BENDINSKAS, Aleksandras

Lithuanian Documentation Project Lithuanian RG-50.473*0095

In this interview, Aleksandras Bendinskas, born in 1920, an active member of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) during the years of Russian and German occupation of Lithuania, discusses creation of the Committee of a Free Lithuania (LIK) and of LAF, the structure of LAF, their relationship with the headquarters in Berlin. He gives many names of LAF activists in Kaunas, explains the main objectives of LAF, and discusses the LAF action program, the manifestations of anti-Semitism in it. He discusses his role in making the white armbands (worn by the "white stripers") that were supposed to be signs of recognition for the Germans. He talks about two Jews working with LAF against the Russians and explains how he helped them to hide, and how later on one of them managed to flee Lithuania and is still alive. Mentions another story how he tried to help a Jewish woman. He discusses the mass deportations of Lithuanian intellectuals and the role they had in the rise of anti-Semitism among Lithuanian nationalists. He talks about the massacre in the "Lietūkis" garage. He describes the demise of LAF after the Germans came, how the leaders of LAF were persecuted and how, when he was in charge, LAF was finally dismissed.

[00] 00:31:18 - [00] 03:39:00

00:00:28 - 00:03:43

Q: Mr. Aleksandras, my first request is for you to introduce yourself: tell me your name, surname, what year you were born in and where.

A: So my...Well, I am Aleksandras Bendinskas, born on the 23rd of February, 1920 in Skersabalis village, Šilavotas district, Marijampolė region to a—well, a family of a middle class—lower middle class—farmer. We were nine children and two parents. My father served in the army during the First World War; then, when the Germans were on the offence in Lithuania—since we lived not too far from the border, the entire family, [except] father [who] was in the army—was expelled and moved to Minsk—there was a station right before Minsk called Ratomka, and that is where they lived until the war ended. When they returned in 1919, everything had been burned, and nothing was left, so my parents dug a bunker in the ground, and, well, I was born in this bunker – well, in a "zemlianka" ["dugout" in Russian], or a dugout, as it is called today. Well, my youth was very difficult—until everything was put under control, but then—the global crisis of 1930 also affected us a lot, but my father, encouraged by his aunt, made up his mind to send me to a gymnasium. I had no grandparents – I had grandparents, but both of them lived in America—my grandparents from my father's side. They worked hard in the mines and helped us a little, but everything else...And then I attended grade school for three years – and then the grade school used to start in November, when the herding season was over, and would end on the first of May, when it was time to take the cattle out into the fields. So well, in 1931, having had studied for three years, I was educated enough and wanted to enroll in the gymnasium. Since I had not finished four grades yet—only three, I had to take exams. I tried to enroll in the second grade. I might have made it, but I had not sufficiently prepared for the German [exam], so I was left to study in the first grade. And that's how I ended up at the

gymnasium. Well, I studied there until 1939. In 1939 I graduated from the gymnasium with relatively good marks: well, I excelled in sports; I would write to some newspapers, would send them a photograph or two. Well, I was interested in the Lithuanian life, and we were especially affected by the effects and events that were—well, that affected Lithuania directly.

[00] 03:39:00 - [00] 05:55:19

00:03:43 - 00:06:06

Q: Tell me please—how did you end up in Kaunas in 1940? What happened? [The operator notices that the TV in the other room must be turned off.] Oh, ok. Please. [Pause.] Tell me, where were you in 1940? What city were you in?

A: Well, in 1940 it was like this: I graduated from the gymnasium in 1939, and then I could choose where—I could choose—since my parents were rather poor, I could choose—there were two—well, two spots: the military academy, where they accepted and so on, or the seminary, where you could—well, the children of poor parents could [enroll]. But with me it happened so that my friend Šapalas, who [later] died in **Šuduvas** and had graduated two years ahead of me, informed me that the Ministry of Transportation was offering two scholarships for students to go to study Organization and Management of Enterprises in Germany. So I went there with my graduation certificate and, to my surprise, was given the scholarship. But the war had already started, so we got in touch with Germany and that's it. I could have gone and studied, but we were afraid that the Germans might—well, as they say, might get us involved in the war and so on—well, there were all kinds of rumors going around—so I left Berlin and returned to Lithuania

Q: When did you leave Berlin and returned to Lithuania?

A: In September of 1939.

Q: I see. And what did you do then?

A: Well, I had to find a job, and I started working at a printing-house at the Catholic Action Center, which still exists today on the corner of Donelaičio and Mickevičiaus streets. They used to publish the newspaper "To Freedom"("Į laisvę") and then all kinds of other right-leaning papers.

Q: What was the printing-house called?

A: [Long pause; tries to remember.] Well, maybe I will recall—but they also published the newspaper "XX Century"("XX amžius"), "Our newspaper"("Mūsų laikraštis"), well and others— other publications.

[00] 05:55:19 - [00] 08:56:11

00:06:06 - 00:09:14

Q: And tell me please—now I'm jumping to the year 1941, and I am interested in the situation that existed at the beginning of 1941. When did you first hear about the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF)?

A: You see, about the Lithuanian Activist Front I heard a little later, because in 1940, when it started—when they arrived, you see, well—you know perfectly well that in October 1939 the Ribbentrop's treaty of [mutual] assistance was signed – Vilnius was returned to us, and we allowed [military] bases to come in. So in 1940 our government accepted the reinforcement of those bases. Unfortunately, today we are not able to change any of this in the history of Lithuania. They agreed to it without any resistance and (the troops) entered. So in 1940, when the additional troops entered and there was a general [upheaval]—our young men, who had just graduated from gymnasiums, or who had already started their studies [at universities]—began a spontaneous and organic resistance. Nothing [encouragement] was needed: some were writing proclamations, others [helped] in other ways—a movement began – a resistance movement, or how else can you call it, I don't know, I am speaking Lithuanian. And so on—and the resistance began. That's how it was. And then, well, what was the solution? In the media [it was written a lot] about the Bolsheviks, the repressive nature of the State; Stalin being a dictator and so on and so forth. And there was no one who really organized it – it was a spontaneous resistance. And the organization itself did not yet exist in Lithuania, but I already—since I had been expelled from the university right after they (the Soviets) arrived, I was working at the "Parama" companywell, you know what happened?—we heard that people who had fled Lithuania – they call themselves forced exiles these days—well, that they were organizing a resistance on the international scale. So well, it was on the international scale and we knew nothing, except that there was such a resistance going on. And then later, in November, we heard about some organization – the Organization for the Liberation of Lithuania. But, you see, the borders were closed in those days, so we did not have any opportunities to approach or see them—nothing of that sort was possible. So we only [knew] what we managed to [make out] from one another from our experiences, from our understanding—we [would conclude] that it must be that this evil could not continue like that. And only at the very end [of 1940], or maybe—I cannot remember the precise date—it was the beginning of 1941, we received [news] that such and such organization was established and so on. Some good acquaintances of mine were among them.

