

# ABSTRACT

## The Katyn Wood Massacre

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This paper is from the the “Polish WWII Supplement III – The Katyn Wood Massacre” of my recently published book *THE PASTOR AND THE MATRIARCH OF THE GERMAN UNDERGROUND AND THEIR TIMES: A Polish Perspective* published by Elephant White Cultural Enterprise Taiwan 2021, ISBN: 9786267018231 and Liberty Hill Publishing Florida 2022, ISBN: 9781662834622. To purchase, see my website at <https://vincebarwinski.com/2021/12/26/options-to-buy-copies-of-the-pastor-and-the-matriarch-of-the-german-underground-and-their-times-a-polish-perspective/>. A chapter by chapter description is given at <https://vincebarwinski.com/library/> and book excerpts are available at <https://vincebarwinski.com/2021/12/25/list-of-book-excerpts-and-front-and-back-cover-design/>.

The Katyn Wood Massacre was the Stalinist-perpetrated massacre of over 4,000 Polish officers taken prisoner in September to October 1939 during the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland. It was committed in the forest of Katyn in early April 1940, near the western Russian town of Smolensk, and the mass graves were discovered in April 1943 by Polish auxiliaries working for the German Army. Nevertheless, the virulent pro-Stalinist denial, including the current Russian president Vladimir Putin and the American Medieval English Literary and neo-Stalinist revisionist professor Grover Furr of New Jersey’s Montclair State University, continues to this day. As such, this historical supplement logically de-constructs all such pro-Stalinist denial arguments; one source is the written Nuremberg testimony of Major Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff, subordinate and close friend of Ruth von Kleist’s (the matriarch from my book) nephew Henning von Treskow, who was, at the time of the discovery of the Katyn mass graves, the German Intelligence officer for the region. He submitted the first report to Berlin. The accounts and personal stories of the twelve appointed international investigators at Katyn are also documented. Attention is given to the credentials and credibility of all such witnesses.

### Polish WWII Supplement III

#### The Katyn Wood Massacre

*It is difficult to shake off entirely the suspicion that Stalin's behaviour towards the Poles in the 1940s was tinged with revenge for the humiliation of 1920.<sup>1</sup>*

Adam Zamoyski.

*Their tragic final truth will not rot in the grave of Katyn.<sup>2</sup>*

*Katyn is not just about Katyn.*

The author.

In March 1943, two failed assassination attempts on Hitler took place.<sup>3</sup> The first was on the 13<sup>th</sup> and the latter just eight days later. The former involved getting Hitler to visit a military headquarters at Smolensk in western Russia, where a bomb made with seized British explosives and a time delay mechanism would be taken aboard Hitler's plane unwittingly by one of his staff, and explode as he flew back to his Wolf's Lair in East Prussia. For whatever reason, however, the bomb never exploded, but remarkably, with the quick thinking of Oma Ruth's nephew, Henning von Tresckow, his adjutant Fabian von Schlabrendorff was able to retrieve the dud bomb at the Wolf's Lair without the plot being uncovered. Smolensk, though, following a gruesome discovery just weeks later in a nearby forest in early April 1943, would become infamous.

However, before this would come to pass, on March 21, a golden opportunity in Berlin presented itself for the plotters — albeit, a suicide mission for the would be assassin, the Silesian baron, Major Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff — a subordinate and deep admirer of Henning von Tresckow.<sup>4</sup> Hitler was to view a display of captured Soviet weaponry at the Zeughaus on Unter den Linden. Gersdorff would describe the weaponry to Hitler, but not before he set the timing mechanism, hidden under his trench coat, to detonate the explosive after twenty minutes, which was ten minutes before Hitler was scheduled to leave. Hitler, however, after just ten minutes, unexpectedly, took an exit to the Unter den Linden, prompting Gersdorff to urgently make for a toilet and disable the bomb. Again, Hitler survived without the plot being revealed. Fifteen days later, on April 5<sup>th</sup>, Dietrich, his brother-in-law Hans von Dohnányi and others, would be arrested.<sup>5</sup>

Gersdorff would survive the war, and like Fabian von Schlabrendorff,<sup>6</sup> did not pass away until 1980.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, just a fortnight or so later, in early April 1943, upon his return to the Smolensk region in western Russia, Gersdorff, in his role as G-2 (Intelligence Officer)<sup>8</sup> of the Central Army Group from 1942 to 1943,<sup>9</sup> would be involved in a revelation in his zone, that would acquire worldwide significance — a mass grave of Polish prisoners captured during the September 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland.<sup>10</sup> Attached to Gersdorff's section was a small Feldpolizei (Field Police) unit, headed by Feldpolizeisekretär Voss. Its primary mission was to act as a personal security detail for the field marshal. Since his section had been living in the same headquarters near Smolensk for nearly two years, they had to deal with the possibility of Soviet commando-style (or Russian partisan) operations against the Army Group staff. Gersdorff assigned Voss the task of routinely monitoring the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, in order to learn immediately about the arrival of strangers.<sup>11</sup>

In early April 1943, Voss reported to Gersdorff, informing him of what he heard from Russian peasants, with whom his people had established a good relationship.<sup>12</sup> Quartered with the peasants, were Polish auxiliaries, working as volunteers in the supply units of a German division that was marching toward the front. The peasants informed Voss that these Poles were seeking out Polish prisoners of war taken by Soviet forces in September 1939, asking whether the peasants had ever seen them in the Smolensk area. It had then occurred to the peasants that three years earlier, in April 1940, fourteen months before Hitler's Barbarossa invasion, numerous transport trains carrying Polish war prisoners had been unloaded at the Gniezdowo<sup>i 13</sup> railway station and that the men had been led into a small nearby forest, after which gunshots were heard from that direction for days.<sup>14</sup> After hearing this news, the Polish volunteers had made excavations in the little forest, and soon located mass graves containing the remains of Polish officers, before erecting a tall birch-wood cross at the site of the discovery.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> In regard to clearing up the confusion associated with the various English spellings and other Romanised variants of this railway station's name, see endnote <sup>13</sup> for this supplement. In the interest of clarity and consistency, I have decided to use the Polish spelling "Gniezdowo," as Polish and Russian, in spite of using different alphabets, have similar pronunciation for many words, owing to both being Slavic languages. For example, Polish "prawda," Russian "правда," both being pronounced as "pravda," which in English means "truth."

Gersdorff had the inhabitants interrogated under oath, and found their statements confirmed the time of the shootings around three years earlier in April 1940. Moreover, he personally saw many of these Russians and they repeatedly described the affair in such a way that left no doubt, that the NKVD had been responsible.<sup>16</sup> Gersdorff reported this to Berlin and gave orders for the matter to be investigated. The woods lay in the immediate vicinity of the so-called “Little Castle on the Dnieper,” a former NKVD (Narodnii Komisariat Vnutrennikh Del — Народный комиссариат внутренних дел or People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs)<sup>17</sup> vacation resort in which the commander of his signals regiment was now billeted. Through further excavations, Gersdorff’s men located more mass graves, in which clearly lay thousands of Polish officers,<sup>18</sup> all murdered by a shot to the back of the neck.

In response to Gersdorff’s report, OKH (Oberkommando des Heeres — Army High Command)<sup>19</sup> ordered the investigation into the number and identity of the victims, and the circumstances of their murder. Directing the exhumation of the bodies, was the forensic surgeon Professor Dr. Gerhard Buhtz, Professor of Forensic Medicine and Criminology at the University of Breslau, who happened to be on the staff of Gersdorff’s Chief Quartermaster’s section.<sup>20</sup> Joseph Goebbels’ propaganda ministry perceived in this emerging truth the possibility of fracturing the Soviet-British-American alliance against the Third Reich, just two months after the catastrophe of Stalingrad.<sup>21</sup> As Gersdorff commented in his autobiography: “

The Propaganda Ministry had directed that the discovery of the mass graves should be employed for propaganda purposes. Therefore I sought a suitable label for the matter. During the preparation of the initial statement, we had noticed that quite close to Gniezdowo<sup>22</sup> (the nearest village to the mass burials) there were mound graves from ancient Russian history that the Soviets could use as an explanation for the discovery. [And not long afterwards, the Soviets actually did so.] I thus looked on the map for a larger place nearby with a memorable name, located the little city of Katyń about five kilometres away, and decided to designate this affair by that title.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, and in no other manner, did the story of the discovery of the “Katyń Massacre” play itself out. All other descriptions are either false or completely made up, including the tale about the wolf that was supposed to have dug up the graves.”<sup>24</sup>

Professor Buhtz had an assistant and a commission of four or five people from the Polish Red Cross, including one or two doctors, working on the cordoned-off site guarded by Polish volunteers.<sup>25</sup> Then a mass grave was opened for inspection; in it, Gersdorff estimated, there were 5000 to 6000 corpses in twelve layers, one on top of the other, with all victims having one to three bullet-holes in the back of the head. Among the bodies were two generals, a few staff officers and enlisted men who would have been orderlies for these senior officers. The bulk however, were captains and lieutenants of the Polish Army.<sup>26</sup>

The corpses were all decomposed, but because of the dry sandy soil and the uniforms holding together, they could be carefully exhumed, examined, and identified.<sup>27</sup> The subsequent medical examination proved beyond all doubt that the shootings took place about three years earlier, which was corroborated by the three-year-old tree-growth on the site, established indisputably by Russian and German forestry experts.<sup>28</sup> Thanks, however, to the not-so-thorough NKVD executioners, the damning evidence did not end there. On the bodies were found all their papers and a large amount of money (zlotys). No valuables were found except amulets under some of the shirts, a general’s cigarette-case, and a few rings. However, among the papers discovered were letters from relatives which the officers had received during captivity, and, what would be most damning, numerous diaries. The letters dated from 1939 to the beginning of 1940, to which Gersdorff added: “If the Nuremberg International Tribunal wants to question the relatives of the victims of “Katyn” they can ask them when their postal contact with the prisoners was interrupted.”<sup>29</sup>

The diaries, uncensored by their NKVD captors, and either preserved or made legible by the application of chemicals, recounted the daily life of the victims in more revealing detail.<sup>30</sup> From these diaries,<sup>31</sup> it appeared that these officers were the bulk of those taken by the Soviets when they marched into Poland in 1939. After several intermediate stops they were brought to a former monastery in Kozelsk, where they thought of nothing but their hopeful release and return to Poland. By the end of March 1940 (or beginning of April), just weeks following Stalin signing their execution order on March 5<sup>th</sup>,<sup>32</sup> they boarded the train and moved westward toward Smolensk.<sup>33</sup> Remarkably, some of the diary entries continued until a few minutes before the shooting, stating that they stopped for a long time at a little station near Smolensk called Gniezdowo,<sup>34</sup> before they were alighted from the train, and taken in black closed vehicles to the “Little Castle on the Dnieper”<sup>35</sup> — the NKVD holiday resort near the wood.<sup>36</sup> They still did not suspect what was in store for them until their valuables were taken from them, when diary entries show they knew they were

going to be shot. All these diaries end in the first days of April 1940.<sup>37</sup> Timothy Snyder, author of *Bloodlands*, documented the final diary entry of Adam Solski: “

There, at an NKVD resort, they were searched and their valuables taken. One officer, Adam Solski, had been keeping a diary up to this moment: ‘They asked about my wedding ring, which I....’ The prisoners were taken into a building on the complex, where they were shot. Their bodies were then delivered, probably by truck in batches of thirty, to a mass grave that had been dug in the forest. This continued until all 4,410 prisoners sent from Kozelsk had been shot.”<sup>38</sup>

