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## LIEPĀJA

### ***Jewish Population of Liepaja***

At the time of the 1935 census, Liepāja had 7,379 Jews, or 13.4% of the population. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined by natural causes to an estimated 7,140, due to emigration and the birth deficit of an aging population. On June 14, 1941, Soviet authorities deported 209 Jews to Siberia, and in the next two weeks about 300 fled to the USSR after the German attack, and some 160 soldiers and Workers’ Guards retreated with the Red Army. More might have fled, but the Soviet authorities did not let men leave—except communist functionaries—and later closed the Russian border to refugees. That left about 6,500 Jews in the hands of the German forces that captured the city on June 29, 1941 after a five-day siege.

### ***German Occupation and the ‘Actions’ of the First Five Months***

The 291<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division that captured Liepāja was accompanied by part of *Einsatzkommando 1a* of Walter Stahlecker’s *Einsatzgruppe A*. Sporadic killings of Jews by SS and soldiers began on the first day. The occupiers promptly recruited a Latvian “Self-Defense” force (later renamed “Auxiliary Police”), to perform police duties and arrest Jews and Communists. The prisoners were placed in the Women’s Prison for interrogation and eventual execution. No pogroms occurred, but some isolated looting took place, along with evictions, beatings, and arrests, usually perpetrated by self-defense men. Mass executions started on July 4, when *EK 1a*, assisted by naval personnel, shot 47 Jews and five Latvian Communists. They continued almost daily after *EK 1a* had been reinforced by part of *EK 2*, which had been ordered to “proceed in the most ruthless manner, as armed civilians had intervened in the battle for Liepāja”. On July 14, the *Einsatzkommandos* departed, leaving behind *SS-Untersturmführer* Wolfgang Kügler as SD and Security Police Chief, with a staff of more than 20 men. The synagogues and prayer houses had remained untouched until then, but now Jewish men were forced to tear them down and trample on the sacred scrolls.

Liepāja had an ice-free port and a large naval base, and so it was the German Navy that took charge of the city. Several successive Navy commandants also had a major role in the atrocities of the first few months. On July 2, *Korvettenkapitän* Dr. Walter Stein warned the population that ten hostages would be killed for every act of sabotage, looting, or attack. He was succeeded by *Fregattenkapitän* Dr. Hans Kawelmacher, whose aide, *Korvettenkapitän* Fritz Brückner, amended this decree on July 8 by threatening to kill 100 hostages for every injured German soldier. On July 5, Brückner issued a set of draconian rules for Jews, including the requirement to wear yellow patches on their chest and backs. Thus marked, Jewish men became easy prey for daily manhunts by the Navy, SD, and Latvian police, and in the next two weeks, more than 300 Jews were shot. Many victims were conveniently seized on the Firehouse Square, where Jewish men between 16 and 60 had to report for work every morning.

Believing their own propaganda that Jews were the main pillars of the Soviet state, the Red Army, and the partisans, the Nazis ruthlessly killed Jewish men. They even killed them as “hostages” to retaliate for sniper attacks by manifestly *non-Jewish* partisans, failing to realize that this would hardly deter the latter, as solidarity between Jews and non-Jews was tenuous. The almost daily executions by SS or Navy firing squads with Latvian helpers were performed within the city limits, near the lighthouse and the beach. Often they were watched by hundreds of German soldiers and their sweethearts.

The pace of shootings was not fast enough for commandant Kawelmacher (a.k.a. Gontard). On July 22 he telexed the commanding admiral of the Baltic fleet in Kiel, requesting 100 SS- and 50 Schutzpolizei troops “for rapid execution [of the] Jewish problem. With present SS-personnel, this would take one year, which is untenable for [the] pacification of Liepāja.” His request was promptly granted; the notorious Latvian SD Commando under Viktors Arājs arrived from Riga, shot about 1,100 Jewish men on July 24 and 25, and left. Meanwhile the 2<sup>nd</sup> Company of Police Battalion 13 under *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Georg Rosenstock had arrived, primarily for patrol duty and to a lesser extent for executions. From then on, the Navy played a less active role, leaving the persecution of Jews in the hands of Kügler and his superior, *SS-und Polizeistandortführer* Dr. Fritz Dietrich, who arrived in mid-September.

