to travel to East Prussia. They transfer the battalion and we have to fight there again.

[01:] 36:10:04
37:34

A: And what? Orders. Orders are orders. And we went. Our staff here through... through Liepāja (Latvia). Toward, there, where the electric power plant is being built now...

Box 1, Tape 2

[02:] 00:40:12
00:35

A:...my will, and they move me. Well, when you free. Everything is fine. We live peacefully here. We received an order. The weapons will be exchanged. The battalion was called in to **Paviluostas [Paveluostas] Pāvilosta** (Latvia). Well the government know what it is doing. We arrive in Paviluostas. The soldiers are in formation. We are standing there _____. The weapons will be exchanged. There is so much fraud in this world. So you set down your weapons, in front, we set down our weapons. And then _____, right? *[makes an "x" with his hands]*- (it is unclear what he is saying and what he means).

Q: Yes.

A: So then the Germans will give us others (weapons). Let let us..._____(?)... we turned around. The city square was like a market. Lord, a fence—tank barrels pointed at us from the fence. What's going on here? This is not good. And then the Prussians come up to us and lecture us how: the German nation was spilling blood for a new Europe [emphatically] Always just new Europe. The Lithuanians had committed a betrayal, **Verreter [Verrat]** [GERMAN]. *[raises his arms in defeat]*

[02:] 02:26:07

02:25

A: The soldiers are disarmed. They are led to the prison camp, there was a prison camp there. And then behind the fence. The gentlemen officers were to go to the Commandant's headquarters and hand over our pistols. Everything was in order with them. You arrive there—you don't need anything. Just place it on the table. There is an envelope with your name and surname written on it. You take your pistol out and put it in. And the place, where you will now be arrested. And now our soldiers—we have to visit them, to see them. So which one of the officers will you select to go there... that is, they selected me. So I would go. I was able to walk around the city, right? Yes. And the others were not able to leave that place. We were given food, but you play cards and... chuckle and laugh. And you see what happens. (Someone came) to see me and Captain Armonas—we were drinking together before New Year's, or before Christmas... He comes. He makes an offer. Go to Sweden. To Sweden? He was—he worked in Latvia, a big manufacturer. He said that they had sailboat, a high-speed sailboat, that will transport us to Gotland. From Gotland, he says, this is how he explained it: from Gotland island a larger Lithuanian boat will take you to Sweden. He offers this to both of us. No. *[shakes his head]* How are you going to leave behind the soldiers, right?

[02:] 04:10:15

04:14

Q: And those boats in Gotland were Lithuanian?

A: *[nods the affirmative]* A larger boat transported you straight to Sweden. And the Latvian high-speed sailboat takes you from here, from the beach, to Gotland island. So, you can say, it's about 150 kilometers. A speedboat. *[the interviewer says something off camera, incomprehensible]* And there, see, we both refused. No. Well how will you leave behind the company of soldiers. So after that, we did not go, we didn't know—it turns out that several of the men in Lieutenant Vainauskas's company would go through. He—the soldiers would let go those people, the Latvians, who wanted to escape from that. Well everything was fine, I just remember that Lieutenant Vainauskas *[mimes taking a watch out of his pocket]* (had) this large gold pocket watch—where did get it? Well, we didn't care, what... how he got it. Then his company's soldiers would let people go. One of the Latvians who did not fit onto that sailboat told the Germans. *[salutes]* So then they disarmed us. So who is the guilty party? Germans are clever. A truck with a tarpaulin is standing there, an opening. And we are all taken over there. Who are the guilty ones? So nothing happened to my company. In Vainauskas's company—they arrested them, the warrant officer, and... well, Vainauskas was in trouble, but the soldiers did not betray him. How many—they apprehended eight or nine of them, you see. Well apprehended them. Seven were sentenced. It's hard to say how much they interrogated them. They sentenced seven... seven to be shot. The death penalty.

[02:] 06:19:08

06:28

Q: Seven out of eight?

A: No. More. Or ten, I don't know. I don't remember. But seven – this I know. Others were degraded, the ones who did not confess. Seven were killed. So there. And who has to shoot them? Not they, we (have to do it) ourselves. This is German order! You know the warrant officer, what's his surname, there that... They called up me and this lieutenant – he had been in a Hussar regiment – a German calls is into the Commandant's headquarters. He says: company, platoon, **Zug** [GERMAN] right? And a gun, three bullets. And you will command it, right. It's a terrible pleasure, to take and shoot, right? And what ____ He says: Herr Hauptmann, **Warum ich**. [GERMAN] Captain sir, why do I have to shoot? Oh how that Captain yelled! **Herr Leutnant, wissen Sie – Befehl ist Befehl** [GERMAN] "Don't you know, sir lieutenant, an order is an order." "**Ich Wol**" This was great for my soul. So he had to shoot. A soldier from my homestead—he was so brave. They brought everyone over to see it. They shot them on the sea shore... He got a bad deal. Just one over there said: "Friends, you got me good. He threw down his hat, a German hat. Good nerves. Well what after that, they say... it became clear that the Lithuanians were not so guilty. They took our weapons away again. You see, they held us there calmly by the sea. There was no reason to joke here. The order- that Liepaja – by order of the march – the town **Bartuva [Bārta]**, Bartuva- to relieve the Germans. And they brought us here. In March, the month of March, the month of February.

[02:] 08:39:14

08:54

Q: So there was no encirclement?

A: Yes there was.

Q: You were already encircled. There was no way to leave?

A: No, no. You couldn't go anywhere. Well they drove us...from... from the trenches a little farther away ____ neither a forest, a plain there toward the town Bartuva. That river flows there, where my homestead is. I bathed there, I learned to swim well there. It flows into Latvia, then to the **Liepoja [Liepāja]** lake. So we were on the right side of the shore, the "vankos" (Russians) on the other side. Evenly like that. With the river between us. And the Germans there... The Russians had crossed, and when the Germans attacked, they pushed them back. But we were from (in) the trenches and we stayed there. There were many of those Germans, those warrant officers, young handsome men, but you can't carry them. We came, we didn't have to take them. So there and we stayed there. And what about the corpses. We didn't have to. There are the guilty persons. There are these **Strafbataillon [Strafbatallion]** (penal battalions), right. Those who mean nothing alive, so they bring them in at night. So when the Germans or someone comes—if they shoot you, who cares. So they collected (the corpses). Well we stayed there. They would bring us food at night, taking a risk. They are shooting- a rocket strike... If you can't get down (on the ground) in time, then stand like a pillar. So there is no movement, right. If you managed to lie down, then you survived it. They shoot around like that. And you live.

[02:] 10:37:11

10:57

A: As I said, that they wanted to send us to ford the river, to that that, how the Germans—the Russians called it, the “tongue” right or like the – hostage. That is what is needed during a war. There was strict discipline there. Then the Germans—the Germans respect military officers. But the gendarmerie checked everyone – soldiers, not officers... the war gendarmerie, the war police. You could not joke with them.

Q: So how long were you there? Until the end?

A: Well you see, we stayed... On May 9th we were told to raise white rags. To raise white rags. So we had arrived in about February, yes. So this is how long we stayed in those trenches. Well in the trenches...

Q: So you were in that one place the entire time?

A: Yeah. In one place. On the right side, near Liepaja, there was another Lithuanian battalion, also the Wehrmacht. I don't know. I had heard that Lieutenant Kamičaitis died there. He was record-breaking javelin thrower during the time of Smetona (Antanas Smetona - President of Lithuania 1919-1920 and 1926-1940) He was always planning, when, it was the case, we would meet up, with compasses on the shore ____ he would try to travel with a fishing boat and his compass to Gotland, 150 kilometers away, right. So he said that he would swim out, but how are you going to swim. But he is lying (deceased) there somewhere, who knows where.

Q: Well how did it end?

[02:] 12:30:13

12:55

A: Well, what. White flags. We... I am a traitor in their eyes. Even though I don't acknowledge their citizenship. But they considered me Lithuania, theirs. No, no. This was an order. To surrender weapons, surrender weapons, retreat to... prisoners. No no no. My regiment and I, with pistols and guns, we retreated back. Through thicket and ____ retreating. We left Liepāja behind on the left. We will travel toward **Paviluostas [Paveluostas] Pāvilsta** (Latvia). Maybe we'll escape from there. As we were walking through the forest, the Germans are packing up. Some sort of headquarters. I go up to them. They are collecting documents, there is an armistice already. So they... to sail out, right. I introduce myself as/to a Captain, like that. How can we come along? And he asks me: **sie sind allein** [GERMAN] – are you alone? **Nein, ich bin bin ganze Zug** [GERMAN] – I am with my platoon. But if I was alone, if one...

Q: They would take one person?

A: What?

Q: They would take you alone, right.

A: The would take me along. But there is no room for some (the word he uses indicates a number between one and 19) people. They required documents – they were a staff of some kind, I can't really say... Would I have been happy if I left them (the platoon) behind, or unhappy? It is hard to say. When I heard that the Swedes were returning people after the armistice, then I was happy that I didn't go. When the Captain and I were offered the chance to go on our own, that that time they weren't turning away... But after, after the armistice, when the end—after the liberation, they turned everyone back. So who know... And as I said: let's retreat. I have a ____ a map, I have a compass. And a bread bag with conserves, with a knife. Food. We retreated.