Before long, two more graves were discovered, by looking for places where the tree-growth was three years old. In one grave many bodies were found with the hands tied behind their backs, and others with clothing pulled around their heads. As Gersdorff commented in his affidavit: “...these men were clearly people who had been guilty of resistance.”<sup>39</sup>

These revelations, just two months following the Stalingrad disaster, had seemingly, for Joseph Goebbels, embodied a timely gold mine of propaganda.<sup>40</sup> To this end, a propaganda detachment under Major Kost, subordinate to the commander of the communications zone behind Army Group Centre, General von Schenkendorff, was commissioned.<sup>41</sup> Significantly however, deputations and commissions without any such agenda, came to Smolensk to view the sight. They included the Archbishop of Kraków, a commission of neutral news correspondents, a commission of neutral legal-medical experts, a Red Cross commission, deputations of Polish POWs of both officers, and enlisted men, and finally deputations of British and American POWs.<sup>42</sup>

Ultimately, even with the suspicions of many among the multi-national deputations of Nazi trickery and blatant agenda, all found it impossible to explain away the overwhelming evidence of Stalinist complicity,<sup>43</sup> including the moving letters and diaries of the victims, all ending in the early days of April 1940, three years before the discovery of the mass graves, and over a year before Hitler’s invasion.<sup>44</sup> A unanimous verdict made by a commission comprising members from Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Croatia, Netherlands, the “Protectorate” of Bohemia and Moravia (the former Czechoslovakia), Romania, Switzerland, Slovakia and Hungary.<sup>45</sup>

Admittedly, it could be said that the Swiss representative, Dr. François Naville, Professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Geneva,<sup>46</sup> was the only truly neutral medical examiner at Katyn. Finland, while not occupied by Nazi Germany, was at the time, an ally of Nazi Germany, fighting alongside the German Army Group North. This was motivated by the loss of territory during the Soviet invasion of Finland in the Winter of 1939-40, as per the Secret Protocol of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.<sup>47</sup> Bulgaria, Italy, Croatia, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary had likewise been Axis allies, with the fascist and puppet Ustaša regime in Croatia, shocking even the Germans in their brutality,<sup>48</sup> while Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands and the “Protectorate” of Bohemia and Moravia (essentially the former Czechoslovakia) were under German occupation.<sup>49</sup>

Hence the Stalinist assertion that these highly qualified examiners were compelled to adhere to the agenda of Goebbels’ propaganda ministry. They applied this reasoning one step further to the Swiss examiner, Dr. François Naville, citing his isolation and perceived intimidation in German occupied Russia among a sea of perceived collaborationist colleagues. Indeed, post-war, Jean Vincent, a deputy of the Swiss Communist party, who dutifully claimed German perpetration of the Katyn massacre, criticised Professor Naville for having accepted participation in the mission to Katyn.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Professor Naville got no support from the CICR (International Committee of the Red Cross), who “did not want to know” who was responsible in order to avoid diplomatic complications with the Soviet Union. Only in 1989, twenty-one years after his death, was Professor Naville’s discovery accepted and confirmed by the Soviet authorities<sup>51</sup> under Mikhail Gorbachev.<sup>52</sup> This fact was documented in 2004 by the retired Professor of Neurology and Epileptology at the University of Berne, Kazimierz Karbowski, whose Jewish mother died in the Warsaw Ghetto and father was executed at Katyn.<sup>53</sup>

Post-war, Professor Naville never wavered in his conviction that the Katyn Massacre was a Stalinist perpetrated crime. As Professor Karbowski commented: “

Professor Naville continued to take a keen interest in “the Katyn affair.” He gathered books, brochures and press articles, as well as iconographic material on this massacre, and even some pieces from mass graves, and has exchanged letters with Polish and foreign personalities. After his death, his daughter Madame Valentine Aubert-Naville, as well as her grandson the professor Gabriel Aubert, continued for several years, until 1995, to complete this voluminous file and then handed it

over to the ICRC Archives. Other documents from the years 1943 to 1952 concerning Professor Naville can be accessed in the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern and in the State Archives of Geneva.”<sup>54</sup>

Most significantly, some deniers of Stalinist perpetration of Katyn, misleadingly claim that the entire international commission at Katyn consisted of twelve doctors and professors from the German-occupied areas.<sup>55</sup> Clearly, however, with Professor Naville being from neutral Switzerland, this number could only be eleven at most, with some of those eleven not from German-occupied Europe, but from Axis-allied powers such as Finland.<sup>56</sup> After the Barbarossa invasion in June 1941, the Finns joined the Germans in undertaking the “War of Continuation,”<sup>57</sup> with the sole objective of regaining the territory lost in the 1939-40 winter war.

Among Western Allied POWs brought to Katyn were two US servicemen brought over from a POW camp in Germany. There, in April 1943, when Berlin held an international news conference to publicise the atrocity, the more senior ranking officer was Colonel John H. Van Vliet, a fourth-generation West Pointer.<sup>58</sup> After returning to Washington DC on May 22, 1945,<sup>59</sup> a fortnight following the official end of the war in Europe,<sup>60</sup> he wrote a report concluding that the Soviets, not the Germans, were responsible. He gave the report to Major General Clayton Bissell, who was General George Marshall’s assistant chief of staff for intelligence, who “deep-sixed” (discarded) it. Years later, Bissell “defended” his action before the 1951-52 Congressional Inquiry, contending that it was not in the US interest to “embarrass” an ally whose forces were still “needed” to defeat Japan.<sup>61</sup>

The ally’s “assistance” against Japan only happened when Stalin declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945,<sup>62</sup> two days following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and the day before Nagasaki suffered the identical fate, three months following the end of the war in Europe.<sup>63</sup> This was not the only instance of Katyn being an inconvenient truth not just for the Soviets, but for the Western Allies as well, as the importance of the Soviet giant rose, while the importance of the fourth largest<sup>64</sup> but much smaller and expendable Allied power, Poland, diminished in the eyes of the British and Americans. For the Western Allies, while the war in Europe raged, Stalinist appeasement was paramount to prevent Stalin reaching a negotiated peace with Hitler, and after Germany’s surrender, to secure Soviet “support” in the war against Japan. “Support,” which led to the birth of the so-called “Democratic People’s Republic of Korea” on the Korean peninsula’s north.

From July to October 1940, Britain’s darkest hour, when German-Soviet relations were most cosy in the midst of the Molotov-Ribbentrop carve-up of Europe,<sup>65</sup> Polish pilots were of vital importance as bombs from the German Luftwaffe rained down on Britain.<sup>66</sup> Commander-in-Chief of Fighter Command, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding, who once was so reluctant to allow Polish pilots into battle, summarised their contribution during the Battle of Britain in the most telling way: “Had it not been for the magnificent work of the Polish squadrons and their unsurpassed gallantry, I hesitate to say that the outcome of battle would have been the same.”<sup>67</sup> Now, in 1943 and beyond, the fourth largest<sup>68</sup> and First Ally<sup>69</sup> was deemed barely above expendable.

The Poles, even as victims of Katyn, were losers from the political fallout of Katyn, and Stalin, as the perpetrator, the political beneficiary. Most disappointingly for Goebbels, his anticipated propaganda coup proved an anti-climax. The Polish Government in Exile in London, unable to ignore the evidence, accused the Soviets of the massacre. In turn, Stalin’s propagandists, in an act of gross hypocrisy, accused the Poles of being fascist collaborators in the April 19<sup>th</sup> issue of the party organ *Pravda* (правда — Truth),<sup>70</sup> ignoring the Secret Protocol embedded in the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.<sup>71</sup> At the same time, Stalin took the opportunity to sever formal diplomatic ties, forged in the wake of Hitler’s June 1941 Barbarossa invasion, with the Polish Government in Exile in London.<sup>72</sup> For the Western Allies, the truth of Katyn was inconvenient, as the importance of the First Ally,<sup>73</sup> Poland, in the alliance was diminished in the interests of Stalinist appeasement. To swallow the pathological lie of “Uncle Joe” in Moscow was far easier and more convenient than believing the truth, for once, from a pathological liar in Berlin.

In Warsaw, packed German-run cinemas ran a grisly documentary film showing the reopened gravesite at Katyn. It was screened on the same day that SS-Brigadeführer (Major General) Jürgen Stroop launched the final assault on the heroic April-May 1943 Warsaw Jewish Ghetto Uprising.<sup>74</sup> Varsovians (people of Warsaw) had proof of what they, unlike Western audiences, had long suspected. In some cases, they saw flickering pictures of the corpses and skulls of their loved ones, each with a tell-tale bullet hole. However, in another propaganda anti-climax for Goebbels, the Varsovians, and Poles in general, didn’t react as he had anticipated. Rather, their sense of desolation increased, as they were not impressed by one gang of murderers exposing the crimes of another. They were simply confirmed in their long-standing belief in the “doctrine of two enemies.”<sup>75</sup>

During the negotiations in Moscow with Hitler's foreign minister Ribbentrop in August 1939, Stalin, rather presumptuously, acted as one who held all the trump cards.<sup>76</sup> Certainly the first few months following the Barbarossa invasion in June 1941 proved this over-confidence to be misplaced, when a desperate and demoralised Stalin ordered peace feelers to be put out to Hitler,<sup>77</sup> which the latter rejected. Now in 1943, Stalin again was acting like he did in August 1939. The crucial difference in 1943, unlike August 1939, was that his arrogance, was more than justified. As Robert Gellately commented: “

It was only in 1943, Khrushchev recalled, that Stalin began to show more confidence, and only after the first big victories did he begin to strut about ‘like a rooster, his chest puffed out and his nose sticking up to the sky.’ Before 1943 Stalin ‘walked around like a wet hen.’”<sup>78</sup>

After Stalingrad, the greatly weakened German Army could only fight a defensive war — a war of survival, as the Reich gradually imploded from east and west. Moreover, the Western Allies, would be in no position to mitigate Stalin's objective of absorbing virtually all of Eastern Europe into the Soviet sphere. Central to this objective, was revenge on the Poles for the humiliation of 1920 in the Polish-Soviet War. By extension, Stalinist revenge for 1920 was just as central to Katyń.<sup>79</sup> By the time Gersdorff disclosed the Katyń Massacre, Stalin knew he held all the trump cards to nullify any political fallout, such as from Katyń, with outright lies. Their plausibility was furnished from the position of clear strategic superiority on the battle field against the imploding Reich for now, and if need be, post-German surrender, against the Western Allies. He was like a shark, now smelling the blood of post-war Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Lenin's dream of expanding the Soviet system to Eastern Europe, and perhaps beyond,<sup>80</sup> was beckoning.