There were fewer executions in August, but the pace quickened in September, when about 300, mainly elderly, Jewish men and women were shot. After Rosenstock’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Company left on September 10, Kügler organized a Latvian SD Guard platoon, which henceforth regularly carried out executions. New killing sites were used, first on the naval base and then at a former Latvian army shooting range in the dunes of Šķēde, about 15 km from the city center. Another 500 Jews were shot in October, but after *Gebietskomissar* Dr. Walter Alnor protested against these “wild killings”, which according to the Latvian mayor had caused “great dissatisfaction” among the city population, the pace in Liepāja slackened. Instead, the SD platoon traveled to several smaller Kurzeme towns in November (**Vainode**, **Aizpute**, and **Grobiņa**), where they killed the remaining c. 700 Jews. In 1935, some 4,633 Jews had lived in the countryside and the smaller towns of Kurzeme, but most had been killed in July and August. A “ghetto” (actually an internment camp) was established in the second-largest city, **Ventspils**, on July 13, 1941 and was first used for Jewish men between 16 and 60 who were shot 16–18 July, and then for women and children, who were killed in a series of actions from July to September 26.

### ***The December 1941 Aktion***

The killings reached a climax in December 1941. SS-and Police General Friedrich Jeckeln, who organized the mass shooting of more than 30,000 Jews from Kiev at Babi Yar in September, took over the position of Higher SS- and Police Chief Ostland in mid-November. He had orders to drastically reduce the number of Jews. After organizing the murder of 24,000 Latvian and 1,000 German Jews at Rumbula on November 30 and December 8, he ordered a similar massacre for Liepāja, where 3890 Jews still remained in November 1941. No ghetto had yet been established in Liepāja, but Dietrich ordered a 2-day curfew for Jews. Thus confined to their apartments, they were methodically rounded up by Latvian police and taken to the Women’s Prison. From there they were marched to the Šķēde execution site, ordered to undress, and were shot in groups of 10 by

three firing squads, two Latvian and one German. All together, 2,749 Jews were shot on December 15–17. They were mainly women and children, who had been largely spared until now. Kügler's deputy *SS-Scharführer* Carl Emil Strott, as well as *SS-Oberscharführer* Sobeck, photographed the executions. An audacious Jew working at the Security Police, David Zivcon, got hold of a 12-exposure film by Sobeck long enough to make copies, which have been widely reproduced and exhibited after the war.

About 1,050 Jews remained after the December massacre, mainly people who worked for the German military or SD and their dependents. Several score were saved by a Navy procurement officer, *Marineverwaltungsinspektor* Friedrich Kroll,<sup>1</sup> who was in charge of the uniform warehouse. He rescued a number of his Jewish workers from the Women's Prison on the first day of the *Aktion* and urged all to stay at the warehouse during the remaining two days of the *Aktion*. Most of the gentile population of Liepāja had been dismayed by the killings, as noted by Dietrich in his January 3, 1942 report to the *SS und Polizeiführer Lettland* in Riga: "The execution of Jews carried out during the report period still is the conversation topic of the local population. The fate of the Jews is widely deplored, and thus far few voices have been heard in favor of the elimination of the Jews."<sup>2</sup> Kügler therefore began the next *Aktion*, February 16, 1942, in the middle of the night, during the nightly curfew and blackout. Jews were quietly taken to Šķēde on horse-drawn sleds and shot after daybreak. Although 152 were killed that day, 16 others overpowered the driver and guards and fled in the darkness.<sup>3</sup> Fourteen of the 16 eluded recapture, but only one of them survived the war. Another killing of several dozen Jews was thoughtfully carried out on Hitler's birthday, April 20, 1942.<sup>4</sup>

The attitude of the Latvian population varied widely. Murderers and antisemites were a minority, but encouraged by the Nazi authorities, they were able to do much harm. At the opposite extreme were people who secretly helped Jews, by giving or at least selling them food, or even by hiding them. The great majority was somewhere in between, ranging from quietly sympathetic to indifferent.

