

The “Official” Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven?

Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine

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Author’s Note: *The officially accepted version of the Katyn Massacre can be read on its Wikipedia page - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Katyn_massacre This page is relentlessly anticommunist and anti-Stalinist. It makes no attempt to be objective or neutral, in that it has no serious discussion of the scholarly controversy about this question. It is useful only as a short and accurate summary of the “official” version. I would like to acknowledge that I was guided to the new sources by an excellent article by Sergei Strygin on the Russian “Pravda o Katyni” (Truth About Katyn) Internet page.¹ I strongly recommend it to all those who read Russian.*

In 2011 and 2012 a joint Polish-Ukrainian archeological team partially excavated a mass execution site at the town of Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy, Ukraine. Shell cases found in the burial pit prove that the executions there took place no earlier than 1941. In the burial pit were found the badges of two Polish policemen previously thought to have been murdered hundreds of miles away by the Soviets in April–May 1940. These discoveries cast serious doubt on the canonical, or “official,” version of the events known to history as the Katyn Massacre.

In April 1943 Nazi German authorities claimed that they had discovered thousands of bodies of Polish officers shot by Soviet officials in 1940. These bodies were said to have been discovered near the Katyn forest near Smolensk (in Western Russia), which is why the whole affair – including executions and alleged executions of Polish

1. “‘Волынская Катынь’ оказалась делом рук гитлеровцев.” [“The ‘Volhynian Katyn’ turns out to be a deed of the Hitlerites.”] Available at <http://katyn.ru/index.php?go=News&in=view&id=253>

POWs elsewhere in the USSR – came to be called “the Katyn Massacre.”

The Nazi propaganda machine, headed by Josef Goebbels, organized a huge campaign around this alleged discovery. After the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in February 1943 it was obvious to everyone that, unless something happened to split the Allies, Germany would inevitably lose the war. The Nazis’ obvious aim was to drive a wedge between the western Allies and the USSR.

The Soviet government, headed by Joseph Stalin, vigorously denied the German charge. When the Polish government-in-exile, always ferociously anticommunist and anti-Russian, collaborated with the Nazi propaganda effort, the Soviet government broke diplomatic relations with it, eventually setting up a pro-Soviet Polish authority and Polish army. In September 1943 the Red Army drove the Germans from the area. In 1944 the Soviet Burdenko Commission carried out a study and issued a report that blamed the Germans for the mass shootings.

During the Cold War the Western capitalist countries supported the Nazi version which had become the version promoted by the anticommunist Polish government-in-exile. The Soviet Union and its allies continued to blame the Germans for the murders. In 1990 and 1991 Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, after 1988, President of the USSR, stated that the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin had indeed shot the Poles. According to this “official” version the Polish prisoners had been confined in three camps: at Kozel’sk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov and from there transferred to Smolensk, Kharkiv, and Kalinin (now Tver’), where they were shot and buried at Katyn, Piatykhvatky, and Mednoe respectively.²

In 1990, 1991, and 1992 three aged former NKVD men were identified and interviewed. They discussed what they knew of executions of Poles in April and May of 1940. None of these executions had taken place at the Katyn Forest, site of the German exhumations. In 1992 the Russian government under Boris Yeltsin handed over to the Polish government documents supposedly signed by Stalin and other Politburo members which, if genuine, would put Soviet guilt beyond reasonable doubt. These documents are said to have been found in “Closed Packet No. 1,” where “closed” meant the highest level of classification – secrecy. I call these the “smoking gun

2. According to the “official” account, small numbers of Polish prisoners were confined at or shipped to other camps and were not executed.

documents," since they are conventionally assumed to be "proof positive" of Soviet guilt. However, no evidence is ever univocal and definitive; all evidence, whether documentary or material, can be interpreted in multiple ways.

By 1992 the Soviet, and then the Russian, governments had officially declared the Stalin-era Soviet leadership guilty of shooting somewhere between 14,800 and 22,000 Polish prisoners to death in April and May 1940. This was agreeable to anticommunists and a bone in the throat for some pro-Soviet people. For a few years it did appear that the matter was basically settled. The evidence seemed clear: the Soviets had shot the Poles.

I too thought the matter was settled. I admit that I continued to harbor some lingering doubts, mainly because accepting Soviet guilt also meant asserting that the Nazi propaganda campaign and official report of 1943 was 100% honest. Goebbels and Hitler were famous for their concept of "the Big Lie" which states, in part, that one should *never* tell the truth.³ But this was, at most, in the back of my mind in 1997 when I went to the Slavic Room of the New York Public Library, a place I had visited a great many times over the years, to make photocopies of the "smoking gun documents" as published in the leading Russian historical journal *Voprosy Istorii* in January 1993⁴ so I could put them on my new web page. I did not post them because I soon discovered that somebody else had already done it and I could just link to those images, which were of higher quality than my own.

In 1995 Iurii Mukhin, at the time an unknown metallurgical engineer, published a short book titled "The Katyn Murder Mystery" (*Katynskii Detektiv*). In it he claimed to prove that the "smoking gun documents" were forgeries and the story of the Katyn Massacre a fabrication intended to facilitate the destruction of the Soviet Union. During the following years this position has attracted much support among what we might call Left Russian nationalists, people supportive of the USSR during the Stalin period for its achievements at industrialization and defeating the Nazis. Since that time Mukhin and others have published more books of research in which they continue their campaign to disprove the "official" version that asserts Soviet guilt.

Since the mid-1990s, therefore, the Katyn Massacre has once again been the subject of fierce partisan dispute. In anticommunist circles it is

3. Hitler outlined this "Big Lie" in *Mein Kampf*: Chapter 6, "War Propaganda," and Chapter 10, "Why the Second Reich Collapsed."

4. «Секретные документы из особых папок» *Вопросы Истории* 1993 № 1, сс. 3-22.

unacceptable to express any doubt as to the guilt of the Soviet Union and of Stalin and his chief assistants in particular. This is the case in Western academia as well, where debate on the subject or any questioning at all of Soviet guilt is simply “beyond the Pale,” not tolerated.

Meanwhile Russian defenders of the USSR and of Stalin continue their assault on the “official” account by marshaling evidence to show that the Nazis, not the Soviets, shot the Polish officers. Some of these researchers have concluded that the Soviets did shoot some Polish prisoners (officers and others), and then the Nazis invaded the USSR, captured the remaining Polish prisoners, and shot them. I myself think that some such scenario is the most likely one and I will briefly explain why at the end of this article.

During the past several years there have been some dramatic developments in the investigation of the Katyn question. I have attempted to summarize them and the academic dispute generally on a special web page that I call “The Katyn Forest Whodunnit.”⁵ I believe it is the only source in English where one can find this dispute outlined in what I intend to be an objective manner.⁶

In October 2010 a credible case was made that the “smoking gun” documents are forgeries. This had been the position of many Russian communists and Left Russian nationalists since the publication of Mukhin’s 1995 book. The materials adduced by Duma member Viktor Iliukhin in October 2010 constitute the strongest evidence so far that these documents may well be forgeries. (For more information about these documents see my “Katyn Forest Whodunnit” page.)

Therefore, let’s set aside the “smoking gun documents” from “Closed Packet No. 1.” What other evidence is there that the Soviets shot the 14,800–22,000 Poles as alleged in the “official” version of the Katyn Massacre?

Basically, there are two types of further evidence:

1. Confession-interviews of three aged and long-retired NKVD men: Petr K. Soprunenko, Dmitri S. Tokarev, and Mitrofan V. Syromiatnikov. These confessions are very contradictory in ways

5. At <http://www.tinyurl.com/katyn-the-truth>

6. I picked the title “The Katyn Forest Whodunnit” for my page because it expresses my own uncertainty, and thereby my own dedication to objectivity. I don’t know “who did it,” the Nazis or the Soviets, the Soviets or the Nazis, and I would like to know. Moreover, I don’t care “who did it.” If the Germans did it, it is just what they did all over Eastern Europe and on a much larger scale. If the Soviets did it, we should try to discover why they did. It would not be “endemic to communism,” as the anticommunists claim. In fact, though, it appears more and more likely that the Soviets did not “do it.”

that do not always reinforce the “official” version. None of these men was at the Katyn Forest, the place where 4000+ bodies of Polish POWs were unearthed by the Germans in 1943, and none of them has anything to say about this, the most famous of the execution/burial sites subsumed under the rubric “the Katyn Massacre.” Perhaps this is the reason that these confession-interviews are so hard to find. What’s more, though they were all conducted in Russian they are available only in Polish translation. The Russian originals have never been made public. So, we do not have the former NKVD men’s exact words.

All three men were threatened with criminal prosecution if they failed to “tell the truth” and were told that Soviet guilt had already been established. It is therefore possible that out of fear of prosecution they gave answers they felt their interrogators wanted. Many of the interrogators’ questions were “leading” questions. Of course this is common in criminal investigations. But it does appear that the confessions of these three old men were not entirely voluntary.

I have obtained the texts of these confession-interrogations in the published Polish-language versions, scanned them, and made them available on the Internet.⁷ It is interesting that no one else has ever bothered to do this. I will not examine these very interesting and problematic confession-interrogations here, however.

The transit documents

2. The remaining category of evidence are the many “transit” or “shipment” documents concerning the emptying out of the three POW camps at Kozel’sk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov in April 1940 and the transfer of the prisoners to the NKVD in other areas. These transit records are the subject of this article.