[02:] 15:00:12

15:31

A: The road—I am walking in front. To cross that road you have to go a here and the forest there. I was on that road and suddenly from around the corner- trucks with soldiers. I (run) into the forest. They stop. I run away. I run and hide behind these evergreen trees. I take my compass out and toss it to the side. I look, a “vanka” (Russian) is walking with a Kalashnikov, right, he's holding it like this [*mimes holing a gun*] and walking. If you turn to the right, or to the left, then you won't see me. But if you turn toward me. He saw me. I raised my arms [*raises his arms*] And what? He says: **papal muzik** [RUSSIAN] (you got caught). He leads me over. A Major. But he is from the Caucasus, or a Georgian... A tall, handsome Major. He stands. I say: I am going to Lithuania, **ja litoviec** [RUSSIAN] (I am a Lithuanian) ____ My medals have been taken off, there is nothing, there are no medals... But, they don't understand. They could see – that green color, that the color is darker on my uniform where the medals used to be... And they did not search my pockets. There was the **Zweite Verdienst Kreuz** [GERMAN] in my little pocket – this is the star of the Second Class. We... I had put it in here [*places hand in pocket*]

[02:] 17:04:05

17:40

A: The man who led me over [*mimes holing a gun*] **Major, zastreliat** [RUSSIAN] (major, let's shoot him). My homestead is not far away, the place is there. He... I know what will happen here. I sense that my bagpipe was being emptied, right. There were conserves, bread, a knife – it all disappeared quickly. **Vidite, tovarisch, on karty imiet** [RUSSIAN] (look, friend, he has maps) They were my maps. That Major was wonderful – I will remember him for the rest of my life ____ Well, **skazhite kak vam dos karty** [RUSSIAN] (how did you get theses maps?) **zachem Zastereliat, idi podorogu** (why kill him, go on your way) Well this is what it means to be a good person. Right? But that other guy: **zastreliat**. I am thinking- well, they're going to give it to me now. I roamed around through the entire war—and in this place, right near the Lithuanian border I am going to be here (meet my end). And near the edge of the forest... until I rot away. Like this: **idi podoroge** [RUSSIAN] So what – we dispersed. No other way. We changed clothes, gave them our uniforms, were given sandals (made of one piece of leather). ____ Pants with ____, with elbow ? ____ Well and what. We go. There is an order: all men living in Latvia are searched, from 16 to 60 years old, younger and older, all Latvian men. I am walking – stop. **Kuda? – damoi.** [RUSSIAN] (Where? – home) [*waves his arm aside*] And they

brought me over. Russians are still wonderful people. Of good spirit, like in Lithuania. So they take me—and the Germans—and they take me. I was cold, the weather was damp.

[02:] 19:05:14

19:46

A: I had not eaten, right. And I have nothing to smoke. This tall Russian sergeant with an overcoat. _____ I was cold. He gave me his overcoat, I was so warm, and he also gave me some cigarettes. They transported me to the city of Saldus (Latvia). They brought people to city of Saldus. It was full. There was no place to lie down. We are all stuffed together. So what should we do. They will check. They will check. I have a Lithuanian passport. How did I have it- the Lithuanian passport, halfway through the gymnasium (high school)... A shout. A soldier takes me out of line. I had gone to the toilet in the yard. He commands me. **Shagam- maram** [RUSSIAN] (march/step) Don't say this to me. I am not a military person. I start from the right foot. If you were a soldier you would never start with the right foot. I thought, no no no. Someone is watching. No, So I [*makes noises to imitate walking*]—He asks me to present myself. I introduced myself as if I had never been in the army. This young lieutenant sat me down. In Russian – **panimaju vashu . kak ty popal?** (how did you end up here?) Well what. **Ya student. Front idot y tam.** (I am a student, the front was coming) **Sto ty delal zdes?** (What were you doing here?) **Okopy kopal** (Digging trenches) [RUSSIAN] I am thinking: you idiot, take a look at my hands. Where did I **okopus kopal?** My hands are soft! I was just afraid of – **pokazhi** (show me) [RUSSIAN] I was just afraid that he would ask me. I had done no work, and **okopy kopal**. He did not take a look.

[02:] 21:09:22

21:56

A: He is writing, he is writing, **Ochestvo** (father's name) –Stanislovas. **A kto zhe?** (And who are you?) **Tak iest tot zhe** (I am the same) **khorosho, idite xopomo идите** (Good, go) He gave me a certificate. – Stanislova Stanislovas Jokubaskas, **pravieren y otpuschen** [RUSSIAN] (examined and let go). If I had not been captured, and then I was free to go, a window opened for me. "**Pravieren y otpuschen**" But during the times of Smetona (Antanas Smetona - President of Lithuania 1919-1920 and 1926-1940) this is what my passport read: Norbertas Jokūbauskas. Father's name: Stanislovas. He read my name—my father's name as my name, but he had asked me what my father's name was. I didn't know what he was writing. I said: Stanislovas. Here was my certificate, they look at it, read it and let me go. I am free. Then I look – one of my soldiers was taken over—he greeted me, he saw that I was free. So I stayed there. I was free. And then there was another problem. They knew _____ made porridge, grain oatmeal... well, it is bad to be served, do you understand me? When someone brings you food and clears it away. We all come and we are not given a plate or a spoon. But there with the German soldiers there were canned conserved goods. Everyone gathered them up. The _____ says to me: you don't _____ what are you saying, are you a **latgalietis [latgalieši]** (Latvian ethnic group), or what? You see, my dialect, I speak Latvian. **Latgale [Latgalia]**.

[02:] 23:05:19

23:56

A: So they offer me a tin of conserves. And then they let me go, and what then. I moved on. From Saldus toward Lithuania. I have “**Pravieren y otpuschen.**” I arrive in Ylakiai (Lithuania). The Vėžaičiai village. There was a former teacher there from Skuodas, I was in his class. I visit him. With that farmer—he is walking, he is chopping woods. I chop wood. I stayed there. But my passport was incorrect. With the **Pravieren**, right. I asked him, please give me a scraper. It is Nor-ber-tas. How many letters? Sta-ni-slo-vas. N. This N fits the letter S, right. It was crossed out. The one across, I will erase it. The second dash – TE. In place of NO, I wrote STO, STA. R is N. This is how I fixed it. No more Norbertas – I fixed it. I toss it on the ground, rub it a bit. **Pravieren y otpuschen.** [RUSSIAN] This is my Lithuanian passport.

Q: When did you lose the medals that were pinned on you?

A: Ah, the medals, I... It was good that they did not take them. I would always take them off. That **Verdienst** [GERMAN] during the _____. How you were there. I always took them off. I took the shoulder straps (epaulette) off. There were those, like I said _____ the officers’ medals, right – I took them all off. It was good that when they were searching me they didn’t look in that one small pocket.

[02:] 25:08:03

26:04

A: And there was that—I forgot to throw it away—that star. Speaking amongst ourselves, yes... The German army gave us condoms, right. *[laughing]* Speaking openly. I had those condoms, and I forgot them in my pocket. And they found them. They said: **ja bak [jabak]** [RUSSIAN] *[laughing heartily]* **ja bak [jabak]**. What they took, I don’t know. Well and—I was there and I stayed, in that village over there. And then I went on toward my mother’s homestead. In Lenkimai (Lithuania). I walked back. In one place, I was stopped by some sort of little soldier and some girl. I showed him this. He cursed at me. Well I stayed there. Then I—he writes me a—in Russian: he writes by hand that I am an insurance inspector. An insurance inspector. This is my certificate. And that I am being called up to Telšiai. Sent on a mission, like that. And how did I get this stamp. My cousin worked as an insurance inspector there after the war, right, he is now deceased... So when he came to stamp that, I gave him this, he stamp, stamp. He stamped it with the district seal, and I went on my way. I arrived, and I sorted it out with the midwife. I live, I eat. They noticed me in Alsėdžiai. They come by, apprehend me. *[guffaws]* The district guard. Everything is going well.

[02:] 27:15:16

28:17

A: I show them my documents. You see, there was no communication after the war _____. There was Tryškiai, and here is Alsėdžiai, where is that Skuodas. When it was written, I was ____ with a candle ____ it was written – from a bunker? No no no no. Not here. Well, **idi иди** [RUSSIAN] – go, get out of here. So I moved out of here – I relocated to Telšiai, Lord. What am I going to do there? Oh right... Also there, when I... But I had good shoes, ____ shoes. We are sitting there. This resolute captain comes up to us: **khorosho sapogi** хороший (good shoes). **Pameniayam** (let’s exchange). His shoes were military boots **Davai pameniayam.** [RUSSIAN] Fine, let’s change.

Q: So you exchanged?

A: What?

Q: You exchanged shoes?

A: And what? When you're that poor, then fine... when they tell you, you take your shoes off. My shoes were steel toed. He gave me his military boots. I had straw stuffed in the bottom of my shoes. My leg... it is too short. My foot is narrow, but long. Well, he put on the shoes.

Q: So you took out the straw, no?