### ***The Ghetto, 1942–43***

For the first year of the German occupation, Jews continued to live in apartments scattered throughout the city, but under increasingly crowded conditions, as they were evicted from the choicer apartments and forced to double up or triple up with other families. Bombs, shells, and fires during the siege of Liepāja had made a disproportionate number of Jews homeless, further adding to the crowding. At last Dietrich ordered the establishment of a ghetto for the remaining 832 Jews on July 1, 1942. It comprised a single block bounded by Dārza, Apšu, Kungu, and Bāreņu streets and was enclosed with barbed wire.

The commandant of the ghetto was *Meister der Schutzpolizei* Franz Kerscher,<sup>5</sup> a remarkably humane official who occasionally revealed his feelings by expressions such as "*Gott sei Dank*" and "*Leider Gottes*".<sup>6</sup> There were no selections during the 15-month existence of the ghetto, but the SD executed several dozen Jews for minor infractions. Thirteen babies were born in the ghetto<sup>7</sup> and were left unharmed while the ghetto existed. This killing pause is confirmed by official figures that reported 809 Jews in Kurzeme on March 10, 1943,<sup>8</sup> only slightly fewer than the initial 832 on July 1, 1942. The Judenrat members—businessman Zalman Israelit and lawyer Menash Kaganski—were on good

terms with Kerscher and generally managed to arrange lenient treatment of offenders. For this purpose they sometimes bribed him with items such as fur coats, jewelry, or gold coins (contributed by residents), but apparently Kerscher often passed part or all of the bribe on to his superiors to buy their acquiescence.<sup>9</sup> The Judenrat enjoyed the respect and trust of the ghetto residents.

Food rations were woefully inadequate: one-half of the skimpy daily ration of the gentile civilian population (1,030 calories in 1942)<sup>10</sup>. But food was available on the black market, as Latvian farmers were productive enough to have some left even after meeting the stiff delivery quotas imposed by the German administration. Nearly all Jews worked outside the ghetto and thus had opportunities to barter any remaining belongings for food, which they were able to smuggle into the ghetto under the lax search practices established by Kerscher. Wages were shamefully low. Though the employers of Jews had to remit Jews' wages at the pay scale of Gentiles to the *Gebietskomissar*, only a small fraction of this money was paid out to the Jewish workers. For piece work this fraction was 25%.<sup>11</sup>

The ghetto was guarded by ten rifle-armed Latvian policemen, four of whom patrolled the fence during each shift. The residents were required to be in the ghetto 19h–05h (all day Sundays and holidays), and in their rooms 22h–05h.<sup>12</sup> There was a library, a drama club, and a small synagogue. A few concerts were held, including recitals of satirical songs mocking the Nazis, and there were occasional volleyball games. Classes were organized for children.<sup>13</sup> A few radios had been smuggled into the ghetto, enabling the residents to listen to foreign broadcasts. There was no ~~weapons or~~ armed resistance in the ghetto and no escape attempts until the very end. Consequently there were no crises that might have brought the few ghetto policemen into conflict with the other residents. However, in 1943 Jews working at Security Police HQ managed to smuggle a number of handguns into the ghetto, which they hid in a shed. A Latvian guard accidentally discovered this weapons cache, but Kerscher cleverly prevented any reprisals by persuading the SD that these guns must have been left behind by Red Army troops when they were housed in the area during the 1940/41 Soviet occupation. On one occasion the ghetto police imprisoned two ghetto residents who had stolen groceries from the ghetto store. Subsequently both were seized by the SD and executed.<sup>14</sup>

From October 22, 1942 to March 1943, 160 Jews from the Riga ghetto—originally from Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany—were in Liepāja to work in the local sugar factory, and were housed in the Liepāja ghetto. From them the Liepāja Jews learned about the Rumbula massacres of November-December 1941.