These shipments of prisoners are routinely stated to be “death transports.” The book *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment* by Anna M. Cienciala, Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski (Yale University Press 2007) is the definitive academic account in the English language of the “official” version. It refers to the shipments of prisoners this way (emphasis added):

7. I have taken the texts of all but one of the confessions from the official Polish volume *Katyni. Dokumenty zbrodni. Tom 2. Zagłada marzec-czerwiec 1940.* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo “Trio,” 1998). They were originally published separately. I have checked those original versions against this one. In addition, Syromiatnikov gave an interview to Polish journalist Jerzy Morawski in 1992. All these interviews with ex-NKVD officers Soprunenko, Syromiatnikov, and Tokarev are available at http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furg/research/katyn_nkvd.html

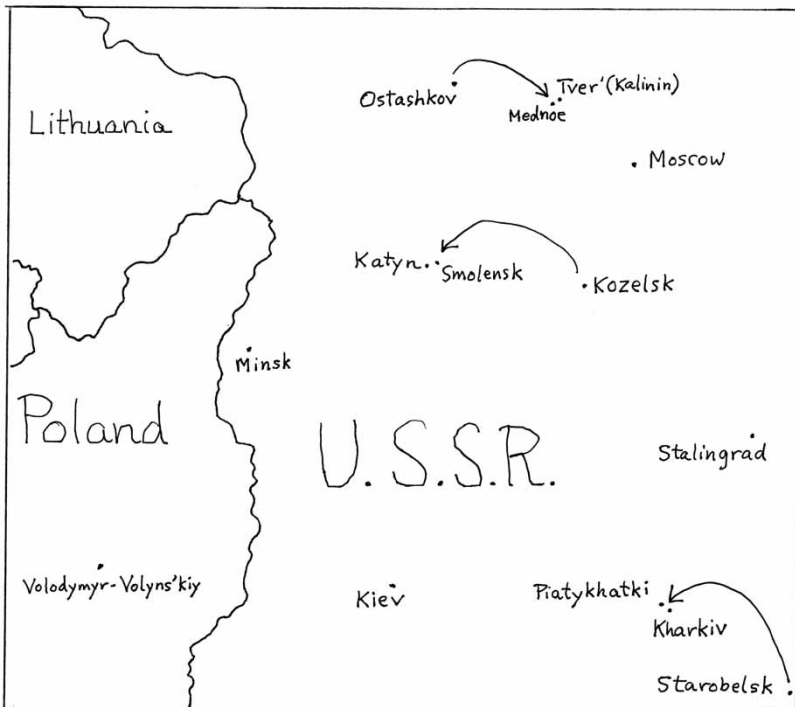


Figure 1. 1939 map showing places mentioned in the “official” Katyn narrative. Arrows from the POW camps (Ostashkov, Starobelsk, Kozelsk) to cities (Kalinin/Tver’, Kharkiv, Smolensk) show destinations on NKVD transit documents. Burial sites in the nearby countryside (Mednoe, Piatykhatky, Katyn) are also shown, as is Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy (Włodzimierz), which is about 700 miles from Kalinin/Tver’ - Mednoe. [map drawn by Victor Wallis based on information supplied by the author]

The final *death transport* left Kozielsk....

The last *death transport* left Ostashkov for Kalinin (Tver) on 19 May...

...lists of those to be sent out of the camps *to be shot* (doc. 62)...

...and reporting on the number sent *to their death* (doc. 65).

Cienciala, who did the writing in this volume, added all the language about execution. Likewise in her discussion of the documents, none of which mentions executions, shootings, killing, death, etc., at all, Cienciala continuously adds language to remind the readers that, in her interpretation, these prisoners were being transported to places

where they would be executed. Here are a few examples (emphasis added):

- They were transferred to NKVD prisons... *to be shot* there. (154)
 ... the same as the order in *the death transports*. (156)
 The first lists of victims to be *dispatched to their death*... (157)
 The delivery of lists for *dispatching prisoners to their deaths*... (159)
 Beria's directive of 4 April 1940 indicates the goal of *exterminating* not only the officers and police... (160)
 This is the first of many reports by the UNKVD head of Kalinin Oblast, Dmitry Tokarev, on the "*implementation, that is, the murder*..." (162)
 Soprunenko's instruction to Korolev of 6 April 1940 was, in fact, *a death list*,... (163)
 The dispatch of the prisoners of war *to their deaths*... (175)
 This 11 April 1940 report from Kozelsk shows that 1,643 officers were *murdered* in nine days. (175)
 ... the moods of the prisoners as they were being dispatched unwittingly *to their deaths*. (176-177)
 Most prisoners sent to Yukhnov camp... were exempted from *the death lists* for various reasons... (183)
 By 3 May, the UPV together with the 1st Special Department NKVD and with the personal help of Merkulov, had processed the cases of 14,908 prisoners and sent out dispatch lists - *death sentences* - for 13,682. (187)
 ... it is likely that they simply signed or stamped the "Kobulov Forms" (doc. 51) with the *death warrant* already filled in. (187)
 This report gives the number of lists of names received in the camp and the number of prisoners sent out from Kozelsk camp *to their deaths* for each date between 3 April and 11 May... (190)
 A report to Soprunenko shows the number of people *destined for execution* according to the lists received... (193)
 One of the last *executions* of POWs from the Ostashkov camp took place on 22 May 1940. (200)
 Ostashkov prisoners were still *being executed* that day... (200)

It is important to note that not a single one of the documents themselves refers in any way to executions. In fact Document 53 cited by Cienciala explicitly states that the prisoners were being sent to labor camps.

- 6) USSR Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, Divisional Commander Com. Chernyshov, shall within ten days' time remove from their NKVD places of imprisonment in the Ukrainian SSR *and send to USSR NKVD correctional labor camps* 8,000 convicted prisoners, including 3,000 from the Kiev, Kharkov, and Kherson prisons. (Doc. 53, page 155; emphasis added)

All of the documents referred to or reproduced in Part II of the Cienciala volume concern the transportation of prisoners from one camp to somewhere else. Not a single one of them refers to "executions," "shooting," "killing," etc. All this language is added by

Cienciala. In this she has followed the practice of the Polish and Russian scholars who promote the “official” version.

It is true, of course, that the absence of a reference to the killings does not in itself prove anything about the fates of the people who were transported. What is important in terms of the Katyn controversy, however, is the *dates* of the transports and their destinations.

Cienciala *assumes* that, except for a few shipments that she specifically mentions, all the prisoners who were moved in April and May 1940 out of the three camps in which the Polish prisoners were being kept were in fact being shipped to their executions. Those executions are *assumed* to have taken place in April and May 1940. The “official” version of the Katyn Massacre simply *assumes* that all these documents about clearing the Polish prisoners out of the camps in April 1940 in reality meant sending them away for execution. It is this assumption that has been challenged by a recent discovery.

Józef Kuligowski

In May 2011 Polish news media reported that a numbered metal badge had been unearthed which had been identified by the Ukrainian archaeological team as that of a Polish policeman, Józef Kuligowski, heretofore assumed to have been executed by the Soviet NKVD at Kalinin (now Tver’), Russia, and buried with other such victims at Mednoe, outside of the town.⁸

Czy osoby z Listy Katyńskiej mordowano również na Grodzisku we Włodzimierzu Wołyńskim?! Odnaleziona przez ukraińskich archeologów odznaka Policji Państwowej o numerze 1441 / II na to wskazuje. Jak nas poinformował pan Piotr Zawilski, dyrektor Archiwum Państwowego w Łodzi odznaka o tym numerze należała do posterunkowego Józefa Kuligowskiego z IV komisariatu w Łodzi. Informacja o przydziale i numerze służbowym pochodzi z maja 1939 roku. Nazwisko posterunkowego figuruje na jednej z list dyspozycyjnych dla obozu w Ostaszku. Dotychczas uważano, że został zamordowany w Kalininie i spoczywa w Miednoje. Jak wytłumaczyć fakt, że odznaka Józefa Kuligowskiego znaleziona we Włodzimierzu Wołyńskim? Czy zginął w Kalininie, czy we Włodzimierzu?⁹

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8. A photograph of Kuligowski’s badge may be viewed at <http://katyn.ru/images/news/2012-12-29-zheton-1441.jpg> and a somewhat lighter, more legible copy at http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furr/research/kuligowski_badge_1441.jpg
 9. “Osoby z Listy Katyńskiej mordowano we Włodzimierzu Wołyńskim?!” (Persons from the Katyn List murdered at Włodzimierz Wołyński?!), ITVL May 25, 2011. At <http://www.itvl.pl/news/osoby-z-listy-katynskiej-mordowano-we-wlodzimierzu-wolyńskim->

My translation:¹⁰

Were persons from the Katyn List also murdered at Grodzisk in Włodzimierz Wołyński?! This is indicated by the National Police badge number 1441 / II found by Ukrainian archaeologists. As Mr Piotr Zawilski, director of the National Archive in Łódź has informed us, the badge with this number belonged to constable Józef Kuligowski of the IV commissariat in Łódź. Information concerning the issuance and service number is from May 1939. The surname of the constable figures on one of the dispositional lists for the camp at Ostashkov. Up to now it was believed that he had been murdered in Kalinin and lies in Mednoe. How to explain the fact that Józef Kuligowski's badge has been found at Włodzimierz Wołyński? Was he killed at Kalinin or at Włodzimierz?

This account continues by identifying Kuligowski as one of the men previously believed killed as a part of the Katyn Massacres. The discovery occasioned considerable discussion in the Polish press about the relationship between the Katyn Massacre and this site near the Ukrainian town of Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy (Polish: Włodzimierz Wołyński; Russian: Vladimir-Volynskii).¹¹ At this time no one doubted that this was a site of Soviet NKVD killings.¹² The Ukrainian media also reported the excavations under the assumption that the Soviet NKVD was responsible for the killings, as in the following account in the Ukraine-wide online newspaper Tyzhden.ua of October 4 2011.¹³

10. All translations in this article are mine.

11. The surrounding region of Volhynia was part of Austria-Hungary until the end of World War I; then part of Poland; then part of the Soviet Ukraine; then occupied by the Germans; then again part of Soviet Ukraine, and is now part of Ukraine. Until 1939 the language of the urban elite was mainly Polish, that of the peasantry mainly Ukrainian or Yiddish.

12. See "Tropem zbrodni NKWD pod Włodzimierzem Wołyńskim" (Trail of NKVD crime near Włodzimierz Wołyński) at <http://wolyn.btx.pl/index.php/component/content/article/1-historia/168-tropem-zbrodni-nkwd-pod-wodzimierzem-woyskim.html>; Włodzimierz Wołyński - groby polskich ofiar NKWD" (graves of Polish victims of the NKVD) at <http://www.nawolyniu.pl/artykuly/ofiarynkwd.htm>; "Czyje mogiły odnaleziono we Włodzimierz Wołyńskim?" (Whose graves found at Włodzimierz Wołyński?) <http://wpolityce.pl/depesze/10407-czyje-mogily-odnaleziono-we-wlodzimierz-wozynskim> This last article speaks of "ofiar pomordowanych przez NKWD w latach 1940-1941 w sowieckiej katowni na zamku we Włodzimierz Wołyńskim" (victims murdered by the NKVD in 1940-1941 in the Soviet execution chamber in the castle at Włodzimierz Wołyński). Many more similar articles could be cited.