A: Well, he put them on. And then suddenly another officer shows up. I am just watching. They got into an argument. The one who changed shoes with me, he's standing behind... While they were arguing, he pulls out a pistol and points it from behind, like this [*pointing a gun at the back of someone's head*] At your own man, right. I am thinking: [*laughs*] if he gets shots there is going to be a lot of trouble. But they reconciled. Why were they arguing, was it because of the shoe, or no? Actually, he gave me nine rubles for the shoes. _____

[02:] 29:32:05

30:39

A: I moved, I arrived in Telšiai. The only document I have is the **Pravieren y otpuschen**. [RUSSIAN] and an old (Lithuanian) passport. I have no acquaintances. And I am just sitting there. [*puts a cigarette in his mouth*] _____ Bernotas, he graduated from my gymnasium (high school), he graduated earlier, he was an art teacher. I arrive and he is not there. I am sitting there, in front of the _____. The "Univermagas" (Soviet department store) there in front of the theatre. You know where the theatre is in Telšiai. So I am sitting there. "Hello." [*whistles*] Oh Lord. My schoolmates, my (male) friend and (female) friend are walking by. Teachers. "What are you doing here?"- "Well I don't know what to do." "Teach." I don't have either—I say that I don't have anything. "We'll attest to it." Attest to it? I don't want to go. "Let's go." "We will testify that you finished gymnasium (high school)." They were teaching there already. We go, yes, they take me, I am appointed a teacher and head of the primary school. All by myself. There is no teacher there now, so go there. Fine. I go over there. I don't have a suitcase or anything. The villagers (say): the teacher is so weird! I arrived without even a little suitcase for my underwear or anything. Can't do anything about it. "Sir teacher, will you please come eat?" Well, they feed me, give me food. I said... Tell me, I'm a teacher, right. Then I received a message that I have to get my military billet. I leave everything and I go to Kretinga (Lithuanian city near the Baltic Sea). I go to the commissariat. I need a military billet. "Did you serve in the army?" "I served in the army." "When?" "In the clerk's company." "What rank?" "Commander." They write down **goden roden** [RUSSIAN] (pass) or whatever they write, those little booklets did not exist yet. Then I returned.

[02:] 31:45:02

32:57

A: Well and then with—I became the chairman of the district. I don't remember his surname—he says, “ah, a ‘Žemaitis’ Samogitian” (province of Lithuania). Skuodas and Mosėdis (towns in northern Lithuania) are near one another, right. Where that stone... and he is from Mosėdis. During the times of Smetona (Antanas Smetona - President of Lithuania 1919-1920 and 1926-1940) – he lived as a communist in Latvia. He did not run away. And our neighbor, was also like that, Petrikas, that... Well what? Parishoners. We drank together. The elections are soon. Someone has to be the chairman of the election. Me. A form. A form. What do I write here? “Well and where was he, where was he?” “He was in the village,” the chief says. Write this: I am the chairman of the election. Well I was several times... Well then ____ I was... Oh, he says: “You’ve not been to a trial, while you were in the village. You could have heard it – they tried two partisans: Captain (Jonas) Semaška, O Lord, you recognize him. He was the chief of the platoon, and that... We would have come, sat and watched how they behaved.

Q: And how?

A: The trial took place in Telšiai. Captain, (Jonas) Semaška, and who was that, (Algirdas) Šertvytis, this small guy.

Q: Why were they on trial?

[02:] 33:23:15

34:40

A: (Lithuanian) partisans. In Lithuania when—they were caught somewhere, and put on trial in Telšiai. So that district chairman, the parishioner, and he said—parishioners: “Did you attend that trial?” I didn't want to. He would recognize me that ____ He recounted the proceedings: Šertvytis. “Were you parachuted?” “Yes. Here is the parachute.” “You are against the Lithuanian nation.” He says: “No. During the times of Smetona they fed this kind of bread to pigs, and here we have nothing. Don't let him inundate us with him propaganda— And then he says: “Don't scare me, I am sick with consumption. I won't live long anyway.” Well he's furious. That ____ And the Captain – but they didn't convict him. The one who was sick with consumption was sentenced to 25 years. And the Captain – to be executed. He says to me: “How could this have happened?

Q: So Semaška was executed?

[02:] 34:30:16

35:50

A: What? Well after he was sentenced, he was deported. Although that chairman told me that they won't execute him. A work force was needed in Siberia... Uranium mines, lead mines. It all ended for them over there. O yeah. So there. My documents like this [*hand gesture*]... The elections. You have to answer who you were on the form. Now the passports are being changed again. A whole group of people! This ____ and again, not very grammatical. Well many... We went indeed and they quickly wrote out those, how

do I say, passports. Very quickly. We drink and then everything is fine again. And at six o'clock I open this voting office. Friends, please vote. I am sitting in the chairman's place. Oh do people cheat! Nothing, they toss in all sorts of things. No, some separate votes, there—they sit, destroy those, create new ones. This is how the law is broken...

Q: Yes yes yes.

A: Now I, as the chairman – I take that whole bulletin to the district Party committee. [*mimes shaking hands*] They shake my hand. **Kharasho parabotali** [RUSSIAN] (you did well). So, this is how it was. Those people, you see, don't you... And that cabinet is in form, but they don't allow anyone to go there. Why go there, when it is here, throw it down, right. [*laughs*] **Kharasho**. [RUSSIAN] Now—

Box 1, Tape 3

[03:] 00:40:15 –

00:36 –

Q: I have all of the war years, all of them. Now I just, I still want to ask you. You were talking about the ghetto.

A: Aha.

Q: When you were guarding the ghetto, did you know that those Jews were going to be killed?

A: What?

Q: Well that the Jews in the ghetto – that all of them would be killed?

A: No, I didn't know at the time, I didn't yet know at the time. Only later – well when that huge killing occurred. This was in November or October. The order. From the ghetto.

Q: What year was this?

A: In '41, it seems.

Q: In that first autumn when the Germans already—

A: That big autumn... That was a huge killing, it was. Our soldiers – the guards, they had to lead them. Now how they—the Ninth Fort. I have not been there recently. But there, I don't know, the fort is further out. So, they drive them over – all of them (are told) to undress. So the clothing, the soldiers... the soldiers can steal the clothes, right. So I was stationed: you stay here, don't let them steal. I stand. It is horrible. The Germans, the Gestapo... I stand, smoking. I don't interfere. Lord! I young Jewish girl grabs hold of my neck. When I was in Palanga, as I said before, she was a student, her father had a bus that he drove to Kretinga. Then there... "Save me, Sir Lieutenant." During the daytime. Everything is blocked. Save me—how can I save her—Lord, you—Well I, I danced with her while I at

the gymnasium (high school) in Palanga. Oh how terrible – I can't do anything. Everything is blocked. The Germans are walking around, those black ones, the Gestapo. She lunged at me. Undress. Lord. How horrible. I danced with her at the gymnasium in Palanga. She was in school at the time.

[03:] 03:05:20

03:07

Q: Do you maybe remember her name?

A: What?

Q: Do you remember her name?

A: No, I no longer remember. Her father had a bus in Palanga, this is all I know. She was a student in the gymnasium, then she was... she studied here. Well, there are kinds of deviants in this world. An elderly woman—an elderly Jewish woman, maybe over 70 years old, my God. A German goes up to her with a whip: **Ausziehen!** [GERMAN] Undress. He lashed that poor woman across the back. Well what are you going to see? Well ay...you know an old woman—[*chuckling*] the Germans had ____ You'll get to see prettier women! He lashed – get undressed! You'll think that I', being arrogant. She came up to me, she says... she came... "You are a good person." (She says:) "I don't want to go over there (looking) so nice"... So what does she give me? Earrings [*touches his earlobes*] and rings... "You are a good person" You think I want to praise myself - no. I took them. Then I put them—I lived on Utenos street. I talked about it. I didn't really understand... They were not some kind of ... you know, gray pearls, those kind. Glass—so... She was probably a wealthy Jewish woman. When I tossed them out! Everything scattered, I don't know... I remember.

Q: She said this in Lithuanian?

Q: Yeah.

A: In Lithuanian, she was from Kaunas.

Q: So on that day with the Jewish woman—they were killing the Jews from Kaunas?

[03:] 04:57:07

05:03

A: The Jews from Kaunas, probably. I don't know how there—I went over to take a look. Well I looked. Lithuanians were told to do the shooting. No one wants to shoot, it would be better to take some of the clothes, right. It's not pleasant for anyone. One lieutenant there, what was his surname, said to me: "Shoot, you'll clean out your pistol." I said to him: "What with my pistol... because I have, I have an envoy. I don't have to shoot." And I walked away. The pits were dug. Long. Wide. They drive them over, started shooting. I had walked away already. This is an unpleasant sight. So there. Well, others like it. But very few... they (shooters) would run away. (For) a soldier – this is an order. What? Me,

they couldn't order me around! I am a gentleman officer. Under the Germans, there are different rules for officers. I am—separate carriages. And separate canteens. When I go on holiday, I travel with the gentlemen officers. What? **Fuer... Fuer offizieren** [GERMAN] (for officers), this is what is written. What—like this. This was also (the case) there. They could not order me: shoot!. And because there they were already shooting without commands. They bring over these or those (soldiers, shooters), caught them – and how... an officer has to be there to command the shooting. Well they told the lieutenant: **Befehl-Befehl**. [GERMAN]. A command is a command, so there. But not here, I can't say... No one gave any orders there. This did not happen... I came, I took a look, it was horrible there.

Q: What did everything look like over there?

A: Well. It is hard to even imagine it. I don't know... the depths. The pits were maybe wider than this [*indicates width with his hands*]. Maybe this much. But long like this. Lengthwise like this...behind that Fort. They drove them into those pits, then from above. Either with automatic weapons, or pistols? Well I don't know this. The view was not very good here. Only just people here, yes. They don't shoot them _____. Well this was the sys—

Q: But when they were shooting, this means, they would drive them into the pits, not at the edge of the pit?