### **Paplaka**

In May 1943, a few dozen Jewish craftsmen were transferred to the military base Paplaka, some 35 km east of Liepāja, where there were large barracks of Latvian SS legionnaires and Ukrainian *Hilfswillige* (auxiliaries), both under German supervision. The Jewish men worked as glaziers, electricians, etc., often off-site. They were soon joined by Jewish women who did laundry, office cleaning, and other jobs. Food, housing, and freedom of movement were better than those in the ghetto.<sup>15</sup>

The 38 Jews in Paplaka stayed behind when the Liepāja ghetto was closed on October 8, 1943, but on April 28, 1944, they were sent to Riga via Liepāja. Three men managed to escape and found shelter with a brave Latvian couple in Liepāja, Roberts and Anna

Seduls, who had already hidden 8 other escapees from the Liepāja ghetto and provided them with food and guns. Unfortunately Roberts Seduls was killed by an artillery shell on March 10, 1945, but all his wards survived until the Soviets reoccupied Liepāja after the armistice of May 9, 1945. One of the Jews in hiding, Kalman Linkimer, has left a 315-page diary covering the entire German occupation period. It has been translated into English but remains unpublished.

### ***Deportation to Riga and Stutthof***

Despite the protests of Kerscher and the *Gebietskomissar*,<sup>16</sup> the ghetto was closed on October 8, 1943 and the c. 800 survivors were taken to the Kaiserwald camp in Riga. Conditions were dismal, causing one survivor to say that life in the Liepāja ghetto “was paradise in comparison”.<sup>17</sup> Older people and women with children were selected soon after arrival, and were temporarily gathered in the ghetto. Most mothers and children under twelve were sent to Auschwitz on November 3, 1943 for gassing, whereas older people were killed locally. A number of the younger people were assigned to work in outlying *Kasernierungen* (barracks) such as the *Reichsbahn* or *AEG*, where conditions were more tolerable. When the Red Army approached Riga in the summer of 1944, an additional selection was carried out, and the survivors were sent to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig in several transports, from August 8 to October 1, 1944.

A number of prisoners were assigned to satellite camps, some of which maintained bearable conditions (*Reichsbahn*, *AEG*, etc.). But others stayed in Stutthof or were transferred to other camps (Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Stolp, Polte-Magdeburg, etc.), and many died due to the increasingly brutal conditions, especially on death marches in early 1945. The Stutthof prisoners were put on barges on April 25, 1945 and towed westward for a week without food. After the tugs abandoned the barges, Norwegian prisoners managed to navigate them to a beach at Neustadt i.H., where those Jews who had not perished during the voyage staggered ashore. They were greeted by Navy men who shot or drowned more than 50 of the Jews, including 8 from Liepāja—as it turned out, only a few hours before liberation by British troops.<sup>18</sup> By this cruel quirk of fate, Navy sailors had once again become the nemesis of Liepāja Jews, nearly finishing the job their Navy comrades had begun in 1941.

Eight other Liepāja Jews died in Neustadt after liberation. Only 175 Liepāja Jews survived the war, along with 33 who had been hidden by Latvians.

### ***Demographics***

The names and vital statistics of more than 95% of Liepāja Jews have been recovered, permitting some quantitative demographic inferences.<sup>19</sup> The killings of 1941 initially targeted men only, but then extended to elderly people and finally to women with children and other unskilled or non-essential people. But the ratio of men to women dropped steadily:

14.6.41 (0.81), 1.1.42 (0.57), 9.8.44 (0.44), 9.5.45 (0.38). In contrast to Riga, where only 11 women per 100 men remained after the Rumbula massacres, indicating a policy of sparing male workers, the trend in Liepāja was to spare women, leaving 170 women per 100 men by the end of 1941. This preferential survival of women continued even after

deportation to Riga and Stutthof, when physical endurance became increasingly important, in addition to passing the cruel selection criteria of the SS.

The combined effect of endurance and selection is seen in the following table, which shows the surviving fraction (on December 31, 1945) as a function of age.