13. "Волинська Катинь. У Володимирі-Волинському знайдено масове поховання жертв НКВС 1939-1941 років." Tyzhden.ua October 4, 2011. Available at <http://tyzhden.ua/Society/31329>

І хоча офіційної версії щодо того, хто ці люди й чому були розстріляні, ще немає, науковці схиляються до думки, що замордовані – жертви НКВС 1941 року. Польські піддані, військові й цивільні, заможний клас. Про це свідчать знайдені на місці страти артефакти.

Ось два жетони офіцерів польської поліції, і оскільки на них є номери, то ми вже знаємо, кому вони належали: Йозефу Кулігівському та Людвігу Маловеїському. Обидва з Лодзя. За документами НКВС, одного з них розстріляно в Калініні (Твер), другого – в Осташкові біля Харкова.

And although there is as yet no official version of who these people were and why they were shot, scientists are inclined to think that the murdered people were victims of the NKVD in 1941. Polish citizens, military and civilians, the wealthy class. This is what the artifacts found at the execution site suggest.

Here are two badges of officers of the Polish police, and since there are numbers on them we already know to whom they belonged: to Josef Kuligovs'kiy and Liudvig Maloveis'kiy. Both were from Lodz. According to NKVD documents one of them was shot at Kalinin (Tver'), the other at Ostashkov near Kharkiv.

The official being interviewed, Oleksei Zlatohorskyy, director of the government enterprise “Volhynian antiquities,” goes on to theorize that the Soviets shot all these people, whole families included, when they could not evacuate them in time as the German armies advanced in 1941. He said that many of the artifacts found in the pit are Polish:

Більшість речей мають чітке польське або інше західноєвропейське ідентифікування: фотографія маршала Едварда Ридз-Смігли, жіночі гребінці, пляшечка з-під ліків із написом «Warszawa» на денці, консервна бляшанка з польським текстом, флакон від парфумів, срібні виделки, ложки... А ще відзначаємо дуже якісну стоматологію, яку могли собі дозволити тільки багаті люди. Гадаю, що то була еліта польської держави.

Most of the objects have purely Polish or other Western European identifying marks: a photograph of Marshal Edvard Rydz-Smigly, women's combs, a medicine bottle with the inscription “Warszawa” on the bottom, a tin can with a Polish inscription, a perfume bottle, silver forks and spoons . . . And we note very expensive dental work, that only a few rich people could afford. I think this was the elite of the Polish state.

The Tyzhden.ua story quotes Andrzej (Jędrzej) Kola, professor of archaeology at Nicolai Copernicus University in Torun (Poland). He expresses uncertainty as to who the killers were.

Для мене тут більше питань, ніж відповідей. Хто вбивці? Якщо це зробили гітлерівці, то чому так непорядковано? Чому все це видається хаотичним, недбалим? Чому воно не збігається з культурою смерті, яку сповідували

німці? Чому не було знято золоті коронки й мости, не відібрані коштовності? По-німецьки це мало б зовсім інший вигляд: Ordnung, порядок. Розстрільний взвод, розстріл обличчя в обличчя. . . Тож усе свідчить про те, що вбивства чинили, найімовірніше, співробітники НКВС. Але остаточну крапку поставимо тільки тоді, коли буде досліджено весь периметр городища.

For me there are more questions here than answers. Who were the killers? If the Hitlerites did this, then why is the site so disorderly? Why does all this look chaotic, careless? Why does it not conform to the culture of death that the Germans professed? Why were the gold crowns and bridges not extracted, the valuables not taken? According to the German manner this would have a completely different appearance: Ordnung, order. A firing squad, shooting face to face. . . So everything suggests that the murders were most likely done by NKVD officials. But we will be able to draw a final conclusion only when the whole perimeter of the settlement has been investigated.¹⁴

In November 2012 the Polish members of a joint Polish-Ukrainian archaeological group issued a written report on the excavation of this mass murder site. In mass grave No. 1, 367 sets of human remains were exhumed and examined during 2011, and 232 bodies in 2012. The locations of many more mass graves were also determined. Concerning the finding of Kuligowski's badge this report reads as follows:

Była to odznaka Polskiej Policji Państwowej z numerem 1441, która należała do: Post. PP Józef KULIGOWSKI s. Szczepana i Józefy z Sadurskich, ur. 12 III 1898 w m. Strych. WWP od 20 VI 1919. 10 pap. Uczestnik wojny 1920, szczególnie odznaczył się w bitwie pod Mariampolem 24 V 1920. W policji od 1921. Początkowo służbę pełnił w woj. tarnopolskim. Następnie od 1924 przez wiele lat w Łodzi – w 1939 w V Komis. W sierpniu 1939 zmobilizowany do 10 pal. Odzn. VM V kl. nr679.L. 026/1 (15), 35[.];6.; za: red. Z. Gajowniczek, B. Groniek, „Księga cmentarna Miednoje,” t. 1, Warszawa 2005, s. 465. Odznaka została przekazana do miejscowego muzeum.¹⁵

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14. In reality there was plenty of “order” in the burials. We shall see below that both the Polish and Ukrainian reports attest to this fact. There is also a great deal of evidence, including photographs, that German troops executed people from behind rather than in “firing-squad” formation.
 15. Sprawozdanie z Nadzoru Nad Badaniami Archeologiczno-Ekshumacyjnymi na Terenie Rezerwatu Historyczno-Kulturowego Miasta Włodzimierza Wołyńskiego (Ukraina). Opracowanie zespołowe pod kierunkiem dr Dominiki Siemińskiej. Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa. (Report of the Supervision on the Archaeological-Exhumation Investigation in the Area of the Reservation of the Historical-Cultural Town of Wolodymyr-Volyns'kiy (Ukraine). A Team Description under the Direction of Dr. Dominika Siemińska. Council for the Commemoration of Struggle and Martyrdom). Toruń, 2012, Note, pp. 1–2. At <http://www.kresykedzierzynkozle.home.pl/attachments/File/Rap.pdf>

It was a Polish National Police badge number 1441, which belonged to: Constable of the National Police Józef Kuligowski son of Stephen and of Josepha née Sadurska, b. 12 March 1898 in the village of Strych. In the Polish army on 20 June 1919. 10 pap. Participant in the 1920 war, particularly distinguished himself at the Battle of Mariampol 24 May 1920. In the police from 1921. Initially served in the Tarnopol region. Then from 1924 for many years in Lodz – in 1939 in the V Komis. In August 1939 mobilized to 10 pal. as Nr679.L class V VM. [NKVD transfer list] 026 / 1 ([position]15), 35 [.] 6, according to: ed Z. Gajowniczek, B. Gronek,, “Mednoye Cemetery Book,” Vol. I, Warsaw 2005, p. 465. Badge has been transferred to the local museum.

Here is the entry for Kuligowski from Volume One of the “Mednoe Cemetery Book”.¹⁶

Post. PP **Józef KULIGOWSKI** s. Szczepana i Józefa z Sadurskich, ur. 12 III 1898 w m. Strzch. W WP od 20 VI 1919, 10 pap. Uczestnik wojny 1920, szczególnie odznaczył się w bitwie pod Mariampolem 24 V 1920. W policji od 1921. Początkowo służbę pełnił w woj. tarnopolskim. Następnie od 1924 przez wiele lat w Łodzi - w 1939 w V Komis. W sierpniu 1939 zmobilizowany do 10 pal. Odzn. VM V kl. Nr 679.

Kuligowski was taken prisoner by the Red Army sometime after September 17, 1939, when Soviet troops entered Eastern Poland to prevent the German Army from establishing itself hundreds of miles further east at the USSR’s pre-1939 border. He was held in the Ostashkov prisoner-of-war camp in Kalinin oblast’ (province), now renamed Tver’ oblast’. In April 1940 along with other prisoners he was transferred from Ostashkov to the town of Kalinin (now Tver’). After that there is no further information about him.

Kuligowski is counted as one of the victims of the “Katyn Massacre.” What purports to be a record of his transfer, with the word “Mord” (Murder) added, is on one of the official Polish websites about Katyn.¹⁷

16. Miednoje. Księga Cmentarna Polskiego Cmentarza Wojennego. Warsaw: Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa 2005. Tom 1, 465.

17. <http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/szczegoly.jsp?id=11036> According to the Home Page “Indeks Represjonowanych” (<http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/index.html>) this online record is a digital version of the contents of the official volume: Maria Skrzyńska-Pławińska, ed. *Rozstrzelani w Twerze : alfabetyczny spis 6314 jeńców polskich z Ostaszkowa rozstrzelanych w kwietniu-maju 1940 i pogrzebanych w Miednoje, według źródeł sowieckich i polskich*. Warsaw: Ośrodek KARTA, 1997.

Nazwisko: **Kuligowski**Imię: **Józef**Imię ojca: **Szczepana**Data urodzenia: **1898**

LP	Opis losów	Początek			Koniec			Kraj	Woj/Oblast	Pow.	Miej.
		r	m	d	r	m	d				
1	Mord				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Twier
2	Obóz				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Ostaszaków

LP	opis źródła	sygnatura
1.	Ankiety personalne wypełniane przez samych represjonowanych bądź ich rodziny, zbiory Ośrodka KARTA, sygnatura IR/ numer ankiety.	IR -/11707
2.	Listy wywozowe NKWD (kwiecień-maj 1940) z Ostaszkowa, kopia w zbiorach Ośrodka KARTA - strona, pozycja.	OST/-148-152/15

As stated in the Polish media account of May 25 2011, Kuligowski's name is on the transfer lists of Ostashkov prisoners reproduced in the official account by Jędrzej Tucholski published in 1991.¹⁸ Kuligowski is also listed in other recent Polish lists of Katyn victims.¹⁹ Naturally the original Russian record of prisoner transfer reprinted in Tucholski's *Mord w Katyniu* does not contain the word "Mord" (=murder).