In his written report, before it was “deep-sixed”<sup>81</sup> (discarded) by Major General Clayton Bissell, Colonel John H. Van Vliet wrote: “

I hated the Germans. I didn't want to believe them. \* \* \* When I became involved in the visit to Katyń I realized that the Germans would do their best to convince me that Russia was guilty. I made up my mind not to be convinced by what must be a propaganda effort.”<sup>82</sup>

Likewise, in his oral testimony to the 1952 Congressional Katyń committee, Van Vliet stated: “

As a prisoner of war, I had a personal grudge against them [the Germans] and as an American army officer I had a professional grudge against them. \* \* \* So the German story was one that I did not want to believe.”<sup>83</sup>

Further into his oral testimony, he elaborated: “

If those Polish officers had been alive and in prison camp until the Germans overran the Polish prison camps, and if the Germans had in fact killed these Polish officers, then by the very virtue of the fact that their clothes had been worn and their shoes had been walked in, they would show much more wear.”<sup>84</sup>

Likewise, in his written report, Van Vliet explicitly said: “The sum of circumstantial evidence, impressions formed at the time of looking at the graves, what I saw in peoples' faces — all force the conclusion that Russia did it.”<sup>85</sup>

Van Vliet's fellow American officer at Katyń, Captain Donald Stewart, recalled in his oral testimony: “

I was there [Katyn] under orders; I felt the matter was for a propaganda effort, and, in any event, it was a political effort. \* \* \* I had no desire to have anything to do with a propaganda effort or a political matter.”<sup>86</sup>

Nevertheless, Captain Stewart later stated: “The decision I reached, I can never forget. My decision was that those [Polish] men were killed by the Russians while they were prisoners of the Russians.”<sup>87</sup>

Clearly, the American prisoner of war in Germany, and fourth generation West Pointer, Colonel John H. Van Vliet, and fellow American prisoner and officer Captain Donald Stewart, brought over by the Germans to Katyń in May 1943, after being taken prisoner in North Africa,<sup>88</sup> were a perfect example of what Gersdorff alluded to in his 1946 affidavit to the Nuremberg Tribunal: “Even those who came fortified against being

fooled by smart propaganda found it impossible to explain away the evidence as based on any possible trickery.”<sup>89</sup>

The US Congressional Report of December 22, 1952, elaborated on how these two American officers, arrived at equally unwanted and identical conclusions: “

It is particularly noteworthy that both officers independently emphasized the same convincing factor, which they both stated had not been brought to their attention by the Germans but which was an independent deduction from their own observations. This was the evident fact that the clearly undisturbed corpses were clothed in winter attire which was in an excellent state of repair, showing practically no wear. The two officers also independently made these same observations about the condition of the boots of the Polish officers. In both instances the officers stated from their own personal experience as prisoners of war in a German camp that clothing could not have remained in that condition if it had been worn for a year in a prison camp.”<sup>90</sup> [Katyń occurred about six to seven months after the victims were taken prisoner in September 1939. The soil around Katyn was dry and sandy which meant the corpses were all decomposed, but because of the dry sandy soil and the uniforms holding together, they could be carefully exhumed, examined, and identified.]<sup>91</sup>

When the Polish officers were executed in early April 1940, in the early western Russian spring, according to the climatic graph for Smolensk,<sup>92</sup> average temperatures would not have been much above freezing. On the other hand, when the Battle for Smolensk ended in early September 1941,<sup>93</sup> the average temperature is just above 10 degrees Celsius or 54 degrees Fahrenheit. In early April 1940, it made sense that the Polish officers were wearing winter clothing, but not in the summer to very early autumn of 1941.

Gersdorff in his affidavit mentioned that if the crime had been committed during the short period between the German capture of Smolensk and the movement of the Army Group Centre to the Smolensk area, the perpetration of this crime could not have been kept a secret from the supreme military (Wehrmacht) authorities, especially if it had been the work of a German Army unit, as the Russians claim. The notorious SS police raiders (Einsatzkommandos)<sup>94</sup> were, to his knowledge, withdrawn on orders from the Army Group, at the time of the capture of Smolensk.<sup>95</sup>

In all, at Katyń, a total of 4000 to 5000 bodies were identified.<sup>96</sup> As summer approached, it was imperative, for reasons of hygiene, to suspend the work, which was to be resumed the following autumn. However, by that time, circumstances for the Germans on the front, had taken a turn for the worse. Smolensk was then all too close to the advancing enemy and the Army Group HQ was moved to the region of Orscha.<sup>97</sup> The two Polish generals were buried in two single graves, and the rest of the bodies were properly interred in new graves. Meanwhile another mass grave was discovered about as large as the first.<sup>98</sup> According to Gersdorff, no National Socialist Party or SS authority had at any times any influence over the proceedings.<sup>99</sup> In concluding his affidavit, Gersdorff wrote: “

I repeat in closing that I am aware that the crime of Gniezdovo-Katyn has been surpassed many times by the murders of Jews and other Nazi crimes, but I am equally sure that the Polish officers were never shot by German hands, still less by members of the German [Wehrmacht or regular, not SS] army.”<sup>100</sup>

In the body of his autobiography, Gersdorff mentioned the discovery of bullet shells bearing the name of a German munitions factory. For deniers of Stalinist perpetration of Katyń, much is made of this,<sup>101</sup> however, as Gersdorff states, this did not cause doubts, since it was shown, much in the spirit of Molotov-Ribbentrop,<sup>102</sup> that factory had shipped pistol ammunition to the Soviet Union in 1939.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, NKVD functionaries had learnt from experience that the Soviet TT pistol was unreliable for repeated use as it tended to get jammed.<sup>104</sup> There was also the claim that German ropes, not supposedly available in Russia at the time,<sup>105</sup> were used to tie the hands of some of the victims. According to Sanford however, the ropes were of Soviet origin.<sup>106</sup> In any event, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, like German ammunition and arms shipped to the Soviet Union, why not other more benign items such as rope?

In the opening to his affidavit, Gersdorff countered the assertion of the Soviet prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials that Katyń was a crime committed by the German Army: “

It is not my purpose to cast the slightest doubt on the wealth of evidence against the Nazi terror which has been offered during this trial, since I have at all times been convinced of the guilt of the National Socialist regime. On the other hand it would depreciate the value of the evidence offered

so far if an obvious untruth like the Russian account of Katyn were to remain uncontested. The Nuremberg Trial is too important an event to be burdened with an open lie.”<sup>107</sup>

Significantly, in his autobiography, Gersdorff alluded to the fact that he was never deposed as a witness about Katyn while he was at Nuremberg.<sup>108</sup> The witnesses who were called to testify were all members of the Army Group's signals regiment or the staff of the chief signals officer — all of whom had been involved only as spectators and were hardly in a position to give solid testimony.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, again in his autobiography, Gersdorff wrote of his conversation at Katyn with the Bulgarian medical examiner Professor Marko Antonov Markov,<sup>110</sup> during which, Markov asserted that there was not the slightest doubt that the murder of the Polish officers had been the work of the Soviets.<sup>111</sup>

However, during the trial of major war criminals at Nuremberg, with Bulgaria now under Soviet occupation, Markov, a witness called by the Soviet prosecutor, stated the exact opposite,<sup>112</sup> claiming that the International Commission had been presented with already exhumed bodies and had signed only under German pressure.<sup>113</sup> A claim which was refuted later by the Swiss doctor Francois Naville and Danish doctor Helge Tramsen,<sup>114</sup> leading to the Katyn allegations of the Soviets against the German army being dropped.<sup>115</sup> Markov had earlier, toed the Soviet line in February 1945 in a war crimes trial in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia, as the price for having Soviet charges against him withdrawn.<sup>116</sup>

Aside from Professor Markov retracting his signed assessment of Soviet guilt at Katyn, there was the Prague medical examiner Professor František Hájek;<sup>117</sup> his country, like Bulgaria, became a Soviet satellite post-war. On the other hand, the Slovakian medical examiner at Katyn, František Šubík, who escaped Czechoslovakia in life threatening circumstances in April 1952, stated that at Katyn he had specifically asked Hájek if the massacre had been committed by the Russians, to which Hájek answered in the affirmative.<sup>118</sup> Unlike some deniers of Stalinist perpetration of Katyn, who misleadingly claim that the Hungarian examiner, Ferenc Orsós, also withdrew his signed assessment of Soviet guilt at Katyn,<sup>119</sup> professors Markov and Hájek, on pain of death, were the only ones successfully coerced by the communist authorities to revoke their signatures.<sup>120</sup> Orsós had escaped the Red Army siege of Budapest in early December 1944, and post-war lived in West Berlin, and so is used by some pro-Soviet Katyn deniers as a so-called example of one who recanted his signature without Stalinist coercion.<sup>121</sup>

The truth is that in 1952, the American Congress established a commission of inquiry in Washington, to which its members came to Frankfurt am Main in the spring of 1952 to interview witnesses. Orsós was interrogated there as a witness on April 21, 1952, as was the Danish examiner Helge Tramsen and the Italian examiner Vincenzo Palmieri. During witness questioning, Orsós asked that his name should not be mentioned in the newspaper, which the committee of inquiry could not promise because the press was present during the public questioning.<sup>122</sup> Hence the Stalinist distortion that Orsós recanted his assessment of Soviet guilt at Katyn in 1943.

In regard to Professor Hájek and communist coercion in general in post-war Czechoslovakia, pages 8 to 9 of František Šubík's 1953 statement to the CIA are most enlightening. As is the latter's shrewd ability, without rank capitulation, to placate and stall his Stalinist-puppet post-war overlords. “

On Sunday afternoon, 6 April 1952, a tall man called on me; he introduced himself (in Czech) as Vincent NECAS, editor of the Czech Publishing Office (Cesky Tiskovy Kancelar — CTK). He told me that the ‘American Imperialists’ had set up a Congressional committee to prove that the Soviets were to blame for the massacre of Polish soldiers at Katyn for propaganda purposes. He mentioned that the Czech journalist, Dr. Frantisek KOZISEK, had already written newspaper articles proving that the Germans were to blame for the Katyn mass murders. Dr. KOZISEK had gone to Katyn in his capacity as a journalist either before or after our commission was there. He represented the Moravian-Bohemian Protectorate.<sup>123</sup> I had read Dr. KOZISEK'S article which stated that the Germans had committed ‘another gruesome, bestial atrocity,’ and that the ‘American imperialists’ were trying to twist the facts for propaganda purposes. He added that Prof. Dr. HAJEK had done likewise. NECAS said that he had gotten them to write the articles. Dr. HAJEK's article was published in the newspaper, Lidova Demokracie (People's Democracy); he reiterated his statements of 1945 that the Germans had committed the atrocities at Katyn. I know, however, that after Dr. HAJEK returned to Czechoslovakia in May 1945, he was arrested by the Communists and jailed for three days; shortly after that he wrote, under duress, a brochure entitled The Truth About Katyn. Although I haven't seen Dr. HAJEK since we returned from Katyn in 1943, I am certain that he was forced to write the brochure, because at Katyn, I specifically asked him his opinion as an expert in criminal medicine. I clearly remember him saying that there was no doubt that the murders had been



committed by the Russians, since they were in command of the territory at the time the murders were estimated to have taken place. NOIBERT, Czech publisher, told Dr. AMBRUS that Dr. HAJEK was coerced into writing his statement although it was prefaced by the assertion that he was voluntarily submitting his views on the subject. NECAS requested me to write the 'facts' about Katyn, strongly slanted against the 'Western Imperialists.' I told him that I was not an expert in criminal medicine<sup>124</sup> and that Dr. Hajek was better qualified to give an opinion. NECAS said the reason was not adequate, I would have to write something immediately. I told him the earliest I could get it to him would be the next day. He said that if he didn't call for the material before noon the next day, I should send it special delivery to: Vincent NECAS, CTK, Praha, Na Porici. I wrote about a page and a half, double-spaced, on a typewriter. He didn't come for it so I sent it to him as requested. I stated that I was not a specialist in criminal medicine, that I had not participated in any debates at Katyn since this was not my field.<sup>125</sup> I said that I had always been interested in Poland because I had translated Polish works into SLOVAK and that my interest in Katyn was general; I wanted to find out whether the bodies were actually Polish. I went on to say, in carefully couched terms, that it was common knowledge that the Germans had committed similar atrocities and that they were capable of having committed the atrocity at Katyn.<sup>126</sup> I could see what NECAS was after and I felt I had to slant my story. To have done otherwise would have meant possible incarceration. I quoted the German admission (contained in a book published by the Germans) that the cartridges used in the killings at Katyn were of German manufacture.<sup>127</sup> ... I also said that when we arrived at Katyn, the graves had already been opened by the Germans, and the bodies were arranged with typical German neatness. I stated that the commission had examined only some 15 bodies. I pointed out [fabricated for the benefit of Vincent NECAS] that Dr. COSTEDOAT had been dismissed as a member of the Commission because he did not want to sign the final report of the Commission,<sup>128</sup> and that only three men had written the protocol which was read before a large group at a banquet which made it very inconvenient to contest any part of the report.<sup>129</sup> I used these points to slant the blame for Katyn on the Germans, although certainly none of them proved anything. I tried to slant the blame in the Germans' direction without actually saying that they had really committed the atrocities. I found this difficult to do because of what I had seen at Katyn and the unanimous [actual misspelling] opinion of the experts on the scene at the time.