[00] 08:56:11 - [00] 10:36:19

00:09:14 - 00:10:59

Q: What was established?

A: The Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania in Berlin.

O: You called it the Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania then?

A: Well, that's what they called themselves.

Q: And the Lithuanian Activist Front?

A: Oh, that was later. The Activist Front was when—well, the Committee for Liberation, [members of which] were Galvanauskas, Maceina and others, [espoused that] Lithuania had to

be liberated, the world had to be informed about Lithuania, about what was going on here—because not many knew about it.

Q: And when exactly did LAF appear?

A: Well, LAF was a little later. When the Committee for Liberation—but you need to [keep in mind that] it was more general in nature, so an action committee had to be created—and that was what the Lithuanian Activist Front was. And the Lithuanian Activist Front then brought together and formed itself into an organization.

Q: What was the structure of the Lithuanian Activist Front?

A: The Lithuanian Activist Front—we knew right away that we need to—all those resistance movements, but—so finally we agreed on this: it was best to organize ourselves in such a way that the Bolsheviks could not decipher how, where and what—we were organized into quintets. And even in our own quintets we were not supposed to know all of their members, so that if any of us were caught, the most we could give away were two or three names, and we could not do anything else [to harm the organization]. Although we did not really stick to this rule, for example, I knew almost everyone in the Old Town of Kaunas and kept in touch with everyone, although my quintet included only included people of "Parama"—"Parama" employees.

[00] 10:36:19 - [00] 13:12:01

00:10:59 - 00:13:40

Q: Tell me please: apart from yourself, who else belonged to your quintet?

A: My unit included Skrinskas, a lawyer; then Vaitkevičius, senior accountant; then Žemaitis—a he was the manager of garment factory; now... [He tries to recall] there was a girl—but she is deceased—yeah, and also Kvedaras.

Q: So all of you were from "Parama", right?

A: Yes, we were from the "Parama", this quintet operated in the "Parama "company. I knew who else was [in their respective units], but I tried not to know, so that if I was arrested, I could not tell who were in their expanded units. Well now, who did I know besides me? The others—I knew others, because I belonged to another quintet as well: Bazevičius belonged to my unit...also, well, from the other units there was Ambrozaitis—I think he is still alive in America. So these people I knew. And there was no headquarters. Well there was a certain level of organization, and our main goal, you see, was to make sure that the Bolsheviks don't plunder, take away or destroy anything. And I can tell you this: on the second day of war, just as the independence was declared, looting started. Imagine that—the lootings began. How? It is impossible! Well and then, so that the Germans don't shoot us all—although later the Germans shot a number of our people—partisans or insurgents call them what you like— who were wearing white bands with "TDA" written on them: National Work Defense (Tautinio Darbo Apsauga)—and there were cases where our people were shot by the Germans. But that is not the issue here. So then I—Bobelis had just been appointed to be the commandant of Kaunas—I went to him, since I knew all those quintets and I belonged to the higher authorities—I ran over to his office and said, "do what you like, but you have to take away the guns, in order for the looting to stop." Because the policemen and others had hidden their guns since the days of Smetona's

rule—not all of them had returned them—and they started the lootings. So his first decree—you can find it, it has been printed too, and described in detail in Gražiūnas 'book—

[00] 13:12:01 - [00] 16:04:13

00:13:40 - 00:16:40

Q: So it was issued on your initiative—

A: Well yes, I came over to his office—maybe he would have done this without me, because everyone knew about the lootings, that some people had been shot and so on and so forth—

Q: I see. So who was looting what?

A: Well, the shops. What do you think? Huge shops selling jeweler, gold or food—

Q: And where were the owners of those shops?

A: Well, the owners were "Maistprekyba", "Pramprekyba" and so on—they had all been nationalized and there were no owners as such, the Soviet [government] had integrated everything into their system.

Q: And now tell me this—let's go back to LAF: have you ever seen any of LAF documents—programs or something like it? Have your read any of them?

A: We received—I cannot tell you know how I got hold of them—and, as a matter of fact, all those things that I just mentioned were reiterated there: that we have to protect the property, protect the people and so on. And they were writing all this—they were writing it because, you see, by Sniečkus' decree of the 7th of July, 1940, the intelligentsia of Lithuania was eliminated between the 11th and the 12th of July of that year—that's how he put it himself. I have all those decrees by Sniečkus and everything else: "to eliminate the Lithuanian intelligentsia," and he also listed who is counted [among the intelligentsia]: the members of the Lithuanian Nationalist Union ("Lietuvių tautininkų sąjunga" or "tautininkai"), Christian Democrats, Esers and all the other kinds. And in that decree—in that decree – we had [a copy of] it—what most upset, or well, I wouldn't like to use the word "enraged"—Lithuanians, was that out of 9 of the 11 [signatories]—I can give you that document by Sniečkus—five or six were Jewish, the famous Todesas, now deceased, among them; then—well, I'm telling you, the document still exists. And so this document Lithuanians with a very negative impression. And then what was even more negative—but this was later, we already knew that the Lithuanian intelligentsia must be exterminated—then, after a lot of them had been exterminated, the elections to the People's Seimas (the Lithuanian Parliament) took place. People had to go and vote in the elections to the People's Seimas and they elected the government. And then the government went to Moscow and agreed to join—not only agreed, but asked to join, according to the press, but in reality they agreed and maybe were even coerced—the Soviet Union. But the most important moment was when—we had their program, we did, and I still have it—although it's not a contemporary copy, but a recent one—

[00] 16:04:13 - [00] 18:39:13

00:16:40 - 00:19:21

Q: Now tell me, did you see any statements about the need to transfer Jews from Lithuania in that program?