The Polish archaeologist in charge of the excavations and author of the report, Dr. Dominika Siemińska, has determined that the victims buried in the mass grave in which this badge was found were killed no earlier than 1941:²⁰

Z pewnością stwierdzono, że zbrodnia została dokonana nie wcześniej niż w 1941 roku. (p. 4)

It can be confirmed with certainty that the crime did not take place earlier than 1941.

They were able to determine the time period by dating the shell casings found in the graves. All but a very few were of German manufacture. Almost all of them are datable to 1941.

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18. Jędrzej Tucholski. *Mord w Katyniu: Kozielsk, Ostaszaków, Starobielsk. Lista ofiar*. Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1991, p. 810. No. 15: NKVD list No. 026/1 of 13 April 1940, position 15. In spite of the presence of Kuligowski's name on this NKVD list, for some reason the alphabetical section of Tucholski (p. 314 col. 2) lists Kuligowski on its "victims list" (lista ofiar) as "probably Ostashkov" (Prawdop. Ostaszaków).
19. See "INDEKS NAZWISK – Katyń -- zamordowani przez NKWD w 1940 r." <http://www.ornatowski.com/index/katyn.htm>
20. See note 14.

Some of the bodies were arranged in the “sardine-packing” (*Sardinenpackung*) formation²¹ favored by Obergruppenführer²² Friedrich Jeckeln, commander of one of the *Einsatzgruppen*, extermination teams whose task it was to carry out mass executions. A photograph of the bodies in grave no. 1 shows this arrangement of bodies.²³

Also, a large percentage of the bodies in the mass graves are of children. The Soviets did not execute children. So the evidence is strong that this is a site of German, not Soviet, mass executions. This conclusion is confirmed by the recent research of other Ukrainian scholars concerning this very burial site. Relying on evidence from German war crimes trials, eyewitness testimony of Jewish survivors, and research by Polish historians on the large-scale massacres of Poles by Ukrainian Nationalists, Professor Ivan Katchanovski and Volodymyr Musychenko have established that the victims buried at this site were mainly Jews but also Poles and “Soviet activists.” Katchanovski concludes that Ukrainian authorities have tried to push the blame onto the Soviet NKVD in order to conceal the guilt of the Ukrainian Nationalist forces who are celebrated as “heroes” in today’s Ukraine, including in Volodymyr-Volyn’s’kiy itself.²⁴

However, regardless of which party is guilty of the mass executions, the fact remains that Kuligowski was indeed transported from Ostashkov POW camp to Kalinin in April 1940 but was not shot until 1941 at the earliest. And this means that the transportation lists, which are assumed to be lists of victims being shipped off to be shot, were not that at all. Kuligowski was transported in April 1940 by the Soviets not in order to be shot but for some other reason. He remained alive, probably to be captured and executed by the

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21. A description of this method of execution may be found on the English-language Wikipedia page on Jeckeln at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Jeckeln#World_War_II_mass_murderer
 22. Equivalent to full or four-star General, the highest SS rank aside from that of Heinrich Himmler, whose rank was Reichsführer-SS.
 23. Photograph at <http://katyn.ru/images/news/2012-12-29-gruppa4.jpg> (as of May 6 2013). It is taken from page 8 of the Polish archeological report cited above.
 24. Volodymyr Musychenko. “Закатованими Жертвами Були Євреї?” Slovo Pravdy (Volodymyr-Volyn’s’kiy) March 29, 2011. At http://spr.net.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=919:2011-09-29-07-41-57&catid=1:newsukraine; Ivan Katchanovski, “Katyn in Reverse in Ukraine: Nazi-led Massacres turned into Soviet Massacres.” OpEd News, December 13, 2012, at <http://www.opednews.com/articles/Katyn-in-Reverse-in-Ukraine-by-Ivan-Katchanovski-121212-435.html>; I. Katchanovski, “Сучасна політика пам’яті на Волині щодо ОУН(б) та нацистських масових вбивств,” *Ukraina Moderna* No. 19 (April 30 2013). At <http://www.uamoderna.com/md/199>

Germans, most likely in the second half of 1941 but possibly somewhat later. Moreover, Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy is 700 miles from Kalinin (Tver').

This is the major deduction from this discovery that is relevant to our understanding of the Katyn Massacre case: *The fact that a Polish POW's name is on one of the Soviet transportation lists can no longer be assumed to be evidence that he was on his way to execution, and therefore that he was executed by the Soviets.*

Ludwik Małowiejski

There is evidence that more Polish POWs are buried in these same mass graves, and therefore were executed at the same time, by the Germans in 1941 or 1942. The epaulette of a Polish policeman's uniform and Polish military buttons were found in grave No. 2.²⁵

In September 2011 Polish media reported that police badge number 1099/II belonging to Senior Police Constable (*starszy posterunkowy*) Ludwik Małowiejski had been found in the Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy mass graves.²⁶ It had been assumed that, like Kuligowski, Małowiejski was a "Katyn Massacre" victim whose body was buried in a mass grave at Mednoe near Kalinin, where – it has been assumed – other "Katyn" victims shot by the NKVD in 1940 are buried. Małowiejski's name is also on the recent Polish lists of Katyn victims.²⁷ Like Kuligowski he is memorialized in the "Mednoe Cemetery Book" – in this case, Volume 2, page 541:

St. post. PP **LUDWIK MAŁOWIEJSKI** s. Jakuba i Marianna y Jagiełłów, ur. 22 VIII 1890 w Żychlinie. Żołnierz I Korpusu Polskiego, plut. W policji od 1919. Od 14 I 1930 przeniesiony do Rez. Konnej m. Łodzi i tam nadal pełnił służbę we wrześniu 1939. Do Ostaszkowa przeniesiony ze szpitala w Szepietówce. Odzn. MN, MPzaW, MDzON.

His transfer record with the word "Mord" (Murder) added, like Kuligowski's, is also on the same official Polish Katyn website:

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25. Photos available at http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furrgr/research/polskie_guziki_pagon_VV2012.jpg, from the Polish archaeological report.
 26. "Kolejny policjant z Listy Katyńskiej odnaleziony we Włodzimierzu Wołyńskim." [Another policeman on the Katyn List is found in Volodymyr-Volynsky]. At <http://www.itvl.pl/news/kolejny-policjant-z-listy-katynskiej-odnaleziony-we-wlodzimierzu-wozynskim>
 27. "INDEKS NAZWISK - Katyń - zamordowani przez NKWD w 1940 r." At <http://www.ornatowski.com/index/katyn.htm>

Nazwisko: **Małowiejski**²⁸Imię: **Ludwik**Imię ojca: **Jakuba**Data urodzenia: **1890**

LP	Opis losów	Początek			Koniec			Kraj	Woj/Oblast	Pow.	Miej.
		r	m	d	r	m	d				
1	Obóz				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Ostaszków
2	Mord				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Twer

LP	opis źródła	sygnatura
1.	Ankiety personalne wypełniane przez samych represjonowanych bądź ich rodziny, zbiory Ośrodka KARTA, sygnatura IR/ numer ankiety.	IR -/11591
2.	Listy wywozowe NKWD (kwiecień-maj 1940) z Ostaszkowa, kopia w zbiorach Ośrodka KARTA - strona, pozycja.	OST/ -/290-297/76

Like Kuligowski's, Małowiejski's name is also on the Russian lists of prisoners shipped out of the Ostashkov camp.²⁹

In 2011 it was still assumed that the mass graves at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy were those of victims of the Soviet NKVD. Therefore this apparent discrepancy about the place of burial of one victim received little attention. Since then the Polish archaeological team has definitively dated the site as 1941 at the earliest and argues that it is a German mass murder site, meaning late 1941 or 1942. This in turn means that Kuligowski, Małowiejski, and probably other Polish POWs – perhaps many others – were killed by the Germans in 1941, not by the Soviets in 1940.

The article by Sergei Strygin cited in note 1 above contains photographs of the memorial tablets of both Kuligowski and Małowiejski at the special memorial cemetery at Mednoe. These, and the thousands of other memorial tablets at this site, reflect the *assumption* that the “transit lists” were really “execution lists” – an assumption that the discovery at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy proves to be false. It is clear today that neither man's body is buried at Mednoe. The question now is: Are *any* of the Polish POWs whose memorial tablets are there alongside those of Kuligowski and Małowiejski really buried there? At present there is no reason to think so.

28. At <http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/szczegoly.jsp?id=11445>

29. Tucholski, p. 887, No. 76. Małowiejski was in a transport of 100 Polish prisoners sent to the Kalinin NKVD on April 27, 1940. Of course his name is also on Tucholski's alphabetical list (p. 322, col. 2) as is Kuligowski's, and on other official lists of Katyn victims.

Where does this leave us?

So where does this leave us? By “us” I mean those researchers who are fascinated by the uncertainty and the political contentiousness, the challenge of all the contradictory evidence and the mysteriousness, of what I have come to call “the Katyn Forest Whodunnit.” What does this mean for people who want to know the truth no matter what it may be, “no matter whose ox is gored”?