Age in 1941	Women	Men
<b>0-4</b>	0.0%	0.0%
<b>5-9</b>	1.8%	0.0%
<b>10-14</b>	4.7%	2.3%
<b>15-19</b>	11.3%	1.0%
<b>20-24</b>	7.8%	0.8%
<b>25-29</b>	3.4%	0.8%
<b>30-34</b>	1.3%	1.4%
<b>35-39</b>	0.9%	0.5%
<b>40-44</b>	1.7%	0.2%
<b>45-49</b>	1.0%	0.0%
<b>50-54</b>	0.4%	0.0%

Young women who had been 10 to 24 years old in 1941 had the best chance of survival. Among men, the 10–14 year cohort did best, but nearly all other age groups had survival fractions of less than 1%, reaching zero at 45 years and older.

### ***Post-war trials***

Some of the murderers got their deserved punishment. Walter Stahlecker, who commanded Einsatzgruppe A that killed 35,000 Jews in Latvia, was fatally wounded by a partisan's bullet near Leningrad in 1942. Friedrich Jeckeln, who ordered the killings of more than 30,000 in Rumbula, Šķēde, and elsewhere, was hanged in Riga in 1946. The SS- and Police Chief Liepāja, Fritz Dietrich, was hanged in Landsberg prison in 1948. Wolfgang Kügler, head of the Liepāja SD, committed suicide in a West German jail on December 2, 1959. Several other members of the Liepāja SD were tried in Hannover in 1969/71, but got off lightly. Strott—by then a retired hotel director—got only a 7-year prison term, and Grauel, Reiche, Kuketta, Fahrbach, and Rosenstock, 1½ to 6 years.<sup>20</sup> Erich Handke, who was tried separately by the Hannover court, died after serving 8 months of his 8-year sentence.<sup>21</sup> Hans Baumgartner, who was tried in East Berlin, was sentenced to death.

The arch-murderer Viktors Arājs was inexplicably released from British detention in 1948 and lived peacefully in Frankfurt under his wife's maiden name for 27 years. He was apprehended in 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment but died in 1986. The Soviets tried 356 members of the Arājs Commando, most of whom got 10–25 years in the Gulag or the death penalty.<sup>22</sup> They also tried a number of Latvian Auxiliary Police, but given the arbitrariness of Soviet justice, some sentences may have been too lenient and others too harsh. About 20 Liepāja auxiliary policemen were tried as members of the 20<sup>th</sup> Latvian *Schutzmannschaft* Battalion in the 1970s, but although many of the defendants apparently participated in the 1941 *Aktionen*, the indictment focused less on individual guilt than on membership in the battalion, although at that time it existed only on paper.

## **Published Works**

Among works by historians, the most comprehensive account of Nazi actions in Liepāja is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944* (Riga and Washington: The Historical Institute of Latvia, 1996), pp. 286–298. Another excellent account, primarily from the victims’ perspective, is Dov Levin, *Pinkas Hakehillot Latvia v’Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 180–186. An English translation by Shalom Bronstein is available on the Web at

[http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas\\_latvia/lat\\_00170.html](http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_latvia/lat_00170.html)

Events in the first months of the occupation, with emphasis on the role of the German Navy, are described in greater detail in Mārgers Vestermanis, *Ortskommandantur Libau Zwei Monate deutscher Besatzung im Sommer 1941*, in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995) pp. 241–61, and Heinz-Ludger Borgert, “*Die Kriegsmarine und das Unternehmen «Barbarossa»*,” *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* 1999:1 (1999), pp. 52–66. Eyewitness accounts of executions along with pictures of the Šķēde executions have been published by Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust As Seen by Its Perpetrators & Bystanders*. New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997, pp. 126–135. Among survivor accounts, the most detailed one is Solomon Feigerson, *Tragediya Liepayskikh Yevreev* (Riga: 2002), but three additional accounts are found in Gertrude Schneider, *Muted Voices* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987; chapters by George D. Schwab, Aaron Vesterman, and Shoshana Kahn). Reminiscences of pre-war Liepāja are included in Libauers’ Committee of Israel, *A Town Named Libau*

(Yizkor Book). (Tel Aviv: 1982); <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/libau/libau.html>>.