A: You see, at that time...There are really no such [statements] and there wasn't then. But it was explained that Jews—not all the Jews, maybe I am not expressing myself correctly, not all Jews—we had Jews in LAF as well: Šachovas had graduated from the same gymnasium as I, just a little later, while Šachovaitė (Šachovas' sister) graduated from the gymnasium together with me. So they spoke perfect Russian and worked with us before the Germans [came]; we hid them, and Šachovaitė, who is Jewish, is still alive—and I saved her. But that's another story. But you see, when on the 13th, 14th and 15th of June the mass deportations started—it happened on a massive scale—it said "eliminate", and under that banner many people were exterminated and deported. So that was the last drop, and that was it. Where I and many others saw—under the Smetona regime, when I was still a student of the 6th, 7th and 8th grades at the gymnasium, the members of the Lithuanian Nationalist Union or of the Neo-Lithuania ("Naujoji Lietuva" or "neolituanai") received special treatment and were given priority when seeking government jobs—well, we didn't like it a lot, especially since my father was the headman and he had always had right of center leanings, he [supported] the Christian democrats, and I also took on [his political leanings]. But that was less—but this factor was especially—we read it with a particular, very particular—well, we received [the LFA program] and then, "look, what is written here," and so on. But [the text] was permeated by some dictatorial statements, one of them being "to refuse the Jews our hospitality". What it meant; what Maceina or Galvanauskas or Škirpa had in mind sitting there in Berlin, I do not know and cannot say anything for them. But this ,,to refuse our hospitality"—Why? If there is a Jew living near me—we had acquaintances, they would go around the villages [selling] herring. Why? And second, there were some indications that—[the camera is stopped.]

[00] 18:39:13 - [00] 20:19:21

00:19:21 – 00:21:06 Camera man: Ok, let's go.

Q: Now, can you remember what was going on right before the war started—did you know that war was approaching?

A: [Shakes his head.] There were many speculations. The war, according to all the available information—well, you know, somebody came from somewhere; somebody said something on the wireless phone; a piece of news arrived from somewhere; some citizen was crossing the border, was caught and then [was put] in the hospital—that the war had to start on the first of June. But we didn't know—we were ready. That was the last speculation. There were some rumors that the war was supposed to start in May, but it did not. But the most exact date was the first [of June]. So we were speculating about the war—and it had to start.

Q: What does it mean "you were ready"— what exactly did it look like?

A: Well, we were ready, meaning that all our quintets were [informed] and we were saying, "men, the war is about to start, go and beware. "So those quintets—let's say my quintet in "Parama"—they had shops, they had factories [to protect] and so on. "Men, all of those who have guns—well, you have guns; and the ones who don't—" and so on, "[make sure] the goods and products are not looted, not damaged, not bombed—" For example, the defense of the tunnel was one such [tasks] that fell under [the responsibility of] my—not directly my quintet, but in collaboration with the others—to defend the tunnel and make sure that the trains are not stolen, the buses are not stolen, the trucks are not stolen—these were my main responsibilities.

[00] 20:19:21 - [00] 22:10:06

00:21:06 - 00:23:01

Q: And now tell me about the 22^{nd} of June. Where were you?

A: I'll get to that. Now, let's continue. The second date for the war to start was the 15th of June, well, and then the deportations begin on the 13th. And then at the main headquarters—although it was not called the headquarters at that time—where colonel Vėbra, and also (Adolfas) Damušis, Barakauskas, (Stasys) Lūšys were sitting— The war did not start, but the deportations did, and then, being afraid to—even Damušis, who is deceased now—you probably know everything about him—

Q: Yes.

A: So he says, "men, we need to disband, there's nothing else we can do. "To disband, to dismiss. Well, so this deportation made many corrections in our thinking, our understanding and so on. None of us had been prejudiced [against Jews] [before the deportations]. I had just graduated from the gymnasium, where among 15 students six were Jewish girls, so we didn't even had any thoughts about anti-Semitism—such thoughts didn't even occur to us. On the contrary, [the Jewish girls], and Šachovaitė in particular, got along really well with the other girls—they participated in everything and were present everywhere and so on and so forth. But you see, this [event] stirred everything up—such a thing—and for me, a thinking student in the second year of studies that I was—actually I had finished my second year and had just moved on to the third one—and had to choose what?—war, war is evil—

Q: Can you explain one thing: Šachovaitė participated in LAF activities, right?

A: Right. And Šachovas participated in LAF activities too.

Q: But LAF program was clearly anti-Semitic—how could this not bother or interest them at all?

A: Well, it was unclearly [anti-] Semitic. Do you have it?

Q: Well, I have seen it.

[00] 22:10:06 - [00] 25:10:20

00:23:01 - 00:26:09

A: Well, and I have it and can give it to you later. And you will not find it in there. There are some statements—yes, there are some statements, but in general it's more permeated by a

dictatorial tone than an anti-Semitic one. I don't agree with you on this one, because, I'm telling you, I have it and I pick it up fairly often. Yes, it is stated there that we should , refuse the Jews our hospitality". What does it mean ,,to refuse"? It doesn't mean we should go kill or hang them—hospitality—and if you want to take a more general view—and here let me diverge from your topic a little—would you say there was no anti-Semitism under Smetona? The "Parama"company was established with the goal of resisting foreign capital—Jewish, German, Russian or any other. And there was not a single Jew working at the "Parama"company—is that anti-Semitism? Or, let's say, "Maistas", or "Pieno centras"—take any Lithuanian company, cooperative, any large enterprise. And for example me, I was the manager of the "Parama"company, and there were no Jews and no anti-Semitism there. If some Jew is pressured economically—is that anti-Semitism? Well, that's if we take a broader view. Yes, there were proclamations, people were writing things, but aren't there any today? Are there no pronouncements against the state of Israel? Is that anti-Semitism? Why do they take that single line from the Bible—that they are a people chosen by God—and nobody can say anything about them! Only they are saint, they are good and so on. No! Anti-Semitism has a much deeper meaning than—well, how do you put it—than it is applied in practice. So Lithuania—as I mentioned, if you take a broader view—so then, when the cooperatives started, when "Žagrė" and the other [companies] were created – so what, is that anti-Semitism? No way. And there was some in this program, I am not denying it. I'm telling you, I have the program and so on, and it's very clearly—Jews— Well, people who want to see anti-Semitism in there, will find it, and who want to—well, [they will see this:] ,,we will fight them with economic means". For example in industry the Jews had 70-80% control of the commerce – they had to be pushed out, but not because they were Jewish. What does anti-Semitism have to do with it? Well, the capital is blind to ethnicity or race; it does not care if it is Lithuanian or Jewish – the capital dictates its own terms. Well, the union of cooperatives was established, and the union was formed of Lithuanian capital only, so it was pushing out the Jewish capital. But this is not anti-Semitism. And one cannot draw such generalizations. I am against such generalizations.