Briefly, here’s the status of this question at present, as I understand it:

- There is no evidence that the 14,000+ Polish POWs who were transferred out of Soviet POW camps in April and May 1940 were in reality being sent to be shot. This assumption has been one of the main supports of the “official” version of the Katyn Massacre. It must now be rejected. Since Kuligowski and Małowiejski were on those transportation lists and survived to be killed in 1941 by the Nazis, then others could have as well. There is no basis to think that only a few of the Polish prisoners were *not* shot by the Soviets in April–May 1940 and that, just by chance, two of this group have been identified. Rather it is likely that most of the Polish POWs were not killed by the Soviets but remained in Soviet captivity to be captured and shot by the Nazis sometime after the middle of 1941.
- The “smoking gun” documents from “Closed Packet No. 1” are linked to the assumption that all the POWs shipped out of the camps were being sent to execution. The fact that they were not shipped to execution in April–May 1940 is an additional reason to suspect that these documents may indeed be forgeries, as some have long argued.
- The confession-interviews of the three NKVD witnesses, Soprunenko, Tokarev, and Syromiatnikov, strongly suggest that the NKVD did execute some Poles. Their testimony is inconsistent – as is to be expected from 50 year-old remembrances of men in their 80s. What is more, they testified under threat of criminal prosecution and so may have elaborated their confessions in order to please their interrogators. But even researchers who contend that the Germans shot the Poles whose bodies were disinterred by the Germans at Katyn in April–June 1943 do not claim that the Soviets shot no Poles at all.
- In 2004 the Russian Prosecutor’s office announced that it had closed the criminal investigation on the grounds that there was no evidence that a crime had been committed. This announcement is contained in

the following statement on the Prosecutor's web page dated April 7, 2011:

21 сентября 2004 г. уголовное дело по обвинению должностных лиц НКВД СССР в совершении преступления, предусмотренного п. «б» ст. 193-17 УК РСФСР (1926 г.), т.е. превышения власти, выразившегося в принятии незаконных решений о применении в отношении 14 542 польских граждан расстрела, прекращено на основании п. 4 ч. 1 ст. 24 УПК РФ – за отсутствием события преступления. (http://genproc.gov.ru/ms/ms_news/news-71620.)

On September 21, 2004 the criminal case against officials of the NKVD in the commission of an offense under subsection "b" of Art. 193-17 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1926), ie abuse of power, manifesting itself as the taking of an illegal decision on the application of shooting to 14,542 Polish citizens, was closed on the basis of paragraph 1 of paragraph 4, part 1, Article 24 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Russian Federation – for lack of a crime.

This appears to say that the investigation found that no crime had been committed. This is different from Cienciala's interpretation, which is "that no one would be charged with the crime." (259) The Prosecutor's text plainly states that there was no crime in the first place. Nevertheless Russian officials, including President Putin and Prime Minister Medvedev, have continued to state that the Soviets are guilty of killing all the Poles.

The Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy discovery proves that the "transit lists" are not "execution lists." Instead, they are merely what they seem to be – lists of Polish POWs being transferred somewhere else for some purpose. Some of the Polish POWs transferred may have been tried and shot by the Soviets. But others such as Józef Kuligowski and Ludwik Małowiejski were not transferred to execution. They were transferred for some other purpose – most likely to a correctional labor camp as stated in Document 53, p. 155 in Cienciala et al. (quoted above).

The Burdenko Commission

The fact is: A Polish POW's name on a "transit list" does not mean that he was executed by the Soviets in April–May 1940 or indeed at any time. This forces us to take a closer look at the Soviet Burdenko Commission Report of January 1944. The Burdenko Commission report contains the following information about materials it allegedly found on a body unearthed from grave No. 8 at Katyn:

4. На трупе № 46: Квитанция (№ неразборчив), выданная 16 дек. 1939 г. Старобельским лагерем о приеме от Арашкевича Владимира Рудольфо-

вича золотых часов. На обороте квитанции имеется отметка от 25 марта 1941 г. о том, что часы проданы Ювелирторгу.

...

6. На трупе № 46: Квитанция от 6 апреля 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от Арашкевича денег в сумме 225 рублей.

7. На том же трупе № 46: Квитанция от 5 мая 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от Арашкевича денег в сумме 102 рубля.

4. On body No. 46: A receipt (number illegible) issued 16 Dec. 1939, by the Starobelsk camp testifying receipt of a gold watch from Vladimir Rudolfovich Araszkewicz. On the back of the receipt is a note dated 25 March 1941, stating that the watch was sold to the Jewelry trading trust.

6. On body No. 46: A receipt dated 6 April 1941, issued by camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 225 rubles from Araszkewicz.

7. On the same body. No. 46: A receipt dated 5 May 1941, issued by Camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 102 rubles from Araszkewicz.³⁰

Włodzimierz Araszkewicz is on the Polish lists of victims of Katyn, and also on the earlier list of Adam Mosziński, *Lista Katyńska* (GRYF, London 1989).³¹ His father's name, Rudolf, is on his transfer record:

Nazwisko: **Araszkewicz**³²

Imię: **Włodzimierz**

Imię ojca: **Rudolfa**

Data urodzenia: **1896**

LP	Opis losów	Początek			Koniec			Kraj	Woj/Oblast	Pow.	Miej.
		r	m	d	r	m	d				
1	Mord				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Twier
2	Obóz				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Ostaszków

LP	opis źródła	sygnatura
1.	<i>Listy wywozowe NKWD (kwiecień-maj 1940) z Ostaszkowa, kopia w zbiorach Ośrodka KARTA - strona, pozycja.</i>	OST/-/338-340/7

As often with these Polish lists there are contradictions. Mosziński, *Lista Katyńska*, has Araszkewicz in the Starobelsk camp, the "Indeks"

30. "Report of Special Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating the Circumstances of the Shooting of Polish Officer Prisoners by the German-Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest." (Burdenko Report). In *The Katyn Forest Massacre. Hearings Before the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre*. Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session. -Part 3 (Chicago). March 13 and 14, 1952. US Government Printing Office, 1952 (http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furg/research/burdenko_comm.pdf), p. 246.
31. "Część Pierwsza. Obóz w Kozielsku. Groby w Lesie Katyńskim," p. 3 (pages unnumbered).
32. At <http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/szczegoly.jsp?id=8437>

record (above) puts him at the Ostashkov camp, while Tucholski has him at both Kozel'sk and Ostashkov!³³ Here is Araszkievicz's memorial from Volume 1 of the "Mednoe Cemetery Book," page 11:

Por. "cz. rez. **Włodzimierz Marian ARASZKIEWICZ** s. Rudolfa i Ireny, ur. 13 IX 1896 w Zamo odyczach. Uczestnik wojny 1920. Adwokat Izby Warszawskiej, w 1939 zamieszka w Łodzi. Ppor. ze starszeństwem 1 VII 1925, por. 19 III 1939. Odzn. KN, KW.

According to the Burdenko Commission report Camp No. 1-ON, origin of the receipt found on body No. 46 and bearing Araszkievicz's name, was one of three labor camps named No. 1-ON, 2-ON, and 3-ON, where "ON" stands for "osobogo naznacheniiia" (special purpose or assignment). These camps were near Smolensk. The "special purpose" was road construction.

The Special Commission established that, before the capture of Smolensk by the Germans, Polish war prisoners, officers and men, worked in the western district of the region, building and repairing roads. These war prisoners were quartered in three special camps named: Camp No. 1 O.N., Camp No. 2 O.N., and Camp No. 3 O.N. These camps were located 25 to 45 kilometers west of Smolensk.

The testimony of witnesses and documentary evidence establish that after the outbreak of hostilities, in view of the situation that arose, the camps could not be evacuated in time and all the Polish war prisoners, as well as some members of the guard and staffs of the camps, fell prisoner to the Germans. (Burdenko Comm. 229)

According to the "official" version this story must be false, part of a putative Soviet coverup. The Nazis had begun their Katyn propaganda campaign on April 15, 1943.³⁴ By January 1944 the Katyn issue had been public for nine months, plenty of time for the Soviets to manufacture a false version.

However, in their very first response of April 16, 1943 the Soviets had already claimed that Polish officers were involved in construction in the Smolensk area.

Немецко-фашистские сообщения по этому поводу не оставляют никакого сомнения в трагической судьбе бывших польских военнопленных, на-

33. Araszkievicz at Kozel'sk: Tucholski p. 68 col. 2 (the alphabetical list). In the Russian-language "transit lists" that take up almost 400 pages of Tucholski's book, Araszkievicz's transfer from Ostashkov to Kalinin is recorded on list No. 062/2 of May 19, 1940, the last shipment of prisoners out of Ostashkov: p. 907, No. 7.

34. The *New York Times* published a very brief notice of the German claim on April 16, 1943; see "Nazis Accuse Russians," p. 4.

ходившихся в 1941 году в районах западнее Смоленска на строительных работах и попавших вместе со многими советскими людьми, жителями Смоленской области, в руки немецко-фашистских палачей летом 1941 года после отхода советских войск из района Смоленска.³⁵

The German-fascist communiqué on this matter leaves no doubt about the tragic fate of the former Polish POWs who in 1941 were engaged in construction works in the area to the west of Smolensk and who, together with many Soviet citizens, residents of Smolensk oblast', fell into the hands of the German-fascist killers during the summer of 1941 after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the Smolensk region.

This is essentially the same claim the Burdenko Commission made nine months later. But on April 16, 1943 no one knew exactly what the Germans would do or exactly what they would say. No one knew that Katyn would become a huge German propaganda campaign. The consistency between the Sovinformburo statement of April 16, 1943 and the Burdenko Commission report nine months later is therefore worthy of note, just as an inconsistency would have been. It might well be true.

The Burdenko Commission report also mentions finding similar documents on another body unearthed at Katyn: that of Edward Lewandowski.

3. На трупе № 101: Квитанция № 10293 от 19 дек. – 1939 г., выданная Козельским лагерем о приеме от Левандовского Эдуарда Адамовича золотых часов. На обороте квитанции имеется запись от 14 марта 1941 г. о продаже этих часов Ювелирторгу...

8. На трупе № 101: Квитанция от 18 мая 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от Левандовского Э. денег в сумме 175 рублей.

3. On body No. 101: A receipt No. 10293 dated 19 Dec. 1939, issued by the Kozelsk camp testifying receipt of a gold watch from Eduard Adamovich Lewandowski. On the back of the receipt is a note dated 14 March 1941, on the sale of this watch to the Jewelry trading trust. . .

8. On body No. 101: A receipt dated 18 May 1941, issued by Camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 175 rubles from Lewandowski.

Edward Lewandowski, son of Adam, is also on *Mosziński, Lista Katyńska*³⁶ and in *Tucholski* (p. 317 col. 2; p. 891 No. 35). This time there are no contradictions – all these sources have him at Ostashkov, nowhere near the Smolensk area and Katyn. He is also stated to have been “murdered” at Kalinin, the destination of most of the transports from Ostashkov. Here is his memorial in the “Mednoe Cemetery Book” Volume One, p. 498:

35. “Совинформбюро. Гнусные измышления немецко-фашистских палачей” (Sovinformburo: Vile Fabrications of the German-Fascist Executioners), April 16, 1943. At <http://tinyurl.com/sovinformburo041643>

36. “Część Druga. Obóz w Ostaszowie,” p. 13 (pages unnumbered).