A: No no. Into the pit. Into the pit. No, I didn't see anyone on the edge. They could run away at the edge of the pit [*bends down to ash his cigarette; chuckles*] – there was no way to escape from inside the pit. So there...

[03:] 07:43:11

07:56

A: So when we returned, I got very drunk. I threw those...I told the people where I lived (about it): Lord God, this is what I said. Horrible. An—I came back on holiday from the war front, I am walking around, announcements: on this and this day at this and this hour, near the palace of the Institute of Physical Education... at that... and at the Institute... those people will be hanged. I don't remember their surnames. The city was full...

Q: (Vladas) Baronas was there.

A: Baronas, (Alfonsas) Vilimas, who else?

Q: So these were the NKVD agents who escaped.

A: Yeah. They apprehended _____ you see, and they joined the (Lithuanian) partisans... Because they had committed crimes, people betrayed them quickly...

Q: Well...

A: Well what. A crowd! We were surprised to see (a scene) like during the time of the gladiators in Rome, when you show *[signals thumb up or thumb down]* to let him go or kill him. O this is how it was here! When I saw that crowd of people from Kaunas! Old ladies, young men, I was at a distance – Lord, God... A truck drives up. All of their heads are shorn. They are set up in front of the KABINA. Hands being their backs. Oh, oh this branch, right, this one sticking out. The nooses are all ready. *[uses his hands to show the nooses]* With nooses, right. I see it from far away. They drive up. Immediately, are pushed forward. The Gestapo – in black uniforms, already with skulls. So when they set up the nooses – watching. Here is... you know, how horrible it is when they watch like that. It seemed the nation loved them so much. And that same nation watched the execution. *[demonstrates placing one's head in a noose]* Like this, they put on the nooses. Adjusted them. Three, it seems there were, three.

Q: Three, and one of them was a traitor. They hung him also. He betrayed them...

[03:] 10:08:13

10:27

A: Ay. So they tied the nooses and stood there. A German patted one of them on shoulder. *[pats his own shoulder]*

Q: Why?

A: *[laughs]* Well, be happy on your way.

Q: Aha. Be happy.

A: There, where it was stuck out—next to, to the truck, he climbed up. Kicked it. Kapsh! *[the sound of rope snapping]* They came down and Snap – one of them snapped.. Someone had cut it. But nothing else could have happened – we heard a gunshot quickly... A shot from a pistol. So one of the Gestapo shot him...

Q: Aha. Well, then how many times were you at the Ninth Fort?

A: I was there two times. *[bends down to put out his cigarette]*.

Q: Two times

A: One time... I did not see it the second time, I did not go over there. *[pause]* I did go take a look at the huge mass killing. They were being driven in these groups. Our soldiers drove them over from there. The Germans selected them there. But our soldiers led them up to the Fort.

Q: They were taking them from the ghetto?

A: From the ghetto. But in these parties. There, when I—right at the entrance they were to go and get undressed. As I said. So I stood there, so that the soldiers wouldn't...no...no...no...so they wouldn't take away the clothes. Where they (the clothes) ended up, I don't know.

Q: And did they try taking them (the clothes)? Did you have to drive them away?

A: No no no no no. Well, because they could not.

Q: An officer was standing there.

A: Yeah. And soldiers were stationed around the edges of the Fort, right. So that no one could escape, run away. This is how it was, I saw it. This is why I couldn't help that Jewish girl.

Q: So they would get undressed in that location near you?

[03:] 12:00:04

12:24

A: They undressed. [*chuckling*] To **Ausziehen!** [GERMAN], right? I didn't say anything. This was not my business, I just watched to see that the soldiers did not come by and take (the clothes) away. I don't know. So there.

Q: So you stood there, right. And who ordered them to get undressed over there?

A: What? The Germans were there and...

Q: Germans.

A: ...gave the orders. It was—you could come up and take of your outer layer and you could stay in your undergarments. I don't remember, what... why that German in black was so enraged, that the old woman...with a whip – beat her across the back: **Ausziehen!** **Ausziehen!** [GERMAN] The poor old lady. So frail. I thought, God, a vagrant. I say, undress a beautiful girl. [*chuckles*] You'll get to admire her figure, right. Why would you undress this shriveled old woman?

Q: And he undressed her completely?

A: Yeah. Undressed. Yeah.

Q: And she wasn't wearing undergarments?

A: I don't remember, but there was for me, you know... They did not give me orders. I was just afraid that my soldiers wouldn't come up. I have nothing to do with what the Germans are doing. Here no. They have their own leadership. I just watched to make sure they my soldiers don't loot anything here, don't steal. But they didn't come by when I was standing there. I would smoke and watch, and I was astonished. Then we left. I got very

drunk I went back to me... I lived on Utenos street, I told them about what happened there. I just remembered, why did I have to throw away those pearls, because I had not stolen them. On my honor, I am telling you. "I see that you are a good person."

Q: So I believe you.

A: What?

Q: Why did she think that you were a good person?

A: Well because I wasn't doing anything, I did nothing. I just—she saw it in my face, that I didn't like this. I nothing... And that one was beating her. "You are a very good person." Lord. I thought to myself, how can I be good. I am also with these villains___ this has to be said.

[03:] 14:03:23

14:33

A: Yeah. She brought me [*points at his earlobes, indicating earrings*] How did the Germans not see it? Earrings, two. I remember like it was today. They were these gray ones. They are called pearls. Pearls. And two rings for me. "You are a good person, take them." I took them. And I walked away. There was with us—when it ended, we drank, we drank. I went back drunk. I told you, there to Utenos street where I lived. Lord, what was going on there. And I threw all of them down somewhere ___ for me. Then I thought to myself: why – I had not taken them from her! She gave them to me. Here I...I didn't... but for me [*shrugs shoulders*], there was... I am afraid, I still ___ - and those pearls were expensive, the earrings with gold, with gold, with everything.

Q: Well, this woman you knew, when she rushed at you – was she already undressed?

A: Oh she wasn't undressed like that. Or wasn't I looking. See, see, I didn't have to interfere, you know... I saw one other Jewish woman I knew. She did not recognize me, but I remembered her from Skuodas. She was studying at the university. I saw that she being taken over. And I—if she recognized me, no no... She was also killed. I know her surname. Alperaitė. Sorė Alperaitė, but they called her Sonia. In Skuodas, where I lived. I know this, but I don't remember the other one. The others... I don't remember the others. But this one—I recognized her, because she was, she was a gymnasium student when I was with the Polish people. A night out – when we were young. The (female) gymnasium students were pretty. Women, they say, what I say, every woman is stupid. What do they like? Priests and military officers. The ones, because they, intimate contact is forbidden for them. And the others are somehow unique in their insolence. So they stick to you there. Students—they are attracted to you like, Lord help them. Like this, we danced there, and I knew her. She was not so hideous, for a Jewish girl she was pretty.

[03:] 16:27:16

17:02

Q: Did you converse with her?

A: What?

Q: You don't remember what you talked about that evening when you danced with her?

A: Well what...*[laughs]* that... Every young man babbles so that they'll like him: you are pretty, you're not pretty, you're like this... Women love to listen to their nonsense... They... So I go to the eye doctor, he says, I go. This doctor says to me, that is to say: A woman..wo...woman will never come to live in your family. Will not marry, will not come to you. I asked "Why?" So we wouldn't get in a fight. "Why?" "Because you have a daughter and you value her more than your wife." Yes I do – my blood tie is with my wife. To change again. I say to her: "But don't get angry now. Women are so dumb." "How is that?" Like this: the ladies are sitting there, a man approaches and after choosing one, they dance. Every, Every—I am telling you... Every man is a dog. There are all types of dogs. Peaceful dogs, the just grunt a little bit. And there are dogs who tear, who tear things apart - this is a man. So there _____ Says, says, some—you dance and say: oh you beauty, I have fallen in love with you. The devil he loves you, but this one... But I am saying: she runs home to her friend: guess what, I like him, he professed his love for me. Nothing to them—He did not admit anything. *[laughing]*

Q: No, no. Absolutely. *[laughing]*

A: He just has to complete one act and go to hell ____... And what, his tongue is intact *[points at his mouth]* and so he can tell you you're beautiful. And then believe it: he loves me. So fine, Like this. *[laughs]*

[03:] 18:25:06
19:05

Q: Mister Norbertas, I want to ask you about the Ninth Fort. At that time, when they drove you in the morning. They took you in the morning to go guard the clothing. Did you know then that the Jews would be killed.

A: No, I, it's hard to say, at that moment...

Q: What were you told in the morning?

A: The company commander or someone, he, so, the guards – there they, they will take them there—The whole battalion, not just that one. So it seems that they came from... from... almost from the bridge where the ghetto was to the Ninth Fort – I don't know, a few or three kilometers distance, how much could there be, you know, it's hard to say now. I drive by there now... I don't remember what he said. "You will stay here where people will undress." So he is my commander, and I stand there. I don't go anywhere. I don't do anything. I don't drive people here, nor do I drive them away. I just watch – "Watch so that the soldiers don't take the clothes." That is all. Two or three come by, or more there... or maybe they will be shot without undressing—I didn't get involved. They couldn't order me: go over there and shoot. They couldn't say this to me.

Q: So now: when did you first find out that the killing was going to take place?

A: Well, when they cleared out the ghetto, we were ordered go over there.

Q: To the killing site, right?

A: Yeah, I don't remember what he said, right. "We will leave for that place at this hour."

Q: Well, but in the sense that...