Up until the time I left Czechoslovakia in April 1952, nothing concerning my report on Katyn had ever been published to the best of my knowledge. About 15 April 1952, I received a letter from the Tatra Publishing House in Bratislava begging me not to stand by silently any longer and urging me to write my views on the matter and so disprove the false claims of the West. I replied that earlier in the month I had submitted my views in full and told them to whom I had sent the data. [Namely to Vincent NACAS — editor of the Czech Publishing Office (Cesky Tiskovy Kancelar — CTK.)] I added that I thought it a tragedy that books of Polish poetry which I had translated had been banned in Czechoslovakia. These books had been written during the first [pre-WWII] Czechoslovak Republic and contained absolutely no political coloring [American spelling] in the least. [Albeit, containing no Socialist revolutionary fervour.] I ended my letter with 'Phooey on life! (fuj zivot!) Sincerely yours, (signature), former poet, former physician, and former human being!'"<sup>130</sup>

Communist harassment of members of the April-May 1943 Katyń Commission didn't end with the Soviet-imposed Iron Curtain engulfing all of Eastern Europe post-war. Earlier, mention was made of the Swiss investigator Francois Naville being pressured by Jean Vincent, deputy head of the Swiss Communist party, who dutifully claimed German perpetration of the Katyń massacre.<sup>131</sup> Another however, was the Italian investigator, Vincenzo Palmieri, who from 1948 onwards, in his refusal to recant his signature given in the April-May 1943 Katyn investigation, was openly accused by the Italian Communist Party of being a Nazi collaborator. This from a party taking its instructions from Moscow,<sup>132</sup> as they dutifully ignored Stalinist co-operation with Hitler, embodied in the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, Professor Palmieri's former student Professor Canfora recalled those post-war years as follows: “

I remember things had started to change especially since when in Russia, Stalin decided to eliminate all coroners who had participated in the Katyn expedition. The KGB<sup>134</sup> killed several doctors, some of whom were poisoned. We knew that Palmieri risked his life, even if we didn't know these dark threats were coming from the secret services. We had no doubt that he was stalked, but we did not know if the stalking was ordered by the Italian or American governments, or if so it was simply

Italian police officers charged with protecting him from the intemperance of some all to zealous [communist] militant.”<sup>135</sup>

The Finnish investigator, Arno Saxén (1895 — 1952), an adjunct professor of ear, nose and throat diseases at the University of Helsinki from 1928 to 1938, and a professor of pathological anatomy since 1938,<sup>136</sup> among numerous other titles of great acclaim, came under intense pressure from the Allied (Soviet) Monitoring Commission, headed by Andrei Zhdanov,<sup>137</sup> that came to Finland post-war. This commission had a British presence,<sup>138</sup> but was dominated by the Soviets attempting to extract the most favourable terms in the armistice with Finland. Prominent of which, was the Soviet demand for Saxén to join professors Markov and Hájek, in recanting his signature of Soviet guilt at Katyń. The resolute Saxén refused.<sup>139</sup>

However, in taking the only course of action allowable to his conscience, he was, like his fellow Katyń investigator, Vincenzo Palmieri, labelled a Nazi collaborator, as the Helsinki University attempted to have him dismissed.<sup>140</sup> At the time, it was feared Finland, in these so-named “*Vaaran vuodet*” — “Years of Danger” from 1944-48, could become a communist state, either through occupation by the Soviet Union or through a Communist coup.<sup>141</sup> Hence, Katyń was an inconvenient truth for both the Soviet Union and jittery Finns who feared Saxén’s perceived intransigence would provoke a Soviet invasion and occupation. In spite of this, Saxén refused to let Katyń’s truth rot in the graves of its victims,<sup>142</sup> but would, in the next few years, live in Sweden, until the “Years of Danger” passed.<sup>143</sup>

When back in Finland in 1952, Saxén informed the US Senate that he was ready to consult with the committee’s investigation into Katyń.<sup>144</sup> However, before doing so, he travelled to a conference in Zürich Switzerland, before returning to Helsinki, where at age 57, on November 19, 1952, he suddenly died of a heart attack.<sup>145</sup> Just 106 days later, on March 5, 1953,<sup>146</sup> Stalin followed him to the grave. Could Arno Saxén, as Vincenzo Palmieri’s former student and long-time friend, Professor Canfora, suggested, have been a victim of Stalinist retribution? Indeed, many historians, such as Adam Zamoyski and the Russian historian Natalya Lebedeva, see the Katyń massacre itself as Stalin’s retribution for the humiliation of 1920.<sup>147</sup> As Zdzisław Mackiewicz, the son of a Katyń victim wrote: “Według źródeł polskich komisja miała zamiar przesłuchiwać Saxéna w roku 1952. Czy przeszkodzili w tym agenci KGB?”<sup>148</sup> Which translates to: “According to Polish sources, the [1952 US] commission intended to interrogate Saxén in 1952. Was it prevented by KGB agents?” Mackiewicz concludes his paper thus: “

Moje badania stały się dla mnie niezwykłym przypadkiem. Okazało się, że prawnuk Arno Saxéna i syn mojej córki, czyli prawnuk mego ojca zamordowanego w Katyniu, są najlepszymi przyjaciółmi, nie wiedząc wcale, że ich pradziadkowie spotkali się w Katyniu. Jeden z nich to naukowiec badający groby, drugi to Polski oficer w tych grobach znaleziony!”<sup>149</sup>

Which translates to: “

My research has become an extraordinary accident for me. It turned out that a great-grandson of Arno Saxén and a son of my daughter — great-grandson of my father murdered in Katyń, became best friends without knowing at all that their great-grandparents met in Katyń. One of them a scientist studying graves, the other a Polish officer found in these graves!”

... and moreover, perhaps, both victims of Stalinist retribution.

On June 6, 2007, Arno Saxén was posthumously awarded the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland in a ceremony at the Polish embassy in Helsinki. It was received by Arno’s eldest and 86 year-old son Erkki, following in his father’s footsteps as a professor of pathology, from Poland’s Chargé d’Affaires, Bolesław Kościuszkiewicz.<sup>150</sup> That same year, Vincenzo Palmieri, who passed away on December 23, 1994, was likewise posthumously awarded the same honour “for outstanding services in discovering and documenting the truth about the Katyń massacre.”<sup>151</sup>

In 1947, Dr. André Costedoat, who had been sent to Katyń by the head of the Vichy French government to observe the work of the Commission,<sup>152</sup> died in “unexplained”<sup>153</sup> circumstances. The Danish investigator, Dr. Helge Tramsen, a specialist at the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Copenhagen, received an official written request from the director of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nils Svenningsen,<sup>154</sup> and subsequently, permission from the anti-Nazi Danish resistance,<sup>155</sup> of which he was a member. This was recorded in Tramsen’s diary and dealt with in the Danish documentary film *Kraniet fra Katyn (The Skull*

from Katyn; 2006).<sup>156</sup> Tramsen flew to Smolensk via Berlin, where he and the other committee members stayed in a hotel, from which they commuted to Katyn.

For Dr. Tramsen, the days of April 1940 involved autopsies of murdered Polish officers, confirming that the executions took place in the spring of 1940. Back in Denmark, Tramsen described the layout of the victims at Katyn: “they lie like sardines in neatly arranged layers, heads in the same direction.”<sup>157</sup> While in Katyn, the Germans, without Dr. Tramsen’s consent, photographed him and subsequently published that photo in the German magazine *Signal*.<sup>158</sup> On his return, while in transit in Berlin, Tramsen reported on the Katyn massacre to a Danish MP in Berlin. At the same time, he had in his possession a package for the Danish resistance — namely the skull of a murdered Polish army officer, Ludwik Szymański from Kraków, as material evidence of the Katyn massacre.<sup>159</sup>

Later, for the Danish resistance movement, Dr. Tramsen wrote another report on Katyn, blaming Moscow for the crime. Not surprisingly, it made him very unpopular with the Danish communists,<sup>160</sup> who less than four years earlier in late August 1939, in the wake of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, had themselves, been proclaiming pro-Nazi German rhetoric.<sup>161</sup> The document was sent to the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and hence to SOE (British Special Operations Executive). On July 28 1944, Dr. Tramsen was arrested by the Germans on the basis of a denunciation and taken to the Frøslev internment camp.<sup>162</sup> There he delivered a lecture on Katyn to the prisoners.<sup>163</sup> This raises the question: was Dr. Tramsen denounced by a vindictive Danish communist? Certainly, in the August to October 1944 Warsaw General Uprising, as will be dealt with in Polish WWII Supplement IV “AK and 1944 Warsaw General Uprising — Stalin’s mass murder by German proxy”, overwhelming evidence suggests Stalin was not beyond letting the Germans wipe out the non-communist Polish Home Army, as his Red Army lay virtually idle on the east bank of the Vistula in Warsaw’s Praga district.

Upon his liberation from Frøslev in 1945, Dr. Tramsen was dismissed from the Institute of Forensic Medicine and was continually harassed. The leftist press, in ignoring the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact,<sup>164</sup> constantly slandered him, accusing him of collaboration with Nazi Germany, while “unknown perpetrators” smashed windows in his apartment. Upon his dismissal, Dr. Tramsen opened a private medical practice and later worked during the Korean War (June 1950 to July 1953)<sup>165</sup> as the head of medical staff aboard the hospital ship *Jutland*.<sup>166</sup> The harassment suffered by Dr. Tramsen and the growing Soviet threat in the 1950s affected his health. However, despite pressure, Dr. Tramsen never revoked his statements blaming the NKVD for the Katyn massacre, and in April 1952 he took part in the hearing before the US Madden Committee in Frankfurt am Main.<sup>167</sup>

On many occasions, he repeated his unwavering position, which included interviews in English with the Polish section of Radio Free Europe in the 1960s.<sup>168</sup> In 1970, in mysterious circumstances, Dr. Tramsen’s eldest daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Polish composer Romuald Twardowski, died in Warsaw. Years earlier, against her father’s will, she left Denmark to live with her husband. In his grief, Dr. Tramsen claimed, until his death in 1979, that Elizabeth was murdered by KGB agents, to avenge his unwavering stance on the Katyn massacre.<sup>169</sup> Initially, it would be plausible to maintain the position that the only truly neutral investigator at Katyn was the Swiss investigator Francois Naville, as all the other investigators were from countries either occupied by or friendly to Nazi Germany. However, the stories of František Šubík, Vincenzo Palmieri, Arno Saxén and Helge Tramsen (the latter a member of the Danish anti-Nazi resistance) refute this notion, since, in spite of intense pressure and fear for their lives post-war, none would recant their 1943 stance on Katyn. In each case, the easy way out would have been to give in to communist pressure post-war, both internal and external, rather than to hold firm to the stance, however dangerous, in their minds, of justice.