[00] 25:10:20 - [00] 28:01:08

00:26:09 - 00:29:07

Q: Then I have one last question directly related to LAF documents: how did you understand the statement ,,to refuse hospitality"then? What do you—what was it supposed to mean?

A: You know, even today I would not be able to tell you what it meant – not only then. So we received the program and it was completely classified; we read it, skimmed through it, [read] about the need to protect, to do all that is needed to [defend] the bridges, roads, people—and that's it. And about that "to refuse hospitality"—it's not like we were sitting and discussing it over a cup of coffee or something else, so I cannot tell you. I have already mentioned to you that even today I cannot tell what the phrase "to refuse hospitality"meant.

Q: Ok, now let's go back to the first two days of war. [The camera focuses on the interviewee's hands.] So, on the 22nd of June—

A: Yes?

Q: You heard that the war had started, you heard—

A: Yes.

RG-50.473*0095

Q: And how did you organize yourselves then?

A: Well, I went directly to "Parama", because you see, it wasn't that the war started, but rather things had not returned to their regular order after the deportations that took place on the 13th, 14th and 15th. I had not been sleeping at home. I would not sleep there, because – only later did I learn that it was the right decision – I would not sleep at home. And well, when the war started well now we have many courageous men, hyper patriots, who were marching with their heads held high, but nothing like that happened. Stealthily I went to "Parama" and found Skrinskas there, so I say, "you know, Juozas, we should do something – the war has started." "What?" he says, "we should inform everyone." "So," I say, "go ahead and inform your quintet, while I will inform mine," and so on and so forth. Well, we should inform. And that night there was—that was that night, but—I spent the night at "Parama", and then Skrinskas comes back in the morning and says, "you know, it is horrible what is happening outside." "So," I say, "it may be horrible, but we have to do something." I say, "we have to go to the police". We had agreed before that, that if we do not control the police, they will simply fish us out from the streets. And that's it. So I say, we were— One of our men, Živatkauskas, who is deceased now, and who belonged to our quintet, kept in touch with a police—a policeman, who had served under Smetona. And that's it. We go there. We go there: I did, Živatkauskas did and someone else – there were three of us. And so we take Živatkauskas and we go to the police – the war had already reached them and everyone was lost there. So we took [the police] without a single gunshot, without an effort, we changed—We said "this is"—And only then Ambrozaitis arrived with his quintet from the direction of Vilijampolė – everything was already under control. So what do we do next?

 $[00]\ 28{:}01{:}08\ \hbox{-}\ [00]\ 30{:}10{:}17$

00:29:07 – 00:31:21

Q: So this happened on Monday?

A: Yes.

Q: Or Sunday?

A: Monday morning.

Q: Monday morning.

A: On Sunday all of us [laughs] were timidly waiting to see what would happen.

Q: I see. And who was the director of "Parama" then?

A: At that time it was—a Jew [tries to remember]—you see, I need to take look at—a Jew, a Jew, a Jew—his son is now famous and was raised by Sniečkus—

Q: Oh, (Aleksandras) Štromas was raised by him—

A: Štroma	S
-----------	---

Q: Yeah.

A: Štromas.

Q: Štromas.

A: It was Štromas. Štromas was the director and he had replaced (Jonas) Pakalka. Well, he was a millionaire and so on, he sponsored movies and—well, it's enough to say he was a millionaire. He sponsored MOPR (International Red aid - an international social service organization established by the Communist International.). The head of the personnel department was also Jewish, as well as the head of the Special Division. They were the ones who supervised the deportations from "Parama". And when we opened the safes on of the 23rd of June at the end of the day—we opened them and found all those documents, the documents of the deported: the first wave, then the second wave. I was meant to go with the first wave, but for some reason was moved to the second wave. And the signatures—Štromas 'signature was there; I forgot the names [of the others], I can take a look—of the heads of the personnel department and the Special Division.

Q: And where was Štromas when you were opening the safes?

A: I don't know, where Štromas was. I don't know that. He did not come to "Parama", he did not come near "Parama". He was somewhere—somewhere—he may have gone somewhere by himself or something; or maybe somebody did something to him. You know, there were all kinds of people among us, or are you thinking that they all were saints and prayed to the Virgin Mary?

Q: I am not thinking that [laughs].

A: Yeah, so there were men in our quintets, who were not worthy of being there, who only enrolled in search for profits. So well, where was Štromas, who did what to Štromas – that I cannot tell you even today. Well, and then—

[00] 30:10:17 - [00] 32:38:05

00:31:21 - 00:33:55

Q: And now tell me please, who sewed—who made—those white armbands?

A: Well. I was marking the white armbands, and so was professor (Antanas) Briedelis and—I cannot tell you now who the third one was; maybe Briedelis will recall.

Q: And were you making them for yourselves only, or for everybody?

A: No, no, no, no. There were—well, we made many of them, I don't know. Maybe there was somebody else making them, I don't know. But we were—that house is still standing in Kaunas—

Q: Where is it?

A: When you go to Aleksotas (a neighborhood in Kaunas), you see, after you pass [uses his hands to indicate the location of the house], there is a turn, and then, on the left side, there stands a small house with its back [facing the street]. Yeah, on the left side.

Q: I know it.

A: Yeah. So there. [The armbands] were made there, because Briedelis lived there, and I also lived there for a while—I was hiding in those people's home.

Q: And now tell me, whose idea was it to make those white armbands? Where did the idea originate?

A: The idea came, one must admit, from Berlin. How it reached us, I cannot tell you now. [The idea was] that we need to have signs of recognition so that the Germans could see— We were told that all was agreed with LAF, with the head of LAF – Škirpa, to be more precise; we knew it was Škirpa. There was an instruction that there is an agreement with the Germans, that when the units which would be crossing Lithuania had been informed that we would help them and so on and so forth. So we had to have white armbands. So. And I'm telling you, soon after I was advocating the removal of the white armbands as soon as possible, but it was only done probably early morning on the 25th [of June]. Because they were a target [smiles].