[03:] 20:06:21

20:51

A: I was not in the ghetto when they...selected, when they selected.. I don't know if I went there with the company. It is hard to say. I don't remember this now. The pits were not visible at the entrance, where I was – the killing site. It was behind some little hill. So the people that we being undressed, they also couldn't see. They could only hear. That here they were undressing here and then over there – and no no no (this was not the case). It (the killing site) was further away. The place was hilly, the Fort.

Q: So did the people understand that they were going to be killed?

A: Yeah. Well they understood, they weren't stupid, when you can hear the gunshots, what.

Q: How did they behave?

A: *[shrugs his shoulders, pause]* They undressed. _____

Q: Did they undress calmly?

A: I did not hear any resistance from them, that those Germans... And well it seems, it seems, when a crowd – run and run. Some of them will get away, right. This is what a person thinks. But it turns out a person is nestled in, is stunned and he is like a herd of sheep. Because some of them, some—if they—there isn't a guard next to each one of them. They drove them in groups of 100 at a time – I don't know, I didn't see. Well so what, that you're a soldier, you—It's not an automatic weapon. They were armed with guns. Well, you'll shoot one, and the others will scatter. There were lots of little houses there, and then you have to catch them all...But no one ran. I was sometimes surprised that this happened. They lead the people to be killed, the group, and they were all like sheep. So there.

Q: Were there any people who were beaten up?

A: What?

Q: Among those people, were there any who were beat up?

[03:] 22:00:03

22:49

A: No, no. I, no... I will just say that... I was just watching. Now, just like the “Saugumas” (Soviet security force) told me to watch myself—There is no reason for me to protect myself.

Q: Well we know this.

A: I—I am obeying a command, I stand there. I neither give commands, nor will I order people to shoot, nor did I beat people, nor did I drive them. I was told: There will be... they will undress, and guard it so that the soldiers... not they, but the soldiers, so that they wouldn't take away any of the clothes. This was the order from the Germans. Well, I didn't have to do anything.

Q: Because you are now the only remaining... You know, you are the only one left who saw the killings at the Ninth Fort.

A: Oh really?

Q: There is no one else. There is not one. There is not...

A: That is horrible.

Q: It was horrible.

A: I went to take a look past the little hill. So they were undressed – and who led them over? Was it our soldiers, or the Gestapo – I can't say right now, I don't remember. I—you see, if you paid attention to this sort of thing, then you would take notice, if you had a camera to take a photograph. There, no, no, no. There were those—the cameras here... It is stated, a command is a command. I am to stand here – I stand.

Q: Can you now tell me approximately how many people were in one party?

A: I can't tell you this. How many they could have led over. Either 100 or 200 – I don't... If I would have participated in the driving – then I would tell you how many people were under my watch. But I was not there. I arrived. The company commander, Anatolis Dags told me: you will be here, watch that the soldiers don't take away the clothing – they (victims) will be undressing. And so I stand. I smoked, I... I didn't do anything, neither did I, neither did I say “undress” nor “undress.” I just watched so that my soldiers wouldn't steal... no no there... But this did not happen here. They were posted over there in that... it is planted with trees, along the edge. And some of the soldiers drove people. I do know that—that they would run away from the shooting – this I know.

[03:] 24:24:11

25:19

Q: The soldiers would run away?

A: They ran away, they didn't want to. This... there was nothing pleasant about it, no profit from it – a soldier wants gain; he would shoot someone if he knew he was going to get something. And there, there wasn't anything, nothing like what we have. We all joked that when we return, if this happens—half of the soldiers will have to be put in jail. A gang of scoundrels. Let's be open.

Q: For what?

A: Well that—what a gang there! There were good ones, but there were those who wanted to steal and beat people. No... and there were those for whom shooting someone didn't mean anything. Like squishing a fly.

Q: This is very—for me...yes.

A: We would joke: we were afraid that if we returned and (Lithuania) was independent, that half of our soldiers would have to be put in prison. He couldn't try to live among people. The killings meant nothing to those people. That shooting did not provide anything. What does killing provide? It – nothing. If you were rounding up people, then you could steal things. "Give this to me, give this to me, so that I'll let you go." The guards at the ghetto—you see ___ everyone was given food, I was told. The villagers would come by with products, so that they could get something, either gold, or clothes... So they would let them through. I wasn't there, I didn't go look. So clearly – I would see that they had something to drink. Yes, vodka. I would see it, but I wouldn't interfere. I did not go to look. I saw, how the soldiers got these things from somewhere. Clearly it was through the fence. They (villagers) come, they bring bread or bacon for them (Jews), right. How to let them in? He (the soldier) has to get something in return, right? I saw that they had something.

Q: Well what kinds of Jewish belongings did you see with the soldiers? Gold or some kind of clothing? Or something else?

[03:] 26:18:08

27:18

A: Then, the Germans would then give them.

Q: Things.

A: They would give them some things.

Q: What kinds of things did they give?

A: [*chuckles*] Maybe clothes, maybe some sort of, no... and everything—during war time, everything - **Khadavoj material** [RUSSIAN] If he didn't need something – he would exchange it for vodka, for "samagonas" (homemade alcohol), right. So there. That **khadavoj material** [RUSSIAN] – a good suit, or coat, or something else. For that – so

they ____ they won't bring that into the barracks. This was all that he needed. That property which will go through a turnover and can be exchanged.

Q: Now tell me, on that day when you were guarding the clothes, when the Germans undressed them, how did they put down the clothing? Did everyone put their clothes in a small pile, or did they put everything in one large pile?

A: No no no. They came up, there was this clearing. So they bring them over. And they undress there. A few at a time, I can't really say now, a few. Or many... I can't say if everyone was undressed completely naked. The only thing I remember was that I was disgusted when he said to her: **Ausziehen!** [GERMAN] Undress! And he kept hitting her. Or maybe others went over there in their undergarments. I... it's hard to say now—I think that only that one German—that he beat her until she was naked.

Q: Did he beat any others?

A: No.

Q: Just that old woman?

A: Just the old woman. I did not pay attention. The German comes by, others come by. They take them over there. They undress them and take them over there—It was interesting for me, what it looked like over there. So I went to go take a look, what the pits looked like.

[03:] 28:10:17
29:15

A: Well the pits, maybe 50 meters long. Maybe longer. The width – you know, how it appears, I can't really say. They are in there, and the others, and they shoot. I did not go there again... I was disgusted by it, I went back to my place, I smoked... I did not go anywhere anymore.

Q: So the people who were being taken to be killed, how were they set up? Were they placed on the corpses?

A: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Because there was... I look—others- when I came by. Yes. Lots of them fit into those pits. You can't stuff them in if they're standing. Others were lying down when I came by. They shot others and they fell. I wasn't there long. I will tell you openly. I would admit this to you. I can't say this—

Q: About how long?

A: And there, there were not many of those shooters there. I didn't remember those soldiers. Because they would run away. This work was not pleasant for anyone. You won't earn anything here. They would bring them over. I don't know who would bring them, I don't know, I can't say. So there. But I do know that no one wanted to go.

Q: Were they (soldiers) punished for running away from the shootings?

A: No no. who would punish them for it *[laughing]*, that here... this was not a—this was a— This kind of killing, right, where maybe they could have resisted... Well there was no command for the officers, that they would go there, and let's say, shoot people. This no. You cannot issue these commands to officers, then. They respected officers. If someone told me "go shoot" - no. One officer said to me, what was his name, well, what, "go try, you'll clean out your pistol," right. I have—I have an envoy who cleans for me, washes my clothes, cleans my shoes, and I don't have to clean my own...

Q: And cleans your pistol.

A: And he cleans my pistol. He takes it apart, cleans it and everything's done and this is not necessary for me—well they say that a shot cleans out rust, right. *[a man enters the frame to adjust the interviewee's microphone]* So this was all.

[03:] 30:29:19

31:40

Q: And tell me, that post, where they would get undressed, where you guarded those clothes – was there only one of these, or were there several posts?

A: It seems only one. One, I didn't see. That one, at the entrance to the Fort... when you walk in, there is this entrance right at the start. On the right there are these remaining buildings, these brick walls. Then here on the side there are these fields with trees – this was what the fort was like. So when you come from Kaunas on that street, this entrance, and right here they set it up, here they undressed. They brought them over... *[shrugs shoulders]* And what is this? It's just me... I only noticed this one. And the others, who told them to undress – and I am not saying, that down to their underwear. I can't say this. But they would get undressed and then they were taken away. Were they all Germans, or Lithuanians, I can't say. I don't know this now. Just that one, that I remember with that **Ausziehen** [GERMAN]. That German in black, the Gestapo, right.

Q: How old was he?

A: What?

Q: How old was that German?

A: Like in the army. 25 or 30 years old – somewhere in this age range. Invalids did not serve in the army.

Q: How long did all of this take?

A: *[pause; thinking]*

[03:] 32:05:13

33:19

A: Well it's hard to say. When we returned... The days are short, right

Q: Well, yes yes yes.

A: October or November – short days. It could have been—well when does it start getting dark? At four? It could have—the shootings could have lasted until two o'clock, I am guessing. And from about nine or ten o'clock – it was also dark in the morning. That that that period in the morning. The period of light. There.

Q: When you arrived there, were the people already brought over? The first people.

A: No. When we arrived, the guard... The selection, the Germans performed a selection, not everyone was selected to be killed. How did they select them – if they were able to work or not – and then took them in these columns. I don't know the size of the columns, I can't say. Well they didn't just take three or four – no. They had to take about 100 people. They select them... The ghetto was not yet closed. There were many (people) and they selected out those older ones, the non-able-bodied, whatever the Germans thought. Maybe some paid a ransom?