The two investigators that did recant post-war, Marko Antonov Markov of Bulgaria and František Hajek of Czechoslovakia, were living in countries that became Soviet satellites post-war, rendering their respective post-war “positions” on Katyn hardly credible. Moreover, the testimony of the US Army officers Colonel John H. Van Vliet and Captain Donald Stewart, brought over by the Germans to Katyn in May 1943, after being taken prisoner in North Africa,<sup>170</sup> were hardly predisposed to German propaganda.<sup>171</sup>

The Burdenko Commission was of like credibility to the recantations of professors Markov and Hájek; it was set up by the Soviets in the months following the German retreat from Smolensk in September 1943.<sup>172</sup> Its sole objective was to manufacture a conclusion of German guilt for the Katyn Wood massacre, or as its brief explicitly stated: “to ascertain and investigate ‘the Circumstances of the Shooting of Polish Officer Prisoners by the German-Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest’.”<sup>173</sup> As Tadeusz Wolsza commented, in part quoting professor Jacek Tebinka: “

Tebinka has given an elegant explication of the issue: ‘whereas British diplomacy wanted to hush up the matter as much as possible, the Kremlin did its best to exonerate itself.’ And he adds, ‘One of the items on the Soviet agenda was to invite a group of Moscow-based Western diplomats and journalists to come to Katyn round about January 21, 1944.’<sup>174</sup> Britain’s diplomats did not participate in the project, unlike Kathleen Harriman, the daughter of the American ambassador, and John F. Melby, third secretary of the US embassy, both of whom came away convinced that the Germans had done it. But most of the British and American journalists had reservations, not to say they were skeptical about the Soviet claim. This was because they felt that the excursion was an attempt to bribe them. Never before during the War had an excursion been organized for journalists in the Soviet Union with such splendor — luxury railcars, good cuisine and drinks ....’ The most concise way of summing up British policy on the Katyn affair and the Polish government would be to say it was an attempt to get the Poles to accept the conclusions of the Soviet commission and try once more to embark on talks with Stalin.’<sup>175</sup>

George Sanford’s assessment of the Burdenko Commission, indeed bears out the above, being none too flattering of Kathleen Harriman, the 25-year-old daughter of the millionaire Averill Harriman, who was US ambassador to the Soviet Union at the time.<sup>176</sup> Her role at Katyn, according to Sanford, appeared as that of a “silly girl”<sup>177</sup> being used by Roosevelt and the State Department in support of the thesis of German guilt.<sup>178</sup>

Professor Nikolai Burdenko was a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, as was his fellow commission member, the writer and former Count Aleksei Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1882—1945),<sup>179</sup> a remote relative of Leo Tolstoy.<sup>180</sup> In spite of being deaf by that time, Professor Burdenko was chosen, as he still held world renown as a neuro-surgeon who had founded the Institute of the Mind. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly in the Stalinist context, he had acted as Stalin’s and Molotov’s personal physician.<sup>181</sup> On September 27, 1943, just two days following the Red Army’s capture of Smolensk, Burdenko requested permission to begin conducting fieldwork at Katyn.<sup>182</sup> However, it was more than three months later that his infamous committee arrived at Katyn, as “preparation” of the crime scene was first required by the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) and People’s Commissariat for State Security (NKGB).<sup>183</sup>

Such “preparation” was most pressing for the nervous Politburo decision-makers who approved the death order of the Polish officers in March 1940. Hence the haste of officers who carried out the death orders issued by NKVD Chief Lavrenty Beria, to camouflage their crimes at the expense of methodical and professional investigation. Even trusted members of the scientific establishment of the party, including Burdenko, were excluded, as Stalin eventually endorsed the “preparation” and manipulation of the crime scene.<sup>184</sup>

As a result, the perpetrators of the Katyn crime had the first opportunity to conduct a preliminary “investigation” of the Katyn crime, which laid the groundwork for further concealment. From late September 1943 and throughout October, NKVD and NKGB officers from their headquarters in Moscow, accompanied by members of the NKVD Board of the Smolensk Oblast, arrived at the crime scene. Leonid Rajchman, a head of counter-intelligence of the NKGB, commanded the initial operations in the Katyn region, while the Deputy People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs, Sergei Kruglov and People’s Commissar of State Security Vsevolod Merkulov guided and oversaw the whole operation from Moscow. The latter two were members of the “troika” authorised by the NKVD to implement the Katyn order on March 5, 1940, which subsequently led to them making several on-site inspections in 1943.<sup>185</sup>

From the beginning of October 1943 to January 1944, officers of the NKVD and NKGB made efforts to hide the truth about the crimes and create a false picture of the fate of Polish prisoners of war. Operational activities of the officers under Kruglov and Merkulov, partially described later as “the initial investigation into the so-called Katyn matter,” involved firstly securing the site of the crime and concealment of bodies from outsiders; secondly, the opening of the grave pits between October and December 1943, and finally, preparing evidence for the future “exhumations” in order to draw manipulated conclusions about innocence and guilt.<sup>186</sup> The second task involved the fabrication of documents with dates from the second half of 1940 and first half of 1941, demonstrating that the Soviet attempts to show that the Polish victims were still alive during that time frame,<sup>187</sup> when dates of final entry were recorded in the diaries of the victims, suggested otherwise.<sup>188</sup> The fabricated documents were slipped into the corpses to be later “discovered” by the Burdenko Commission as evidence of German guilt.<sup>189</sup> All this was verified from post-Cold-War analysis of documents at the Russian archives and confirmed by the Military Prosecutor General of Russia.<sup>190</sup>

However, crucial as the manufacturing of physical evidence was to the Stalinist sanitisation of events, the main focus of the Kruglov-Merkulov team was the collection of coerced live testimony. That encompassed the collection of false testimony in writing, preparing witnesses to confirm the false version of

events, and ruthlessly eliminating any witnesses who would dare to proclaim the truth. Of interest were people with knowledge of the circumstances of the crime as well as those who had nothing to do with it. The favourite and frequently used method was to intimidate and blackmail the targeted persons by threatening them with accusations of collaboration with the Germans during the occupation.<sup>191</sup> Given this, it's almost certain that Russian peasants interviewed, for example, by Gersdorff and his sub-ordinates during April to May 1943,<sup>192</sup> would have been among those intimidated to conform to the contrived Stalinist narrative. Certainly, as dealt with earlier, such Stalinist coercion of witnesses was used post-war to force the two international Katyn commissioners of Markov and Hájek, by then living in Soviet satellite countries, to recant their conclusions of April-May 1943.<sup>193</sup>

The findings of the Kruglov-Merkulov team known as "The Special Committee Composed of Representatives of Relevant Bodies" in the crucial period from October 5, 1943 to January 10, 1944, were summarised in the "Information on the Results of a Preliminary Investigation into the So-Called Katyn Matter" (Information of a Preliminary Investigation). This document, signed by Kruglov and Merkulov, concluded with the following fabricated sequence of events:<sup>194</sup> "

1. The Polish prisoners of war were working on a road construction project from the spring of 1940 to June 1941 (that is until Barbarossa — Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union) west of Smolensk. [They were housed in three camps: 1-ON, 2-ON, and 3-ON, situated 25–45 kilometres west of Smolensk. These camps were a wholly fictitious NKVD invention and were never given precise locations.]<sup>195</sup>
2. The prisoners of war were captured by the Germans in late August and September 1941.
3. The shooting of Polish prisoners of war in the autumn of 1941 in the Katyn Forest was carried out by an "unknown German military institution" that was stationed in a dacha in "Kozy Gory" until the end of September 1943. Colonel Ahrens commanded the unit; his closest associates and accomplices in this crime were Lieutenant Rechst and Second Lieutenant Hott.
4. After the shooting of the prisoners of war on orders from Berlin in the autumn of 1941, Germany undertook proactive efforts to assign their despicable crimes to the Soviet power."<sup>196</sup>

In a further embellishment of the thesis of German guilt, the NKVD-NKGB stressed the notion that, in accordance with the German fascist ideology of "extermination of the 'inferior' Slavic nations," the Germans also killed 500 Russian prisoners of war who were digging the Katyn graves. Subsequently, the Katyn lie, made possible by the mystification of the crime by the NKVD-NKGB and the report of the Kruglov-Merkulov committee, became the official position of the Soviet state.<sup>197</sup>

This contrived preliminary report was finalised on January 10, 1944, and it was not until two days later, in Moscow, more than three months after Nikolai Burdenko's request to start an investigation on the Katyn massacre, that the eight-member committee to be led by him was created. It was officially dubbed "Special Commission for the Findings and Examination of the Circumstances Surrounding the Shooting by the German Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest of the Prisoners of War."<sup>198</sup> As already mentioned, the official name for the commission led by Burdenko, explicitly stated his commission's pre-determined outcome. Fifteen months later, an SS Drumhead court-martial would likewise have its verdict predetermined for Dietrich and four of his fellow conspirators at Flossenbürg, and his brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnányi at Sachsenhausen.<sup>199</sup>

The inaugural meeting of the Burdenko Commission in Moscow, on the 13<sup>th</sup>, left no doubt as to the course of action it would take. Deputy Commissioner of Internal Affairs Sergei Kruglov, was also present to highlight the findings of his commission, as guidelines for the Burdenko commission, which were accepted without the slightest discussion, as demonstrated in the following documented exchange between Tolstoy, Kruglov, and Burdenko.<sup>200</sup> "

TOLSTOY: The most basic statement is that the Poles were still alive after our withdrawal from Smolensk.

KRUGLOV: Very many witnesses testify that in autumn 1943 Germans escorted small groups of Poles, about 30-40 each in vehicles to the Katyn Forest.

TOLSTOY: I think that at upon opening of the graves there should certainly be some documents, cards, notes, letters dated later than 1940.

KRUGLOV: Later than the spring of 1940; for sure it will be representative material evidence ...

BURDENKO: As we heard from a speech by Comrade Kruglov, this matter is serious, and I propose to discuss the plan of our work.”

The field work of the Burdenko Commission from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1944,<sup>201</sup> consisted of collecting “evidence” for developing and supporting the fabricated version of German guilt for the murder of the Poles. The Burdenko Commission did not investigate who perpetrated the crime. Rather, as obsequiously stated in the official name of this body, it only investigated the “circumstances of the shooting by the German-Fascist invaders of the Katyn Forest.”<sup>202</sup> Gathering evidence in practice was limited to the recording of evidence gathered and manufactured by the Kruglov committee. Typical of this was the extraction from the Katyn pits of previously prepared materials left by the NKVD-NKGB.<sup>203</sup>

On January 24, 1944, the Burdenko Commission, issued its official communiqué, formally signed by all its eight members. It was subsequently released on January 26, published in *Pravda* (правда — “Truth”), and referenced by the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and other newspapers. The release of the communiqué on January 24, 1944, completed the basic work of the Commission, but Burdenko, very involved in the promotion of its product, continued his correspondence and, at least on paper, the Commission convened again many times.<sup>204</sup> However, as already mentioned, two days earlier on January 22, the Burdenko Commission, recognising an urgent need to present material to the international community, organised a press conference for mostly foreign journalists, even though the Commission had yet to officially publish its findings from the investigation.<sup>205</sup>

For the Soviets, having qualified western investigators involved in their examination of the Katyn crime scene was unthinkable. However, at some stage, some sort of foreign presence for international consumption of the Soviet Katyn lie, would be demanded. Hence, a group of about 20 journalists gathered, nearly all British and American except for a Frenchman and the Polish communist editor of *Wolna Polska* and subsequent PRL cultural notable, Jerzy Borejsza.<sup>206</sup> Among the Americans was John Melby, the Third Secretary of the American Embassy and Kathleen Harriman, the 25-year-old daughter of the millionaire Averill Harriman, who was US ambassador to the USSR at the time.<sup>207</sup>