Q: Target for what?

A: What? If someone had Bolshevik leanings, or something—it was target to them: "shoot now, if he's wearing a white armband!". Remove the white armbands. When I went to Bobelis asking him to issue [an order] for the guns to be surrendered, I don't remember if I talked to him about the white armbands. But later I said, "men, what is going on? One is shot dead, another, a third one—all wearing white armbands, so it means that the white armbands—and so those who are in resistance are eliminated right ahead."

[00] 32:38:05 - [00] 34:48:02

00:33:55 - 00:36:10

Q: So tell me, when you sewed those white armbands—

A: We didn't sew them, we would just cut a piece of cloth and write "TDA" on it.

Q: I understand. But what I want to know is when you did it – whether it happened during those days in June right after the breakout of war, or did you start earlier?

A: Earlier, of course, before the breakout of war. Then, after the deportations—maybe it was before the deportations—I don't know who else made them, but I was making them with Briedelis, who is still alive—so after the deportations [we said], "men, you see what they're doing this to us, we will have to take our up guns and resist," and then everybody was saying that the Germans would support us and so on.

Q: So this was around the middle of June?

A: Well, during the deportations and after the deportations, so on the 16th or 17th [of June]. I really cannot remember the exact dates.

Q: And where would you store them? Where did you hide them?

A: [Laughs.]

Q: There, in Aleksotas?

A: Yes, there, in Aleksotas. Only later did Briedelis give them away—he gave them away—oh, you see, I have lot to think over and prepare, I have all this material—I know that house, where he put them, and then I took probably tens of armbands to be distributed through the quintets, and told them to distribute them among themselves. And then we had to remove them, because, as I've already told you, they were a direct target.

Q: But for how long did you uniformly wear those bands, I mean, when did you stop wearing them?

A: In reality, we stopped wearing them after we first found out that we were targets. That was it. But that was only in Kaunas. You see, at that time the communication between Kaunas and, let's say, Marijampolè or Ukmergė was extremely complicated: the Germans were interfering and did not let us communicate, and we ourselves didn't have many means to do it. So the armbands remained for quite a while. Quite a while. I cannot tell you for how long, as it was different in each district or region—but there was an order to remove [the armbands], and the main movement was in Kaunas anyway. And then all the others who participated—they are a different story.

[00] 34:48:02 - [00] 37:22:13

00:36:10 - 00:38:51

Q: And now tell me: were there any instances, when people wore Lithuanian flags instead of white armbands? Have you seen any?

A: I have not seen any. I did not see any. And there was no such decision made. I have to remind you once again, that the instruction that all had been agreed with the Germans came from Berlin—just as the government was coordinating with the Germans as well. I can tell you one more detail: I was the head of the political department—and of the administrative too—and when they [the Russians] had fled, which was on the second or the third day of war—maybe the

forth—maybe it was on the 24th or 25th [of June], when we established committees commissions—that had to investigate [people working] in economic, arts, cultural and other areas—to investigate those, who stayed: where they worked and how they were planning to interact with us, the insurgents, the LAF people. So for example the [committee] for culture and arts was comprised of Vytautas Marijošius, conductor; then Baltrušaitis, a young and superb baritone; and also Santvaras, who was a poet. Hold on, whom else—Well, and I was meant to how to put this—to control all of them. In [the commission for] economy, [there was] Kleiva, then Kiela, then others—I cannot recall everyone. So they had to check theatres, publishing houses, to investigate whether [the people working there] understood that the Soviets were foreign to us, that they caused a lot of trouble or whether they were going to continue. And none of them were punished, except for three figures—except for three figures: Tallat-Kelpša was punished, he withdrew from the theatre and nothing was done to him; then Dauguvietis—miss Dauguvietytė (Dauguvietis' daughter) is still alive—Dauguvietis, since he [was saying], "well, you see, we were here and so on and forth." "But you caused a lot of trouble."—so he wasn't punished, [we said], "well, you can stay in the theatre"; Karčenauskas—the son of the composer Karčenauskas—was against Kipras Petrauskas and wanted his title to be taken away. Well, we didn't take away his title. And the same was going on in the economic system—will they work, do they want to work—

[00] 37:22:13 - [00] 39:47:05

00:38:51 - 00:41:22

Q: But I would like to return to some details: when you opened the safe at "Parama", how did you open it?

A: We ripped it open [laughs].

Q: You ripped it open.

A: Because nobody knew where the keys were. Very simple: we had locksmiths, so they took the drill and opened it. Simple as that.

Q: I see. I understand. Did the lists surprise you?

A: Well of course! Of course. We thought—we could not [believe] that it could be done in such an organized manner. And—

Q: I see. Ok. Now tell me this: during those first days of war – Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday –what did Kaunas look like? What was going on in Kaunas?

A: Well what—you know, I was scared. Scared scared that no—that fear was caused by the deportations, and now large troops were passing, the Russians retreating, all those soldiers, some shabby, some—and they looted the stores. He wants to eat! He has a gun! And you couldn't do anything. Now, let's move on. The resistance was—how do I put this?—since we took the police without a single victim, and the police was able to impose a minimal – I repeat again, only

minimal – level of security, and it was done by our people, people who supported us. But in general, well, you can come across statements these days that claim ten thousand – or a hundred thousand – victims. Like Dalia Kuodytė talks complete nonsense, claiming that during the first days of war—the first days of war!—there were 38 thousand dead, and then – a hyphen, and "Jews". She signed this document! What kind of person is she?! Kuodytė! What kind of person is she? 38 thousand – that means that a fifth of Kaunas had to be killed!

Q: Well, maybe she had in mind in the entire Lithuania?

A: I don't care what she had in mind—I'm looking at what she signed. What she had in mind, what she will have in mind, or what will remain of her mind when she is dead, I don't care – she issued a document as the chairperson of the Genocide [center], and signed [under] "38 thousand". I have that document of hers. "38 thousand" – hyphen – "Jews". There probably wasn't such a number of Jews living in Kaunas.

[00] 39:47:05 - [00] 41:36:23

00:41:22 - 00:43:16

Q: Did you witness any massacres of Jews in Kaunas?

A: No, I did not. You want to ask me about the "Lietūkis" garage, right?

Q: I want to—no, I don't want to ask you about the "Lietūkis" garage, but I want to ask you if there were any private scuffles on the streets or something like that—were there such things, or you have not witnessed any?