Q: Tell me, they brought one (group) over to that place where you were standing guard. They undressed, walked over, then they were shot. Did they take away those things?

A: No. I didn't see, I can't say. I—I can say, I didn't pay attention. I just know that there was one place at the entrance.

[03:] 34:01:01

25:20

Q: And they didn't take away the clothes, right?

A: I didn't see them, that they would take them away or leave them. It ended when it ended. I can't say who collected them – the things.

Q: Was the pile large?

A: I didn't notice—How much can a person leave behind. He can leave a lot. With coats, with... I didn't notice, I would tell you. I can't say... And who took them, those things? Just not us. This was the concern of the Germans. Maybe they distributed them to the soldiers – I can't say this for sure. They evidently gave them some things to choose from. But, but I didn't hear – I would have know, that, let's say, that those things were brought back to the battalion, to the company. No, this did not happen. That the soldiers were given things by the Germans – yes, I believe this. You have to pay people for their work, right? You have to pay people for work? *[laughs]*

Q: Otherwise they won't work next time.

A: Oh they weren't asked. It is bad for the soldier when he is forced—still—I know that they would run away from—They wanted to stand guard near the forests instead of being here. If they told those scoundrels: “well you'll get (something), shoot and you'll get (something)” – I believe this. But that – “you won't get anything” – well we had a gang of scoundrels with us there. This is the case everywhere, right. _____ So we joked, when we were all there in Russia: and if we're ever independent, half of those in our group were deserving of prison.

Q: For the killings?

A: No, altogether, from among us soldiers, half of them, if we returned to an independent Lithuania, half of those soldiers, those people, who were with us should be stuffed into prison. So there. *[laughs; puts a cigarette in his mouth]* This was not—

Box 1, Tape 4

[04:] 00:20:06

00:13

Q: ...went to a yard somewhere and stole a chicken. This is different than during peace time. This is another thing – thievery. Everything is different during a war.

A: Well during a war—

Q: I was never in a war, I don't know. This is something you know about, understand.

A: Yeah, well there was a punishment with the Germans for this sort of thing. When I saw a Russian film... Oh how they like **soldatka** [**saldatka**] [RUSSIAN]... we also loved them. _____ when the women are alone. Ready to climb on top of you. *[interviewer laughs]* Yeah yeah yeah.

Q: Stasys, well, Stasys. So Stasys, or Norbertas, I don't know what to say.

A: What?

Q: Mister Norbertas, now please tell me this thing: you said that you were at the Ninth Fort twice. So the first time was during those, that—

A: The big one. And then the one when they were brought over. From somewhere. Not from Lithuania. There were no so many of them there. I did not go take a look at them. But they were—but I know that they were transported. Were they from France or from Czechoslovakia... They could not have transported so many, 10,000 (people) right... When they were undressed, there was this old man with an Iron Cross. Well the one worn constantly. He had it in his pocket, You wear it during a ceremony. He said—I showed it to a German – **Scheiße** [GERMAN], shit. *[chuckles]* The German waved it away. I showed him the Iron Cross.

[04:] 02:07:04

02:04

Q: So you wanted to save that Jew?

A: No, no. I showed him when he undressed – an Iron Cross. But not theirs – the Jews participated in the war, the old man. He thought it would save him. Nothing saved him. I showed the German that Iron Cross. **Scheiße** [GERMAN] – because the Jew had earned it during the First War, so there. No no no. This is not how it was. *[the interviewee is smoking a cigarette]*

Q: So you were there during the second killing?

A: Yeah.

Q: You were standing in that same place?

A: Same place. I didn't go look over there. No.

Q: At the killings?

A: Yeah. There was, well, they bring them over, well maybe... I didn't count there, but maybe about 500, maybe—I can't tell you this. But they were not from Lithuania. They did not speak Lithuanian, they didn't know it. They were—they walk past—they were brought over, drove them away. Our men were among the ones driving them. But they were killed at the Ninth Fort.

Q: How long after the first killings did this occur?

A: Oh, it is difficult to say. Not long after. Not long after. Because afterwards they transported us for more serious work. So like this. I can't say. A few weeks, or something. At this interval.

Q: How old, old were they (the victims)? Were they men, women, children – who were they, in that sense?

A: They were mostly old men. And there were young ones. As I said, there was that female student. But it was mostly older Jewish men. Invalids.

Q: So this was during the first killing?

A: Yeah.

Q: Were there children?

[04:] 03:55:21

03:58

A: They did not shoot pretty young Jewish girls. And: **für Offizieren** (for officers) and **für Soldaten** (for soldiers) [GERMAN] in this public house. The “Tübelio namai” (Tübelio manor) was **für Offizieren** (for officers). You arrive there – beautiful girls are chosen. They give you food, more than the norm. You don’t need this—the norm for everything, the food... beer, a “lady” (he says the word “lady” in English). You sort yourself out—this is how it was for the officers. The “Tübelio namai” is in Žaliakalnis on the hill, that is where the “Tübelio namai” is. I don’t know who went there. The “Tübelio namai” was there for the officers. And for the soldiers... They would choose the pretty young Jewish girls for that home. This mean not the Jewish disgusting ones, but there were, there were also pretty Jewish girls, you can’t say...

Q: Have you ever been in that house?

A: No.

Q: And why?

A: Why would I go there? They loved me even without this, when I used to come back. Why would I go there? You see, I, when I work, then I come back. There was this hotel in Kaunas. I have a right to go there with a dame. What? They did not require any kind of passport, documentation, that we were married, not married – no no no. Here is a room for me, and stay away. And what woman doesn’t like a young man? What? They like them. Their life depends on it! They can talk—we women—not—for women... I was a supervisor in the production branch for a long time, in construction – and there was a woman (working) for me as an engineer. You have to toss half of it away to hell.

[04:] 06:08:11

06:16

A: They are not deserving of the work. And equality... Why don’t those firms hire those engineers now? No one wants them. They have higher education – they are unemployed. My sister’s daughter lives in Canada now, with... she emigrated. She worked at a design institute. Now she is retiring. I say to her: nightingale, there are firms. “No.” They don’t hire women. Behind the offices. So there, five women worked in my section – well where do I send them? You say- do this work. You give her another job – “Oh boss, I won’t be able to do it.” This is a woman’s character. And now they- oh, equal rights, we are paid too little, feminists. Where do you put them? And the female teachers are worse than a man. What?

Q: Mister Stasys, tell me, I was interested in this – you were talking about those Jewish girls, the ones, who were selected for the “Tübelio namai” So were they selected while in the ghetto, or were they brought to the Ninth Fort and then selected at the Ninth Fort—

A: No, they did not end up in the ghetto, because they were beautiful... I know. I saw her, when she had enrolled at the university, as I said, right. From Panevežys – was she the daughter

of a druggist? She was like a little Jewish doll! Like a doll! Pale blue eyes, the pretty little face. The young Jewish boys would gather around her. Nothing—she did not show up.

A: And then she ended up at that house (“Tübelio namai”)?

Q: No. *[shakes head indicating no]* Yeah, she was either taken to the house or taken to... there were those homes in Germany. And **Alles für Soldaten** (for soldiers) [GERMAN]. This is what they say, right.

[04:] 08:05:14

07:18

A: When you butter the bread, the first layer is **für Führer** [GERMAN], then you wipe away that bigger smear - **für Soldaten**. Then when you wipe it away twice, when little holes with some butter remains - **für Zivilisten** (for civilians) [GERMAN]. *[laughing heartily]* And they were... The Germans were saying... Children are playing with horse shit, right. They ask... “This is Geringas (Göring), this is Riberntropas (Ribbentrop), this is Himleris (Himmler).” He walks and asks them: and where is führer Hitler. “**O nein. Solle grosse scheisse ne... nicht gefund** [GERMAN]” “We did not find such a big shit.” You see, this is how they talked. They were all over the place – all of those soldiers—

A: So they selected the Jewish women for them at the Ninth Fort?

Q: What?

A: They would select them at the Ninth Fort?

A: No.

Q: They would separate them from those to be killed, right?

A: No. They probably did it earlier – they would see... I was told, how they, it seems, when they were brought to the Ninth Fort. When they saw a pretty one- to the right, the other to the left, this is what they said. When we go to heaven – to the left, to the right side you have... And there they said – to the right... No, I was told about this, I can’t say (for certain), but there I—I thought about going over there, right to take a look at that, at that **Offizieren** [GERMAN] at the “Tübelio namai.” Ah... I will go, right, where tha____ with that____ you know, out of curiosity.

Q: So they were from Kaunas, the Lithuanian Jewish girls, or were they from among the ones brought here?

A: No, no there were probably none who were brought here. I was not there – it is hard to say. Hard to say. And which other ones – perhaps they were taken to Germany, or somewhere? I just hear that the pretty Jewish girls were selected. The young pretty ones – this is what I heard.

[04:] 10:11:04

10:29

Q: Here I want to ask about the second killing that you witnessed. So the one Jew there was from Austria – where were the others from?

A: I can't really say where they were from. Either from Czechoslovakia, or from France, or from Austria? This I don't—we didn't ask, they did not tell us anything there. I just know that they were really not from Lithuania. Where they were transported from – I can't say this. They were presumably from France, brought from Austria, from Czechoslovakia, and where, say... say.... say. I can't say this.