This group was in no position to draw any substantive conclusions. Their trip was short and superficial and the atmosphere was somewhat strained. As already stated, Kathleen Harriman allowed herself to be used by Roosevelt and the State Department in support of the thesis of German guilt. John Melby, as well, was all too ready to accept<sup>208</sup> what was, for himself, Roosevelt and the entire Anglo-American alliance in general, the birth of the convenient “Katyn Lie.”<sup>209</sup> Another participant in this visit, Alexander Werth, became a well-known Soviet specialist and journalist based in the United Kingdom. In 1966, an edited Russian translation of his massive *Russia at War* was published in the Soviet Union towards the end of its second phase of destalinisation. While Werth’s criticism of the weak, shoddy and unconvincing presentation of the Soviet case by Burdenko was published in this translated work, critically, it did not directly tackle the central issue of Soviet responsibility.<sup>210</sup> Hence, it fostered the persistence of the Katyn Lie.<sup>211</sup>

The British embassy in Moscow reported that the journalists, while predisposed to accept the Soviet version, had not been impressed by what they saw and heard. Witnesses were clearly intimidated and “told their tale before the same people and repeated it parrot fashion.” The Soviet case was based entirely on the credibility of the medical evidence which could not be challenged, and unexpected questions by the journalists caused their hosts “noticeable irritation.”<sup>212</sup> A quintessential case in point was when an American journalist asked if the Committee noticed that the victims were dressed too heavily in sweaters and warm underwear for the August and September weather [of 1941, when the Battle for Smolensk was raging]. Vladimir Potemkin, the People’s Commissar of Education,<sup>213</sup> replied that cool nights begin in September (ignoring August), and Tolstoy tortuously explained that the men had no other clothing.<sup>214</sup> This had been noticed by the American prisoner of war in Germany, and fourth generation West Pointer, Colonel John H. Van Vliet, and fellow American prisoner and officer Captain Donald Stewart, brought over by the Germans to Katyn in May 1943, after being taken prisoner in North Africa.<sup>215</sup> As Witold Wasilewski commented: “

Perhaps this exchange contributed to the replacement in subsequent Soviet documents of the August and September 1941 time frame (alternatively, the end of August and September) with the phrase “autumn” of 1941.”<sup>216</sup>

This point it seems, was missed during the three months in late 1943 of the preparatory Kruglov-Merkulov committee. Moreover, as alluded to by Witold Wasilewski: “

It should be noted that, contrary to popular opinions, activities related to the inspection of the death pits and testing of the exhumed bodies could not — at the then existing state of knowledge — give a clear and unarguable answers to questions about the time of the murder of POWs, and so unquestionably determine the identity the perpetrators, and could be useful only when compared with data collected by other means. Earlier correct conclusions made under the auspices of the German [sponsored] investigation in 1943 stemmed more from the examination of documents [Such as the dates of final entries in the diaries of the victims.]<sup>217</sup> and hearing witnesses than from medical forensic testing.”<sup>218</sup>

Moreover, as stated by Gersdorff, after the discovery of the first mass grave, several more were discovered by looking for areas of three-year-old tree growth. This implies that the spring of 1940 was the time the executions were carried out.<sup>219</sup> The age of such growth was established indisputably by Russian and German forestry experts.<sup>220</sup>

In June 1950, a curious report surfaced in the Russian exile press in the US. Boris Olshanskii, a Voronezh University academic, who served with the Red Army in Stalingrad and later on the Belarusian Front, had succeeded in defecting from the Soviet Zone of Germany.<sup>221</sup> Olshanskii claimed to have been a close and long-established family friend of Burdenko’s and to have visited the ailing surgeon, who had suffered two strokes in Moscow, just before his death in 1946. According to Olshanskii, Burdenko stated that Mother Russia’s soil was full of Katyńs.<sup>222</sup> Stalin had personally ordered him to visit Katyń to refute the German accusation. Such unsupported hearsay evidence is unprovable even though it was repeated in 1952 before the US Congress committee investigating Katyń.<sup>223</sup> In words reminiscent of Beria’s admission at a meeting in October 1940, six or so months after Katyń,<sup>224</sup> Burdenko allegedly said that “our comrades from the NKVD made a great blunder” [In committing the massacre].<sup>225</sup>

Hearsay or not, the alleged statement of Burdenko “Mother Russia’s soil was full of Katyńs,” with emphasis on the symbolic plural for Katyń, would, in the decades following, be proven chillingly true. Around the time of the Katyń massacre, four other massacres of Polish officers took place. They were to the south-east of Katyń, near the Ukrainian city of Kharkov; to the north-east of Katyń in the western Russian town of Kalinin, now modern-day Tver;<sup>226</sup> to the south of Katyń, the western Ukrainian village of Bykivnia near Kiev;<sup>227</sup> and finally to the west-south-west of Katyń, the western Belarusian village of Kuropaty near Minsk.<sup>228</sup> These four massacres have, in the modern-day, become synonymous with the story of Katyń, as they embody the Stalinist theme of extermination of the Polish officer class, or anyone who bore even the slightest indication of a privileged class or independent thought.<sup>229</sup> Of these four additional massacres, the ones perpetrated near Kharkov and Kalinin are the best known.

East of Kharkov was the Starobelsk prison, a former nunnery, which held 3,894 prisoners, which included a lot of scholars, priests, about 100 teachers and 400 doctors, several hundred lawyers and engineers, several dozen journalists, and also eight generals. The latter group included the defender of Lwów (Lviv), Franciszek Sikorski, and Konstanty Plisowski, Stanisław Haller, Leonard Skierski, Leon Billewicz, Aleksander Kowalewski, Kazimierz Orlik-Lukoski and Piotr Skuratowicz.<sup>230</sup> They would all be buried near Kharkov. West of Kalinin was the Ostashkov prison, a former monastery on Stolobny Island on Seliger Lake, 11 kilometres from Ostashkov. Among the prisoners were State Police and Military Police officials, secret service and counter-espionage officials, the soldiers of the Border Protection Corps and the employees of the Prison Guard. As well, almost the entire staff of the Military Police Education Centre, among whom was Colonel Stanisław Sitek. This camp was the largest of the three camps, holding 6,570 prisoners of war just before it was disbanded in April 1940,<sup>231</sup> around the time of the massacres. They would all be buried near Kalinin, now modern-day Tver. As stated earlier, the victims of Katyń were held at a former monastery in Kozelsk to the east of Katyń.<sup>232</sup>

For the almost simultaneous Stalinist-perpetrated murders at multiple locations of mostly Polish officers (and reserves) and some civilian intelligentsia, Katyń has come to collectively embody them all. This is due to the fact, that for almost half a century after the execution of these crimes, the knowledge about people taken into captivity, or arrested and finally murdered, based on the resolution of the Political Bureau of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), was limited to the information about the executions in Katyń.<sup>233</sup> Hence, the term “Katyń massacre” refers not only to that massacre itself, but also to the ones committed at Kharkov, Kalinin, Bykivnia and Kuropaty, and to their origin, the lies accompanying them, and attempts to judge those responsible for them.<sup>234</sup>

Unlike the Katyn Wood massacre itself, where the crime scene had been under German control for more than three years from June 1941 to September 1944, Kalinin, where the NKVD perpetrated executions took place, which was admittedly occupied by the Germans from October to December 1941,<sup>235</sup> the nearby village of Mednoye, where the bodies were buried, was never at any stage, under German control. From October 17 to 20, 1941,<sup>236</sup> the village was on the front line of the northernmost sector for the Battle of Moscow,<sup>237</sup> but on October 21, the Wehrmacht was driven back during a Red Army counter-offensive.<sup>238</sup> In one of the pro-Soviet Katyn myths, much had been made of the fact that bullets and shells consistent with the German manufactured 7.65 D Geco pistol,<sup>239</sup> had been found on the Katyn Wood crime scene. However, the same types of German bullets were also found in the mass graves of Poles in Mednoye, which the Germans never occupied.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Gersdorff in his autobiography, wrote that this did not cause doubts, since it was shown, much in the spirit of Molotov-Ribbentrop, that the factory had shipped pistol ammunition to the Soviet Union in 1939.<sup>241</sup> Indeed, NKVD functionaries had learnt from experience that the Soviet TT pistol was unreliable for repeated use as it tended to get jammed.<sup>242</sup>

While news of the Katyn massacre was revealed decades ago, it was only in the spring of 1988 that rumours spread about the bodies lying near Mednoye. According to Sergei Glushkov, who co-founded the Katyn Memorial's Tver branch, former officers of the KGB, the NKVD's 1954 successor agency,<sup>243</sup> revealed the presence of the secret graveyard. One day, Glushkov and five other Memorial members travelled to the site to see what they could find.<sup>244</sup> "We just climbed over the metal fence and started digging," said Glushkov, who, in 2019, was 72 years old. "It definitely wasn't legal, but we couldn't wait." He said a duty officer from the KGB gave him coordinates for the site.<sup>245</sup> It was from the Ostashkov camp, where, according to documents signed by high-ranking NKVD operatives, more than 6,000 Poles were transferred in groups to the secret police headquarters in Kalinin in May 1940. Over a period of several months, 100 Poles were taken daily from the camp to the city.

The documents include no order to kill the prisoners, but proof that executions took place in the basement of the NKVD headquarters, came from the March 1991 testimony of Dmitry Tokarev, the former head of the NKVD's regional branch.<sup>246</sup> It was then that military prosecutors twice questioned Tokarev as part of a criminal investigation into the Katyn massacre. Tokarev explained how each night, some 250 prisoners were shot in secret and later driven to Mednoye for burial. Exhumations took place at the site in 1991, 1994, and 1995. The photos from the digs show earth turned navy blue from the dye that seeped from the uniforms of Polish officers.<sup>247</sup> Even if one were to consider the unlikely case that Tokarev, for whatever reason, was lying, the burning question still remains as to how the bodies of Polish police officers ended up in a mass grave on Soviet soil in Mednoye, which the Germans never reached.