Kpt. Piech. **Edward LEWANDOWSKI** s. Adama i Walerii z Malinowskich, ur. 21 II 1893 w Warszawie. Ukończył 6 klas gimnazjum. Uczestnik strajku szkolnego 1905. Członek Drużyny Skautingowej im. Romualda Traugutta. W I wojnie w armii rosyjskiej. W 1917 członek Związku Wojskowych Polaków, zorganizował dwie polskie komp. W 3 Dywizji Strzelców Polskich – wstąpił do I Korpusu Polskiego. Po jego demobilizacji od 7 XI 1918 w WP w sztabie Dywizji Litewsko-Białoruskiej. W marcu 1919 brał udział w obronie Lwowa, od czerwca tegoż roku w sztabie VI Armii. Walczył na frontach wołyńskim, podolskim i południowym. Po wojnie w sztabie 20, potem 18 DP. W 1. 1928-1931 d-ca komp. baonu manewrowego i Dywizyjnego Kursu Podchorążych. Od 1933 pełnił służbę w KOP na stanowisku kier. ref. statystyki i studiów i tam nadal we wrześniu 1939. Odzn. VM V kl. nr 6823, KW, MN, MPzaW, MDzON.

Meanwhile the Burdenko Commission claimed to have found his body at Katyn, along with documents dated December 1939 from Kozel'sk and May 1941 from the same Camp 1-ON, near Smolensk, as Araszkiwicz's.

Nazwisko: **Lewandowski**³⁷

Imię: **Edward**

Imię ojca: **Adama**

Data urodzenia: **1893**

LP	Opis losów	Początek			Koniec			Kraj	Woj/Oblast	Pow.	Miej.
		r	m	d	r	m	d				
1	Obóz				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Ostaszków
2	Mord				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Twer

LP	opis źródła	sygnatura
1.	Listy wywozowe NKWD (kwiecień-maj 1940) z Ostaszkowa, kopia w zbiorach Ośrodka KARTA - strona, pozycja.	OST/ -/304-308/35

The Burdenko Commission report also mentions the following find:

9. На трупе № 53: Неотправленная почтовая открытка на польском языке в адрес: Варшава, Багателя 15 кв. 47 Ирине Кучинской. Датирована 20 июня 1941 г. Отправитель Станислав Кучинский.

9. On body No. 53: An unmailed postcard in the Polish language addressed Warsaw, Bagatelia 15, apartment 47, to Irene Kuczinska, and dated 20 June 1941. The sender is Stanislaw Kuczinski. (Burdenko Comm. pp. 246–247).

A Stanisław Kucziński is named in the Katyn victims list. The name is a common one. The record below is that of the only person by that name who is said in those lists to have been killed in the Katyn Massacres:

37. At <http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/szczegoly.jsp?id=11191>

Nazwisko: **Kuczyński**³⁸Imię: **Stanisław**Imię ojca: **Antoniego**Data urodzenia: **1908**

LP	Opis losów	Początek			Koniec			Kraj	Woj./Oblast	Pow.	Miej.
		r	m	d	r	m	d				
1	Mord				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Twier
2	Obóz				1940	04		Rosyjska FSRR	Kalinińska (Twerska)		Ostaszaków

LP	opis źródła	sygnatura
1.	<i>Listy wywozowe NKWD (kwiecień-maj 1940) z Ostaszkowa, kopia w zbiorach Ośrodka KARTA - strona, pozycja.</i>	OST/-/221-225/87

This Stanisław Kuczyński, son of Antoni, is also memorialized in the “Mednoe Cemetery Book” I, p. 459:

Post. PP **Stanisław KUCZYŃSKI** s. Antoniego i Stanisławy z Kowalczyków, ur. 18 III 1908 w Zyrardowie. We wrześniu 1939 służbę pełnił na Post. w Pruszkowie Pow. Warszawski.

Once again this victim is stated to have been transferred from the camp at Ostashkov to Kalinin and “murdered” there, though the Burdenko Commission stated that they found his body at Katyn.³⁹

How can the Polish Katyn lists assert that Araszkievicz, Lewandowski, and Kuczyński were killed (“Mord”) at Kalinin and buried nearby at Mednoe when their bodies were unearthed by the Burdenko Commission at Katyn? Only by assuming that the Burdenko Commission was lying when it claimed to have found these corpses at Katyn with papers from March, May, and June 1941 on them. But then the Soviets would have had to go to Kalinin, unearth these bodies and bring them to Katyn. Or they could have chosen the names of three victims they knew were buried at Kalinin and claim they had discovered their bodies at Katyn.

But why go to all that trouble when they could have just planted false documents on the bodies of persons they knew to have been

38. At <http://www.indeks.karta.org.pl/pl/szczegoly.jsp?id=11001>

39. Mosziński, *Lista Katyńska*, lists the only Stanisław Kuczyński in the Katyn victims lists as at the Starobelsk camp; see “Część Trzecia. Obóz w Starobielisku,” page 34 (unnumbered pages). Tucholski (p.314 col. 1; lists p. 851, No. 87) puts a Stanisław Kuczyński at Ostashkov, thus agreeing with the “Indeks” list. The “Indeks” list and Tucholski agree that this Kuczyński’s father’s name was Adam; Mosziński does not give any father’s name. Mosziński’s Stanisław Kuczyński was a “rtm,” a Rotmistrz, or Captain of Cavalry, while Tucholski’s was a constable of police (“Funkcj. PP, posterunek Pruszków”). It appears that Mosziński and the other two sources are indicating different men.

shot at Katyn? After all, if the Soviets had shot all these men they knew not only who was buried at Kalinin but also who was buried at Katyn. So why not use the bodies, or at least the identities, of three men who really were buried at Katyn? Why use the names of three men buried hundreds of miles away?

No objective historian would make such an assumption. One has to assume that the Burdenko Commission was lying only if one has already made the prior assumption that the transportation lists are really “death lists.” That is, the second assumption entails the first: it is “an assumption based upon an assumption.” If it were definitely the case that the “transfer lists” really were lists of Poles being shipped to execution, then we could confidently state that these assertions by the Burdenko Commission were fabrications – lies intended to blame on the Germans murders that the Soviets had in fact carried out. But the discoveries at Volodymyr-Volyn’skiy have proven that the “transfer lists” were *not* lists of persons being shipped to execution. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Soviets did any of this.

It is simpler to assume that the Burdenko Commission really did unearth the bodies of Araszkievicz, Lewandowski, and Kucziński at Katyn.⁴⁰ That means that Araszkievicz, Lewandowski, and Kucziński could have been shipped to a labor camp, a “camp of special purpose” as, according to the Burdenko Commission, they were called; captured by the Germans during the summer of 1941; shot either at the Katyn Forest site or, if shot at their camps – 25 to 45 Km from Smolensk – their corpses brought to Katyn as part of the Nazi propaganda campaign to split the Allies. A number of witnesses testified to the Burdenko Commission that they saw German trucks loaded with corpses being driven in the direction of Katyn.⁴¹

This is the only scenario that accounts for the facts as we now know them. Moreover, it is strengthened by a discovery the Germans themselves made. The 1943 German report on Katyn states that the following item was found in one of the mass graves:

eine ovale Blechmarke unter den Asservaten vor, die folgende Angaben enthält
T. K. UNKWD K. O.

40. The names of these three men are not on the list of 4143 bodies, some of them nameless, in the German report *Amtliches Material*.

41. Testimony of P.F. Sukhachev, after October 8, 1943, and of Vladimir Afanasievich Yegorov, undated, to Burdenko Commission, Burdenko Comm (note 26), 241–2.

9 4 2 4
Stadt Ostaschkow⁴²

The text of the original badge would have been, in Russian, like this:

Т. К. УНКВД К. О.
9 4 2 4
г. Осташков

A probable English translation would be:

Prison Kitchen, NKVD Directorate, Kalinin Oblast'
[prisoner, or cell, or badge number] 9 4 2 4
town of Ostashkov⁴³

None of the “transport lists” from the camp at Ostashkov were for transport to Katyn or anywhere near Smolensk. All these lists state that the Polish prisoners were sent to Kalinin. Therefore the person buried at Katyn who had this badge in his possession had been shipped to Kalinin. But, obviously, he was not shot there. The badge was unearthed at Katyn. Therefore, the owner of this badge was also shot at Katyn, or nearby.

There seems to be just one way these men, and doubtless many more, could have ended up shot and buried at Katyn. They must have been transferred from Kalinin to a labor camp near Katyn, where the Germans captured and shot them. This hypothesis fits the scenario as outlined by the Sovinformburo statement of April 16, 1943, and by the Burdenko Commission. It is consistent with the new evidence that Józef Kuligowski and Ludwik Małowiejski were shot by the Germans at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy, hundreds of miles from Mednoe where the “official” version claims they were shot and buried. It also offers independent confirmation of the main conclusion of this article: that the prisoners transferred out of the POW camps in April–May 1940 were not being shipped to execution.

What really did happen?

The discoveries in the mass graves at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy constitute a lethal blow to the “official” version of the Katyn

42. *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von KATYN*. Berlin: Zentralverlag der NSDAP. Franz Eher Nachf. GmbH., 1943, p. 46. The German sentence reads: “... an oval tin badge among the exhibits, which contains the following information.”

43. The abbreviation “Т.К.” may mean “prison kitchen” (тюремная кухня) or “pantry,” or it may mean something else. What matters is that the badge or marker comes from Ostashkov.