Q: What was that day... Aha...

A: No...

Q: Did you not notice them speaking some other language?

A: Well, how they talk... And maybe the Jews spoke like in German, in their dialect, Yiddish. Because this comes from the German language. Maybe like that... What it looks like, when you're not paying attention. I just know that they were brought over here. They were also angry: why do we, we have to go there, that is to say, well, let them over there... Well, the Gestapo commands it, Jegeris (Jäger) commands, Jegeris (Jäger) was the commander of the Gestapo, Jegeris (Jäger) was like this – I know, I did not see him. He orders someone in our battalion. **Befehl ist Befehl** [GERMAN] (an order is an order). Oh and how wonderful, that... that, when I said— it is not nice to rejoice in someone else's problems—but you are happy that you don't have to, like over there, where you have to execute your own on the seashore, near the Baltic Sea. The seashore, the shore and then the sea. And they went over there. There is nothing to be happy about, that my friend was told: you will give the orders. [*shrugs shoulders*]

[04:] 12:06:13

12:29

Q: And they could have told you (to do it).

A: They could have told me.

Q: But they also could have told you that you were to give the commands to shoot at the Ninth Fort?

A: Well that... [*shaking head no*]

Q: Not to shoot, to give commands.

A: There was nothing, there were no commands, I did not hear that there were any commands, that—

Q: And what was going on there?—

A: They forced the ones they caught... this is what I was told, that... Some (came) on their own or others were caught, the ones who ran away – again... There were none of those, that they say this—Like it is in formation, with helmets and everything, after a command – Fire! No no no.

Q: And what did you see when you were watching the shooting?

A: Well the shooting was also like that. I came. I don't remember who was shooting and who was not shooting. There—fallen down, lying there. I turned around, and then this one former—what was his surname, I don't remember—"clean out your pistol." I said: I have an envoy, I don't have to, I don't have to clean it. And I went back. I—you can believe me or not. I no no no...

Q: I believe you, I believe you.

A: I am telling you... I have told the Saugumas (Soviet security force). This was not acceptable for me. And I had to go there. I would have to tell the company commander that I was not going to go. This is disobeying an order—so I, I cannot justify it. And me, as an officer, to carry out the actual shootings! I am not an executioner. So there

Q: And the one who gives orders – is he an executioner or not?

A: Well he—he is given an order. In this situation... in this situation, how that other one was told: **Herr leutnant, Befehl is Befehl, wiessen Sie** [GERMAN] An order is an order, don't you know this, sir lieutenant. And he called him sir. **Je wol. Bitte** [GERMAN] And this here--according to that—or on their own accord, like... I can't really say how. I only know that they ran away – you won't earn anything there. I just heard this. But I will tell you openly—

[04:] 14:06:22

14:34

Q: So, Mr. Stasys, so if the ones who were running away actually got away, this means that the ones who were shooting agreed to shoot?

A: Well, maybe they did agree. Or others came. They brought them over and they shot. I can't say. Maybe someone finds pleasure in this? To clean your gun. So there.

Q: So your soldier were among those who were shooting—

A: Our soldiers were there. There were. But there—when I came by, there were not many. There were Germans there, th—that... If I had been interested, like I am telling you about it now, then I would have paid attention. But for me, on the whole, this thing – this is murder, I don't like it. When an animal is slaughtered, I don't—it is disgusting for me to watch. So I walked away. No one drove me. They told me: watch so that the soldiers

don't take away the clothes. This was the order – I am smoking. This was a command, right. It ended. I left with my friends, and well I got drunk, I cursed, and I threw away my gifts [*mimes tossing something away*]. I don't know where I left them. Well that was all. You can believe me, not believe me. There is no reason for me to lie. I can tell you everything openly.

Q: I believe you.

A: This is how it was. This was terrible. I told those people when I lived with them in the same apartment in Kaunas: "Lord, what..." And to the people—I lived on Utenos street. And, you know it, I lived there. "Lord." I went home drunk. How despicable. Well I was lucky that I just walked over there to take a look and then quickly walked away. Someone (told) me—I don't remember his surname, an officer told me: "take your pistol, shoot it." Right. I waved my hand- I have an envoy, I have an envoy, he washes my clothes, cleans my shoes, right. This is the order, you can't do anything about it. Is this good, is this bad – what can you say? You can't say anything. The general would give me his hand, the sergeants would not. What. [*laughs*]

[04:] 16:15:19

16:48

Q: He is not an officer!

A: I—he is older than me, he has served longer in the army. But that hand is not suitable for him, but it is suitable for me. I drink together with him **Prost**, [*makes hand gestures, toasting*] **Bitte** [GERMAN]. So there... I am not saying that this is the right or wrong way, I no no... This is not for me to decide. But this was the order of things. You ride a train – you buy a third class ticket. But I ride in the second class. What? A step up. So there. And on the return—for us, the officers, a separate passenger car. And animal cars for everyone else. Well, what are you going to do, right? **für Offizieren** [GERMAN] – and a soldier has no right to go in there. A restaurant - **für Offizieren** is posted. Someone won't let others inside. So I—they let me in. Well so there... [*coughing*]

Q: You won't even go take a shit together. No no.

A: Well yes. I wore a German uniform, just on the left arm there was a (trispalvė- tri-colored) Lithuanian flag. That I am a Lithuanian officer. Right here. [*points at his left arm*]

Q: This was a Lithuanian flag...

A: Yellow green red...

Q: Was "Lietuva (Lithuania)" written on it? Or "Litauen?"

A: I don't remember now. No, only—the color. For the Latvians: red-white-red, for the Estonians, they had—clearly. We used to meet up with them, we with... with them—they... there was a unit of theirs.

[04:] 17:58:22

18:36

Q: Now tell me...

A: **Litauische bataillon**. [GERMAN]

Q: **Litauische bataillon**. [GERMAN]

A: Wehrmacht. Well. There was nothing higher. The battalion leaders were Lithuanians. The Latvians there. And higher than that, the regiment leaders were Germans, as I said already. **Oberst von Eckersberg**. Colonel von Ekersberg.

Q: And when they brought the Jews from Europe, the second time you were there. Who undressed them?

A: I think that I was there alone. I remember that. Because we were there. I was probably also there. Yeah.

Q: So who told them that they had to get undressed?

A: *[Laughing]* Well that's what the Germans are there for. To tell them to get undressed. They speak German. To the Lithuanian Jews, **Ausziehen** [GERMAN]. I did not order them and I did not say- get undressed a lot or a little. What difference is it to me if he, if they shoot him with clothes or without clothes. Maybe the Germans had an interest in it. Maybe they had to present it to someone... Me, me—I did not say get undressed, nor stand, nor walk. This is not my business. The Germans took care of this whole business there.

Q: Where there any children there the second time (second mass killing he witnessed)?

A: I don't remember, therefore... It's hard to say—Please excuse me, I am going to go to the toilet...

Cameraman: Wait, wait, Wait.

Q: Oh, ok. Viktoras. Wait. Viktoras. Unclip it, unclip it. *[the interviewer is asking the cameraman to remove the interviewee's microphone so that he can get up and go to the toilet]*

A: What.

Q: Unclip it.

[the scene cuts back to the interviewee seated]

Q: But when an unarmed person, even I couldn't do that. No, I could not do this. I did not do this. I offered to him: take me over there among everyone. We don't have to, we know everything. That is what they said. Cross my heart. I am not lying to you. Your—me—you... They were very polite with the Saugumas (Soviet security force) I told them that this and this happened. I said: I am going to smoke. "Please." Then—we... we go out to dinner, what do they say? "Come with us, we are fed well." – the officers, below the Soviet Security Force, in the basement. This is how it was. Ai, God, how I didn't want to go. Well what you can go to the city – you can go eat with them... They, the "Saugumas" (Soviet security force), all of them gathered, I am sitting eating by myself. You see, they saw that I was not _____

Q: You are not...

[04:] 20:29:05

21:12

A: Here, if I would tell you, that—I would say: this and this. Well what are they going to do to me at this age? No- so I am telling it like it was. It was how it is. We executed seven of our own, my acquaintances. One of them was from my—from my father's hometown. Horrible. *[lights a cigarette]* Good nerves, like he said, simply: friends, just hit (the target) well. The German hat- he turned it and threw it down. He said: friend, aim well. So there. Another one cried, he was young. Some things are unpleasant... *[chuckles, smokes]* Everything passes.

Q: Tell me, I am interested: at the Ninth Fort those who were brought over from Europe, did you look at the people? Did you see that they were different kinds of people?

A: Ohhhh... What are you asking me after so many years? I do not—it is hard to imagine the people... Or were there a lot of women – I can't say anything. I just know that they were transported here. From what country – or from Austria, or from France, or from Czechoslovakia – I can't say this. This question did not arise. I just know that they were brought here. They could not have brought too many. Well maybe a few hundred, well, it was not this kind of a mass (of people), how the pits were then. I don't know what kind of graves were dug for them, I don't know. I didn't get a sense of what kind (of graves) were left for them, when there were tens of thousands, they were already dug parallel. *[shows parallel with his hands]* But that was a mass (killing), and this time they brought maybe 500 or 1,000, who knows. They came... There were women and men, who knows. I will tell you, I did not pay attention.