Twenty-three pits were excavated, containing the remains of around 2,300 victims and various personal items that established the identities of many victims. In Mednoye today, tall wooden crosses mark the spots where the pits were dug; only the Polish part of the burial site has been studied. The names of Soviet victims of repression who may also lie there in their thousands are yet to be ascertained.<sup>248</sup> Every year, since the 1990s, on October 30<sup>th</sup>, a delegation from Poland came to lay flowers at the building of the former NKVD headquarters, now a modern-day university building, beneath two metal plaques that were affixed to its façade in 1991, with inscriptions commemorating those who died in its basement: "... the 6,000 Poles estimated to have been shot, and the many other nationalities who fell victim to what became known as Stalin's Great Terror."<sup>249</sup>

Yet, in spite of all the evidence, many in Russia today continue to deny that the killings ever took place, fostering a cottage industry of deniers,<sup>250</sup> which includes neo-Stalinists in the west, such as Grover Furr.<sup>251</sup> Propaganda films, now realising the implausibility of any contrived German guilt in and around Kalinin (modern-day Tver) for the murder of Polish prisoners, spread the message that Mednoye contains the bodies of Red Army soldiers, not Poles. Moreover, a new Tver-produced war movie depicts Tokarev as a valiant NKVD commander who roots out spies among his officers on the eve of the city's invasion by the Fascist horde.<sup>252</sup> Ilya Kleymenov, head of the Tver branch of the Communists of Russia party, which is separate and much smaller than Russia's main Communist Party, initiated the campaign to get the plaques removed from the building of Tver State Medical University; he commented: "There is no direct or even circumstantial evidence that can be seen to prove that those events took place in the building on Soviet Street, in the city of Kalinin, and especially in Mednoye."<sup>253</sup>

On June 14, 2019, in a letter to Tver's Mayor Aleksei Ogonkov, Kleymenov's neo-Stalinist party claimed the information on the plaques is "distorted," hence fostering "anti-patriotic feelings on the young generation." Without providing support for his claim, he called the idea that Polish officers were shot in Kalinin's NKVD building "quite simply falsified."<sup>254</sup> Four months later, the prosecutor's office sent its letter to the university's rector Lesya Chichanovskaya, ordering that the plaques be removed. The letter claims



that: "... crucial documents relating to the plaques' origins are missing from the archives." Their inscriptions, it said, are "not based on documented facts."<sup>255</sup>

Though this order was issued in October 2019, it was not until May 7, 2020, on the eve of the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of VE (Victory in Europe) day, that the plaques were finally removed.<sup>256</sup>

Aleksandr Guryanov, who coordinates Memorial's Polish research team, sees the order to remove the plaques in Tver as part of a years-long effort to rewrite the history of the Katyn massacre, and indeed, moreover, sanitise the history of Russia's dark Stalinist past. In 2019, he and his colleagues at Memorial released a three-volume book listing the names and biographies of 6,287 Polish inmates of the Ostashkov camp. Over several hundred pages of meticulous research cites documents attesting to their imprisonment there, their execution in Kalinin, and their eventual burial at Mednoye.<sup>257</sup> In August 2019, the State Central Museum of Contemporary Russian History in Moscow, which oversees the Mednoye Memorial Complex, announced plans to commence digs at the site in a bid to identify the Soviet citizens, including wounded Red Army soldiers believed to have received treatment at military hospitals in the area, who may possibly be buried there as well. However, while Guryanov is not in principle opposed to this, he suspects ulterior motives.<sup>258</sup> "We must first find the documents, so that we don't dig blindly and at least delineate the likely burial spots prior to any digs," he said, adding, re the museum, "I don't trust them."<sup>259</sup>

For Memorial, which has painstakingly researched Stalinist repressions for the past 30 years, the conflict over Mednoye now makes its existence a most precarious one. Since September 2019, Memorial has been barraged with fines associated with its status as a "foreign agent," a label applied by the Russian government to groups that receive foreign funding. With the total sum now exceeding 3 million rubles (almost US \$50,000), Memorial has been forced to launch an online funding campaign for the first time in its 30-year history.<sup>260</sup>

In the west, one of the most zealous neo-Stalinist revisionists is Grover Furr, an American professor of Medieval English literature at New Jersey's Montclair State University. He is best known for his books and articles on the Stalinist history of the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1953.<sup>261</sup> Earlier, in Polish WWII Supplement I, I discussed "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact," Furr's spurious contention that the Soviet Union never invaded Poland.<sup>262</sup> This notion can be easily refuted on several grounds, but the most poignant one here is the fact that a state of war existed between Poland and the USSR after September 17, 1939 due to the Soviet authorities describing Polish Army soldiers as "prisoners of war" and that a special Prisoner-of-War Administration was created inside the NKVD to handle the entire problem of prisoners. This reflects the conviction of USSR state officials that a war was being waged with Poland.<sup>263</sup> Further, the official name for the contrived Burdenko commission was "Special Commission for the Findings and Examination of the Circumstances Surrounding the Shooting by the German Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest of the *Prisoners of War*" [my emphasis].<sup>264</sup>

In Furr's 2013 article, 'The "Official" Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine',<sup>265</sup> much is made of the Burdenko commission supposedly refuting the official version of events in the Katyn forest. This it achieves, Furr asserts, because the Burdenko commission was a fair and impartial commission (despite its contrived nature implied in its official name),<sup>266</sup> and he insists it was unlike the International Commission convened in April 1943 by the Fascist invaders.

To begin with, Furr mentions the so-called camps No. 1-ON, 2-ON, and 3-ON, where "ON" stood for "osobogo naznacheniia" (special purpose or assignment). Furr contends that these camps, located about 25 to 45 kilometres west of Smolensk, were special assignment camps for "road construction,"<sup>267</sup> and that from the "testimony"<sup>268</sup> of witnesses and "documentary"<sup>269</sup> evidence, the Burdenko Commission established that after the outbreak of hostilities, and 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. In Furr's mind, this version is given further "plausibility" by the fact that the Soviet government, in their very first response of April 16, 1943 to the discovery of the Katyn graves, claimed that Polish officers were involved in construction in the Smolensk area.

The Soviet government's response was made on April 16, 1943. However, this is where the Stalinist "truth" starts and ends. The Germans made the announcement of the discovery of the Katyn graves on April 13, 1943.<sup>270</sup> Just three days later, the Soviets delivered their response, which Furr contends, implies the truth of their story,<sup>271</sup> on the grounds that any contrived story would have taken much longer to fabricate. However, as documented earlier, these "ON" camps were a fiction of the NKVD-NKGB.<sup>272</sup> They were never mentioned in the Polish-Soviet exchanges of 1941-1943, following the Barbarossa invasion, nor were they reported by any Pole in the USSR.<sup>273</sup>

Moreover, on December 3, 1941, in Moscow, with the hypothermic German invaders at the city's gates,<sup>274</sup> there was exchange between Stalin and Molotov on the Soviet side, and General Władysław

Sikorski, veteran of the 1919-20 Polish Soviet War<sup>275</sup> and head of the London Polish Government in exile,<sup>276</sup> and General Władysław Anders, commanding officer of the Polish army in the Middle East and Italy during World War II. He became a leading figure among the anti-communist Poles, who wisely refused to return to their homeland after the war. Like Sikorski, a veteran of the 1919–20 Polish-Soviet War, Anders had been imprisoned by the Soviets in September 1939 before being released in August 1941, following Hitler's Barbarossa invasion in June 1941, and subsequent restoration of Polish-Soviet diplomatic ties.<sup>277</sup> Also present was the Polish ambassador, Stanisław Kott.

Sikorski and Anders were pressing Stalin on the issue of 15,000 unaccounted Polish prisoners. In November, Kott had already confronted Stalin on this issue. In every instance, Stalin attempted to palm them off with feigned confusion, and never, at any stage, was mention made of the fictitious ON camps,<sup>278</sup> as at that stage, Stalin would not yet have envisaged their necessity. On December 3, 1941, Stalin made the following statement: "I don't know where they are. Maybe they fled to Manchuria."<sup>279</sup> Furr, in his 2013 article, makes no mention of these Polish-Soviet exchanges between the June 1941 Barbarossa invasion, and the German announcement of their discovery of the Katyń graves on April 13, 1943. Nor does he mention the dates of final entry in the victims' diaries,<sup>280</sup> which clearly attest to NKVD guilt.

Furr does, however, make what appears at first to be a compelling argument, when he makes much of the discovery of badges of two Polish policemen, Józef Kuligowski and Ludwik Małowiejski, discovered in May 2011<sup>281</sup> and September 2011<sup>282</sup> respectively. They were unearthed during a joint 2011-12 Polish-Ukrainian archaeological dig of a mass execution site at the modern-day Ukrainian town of Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy (pre-war, the Polish town of Włodzimierz-Wołyński,<sup>283</sup> and today, still only fifteen kilometres inside the Ukraine from the Polish border).<sup>284</sup> This town is located in the modern-day Ukraine, which explains the reference to the Ukraine in the full title of Furr's 2013 article "The 'Official' Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine."<sup>285</sup>

In 1997, a mass grave of NKVD victims from 1939–1941 was discovered. However, it was not until 2011, that Ukrainian archaeologists, examining the foundations of the castle of the Polish king, Casimir the Great, found traces of subsequent mass graves and numerous items suggesting that there may be Poles among the victims.<sup>286</sup> Polish archaeologists were called in, and according to the Polish archaeologist, Adam Kaczyński, they were expecting to find victims of the NKVD, especially those murdered during the so-called liquidation of prisons during the first days of the German Barbarossa invasion. Then, the NKVD executed prisoners before evacuating eastwards from the relentless German advance.<sup>287</sup> At the NKVD prison in Włodzimierz-Wołyński, for example, the NKVD executed 36 prisoners<sup>288</sup> before they fled east. In the autumn of 2011, co-operation between Ukrainian and Polish archaeologists began, and continued into the summer and autumn of 2012. They managed to examine about twelve percent of the medieval stronghold's area.<sup>289</sup>

However, to the amazement of the Poles, they discovered mass burials of the Jewish population murdered in 1941–1942, during the German occupation. Results of earlier excavations and available historical sources indicated that only the burials of NKVD victims should be located within the stronghold.<sup>290</sup> The content of burial pits, the way the corpses were laid, and the huge number of women and children, clearly indicated that they were dealing with victims of the Nazi Holocaust. The first mass execution in the prison yard took place on July 5, 1941, when around 150 people were murdered.<sup>291</sup> Further crimes in the prison took place from August to December 1941. However, the largest number of people were murdered during the liquidation of the Włodzimierz ghetto, which began on September 1, 1942. Within two weeks, 18,000 were killed, about four thousand in the ghetto, and the remainder from the outskirts of the city.<sup>292</sup>

According to Adam Kaczyński, the Polish and Ukrainian reports do not differ in substantive content, but only in conclusions regarding the time and circumstances of the victims' murder.<sup>293</sup> The report prepared by Polish archaeologists was, however, more complete because it contained anthropological analysis of the remains found and refers to the wider context of the entire find.<sup>294</sup> This raises the question of why the Ukrainian conclusion diverges from the Polish one. Adam Kaczyński commented: "

In Włodzimierz Wołyński lie the Poles and Ukrainians murdered by the NKVD in 1939–1941. [A fact omitted by Furr.] However, in addition to them, are also victims of the murders that were perpetrated during the German occupation. I see no reason why we should hide this fact and forcibly attribute Holocaust victims to executioners from the NKVD. In Włodzimierz Wołyński, there was a situation where what archaeologists discovered does not meet the political expectations of their government, or the population in general, because it destroys the meticulously built myth about the heroism of the UPA (Ukrainian Nationalists). For many in the Ukraine, it is unacceptable that people who in 1943, deserted the Germans, and formed the UPA,<sup>295</sup> had during the previous twelve

or so months together with the Nazis, actively participated in the mass murder of the Jewish population. In this context, the efforts of Ukrainian journalists to cover up the whole matter and blame the executioners of the NKVD — even at the price of discrediting their own archaeologists — are fully understandable... Our main goal is to find victims of the NKVD, however, honesty and a universal approach requires that all victims of the war be dignified, regardless of their origin and nationality.”<sup>296</sup>

In his 2013 article, Furr makes no mention of the fact that some of the victims in the graves were ruled by both teams of archaeologists to be victims of the NKVD.<sup>297</sup> On the other hand, he does mention the Ukrainians’ motivation to attribute the crimes to the NKVD in order to sanitise the reputation of their UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainian: Українська повстанська армія, УПА, Ukrayins’ka Povstans’ka Armiya).<sup>298</sup> This is favourable to Furr’s case, since before the formation of the UPA in October 1942, many of its members collaborated with the Nazis.<sup>299</sup> However, he fails to mention that the Polish archaeologists were at odds with their Ukrainian counterparts from the outset of Polish participation at the site.<sup>300</sup> In other words, there never was any attempt by the Poles to fabricate any evidence to fit a pre-determined story, which was indeed the case with the Burdenko commission<sup>301</sup> — which Furr abundantly quotes to support his case.