A: You see—Yes—Well, I did not see any [instances] where a Jew would be targeted, that somebody would, as some people now claim, go around their homes shooting people. This I cannot confirm. And I think that people in my surroundings – students, or even the workers of "Parama" or the workers of "Valgis", and their authorities – really did not do anything like this. Even if they did—I cannot be one hundred percent sure—they were honorable people—we students, we were educated in the nationalist spirit—[to fight for] more and better in Lithuania. But to go and kill—I don't know, this did not exist in my surroundings. I am not denying that such people existed, I cannot deny it, as these facts have been recorded, but in my surroundings and where I worked and at the headquarters where I later presided—but this was much later—such people did not exist at all. Not at all! But I cannot deny that such facts happened, because they really did. Just like I cannot deny that the Germans fired at people wearing white armbands, as they were marching from Marijampolė to Kaunas.

[00] 41:36:23 - [00] 45:09:06

00:43:16 - 00:46:57

Q: And now tell me please, how did it happen that you appeared next to the "Lietūkis" garage?

A: I did not appear there. I did not appear.

Q: But you—

A: I wrote an article, and it was published in "Gimtasis kraštas" newspaper and distributed throughout Lithuania. I have it, and could give it to you. I was not near the "Lietūkis" garage at all. An acquaintance of mine was—but that's a different story—I was not there. But I have accurate information—accurate information that I described in the "Gimtasis kraštas". And I didn't even mention anything about Jews there! Because what happened was this: when the (Soviet Lithuanian) elite—Paleckis, Gedvilas—fled without turning back, the actual functionaries stayed, as they had to destroy some material, security material in particular—so the ones who were charged with it, did it. But you see what happened: when the independence was declared and people flowed to the streets, they [the Soviet functionaries] felt that something was not right and [wanted] to flee. Apparently they had been planning in advance that they would take the cars from "Lietūkis" garage and flee. "Parama" owned a garage and stables as well. So well, "Lietūkis" car – not a big deal. So when they came—they came—and I had already given an order at the "Parama" garage: "men, in order for the cars not to be taken away, they must be set in a way that it would be impossible to turn them on." And that's it. Take out the Bendix starter, and they can come and— And now, when they could not turn the cars on, they started jostling and shouting. Well, and according to the information that I have, there was a quintet—or two or three men—passing by [and they asked], "what is going on here?" Well, and they locked up those Soviet agents. Where there any— Nobody asked them if they were Jewish, German or Lithuanian. There was no such question. Well, and then the rumors started spreading. I also heard that there were such and such people locked up in "Lietūkis". Oh well, so they were locked up—I cannot be everywhere, and it would be only and interesting fairytale that I would be telling you if I said that I could have been there. But! But what happened? When they left the prisoners left on the 24th—so people who worked in the basements and everywhere else, left significantly later. And so they somehow learned from somewhere that the Soviet security agents had been locked up there. But nobody thought about whether they were Jewish or Russians, nobody cared—there were Jews and Russians and other kinds. But they went there and then a completely new opera began. They would catch anyone suspicious and—where do you put him?—"oh, [the others] are already in the garage", and put him in the garage. There were a few garages there, with massive doors—you couldn't leave or anything. And that's where the tragedy began—when the intelligence agents left, and heard—recognized—one or two of the interrogators. That's when the execution began. That is the version that I communicated to the entire world, as they say. I wasn't there or anything.

[00] 45:09:06 - [00] 47:13:05

00:46:57 - 00:49:07

A: And now what? An eye witness [to this event] was the already deceased linguist Kazys Urvelis. We worked together with him and so on, so he recounted this to me: as he was passing,—I don't know why he was passing there—he says, "men, what are you doing?" So they retorted to him, "go away," they say, "so that you don't end up here yourself." He says, "men, but what—, and so on and forth, he introduced himself, so they say, "we were beaten" and so on. The second witness was the wife of colonel Šlepečius, she has testified—well yes, it is recorded—at the what was then the [union] of political prisoners, or maybe only of exiles, and the political prisoners were added only later—so she says—then she said—she told me, "one of them bared his back in front of me, and it was all slashed." So there. The [event] at the garage

was a completely blown-out. That it happened, that it wasn't nice, that people were killed and so on—this I am not denying. But I did not see—I only have the testimonies of two witnesses; and we also have the later material. But that, as some now say, somebody was playing accordion on top of the corpses—I don't want to insult a particular nation, but this is a fruit of their stupid fantasies.

Q: And now tell me please: where those people kept in the garage enclosure or—

A: Yes.

Q: Or simply in the territory [of the garage]?

A: In the enclosure.

Q: In the enclosure.

A: In the enclosure, of course.

Q: So where they kept there through the night, or—how was it?

A: They were, well, they were—

[Interruption; the interviewer coughs.]

Q: Ok, we can continue.

[00] 47:13:05 - [00] 49:26:12

00:49:07 - 00:51:25

A: So the first ones ended up there probably on the 24th (of June). I'm telling you, I cannot indicate the exact hours when they appeared there. So they were locked up—the ones, who wanted to take the cars and flee.

Q: And when did you give the order to not give away the cars?

A: Oh, maybe in April, o maybe even earlier. To protect the cars, we had to—

Q: You personally, when did you give the order at "Lietūkis" to not give away the cars?

A: "Lietūkis" was give—the cars—the specific—the specific date was probably twenty—no, not twenty—it was exactly—not at "Lietūkis", but at "Parama"—and the same applied to "Lietūkis", as we collaborated with them—so it was—well, the deportations took place on the 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th—maybe on the 18th of June. Because, when people were deported from "Lietūkis", from "Parama" and from other companies, the cars belonging to "Parama" and "Lietūkis" were mobilized for this purpose—that was before the war. Well, and when we learned that these cars were used for the deportations, I asked Pakalka, who was the—well, at that time he was not the director anymore—I say, "how?". "Oh well," he says, "what can I do?" He had been fired as the

director, but reinstated as an inspector. He says, "I cannot do anything." "But," I say, " you could have told us, people could have done something." So that was after the deportations. On the 17th or 18th it was declared: "men, when you're done with work, take the car to the garage, and make sure it cannot be turned on." So that's when it was done—after the deportations.

Q: And how could all those people fit into the enclosure, if the cars were there?