[04:] 22:43:21

23:31

A: Because I did not talk to them, did not ask, I only saw how they undressed. There was an Iron Cross thrown down... I said to the German: **Eisenkreuz** [GERMAN]. **Scheisse** – shit. This he—a Jew, it seems, an old Jew who fought in the Great War. Well that other one received the cross there. But they did not care about this, as it seems. Juden, and that is all. *[inhales cigarette]*

Q: I also want to ask – the first time, when they were shooting them, they brought them in groups. Were the men separate?

A: No no no no. I don't know how they selected people, but they were mixed. I just can't say if there were children, or not. I don't remember this. I can't say. I did not notice. Old women, men, so like that—that (female) student from Palanga, other young ones. But mostly old ones, I remember. And if you say, were there any children? I can't remember, I don't remember. I did not see. You see, if you had paid attention to this. This was something you didn't want to remember, and I did not pay attention. I did not speak to them, nor did I say to them this or that, right. Or curse at them. I sat quietly, smoked a cigarette, and watched. This is why the Jewish woman said... How does she know that I am a good person? If I am sitting here, right. How did it appear to the woman – “Sir lieutenant, you are a good person.” She—You wouldn't brag about yourself, if you participate in this sort of place, you're not a good person, right? So there. She gave me those.

[04:] 24:33:07

25:27

A: So why didn't she give them to a German, to someone else, that old women who – **Ausziehen** [GERMAN], Undress! I took them and put them away. I took them, you see, so not to—I got really drunk, went back to talk about—si—I had an apartment ____ Oh my God. So I threw them down somewhere, I don't know, off to the side, I don't know where they are. Then I thought – oh my god, those were pearls. A pearl is gray like that, pearl, right. Gold earrings. Why would I smash them if I didn't steal them? I have nothing—I have not done anything. She gave them to me. And I didn't—well I was drunk, it was disgusting. I am telling you openly what it all was like. So there. But this was many years ago. *[smoking]*

Q: Tell me, was that day cold?

A: It seems it was a little chilly. Chilly. It was not raining. There was no sun. I think that it was chilly. Well there... That's what I think.

Q: Were the people cold when they were undressed?

A: *[laughing]* That ____ that cold does not have—and those who were torturing them, they means nothing to them. Their fear must have been greater than the cold. So there. But neither—I perhaps told you, that they undressed that one Jewish woman until she was that old... The others, it seems, were not undressed like that – just to their undergarments. They did not need those things – underpants, underwear. They needed the outer clothing. And what—that enraged German... What got into him? *[snickering]*

[04:] 26:25:04

27:23

A: With a **nagaiika** [**nagyka, nagayka**] [RUSSIAN] (whip), right, across her back. **Ausziehen** **Ausziehen** [GERMAN] Undress, undress. He undressed this poor old woman. With this

wrinkled body. God, I thought, what kind of a beast are you that... Well some beauty, some Miss, as they say, undress her! You can look at her beauty. A striptease, right. Well I thought: what kind of a person are you? A young man in black Gestapo clothes: **Ausziehen!** [GERMAN] Undress! And he beat her across the shoulders. The old woman. So she undressed. Where the other one _____. He went away and she said to me: Sir Lieutenant—Well, she was from Kaunas. “You are a good person.” You don’t want me to brag? So you will say that you were bad because you participated over there. So yes you’ll be right. This is right – this is what they would say. “You should have run away” What? “You should have run away.” V—to be a deserter. And hide out. This is true, right. This is a bad person. [laughs] There... Let’s be hon—let’s be honest. An order is an order. A habit is a habit.

Q: Tell me, and you—

A: No one tells a soldier: forward march! And a soldier will not go anywhere with his right foot. Step, left. Tap, tap, stay. You shout. Foot foot! He pound his foot on the ground. T-urn around! (the interviewee is miming military marching orders) He has to listen. This is how it is. I don’t know, I no longer know how it is now.

[04:] 28:15:09

29:18

Q: Did you tell anyone about what you saw at the Ninth Fort, those killings?

A: I have told my former classmates. I don’t talk to others. Although no one knows that I worked there. I had to fill out a form. G____ that I was in Telšiai. “Who are you? Where were you? Is that not the one?” I joke with them: _____. This is a form. You know, you have to fill out the form. Ai, you can fill a form however you want to. [laughs] I (say) to them: here is the form, take a look. And what else do you need? My surname appeared in the newspaper, it was written... “you were here” I said that _____. Oh my god. There is a Marshall Jokubovski in Russia. There is. How many Jakubauskas men are there in Poland. Throw a stone. Throw it without aiming and it will hit a Jakubauskas in the head. This is how it is. Marshall Jakuvovski, there Marshall, there... Well I don’t know anything.

Q: And there, when you saw by the graves, were the Germans shooting?

A: What?

Q: Were the Germans shooting? When you watched at that moment.

A: There were Germans there. But I didn’t really look if there, if that Lithuanian was shooting, or there—there was—There was a mix over there by that pit. I came by, I took a look. The ones who had fallen into—they were forced in there. I took a look, that one says to me: maybe you try? I see, the lieutenant, I don’t remember his surname. “Try to clean out your pistol. I have an envoy.. I have an envoy, there is no need for me to clean it. And I went back. Well just that. I am telling you openly.

Q: Did they shoot the people standing?

[04:] 30:09:24

31:17

A: Well I... I can't say. It's not like they would ask them to gather up. Probably. If they forced them in, they drove them in. Whoever fell, fell. Those who were half-dead, they probably left them there. I can't say. I did not ask about this. And when we were drinking, there was never any talk about this. With the officers we played **mauser** (?) or poker, or preferans. This does not go on there... Prosit! There was not talk about this. That thing—nothing here... There is nothing heroic about it. This thing is not pleasant for anyone. No one came here... They say: the Russians perhaps covered the German **dzotas** **дзот** / **дерево-земляная огневая точка** [RUSSIAN] with their bodies! A hero, and that is all. They did not cover anything. He found himself on these with—covered themselves during an attack... No one goes. There are no heroes in this world.

Q: Mister Stasys, if we drove over to the Ninth Fort, would you be able to point out the place where it happened...

A: I don't recognize it. I will not show you anything. It is reconstructed. I saw it as I drove past. I wouldn't recognize it – I couldn't show you anything. I am telling you.

Q: Where was the grave?

A: Oh, I was over there a little—you know, here during Soviet times it was—they reorganize it. It is hard for me to recognize. Even at that time, I had never been to the Ninth Fort. And I was there twice. I did not go anywhere. I did not walk over to those brick walls. I was only at... I saw those brick walls and those graves. I know that there were trees planted on the left there, at the entrance. I drive past it sometimes from—when I am driving to Kaunas, I drive through Vilijampolė. I can't recognize it. I couldn't show you anything. I am telling you openly. I wouldn't be afraid of going there. For me it would be—for me, that those—places. Now everything is all arrange, how they say. There are monuments there. I am of no use, I am telling you. And what...

[04:] 32:18:24

33:32

A: What will they do to me there, right? They won't do anything to me there, but I am telling you, there is no use. I would not recognize it. This is many years—this is fifty plus years, right? And if you were there then—to see some sort of museum, right, to remember, to remember still—you go to the Hermitage to or to the Admiralty. But there was nothing there. For me there was not—I know, that they drove them to be killed. I came... I just saw—But I can't tell you how long, but I know that they were long... And how wide – they were wide. Maybe the width of that room, or maybe wider? Maybe a little narrower. The depth – this is also hard for me to say. I did not notice any people standing. Or at that moment, when they were... You see, in that period when I went over there, they did not come—bring anyone over, when from—when they were finishing, that... It means, I had

to be by those, by—I couldn't walk away—I—I didn't—I went over when they did not bring anyone. I went over there, took a look, and went back. I can't say – I am of no use. But not because, this I will say: I am afraid. For me—or my conscience is torturing me. Because I didn't shoot and... yeah. You might not believe me, right. The "Saugumas" (Soviet security force) did not believe me. "And you didn't shoot? But why? Why didn't you shoot?" I laugh and say what:

[04:] 34:02:16
35:20

A: I don't like it. I don't like it. If someone is shooting at me, I fire back. ____ field – do I walk? I walk. [*points at his wristwatch*] There is this: at this and this hour you pass the boundary of escape. And you look at your watch. My little soldier walks by and shouts: mines, mines, mines, mines. I look at my watch. [*points at his wristwatch*] It's time. [*chuckles*] But Napoleon's—one part of the army was late to Waterloo and they lost. We were attacked first... They were late coming from that side, and they lost. Then, when I was injured there... I close [*closes his eyes*]—I am tell---I closed my eyes ____ where, I am on the other side ____

Q: Please tell me, when you climbed up to take a look at the shootings – was this at the start of the shooting, at the end? Approximately when?

A: Ohhhh... When I was there first—I—I was at one place at that time. They said that there was—they were shooting somewhere else. But I was not there, I did not see. They say that there were killings at the Sixth Fort. Did they shoot them in those kinds of groups, I can't say. I can't say this. This I can't tell you. Yes, I saw the first one, the massive one - about 10,000. This is what was written.

Q: And you, when you climbed up to take a look, was this closer to the start, or closer to the end?

A: Ah.. It was about the middle of the day. Yes... So you see, that shoot—Why do I say this? Because I walked away from my, where I had to stand when they were undressing They were not brought over. And here right near ____ there were those who had fallen somehow, right. There were no people standing. Just pow, pow here and there. And then I went back. Then they brought another one. When they brought them over, I went away, just like this. I can't say if they were standing as they were being shot, were they alive? They were probably alive, that...

Translated by: Ada Valaitis

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There are no restrictions on this interview.