Massacre. This is something that should interest all of us. Katyn has been the most famous crime alleged against Stalin and the Soviet government. It has been the crime most firmly grounded in documentary evidence. For example, it is unlike the alleged “Holodomor,” the supposedly deliberate starvation by Stalin of millions of Ukrainians in the famine of 1932–1933, for which no evidence has ever been found.⁴⁴

All the post-Soviet states today employ “Soviet atrocities” narratives to justify the pro-fascist, anti-Semitic, and pro-Nazi actions of the forces that sided with the Germans against the Soviet Union before, during, and after World War 2. Katyn is the keystone of contemporary right-wing Polish nationalism. Katyn is also a key component of anti-Stalin, anti-Soviet, and anticommunist propaganda generally. Until now, it has been the best known such alleged atrocity and by far the best documented one. Katyn has been the best proven “crime of Stalinism.” That is no longer the case.

So what really did happen? In my view – and here I am following a number of the very competent Russian researchers who have likewise concluded that the “official” version is wrong – the Soviets did execute some Poles.

We know that after occupying Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine, formerly Eastern Poland, in September 1939 the Soviet NKVD searched for Poles who had been involved in the 1920-21 war in which Poland had taken these territories from the Russian Socialist Republic, which had been exhausted by four years of civil war and Allied

44. For a brief overview of this question see Mark Tauger, “Famine in Russian History,” *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History, Volume 10: Supplement*. (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 2011), 79–92. Tauger’s own works on the famine are cited at page 92. I consider Tauger to be the world’s authority on this famine, to the study of which he has devoted decades. See also R.W. Davies and Stephen G. Wheatcroft, *The Years of Hunger. Soviet Agriculture, 1931–1933* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2009 [2004]), 440-1. Concerning the “Yezhovshchina” (also called “the Great Terror”) see the Yezhov confession of August 4, 1939 printed in Никита Петров, “Сталинский питомец” – Николай Ежов (Nikita Petrov, “Stalin’s Pet” – Nikolai Yezhov), Moscow 2008, 367–79 (English translation at <http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furr/research/ezhov080439eng.html>). Stalin told aircraft designer Alexander Yakovlev that Yezhov had been executed because he had killed many innocent people; see А. Яковлев, *Цель жизни. Записки авиаконструктора* (М.: 1973), 267 (глава: “Москва в обороне”). For the present author’s views see Grover Furr, “The Moscow Trials and the ‘Great Terror’ of 1937–1938: What the Evidence Shows” (written July 2010). http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furr/research/trials_ezhovshchina_update0710.html

intervention, typhus epidemic, and famine.⁴⁵ Imperialist Poland had deprived the majority populations – Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Jews – of many of their national and civil rights.⁴⁶ The Polish government had sent “settlers” (*osadnicy*), mainly former military officers, to “polonize” (“make more Polish”) the lands, giving them estates and making them government officials and teachers. Poland had violently repressed the communist movement and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Jewish minorities in these lands, as well as in Poland proper. Moreover, during the Russo-Polish war of 1920–21 somewhere between 18,000 and 60,000 Red Army POWs had died in Polish captivity. There is good documentation that they were treated brutally, starved, frozen, and many of them murdered outright.⁴⁷

Therefore it is probable that the Soviets would have arrested and prosecuted any Polish POWs and civilians they could find who had been involved in these crimes. Many of these people were deported to places of exile deep within the USSR (where many of them survived World War 2, far away from their former homes where the fighting and Nazi and Ukrainian⁴⁸ mass murders were the most ferocious). Others must have been tried, convicted, and either executed or sent to labor camps.

It is likely that a substantial number of the Polish POWs – military officers, policemen, and guards of various kinds – had been involved either in repression of or atrocities against Soviet troops, communists, trade unionists, or workers, peasants, or Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Jewish schools or institutions. The Soviet Union would have prosecuted them. It is also likely that some Polish POWs were sentenced

45. See, for example, Piotr Kołakowski, *NKWD i GRU na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2002), 74, which discusses NKVD searches and arrests: “nazwiska osób walczących o granice II Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1918-1921” (names of persons who fought for the boundaries of the Second Republic in 1918-1921), “nazwiska wszystkich ochotników, którzy wojowali z bolszewikami w 1920 r.” (names of all volunteers who had fought the Bolsheviks in 1920), i.e. in the war which forced Soviet Russia to cede all of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia to Poland in the Treaty of Riga (March 1921).

46. See the hair-raising anti-Ukrainian terror of November 1938 described by Jeffrey Burds, “Comment on Timothy Snyder’s article...” At <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hpcws/comment13.htm>

47. For an introduction to this heated question see the section “Polish Massacres of Russian POWs 1919-1920” on my “Katyn Forest Whodunnit” page (note 5).

48. Ukrainian nationalist forces allied with the Germans massacred roughly 100,000 Polish civilians in German-occupied Western Ukraine in 1943 and 1944. This is known in Poland as “Rzeź wołyńska,” the “Volhynian massacres,” in Ukraine as “Волинська трагедія,” the “Volhynian tragedy.”

to labor in areas that were captured by the Germans when they invaded the USSR in 1941, and subsequently executed, as Kuligowski and Małowiejski were.

Former NKVD men Soprunenko, Tokarev, and Syromiatnikov testified that they knew of some executions of Polish prisoners. So there's no reason to doubt that the Soviets did shoot some Poles. But the discoveries at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy prove that the "transit" or "shipment" documents do not record the shipping of the prisoners to execution. This is the basis of the "official" version of the Katyn Massacre; it has now been proven false. The Polish POWs were not being shipped to execution when the camps they were in were closed in April–May 1940.

I predict that in "mainstream" – i.e. anticommunist – academia the discourse about the Katyn Massacre will change very little. Mainstream anticommunism is motivated far more by "political correctness" – by political motives – than by any desire to discover the truth. When mainstream anticommunist scholarship does mention the Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy discoveries it will be only to try to dismiss them. One way of attempting to do so is demonstrated in the Ukrainian archaeological report cited below – to claim that the NKVD carried out these executions. Other similar subterfuges can be invented. The central importance of these discoveries for an objective understanding of this infamous historical event will be denied at all costs.

Perhaps the Polish archaeologist's report anticipated this by relegating the finding of Kuligowski's badge to a footnote. It could be considered a principled and even courageous act by this archaeologist, Dr. Dominika Siemińska, to reveal the discovery of the badge and to give the important details about it in the report, no matter how minimized and downplayed. No one compelled her to insert this information, which directs the attentive reader to the contradiction between the discovery at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy and the "official" version of Katyn. Questioning of the "official" version is not tolerated in the public sphere in Poland. One hopes that Dr. Siemińska's career will not suffer because of her adherence to scientific objectivity.

The report of the Ukrainian part of the same team does not mention the discovery of either badge. Moreover, the Ukrainian report goes out of its way to suggest that the Soviets might still somehow be responsible for the mass executions. It protests the finding of the Polish report that the graves used the "Jeckeln system" "since it only began to be used by the Nazis at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942." No evidence is included in support of this claim.

Додатково хочеться відмітити, що даний метод розстрілів не можна називати «системою Єкельна», на який посилаються наші польські колеги. Цей нацистський метод не передбачав страти у поховальній ямі. До того ж його почали застосовувати лише наприкінці 1941 – на початку 1942 р. у Ризі, що хронологічно не відповідає володимирській страті.

In addition we wish to note that this method of execution should not be called the “Jeckeln system,” to which our Polish colleagues refer. This Nazi method was not used for executions in a funeral pit. In addition, it began to be used only in late 1941 – early 1942 in Riga, which does not correspond chronologically to the Volodymyr executions.

The Ukrainian report mentions the fact that the German shell casings found were from 1941, but then states “It is known that Soviet organs of the NKVD used German weapons in mass executions of Polish citizens.”⁴⁹

У поховальних ямах виявлено ідентичні гільзи, головним чином калібру 9 мм. Більшість з них мають позначки dnh (виробництво заводу Верк Дурлах в Карлсруе, Німеччина) та kam (виробництво фабрики Hasag у Скаржиці Кам’яній, Польща) 1941 р. Проте виявлені і декілька гільз радянського зразка. Все це потребує додаткових досліджень, оскільки стверджувати про те, що розстріли проводилися гітлерівцями при наявності в поховальних ямах гільз радянського зразка – не є об’єктивним. Відомі факти (зокрема дані розстрілів польських військових у Катині), що радянські органи НКВС використовували при розстрілах німецьку зброю.

In the burial pits were found identical shells, mainly of 9 mm caliber. Most of them have the mark “dnh” (production of the factory Werk Dürlach⁵⁰ in Karlsruhe, Germany) and “kam” (production of the Hasag factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna,⁵¹ Poland) of 1941. However a few shells of Soviet type were also

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49. “ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ВИЯВЛЕНИХ РЕШТОК ЛЮДЕЙ, РОЗСТРІЛЯНИХ В 1941 РОЦІ НА ГОРОДИЩІ «ВАЛИ» У ВОЛОДИМИРИ-ВОЛИНСЬКОМУ .ЕКСУМАЦІЙНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ 2012 РОКУ”. (Investigation of discovered remains of persons shot in 1941 at the ‘Shafts’ site at Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy. Investigation of exhumations of 2012.) (Doslizhdennia) At <http://volodymyrmuseum.com/publications/32-publications/naukovi-statti/170-doslizhennya-vyavlenykh-reshtok-lyudey-rozstrilyanykh-v-1941-rotsi-nahorodyshchi-valy-u-volodymyri-volynskomu-ekshumatsiyni-doslizhennya-2012-roku>
50. The correct name for this German munitions factory was Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprengstoff AG Dürlach Werk. A specialized Internet database on German ordnance states that the Dürlach factory was actually in Baden: see German WWII Alphabetic Ordnance Codes: c-e, at http://www.radix.net/~bbrown/codes_full_alpha_c-e.html
51. A town south of Warsaw about halfway between Radom and Kielce. The German munitions factory was HASAG Eisen und Metallwerke G.m.b.H. According to the

found. All this requires further research, inasmuch as it is not objective to affirm that the shootings were carried out by the Hitlerites when shells of Soviet type were found in the pits. Facts are known (including the facts of the shooting of Polish military men at Katyn) that the Soviet organs of the NKVD used German weapons in shootings.