A: Well, not all of them were returned to the garage. I cannot tell you, but there was only one enclosure—there were not many. Don't think that there were that many people there—maybe around 20 or 30. I don't know, nobody was counting or anything—only from the photographs that the Germans and the Jews have disseminated around the whole world, one can see that there were not so many people there.

[00] 49:26:12 - [00] 51:22:24

00:51:25 - 00:53:27

Q: And now tell me, for example, were there any talks among the people in the city about the "Lietūkis" garage, or, let's say, the pogrom in Vilijampolė? Did people talk among themselves, or not so much?

A: Well, we knew about the tragedy at the garage, we knew that it had happened. But you see, it was war time, and during the war the cars were going, 162 of our own had fallen—162, there are lists to prove it and everything. So this [event] paled in comparison. And we—well, maybe the ones who claim that they knew everything, did, but I could not have known anything. We knew that it was done. We knew that—there could be no denouncement, because the war was unraveling, cars honking, screaming—tumult all around; the people, who have not been deported, not able to find each other, searching in prisons and so on. You cannot imagine such a horrible situation. Just like now in Beslan—who can say now who started what? Like that—the war raging, cars retreating, shootings, and so on and so forth. The Aleksotas bridge was bombed. And so on. And so was the equipment, living horses and living people—the Bolsheviks were bombing their own people, retreating over the River Nemunas, over the Aleksotas bridge. So you see, today, after 60 years have already passed, we can look at it, but at that time, you had to look out so that you yourself wouldn't be shot. Or to watch out so that you're taken away or something. So in this tumult, in this war-time tumult, in this lawless—when the war is raging, nobody knows or asks about your rights. So to investigate now, why they were going there, why were they beaten—my God! Even later—

[00] 51:22:24 - [00] 53:01:06

00:53:27 - 00:55:09

Q: I would like to come back to those white armbands once again: how many of them have you sewn?

A: Well, we didn't sew them, just cut in pieces and put "TDA" on, there was no sewing—

Q: Well, how many—100, 200, 300?

A: No, we didn't make them in hundreds. Maybe Briedelis remembers—but he, Antanas, will not remember either. Oh, Tirinskas—I just remembered who the third one was. He died in Červenė [Chervyen; Чэрвень] (a small town in present-day Belarus, where NKVD executed prisoners in June, 1941). During the war he was—

Q: So you were making them for the entire city of Kaunas, as far as I understand?

A: Oh, no, not at all—just for the ones who lived around, the others—

Q: The Old Town of Kaunas?

A: Yeah, the Old Town. Maybe someone else was also making them—you have to understand that it was all done in secret: the Bolsheviks were arresting, deporting people. So we were all sitting timidly and hoping to slip through without being grabbed by our bottoms [laughs], hoping to survive.

Q: Mr. Aleksandras, I have a last question for you. Can you please give an approximate date of when LAF ended? When did LAF end its life as a structural unit?

A: As a structural unit LAF—LAF—well, during the war and after the war, when—well, [when I was] the head of the political division, and we tried to make sure, investigated, who stayed behind and so on—it was still functional, quite normally, and we established communication with the province—until the Civil Verwaltung [German] arrived. Renteln (Theodor Adrian von Renteln).

[00] 53:01:06 - [00] 55:26:12 00:55:09 - 00:57:40 O: When was that?

A: It was in the beginning of July—he arrived on the 4th or somewhere around that date—I could specify it for you maybe, but this is not important. When the civil administration [German: Civil Verwaltung] arrived, LAF immediately had to step down, because the former had been predisposed against LAF. They were turned against LAF by the National Socialists, claiming that the rightists were concentrated in it, that they were not good for the Germans and so on and so forth; and they tried to overthrow LAF twice. That's where the collapse of LAF began. That's one thing. The other thing is that when the Germans began operating [in Lithuania], Prapuolenis was the direct representative of Škirpa. And he was the one who stirred everything up and so on and so forth. He would summon everyone. And then, when he began to be persecuted, he left Žukauskas as his successor. Well, not really as a successor, but he said, "you take my office now, as I am persecuted until I am caught". And so Žukauskas took his office. This must have happened at the end of July, or the second half of July, I don't know exactly. The decree that I signed – I already showed it to you – ordering the Soviet literature to be removed. And so, when Prapuolenis began to be persecuted, he left and Pilypas Žukauskas came to his place. And the headquarters operated—then Žukauskas could not anymore—so I was entrusted instead, so I

began the process of liquidation. To be more precise, the government resigned first, on the 5th of August—it did not resign, but it ceased its operation and declared—I was also there: we were all summoned by Renteln, all signed that we would not participate in political activities anymore [laughs] and so on, but of course we went on with our activities. And then August and September passed, and LAF was completely liquidated. It was not liquidated because people did not like it, or because it did something out of the ordinary. People still – normal people that is – think that yes, there were mistakes, but one cannot do without any mistakes in the times of war. But you see, we were left without a base, as all people wanted to live and nobody wanted to risk. Especially since the German march to the East was going very successfully. Very successfully.

[00] 55:26:12 -[00] 58:20:14

00:57:40 - 01:00:42

Q: I see. And now tell me this: in June and July the Jews disappeared from the center of Kaunas—did you wonder, where they disappeared, or you had no such questions? Or you didn't notice that they had disappeared at all?

A: Well, you see, we could not have missed it – we could not have missed it, as there were certain orders and decrees by the Germans. Neither LAF nor the government participated in this. And the Jews, of course, in order to survive, did not leave [their homes] and so on. Then later, when form the middle of August they started—they started—well, Bobelis did a lot [good, but he also signed the order to establish. Landsbergis was also there in his capacity as a minister. You see, these days very—

Q: Establishment of what? I do not understand.

A: Of the ghetto.

O: And what about Landsbergis?