Names of some 7,000 survivors and victims (along with Ezergailis’ Liepāja chapter and an English version of Feigerson’s memoir) are contained in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepāja, Latvia 1941–45* (Burlingame: Anders Press, 2001). An up-to-date version of the database, currently with 7137 names, is available at <<http://www.liepajajews.org>>. The methodology of this project is described in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Who Died in the Holocaust? Recovering Names From Official Records*. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17 [1], 114–138 (2003) <[http://www.liepajajews.org/Who\\_Died.pdf](http://www.liepajajews.org/Who_Died.pdf)>

## **Main Archival Sources**

The most important sources are the Latvian State Historical Archives (LVVA), Riga and the Museum and Documentation Center “Jews in Latvia” (JL), Riga. The Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie (STU) has partial records on Liepāja Jews deported to Stutthof in July–October 1944, as well as transport lists to other camps. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) has microfilms of documents from LVVA and STU. Yad Vashem has many survivor memoirs. The Bundesarchiv (BA), Berlin, has a number of documents of the German civil administration Ostland that are not available in the LVVA, and the Zentrale Stelle, Ludwigsburg (ZSL) has records of the Grauel investigation as well as documents on several cases that did not come to trial.

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- <sup>1</sup> Born 05.05.1898 in Alexandrovka/Russia; in Liepaja October 21, 1941 to October 24, 1944 (communication by Peter Fiedler, Wehrmachtauskunftsstelle Berlin).
- <sup>2</sup> USHMM, RG-18.002M (LVVA), file 83-1-22.
- <sup>3</sup> LVVA, Schutzpolizei Libau, Report of February 16, 1942. P-83-1-207, p. 112.
- <sup>4</sup> Solomon Feigerson, *The Tragic Fate of Liepaja Jews*, in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepaja, Latvia 1941-45* (Burlingame: Anders Press, 2001).
- <sup>5</sup> Born September 14, 1894 in Steinbach/Niederbayern, d. January 26, 1959 in Reinbeck (communication by Dr. H.-L. Borgert, BA).
- <sup>6</sup> JL, "Thank God" and "Most unfortunately". Hessel Hirschhorn, III/114.
- <sup>7</sup> Rachel Katsev Schneider, communication to Ella Barkan (May 2000).
- <sup>8</sup> BA, R92/1157 fol. 1, report of March 10, 1943.
- <sup>9</sup> Fanny Lebovits, personal communication, 2002.
- <sup>10</sup> Andrew Ezergailis (ed.), *Stockholm Documents, The German Occupation of Latvia 1941-1945*. (Riga: Publishers of the Historical Institute of Latvia, 2002), p. 89.
- <sup>11</sup> LVVA, P83-1-118, p.1.
- <sup>12</sup> LVVA, Wachtvorschrift für die Ghetto-Wache. P-83-118-1, pp.3-9.
- <sup>13</sup> George D. Schwab, "The Destruction of a Family" in Gertrude Schneider, *Muted Voices* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987).
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.; Solomon Feigerson, *The Tragic Fate of Liepaja Jews*, in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepaja, Latvia 1941-45* (Burlingame: Anders Press, 2001).
- <sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Lowenson, personal communication, 2002.
- <sup>16</sup> BA, R92/1158 fol. 1, p. 132.
- <sup>17</sup> George D. Schwab, "The Destruction of a Family" in Gertrude Schneider, *Muted Voices* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987).
- <sup>18</sup> STU, *List of Jews killed at Neustadt by German Army 2.5.45*, May 1945 (Z-V-36); Jeffrey Lowenson, personal communication, 2002.
- <sup>19</sup> Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews of Liepaja, Latvia 1941-1945*. Unpublished database; a Web version is available at <<http://www.liepajajews.org>>.
- <sup>20</sup> Landgericht Hannover, *Strafurteil gegen Grauel und andere*, 1970. 2 Js 291/60; Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen, Ludwigsburg.
- <sup>21</sup> Arnold Engel, personal communication (2002).
- <sup>22</sup> R. Viksne, *The Arajs Commando Member as Seen in the KGB Trial Files: Social Standing, Education, Motives for Joining it, and Sentences Received*. In: *The Issues of the Holocaust Research in Latvia (Reports of an International Conference, 16-17.10.2000, Riga, Latvia)*. Riga: Latvian History Institute Press, 2001, pp. 350-380.