Details of the shells, 150 in all, found in grave No. 1 are given in footnote 3, page 8 of the Polish report but are absent from the Ukrainian report:

1. "kam, 67, 19, 41"- 137 szt; 2. "dnh, *, 1, 41" - 7 szt; 3. Geco, 9 mm - 1 szt; 4. łuski bez oznaczeń, 7,62 x 25, wz. 30, produkcja ZSRR - 5 szt.

1. "kam, 67, 19, 41" - 137 units; 2. "dnh, *, 1, 41" - 7 units; 3. Geco, 9 mm. - 1 unit; 4. Shells without markings, 7.62 x 25 caliber, USSR production of 1930s type - 5 units.

These identifying marks on shell casings are known as "headstamps". According to the analysis by Sergei Strygin "kam, 67, 19, 41" signifies the Hasag factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna, "67" the percentage of copper in the bullet, "19" the lot number, and "41" the year of production. "dnh *, 1, 41" signifies the Dürlach factory, "*" means the shell was jacketed in brass; "1" is the lot number, and "41" the year of production. One hundred forty-four, or 96% of the 150 shells found, were of German make and can be dated to 1941.⁵²

The Polish, but not the Ukrainian, report also specifies the shells found in grave No. 2:

1. "kam, 67, 19, 41"- 205 szt; 2. "dnh, *, 1, 41" - 17 szt; 3. łuski bez oznaczeń. 7.62 x 25. wz. 30, produkcja ZSRR - 2 szt; 4. łuska "B, 1906"

1. "Kam, 67, 19, 41" - 205 units; 2. "dny, *, 1, 41" - 17 units; 3. Shells without markings, 7.62x25 caliber - USSR production of 1930s - 2 units; (one) shell "B, 1906."

Of 225 shells found in this grave, 205 are the German 1941 "Hasag" type, 17 are the German 1941 "Dürlach" type, 2 are of the unmarked 1930s Soviet type; and one is marked "B 1906."⁵³ Hence 98.67% of the shells are of 1941 German manufacture.

database cited in the previous note this was the Hugo Schneider AG, Werk Skarżysko Kamienna, Poland.

52. Photographs of headstamped shells similar to those found in graves no. 1 and 2 may be viewed in the Strygin article cited in note 1 above.
53. "B 1906" appears to be Austrian rifle ordnance made for the Tsarist Army during the Russo-Japanese War. See the drawing at <http://7.62x54r.net/MosinID/MosinAmmoID02.htm#Austria> and the photograph obtained by Sergei Strygin at http://katyn.ru/images/news/2012-12-29-gilza_B_1906.jpg

By contrast neither of the Ukrainian reports cites the numbers of each type of shell or the fact that German shells made in 1941 constitute the overwhelming majority of those found. The following paragraph appears word-for-word in each:

У поховальних ямах виявлено ідентичні гільзи, головним чином калібру 9 мм. Більшість з них мають позначки dnh (виробництво заводу Верк Дурлах в Карлсруе, Німеччина) та kam (виробництво фабрики Hasag у Скаржиці Кам'яній, Польща) 1941 р. Проте виявлені і декілька гільз радянського зразка. Все це потребує додаткових досліджень, оскільки стверджувати про те, що розстріли проводилися гітлерівцями при наявності в поховальних ямах гільз радянського зразка – не є об'єктивним. Відомі факти (зокрема дані розстрілів польських військових у Катині), що радянські органи НКВС використовували при розстрілах німецьку зброю.⁵⁴

In the burial pits were found identical shells, mainly of caliber 9 mm. Most of them have the mark "dnh" (Werk Dürlach production plant in Karlsruhe, Germany), and "kam" (production factory in Hasag Skarżysko Kamienna, Poland) in 1941. However, several shell casings of Soviet model were also found. All this requires more research inasmuch that it is not objective to assert that the shootings were carried out by the Hitlerites even though shells of Soviet model were found in the burial pits. Examples are known (including data of shootings of Polish soldiers in Katyn) that the Soviet organs of the NKVD used German weapons in executions.

There are some problems with the conclusion in the Ukrainian report. First, it is an example of circular reasoning. It assumes that the mass killings at Katyn, which even the Germans admitted were carried out with German ammunition, was a Soviet crime. But that is the very assumption that the discoveries at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy call into question.

Second, it assumes that even the overwhelming preponderance of German ordnance is not enough to establish that the killings were done by the Germans, since the Soviets could also use German ammunition. No doubt this is the reason the Ukrainian report does not give the numbers of shells or the percentage of them that are German and of 1941 manufacture. (The Ukrainian reports should have added that

54. Doslizhdennia (online); Звіт про результати археологічно-ексгумаційних рятівних досліджень на городищі "вали" у м. володимирі-волинському 2012 р. (Report on the results of the archaeological exhumation recovery investigations at the "Vali" ["shafts"] site in the town of Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy in 2012.). Luts'k, 2012. (Zvit) Available at http://www.formuseum.info/uploads/files/Zvit_2012_Володимир-Волинський.pdf These are two versions of the same report. The much fuller PDF version contains many pages of photographs, graphs, tables, and drawings, but no clear accounting of the cartridge shells as the Polish report has.

Germans could also use Soviet ammunition. The Germans captured immense amounts of Soviet arms and ammunition in 1941.)

The Ukrainian report does note that women clutching children to their breasts were also found in the mass graves.

Відмічено також, що вбиті часто прикривали обличчя руками, або обіймали іншу жертву (жінки тулили до себе і прикривали дітей). (Doslizhdennia; Zvit 15)

It is also noted that those killed often covered their faces with their hands, or embraced another victim (women hugged to themselves and covered children).

There are no examples anywhere of the Soviet NKVD shooting children.

Ukrainian archaeologist Oleksei Zlatohorsky (Russian: Aleksei Zlatogorskii) has pointed out the political problems raised by the Polish archaeologist's identification of the Germans as the murderers:

Неосторожные высказывания польских археологов о принадлежности останков, найденных на территории замка Казимира Великого во Владимире-Волыньском, могут поставить под сомнение уже известные преступления НКВД по отношению к польским офицерам, сообщил директор ГП "Волыньские древности" Алексей Златогорский в комментарии Gazeta.ua.

Incautious statements by Polish archaeologists about the belongings of the remains found on the land of the castle of Kazimir Velikii in Vladimir-Volynskii could cast doubt upon the already known crimes of the NKVD in relation to Polish officers, said the director of the state enterprise "Volyn antiquities" Aleksei Zlatogorskii in a commentary to Gazeta.ua.⁵⁵

The only "already known crimes of the NKVD in relation to Polish officers" is the Katyn Massacre – to be more precise, the "official" version of the Katyn Massacre. Prof. Zlatohorsky does not explain how the Polish report "casts doubt" upon the "official" version of Katyn.

The Ukrainian report cited above appears to be a shorter, perhaps Internet version of a longer report written by Zlatohorsky and two other Ukrainian archaeologists, S.D. Panishko and M.P. Vasheta. This report (Zvit) omits any mention of Kuligowski, Małowiejski, or their badges. Its appendix does include photographs also found in the Polish report. Among them are a photo of the Polish policeman's

55. Скороход, Ольга. "Польские археологи нагнетают ситуацию вокруг жертв, расстрелянных в 1941-м." (Ol'ga Skorokhod. Polish archeologists stir up the situation around the victims shot in 1941). Gazeta.ru February 20, 2013, http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/history/_polskie-arheologi-nagnetayut-situaciyu-vokrug-zhertv-rasstrelyannyh-v-1941-m/483525 Gazeta.ru is a Russian-language Ukrainian newspaper. Roughly half the population of today's Ukraine use Russian as their first language.

epaulette and of the “sardine-packing” arrangement of bodies in Grave No. 2. (Zvit 91, 92, 97). The very “orderly” arrangement of bodies contradicts the description by Prof. Kola.

The opening of an exhibition concerning this site at the Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy Historical Museum on March 5 2013 has been announced. The accompanying article states only that in 1997 researchers assumed that the victims buried there were Poles shot by the NKVD in 1939–1940, and suggests that this is still their conclusion.

Виставка розповідає про результати ексгумаційних робіт протягом 2010–2012 рр., розкриває перед відвідувачами основні віхи історії ще одного великого замку на Волині та страхітливого злочину, прихованих від людського ока.

The exhibit tells of the results of the works of exhumation during the years 2010–2012, reveals to visitors the basic milestones of yet another great castle of Volhynia and of a horrifying crime hidden from human eyes.⁵⁶

Even if we set aside all the evidence that the Germans killed the victims at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy, there remains the fact that most of the ammunition used was manufactured in 1941. The “transit” or “shipment” documents are of April–May 1940. Kuligowski and Małowiejski could not have been killed earlier than 1941. No one has suggested that they were killed in Kalinin and Kharkiv in April–May 1940 and then their badges brought to a mass grave in Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy, hundreds of miles away, and there thrown into the burial pit.

Kuligowski and Małowiejski were indeed shipped out of their POW camps in April 1940, as recorded in the Soviet transit lists published by Tucholski in 1991. But neither of them was being sent to execution. They were killed in 1941 in Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy, Ukrainian SSR. According to the evidence now available they were killed by the Germans. But this is not important for our present purposes. What is important is this: it is invalid to conclude that any of the prisoners shipped out of the Polish POW camps in April–May 1940 were being sent to their deaths. This in itself disproves the “official” version of the Katyn massacre.

56. Виставка: “Прихована історія: археологічні дослідження на городищі Володимира-Волинського 2010–2012 років” (Exhibition: “Hidden history: archaeological investigations at a site in Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy in the years 2010–2012”), <http://www.formuseum.info/2013/02/27/vistavka.html>

Conclusion

The opinions of persons who are motivated by a desire to learn the truth about Katyn as about historical questions generally can be altered by the evidence discovered at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy. This can happen only if the news of the discovery, and of its implications for the understanding of the Katyn issue, becomes widely known and understood.

This is no easy matter. Aside from a small number of researchers, what most people learn about the Katyn issue reflects the "official" version. Discussion of Katyn is actively discouraged in mainstream academic and political circles under the pretext that the matter has been so firmly established by evidence that only cranks and communists could question it.

However, the very act of discouraging free discussion and doubts about the "official" viewpoint has the potential to stimulate curiosity and questioning.