A: Well, Landsbergis was the minister of public utilities and all those evictions had to go through him. And I cannot be responsible for what they did. I had a very clear task – [to make sure] that we resist, that nothing is taken away, and then, later, to check the loyalty of the people who stayed behind. That's it. And then the higher ups, people on the ministerial level—although we chose the ministers— I want to tell you a story of how I met Prapuolenis – I think he had not yet transferred his representative leadership to Žukauskas – and I said, "Leonas," I say, "who is this Jew among the ministers?" I Say, "we should check him". I say, "we should check him." And he says, "you don't know him?" I say, "no, I don't know him." And he responds, ,,don't pay attention," he says, "everything has been agreed with the Germans, "and repeats, "don't pay any attention." So I did not pay attention to the father of Vytulis (diminutive for Vytautas Landsbergis, the first head of the Lithuanian Parliament after its breakaway from the Soviet Union). I even knew him personally a little. Well, a little. But I am telling you – my tasks were very specific: resistance, [make sure] nothing is stolen or taken away – and then perform this [loyalty check]. And the higher ups, who—Well, for example, I know how that announcement was written. I knew who wrote it, where they wrote it and so on. The house, where they wrote it, is still standing in Kaunas. But I'm telling you, these were not my functions. My main one was— I repeat—to protect "Parama", which was a very large company and had a lot of property and

people. Well, and then if I participated in other activities – I take responsibility for that and so on.

[00] 58:20:14 - [01] 00:34:15

01:00:42 -01:03:01

Q: Well, and tell me, for example, did you hear the execution in the Fort VII or Fort IX? Or such things could not be heard in the city?

A: Of course we did. Of course we did. But what could we do?

Q: But did you know what was going on there?

A: We did not know exactly. We did not know exactly, but we knew that the Jews were being killed. They were marched— I will tell you, how I have helped some Jews. The Jews would be brought to the huge square next to where the Church of Resurrection is today – to dig trenches and so on. And there were all kinds among the Germans, so some would let the Jews beg. So once a Jewish woman with her daughter came to professor Dovydaitis' home—and I used to live in professor Dovydaitis' home; professor Dovydaitis' home was where the boiler-house of the radio [factory] is now. So they come, and what? Well, we would feed them and so on. And then I say to that Jewish woman—Masaitis is still alive in America—I tell her, "why the hell are you," Jews, [staying] here? You should flee, run away, and if some are killed, so let it be, but at least some would survive." So we offered [help] to that Jewish woman. She didn't say anything at once, but that same day – or the next one, I cannot remember – she says, "oh, my parents are there, ,, and so on, ,, if I don't come back, they will be executed, and so on – and she starts to cry. And her daughter also starts to cry, "Mommy, let's go and tell that man what these men are want to do for us." So well, so I could not help her in any way. Šachovaitė, on the other hand, I helped in a very concrete way: we made her documents and everything, and she left Lithuania. Like that. Since she was a classic Jew, we bandaged her nose [laughs], so that nobody sees, and she left for Austria, where she could take the bandage off, as there are plenty crooked noses there. Like that. And for this Jewish woman we made [the documents], I said, "run". "Where will I run, How will I run—, So I offered to her my aunt's—she lived alone in the forest, had no children and so on—I say, "go there." But whether she went, or she did not—you know, we could check everything in the time of war... But later, when I visited my aunt, she said that somebody had come there, but she—you know, she was old, that aunt of mine.

[01] 00:34:15 - [01] 01:48:20

01:03:01 - 01:04:19

Q: So by Soboras (**St. Michael the Archangel's Church**)—they would gather next to Soboras, right?

A: What?

Q: You mentioned that they gathered—that the Jews would be brought—where was it?

A: Oh no, they—

Q: Next to the Garrison church (Another name for Soboras church)?

A: No, no, no, that's where the police was, while the Jews had been put in Vilijampolė already. Oh, you mean to work? The Church of Resurrection—now the radio factory had built over that square – the one on the hill, on the hill. The Church of Resurrection is—[uses his hands to indicate the location] if you go to Savanorių avenue—

Q: I see. So you saw them when they were brought to work there?

A: yes, we saw how they were brought to work. They would come by themselves to ask for food; and we would give them food.

Q: Were there many of them there? Were they men, women or—

A: Everybody, all kinds – even children. Women would bring children, because they would get food there. They would divide it among themselves, and people would help them. Well, everybody was afraid, but as I said, there were all kinds of Germans, and if they saw a woman with a child going into somebody's yard, they would not say anything. Maybe she would have to explain herself, that she would this or that, but they would not [stop her]. Several Jews came to professor Dovydaitis' home, and I have helped one in a specific way, as I mentioned. In total I have helped five Jews to survive. One of them is still alive and lives in New York.

[01] 01:48:20 - [01] 04:26:16

01:04:19 - 01:07:01

Q: So the one who lives in New York, how did you help her?

A: We made papers for her.

Q: Oh, so it's that Šachovaitė you are talking about?

A: Yes. We made her documents. She had helped us during the years of German (Soviet?) occupation.

Q: In what way?

A: She knew Russian fluently, she knew Russian fluently; she also knew German pretty well — and that was enough for us to be able to listen to the Russian radio [smiles]. And she would give us summaries. She lived in Darbininkų street with—we had put her up with women who lived there and—those woman are deceased now, and—

Q: And when did she leave Lithuania?

A: She left in 1943. In the spring of 1943.

Q: And where was she hiding until 1943?

A: She was staying at an apartment of one person—You see, there's something to be mentioned about Šachovas. You see, when we all graduated from the gymnasium, we got along well; I was their tutor – I taught them Lithuanian-language, Mathematics and German-language. So I would come to them and would be treated as one of their won, so later, when the war started, and their parents were executed— They were executed— You see, they had been put in Marijampolė jail by the Bolsheviks as capitalists, and then, when they left the jail, they were killed on their way [home]. Maybe by people wearing white armbands – I cannot either corroborate or deny it. So they were executed, and the children remained [alone], so they ran over to me asking, "what should we do? Where should we go?" I knew the priest Liukas well, so I told him that we have to help these Jewish children. So they agreed to get baptized—and then what? Priest Liukas talked to people, and Marytė Šachovaitė was sent to a convent, while Izaokas Šachovas – to a seminary. So well, Marytė survived, but that stupid [boy] left and—I am still afraid to tell you the name of that person—was seen by someone, who told to the Germans, and the Germans immediately—he went on to work for Gestapo [the informer]. So Šachovas was killed on the spot, while for Marytė we made papers, she left and is still alive.

Q: I see. Good. Thank you. That's it. Let's finish here. The tape is over. [To the operator] How much in total – an hour?

Operator: Well, an entire tape. An hour.

Q: An hour, right?

A: If you're interested, we could examine the program—as I mentioned, it's more permeated by the what is called "fuhrerism" that anti-Semit—

End of tape. **[01] 04:26:16** 01:07:01

Translated by: Milda Morkyte

Date: 11/23/2010

There are no restrictions on this interview