Moreover, German and possible UPA guilt at Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy cannot, on its own, overturn Stalinist guilt at Katyn Wood. Nevertheless, when the badges of the Polish policemen were found in May and September of 2011 by the joint Polish-Ukrainian archaeological team, neo-Stalinists perceived an opportunity to revoke the official version of Katyn. In the process however, neo-Stalinists disregarded untainted exhumations in the 1990s and 2000s, especially the site at Mednoye, which the Germans never reached, and the fact that no neo-Stalinist denier could account for the fate of the missing 15,000 Polish POWs,<sup>302</sup> which Sikorski and Anders spoke of to Stalin and Molotov in Moscow in early December 1941.<sup>303</sup> All which point to NKVD guilt at Katyn in the spring of 1940. In other words, how can the two alleged anomalies disprove the mountainous remainder of evidence?<sup>304</sup> Moreover, they disregard the fact that official police badges found during the exhumations in Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy were found not among human remains, but in the bulk layer above the graves.<sup>305</sup>

This conundrum was solved in 2019 by Aleksandr Guryanov,<sup>306</sup> mentioned earlier as one of the “Memorial” researchers of the mass grave site at Mednoye. Well before 2011, Mednoye was proven to be the place where the bodies of the two Polish police officers, Józef Kuligowski and Ludwik Małowiejski were buried — a site the Germans never reached. Furr, on other the hand, claimed the bodies of Kuligowski<sup>307</sup> and Małowiejski<sup>308</sup> were among those found at Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy in 2011. However, in 2019, revealing documentary data was unearthed by Aleksandr Guryanov. It was from The Main Administration for Affairs of Prisoners of War and Internees, the GUPVI, a department of the NKVD. In it was data stating that Ludwik Małowiejski was indeed in Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy, not in 1941, but in September 1939.<sup>309</sup>

Ludwik Małowiejski was captured wounded in September 1939; after his arrival at the NKVD Shepetovka reception centre, he was placed in a hospital in Shepetovka, where he was kept until he was sent to the Ostashkov camp — the camp where all the Polish prisoners buried at Mednoye in May 1940 had been held in the months before.<sup>310</sup> Documentary data on the date and place of the capture of Józef Kuligowski, as well as on where he was held as a prisoner of war until his arrival at the Ostashkov camp, are not available in the researched archive documents, but it can be assumed that he, like many other Polish soldiers and police, was captured in September 1939 in Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy; his police badge probably ended up in the bulk layer above the mass grave in Volodymyr-Volyns’kiy, in the same way as the badge of Ludwik Małowiejski<sup>311</sup> As discussed earlier, since September 2019, the Memorial organisation, of which Aleksandr Guryanov is a member, has been barraged with fines associated with its status as a “foreign agent,” a label applied by the Russian government to groups that receive foreign funding.<sup>312</sup>

One more aspect of Furr’s questionable 2013 narrative of neo-Stalinist propaganda, relating to the 1919-20 Polish Soviet War needs to be addressed. It claims as follows: “

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 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.”<sup>313</sup>

While Furr does not quite claim that every single Polish POW captured by the Soviets in 1939 was involved in Polish-perpetrated war crimes in the 1919-20 Polish-Soviet War, it seems to be implied by him that some grossly exaggerated proportion was, in which he includes Józef Kuligowski and Ludwik Małowiejski.

It would be ludicrous to assert that Polish troops were entirely guiltless during this brutal war, so typical of the power vacuum created in the chaotic aftermath of the Great War. However, in order to sanitise Soviet crimes against the Polish people during World War II, which goes well beyond just Katyn, Furr makes no mention of Soviet atrocities during the 1919-20 Polish-Soviet war. In *White Eagle Red Star*, Norman Davies mentions the instance of the Bolsheviks using Polish prisoners for sabre practice.<sup>314</sup> However, with an objective balance, counter to the narrative of Furr, Davies comments as follows: “

The end of the fighting brought a welcome term to the suffering of the civilian population; it also brought a series of investigations and attempts to apportion the blame. The Polish army was charged with repressive and brutal police measures, the Red Army with wanton anarchy and classicide; both armies were charged with anti-semitism, though in an area with a large Jewish population it is hard to say where common violence ends and anti-semitism begins. The Warsaw and Moscow press competed with each other over their stories of the enemy's frightfulness. Every pulpit in Poland reverberated weekly to tales of the 'Bolshevik horrors', of Soviet cannibalism, of the nationalization of women, and of the murder of priests. Pravda ran a daily column called Zhertva Panov ("Victims of the Polish Lords"). Despite the propaganda, there are well documented instances of atrocity... The agonies of innocent civilians is an unsavoury subject which politicians and generals are not eager to air. It is not really surprising that [Soviet] Budyonny disowned Babel's Konarmiya [Soviet Cavalry] stories and denounced their author for "rooting around in the garbage of the army's backyard." Regrettably, most armies do have a "back-yard" where "garbage" invariably collects."<sup>315</sup>

Hence, Furr's 2013 narrative cannot sanitise Soviet guilt for atrocities perpetrated on the Polish people in World War II and its aftermath. This includes the deportation of 1.7 million Borderland Poles to Siberian gulags, where half would perish in the frigid hell.<sup>316</sup> Among them were infants, cripples, and the blind,<sup>317</sup> all exiled into the vast abyss of the Siberian hell; the vast majority had nothing to do with any possible atrocities committed by Poles in the 1919-20 war. Moreover, Furr's assertion that: “**NOBODY CARES what happened to the Polish officers! Nobody, including the Poles.**”<sup>318</sup> (The uppercase letters and bold formatting are Professor Furr's.) does not hold true, as numerous documents and publications by Poles and non-Poles, and even Russian historians such as Natalia Lebedeva,<sup>319</sup> and Aleksandr Guryanov, in his 2019 work documenting the victims executed in Kalinin, then buried in Mednoye,<sup>320</sup> attest to.

Moreover, while I taught English in Poland for ten months from September 2004 to July 2005, evidence was all around me that Furr's assertion is anything but true. For one thing, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego (Warsaw Uprising Museum), which I visited in early October 2004, opened on July 31, 2004, marking the Rising's 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary. This implies that Poles will never forget Katyn.<sup>ii</sup> My boss told me of times during communist rule when people were forbidden to even mention Molotov-Ribbentrop, Katyn or the 1944 Rising, due to the inconvenient truth all embodied for their overlords in Moscow. A female director at another language school told me she was grateful that the collapse of Poland's communist regime in 1989 came just in time for her to choose English as her second language, rather than the language of the Russian oppressor. She did not explicitly mention Katyn or the 1944 Rising, but they were implied between the lines.

On Saturday, April 10, 2010, a Tupolev Tu-154 aircraft of the Polish Air Force crashed near the Russian city of Smolensk, killing all 96 people on board. Among the victims were the President of Poland Lech Kaczyński and his wife Maria, the former President of Poland in exile (during the Cold War) Ryszard Kaczorowski, the chief of the Polish General Staff and other senior Polish military officers, the president of the National Bank of Poland, Polish Government officials, 18 members of the Polish Parliament, senior members of the Polish clergy and relatives of victims of the Katyn massacre. The group was arriving from Warsaw to attend an event commemorating the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Katyn massacre, which took place near Smolensk in western Russia.<sup>321</sup>

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ii The 1944 Warsaw General Uprising will be covered in the following appendix. Norman Davies in his book *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404, on page 48, states that Stalin personally signed the order for the Katyn executions, and gives an overview of Katyn to illustrate the acrimonious relationship between the Polish Government in Exile in London and the Soviet regime, due in no small part to Katyn. See for example, pages 44, 48 and 115 to 116.

Both the Russian and Polish official investigations found no technical faults with the aircraft, and concluded that the crew failed to conduct the approach in a safe manner in the given weather conditions. However, the British Air Crash Investigator, Frank Taylor, who was involved in the investigation into the losses of 1988 Lockerbie Pan Am Flight 103, and numerous other investigations,<sup>322</sup> dismissed the official verdict of the Russian and Polish inquiries as a politically convenient fantasy, stating, “There is no doubt there were explosions on board before the aircraft hit the ground.”<sup>323</sup> In a subsequent interview, Taylor explained, “There is strong evidence that a few seconds later the door on the left side of the fuselage, just forward of the wing, was blown out and driven hard into the ground by another explosion in the fuselage.” He added that the Kremlin investigation was a fraud: “Russian politicians took over the investigation, preventing the professional investigator from taking control of the accident site, from completing the full investigation, including a full reconstruction of the wreckage, and from writing the final accident report.”<sup>324</sup> All this seems reminiscent of the Burdenko Katyń commission.

Even if one were to dismiss the opinion of a highly credible investigator such as Frank Taylor, there are still disturbing incidents suggesting that the Kremlin was remarkably slipshod in its handling of the dead. Sent home in sealed coffins, many of the bodies had been swapped or misidentified. In 24 cases of re-examination in 2016, half of the coffins opened contained the wrong remains. Even the coffin of the Polish President Lech Kaczyński included the remains of two other victims.<sup>325</sup> Such carelessness inevitably led to questions about what else the Russians had mishandled—or worse. One thing implied here is the deeply embedded Russian psyche of Stalinist Katyń denial.

According to a March 2013 poll, 11% of Poles were firmly convinced of Russian foul play, while another 22%, were open to such a possibility. In other words, one-third of Poles were, in March 2013, at least open to the theory of Russian foul play.<sup>326</sup> Further fuelling the theories is the fact that Russia, in April 2013, had still not turned over the wreckage of the downed airliner to the Poles. Moscow stated it had not yet “completed its investigation,” and would return the debris to Poland when it does.<sup>327</sup> Moreover, even by April 2020, a decade following the accident,<sup>328</sup> the Russian Federation was still maintaining possession of the plane wreckage, the black boxes with original flight data recordings and other materials of evidence. While copies, but not originals of flight data recordings and some material evidence have been transmitted to the Polish authorities, Poland has strongly insisted for years that the wreckage and all original materials be returned.<sup>329</sup>

In all, from the mass graves at Katyń, Mednoye and near Kharkov, 21,892 Polish citizens were buried.<sup>330</sup> The vast majority of them were Poles by nationality, but not all, as Poland was then a multinational state, which, in spite of its ethnic turmoil between the wars, in great part provoked by Moscow,<sup>331</sup> possessed a multinational and multi-faith officer corps. As a result, many of the dead were Jews, ethnic Ukrainians, and Belarusians. About eight percent of the victims were Jews, corresponding to the proportion of Jews in Poland’s Borderlands.<sup>332</sup> Moreover, as mentioned earlier this chapter, there was the retired Professor of Neurology and Epileptology at the University of Berne, Kazimierz Karbowski, whose Jewish mother died in the Warsaw Ghetto, and father was executed at Katyń.<sup>333</sup> As Timothy Snyder commented: “

Fyodor Dostoevsky, the famous nineteenth century Russian novelist, had set a crucial scene of *The Brothers Karamazov* at the Optyn Hermitage in Kozelsk, which in 1939 and 1940 became the site of the Soviet administered prisoner-of-war camp. Here took place the most famous exchange in the book: a discussion between a young nobleman and a monastery elder about the possibility of morality without God. If God is dead, is everything permitted? In 1940, the real building where this fictional conversation took place, the former residence of some of the monks, housed the NKVD interrogators. They represented a Soviet answer to that question: only the death of God allowed for the liberation of humanity. Unconsciously, many of the fervently religious Polish officers and reserves, possessing an intellect far surpassing that of the NKVD thugs, provided a different answer: that in a place where everything is permitted, God is a refuge. They saw their camps as churches, and prayed in them. Many of them attended Easter services<sup>iii</sup> before they were dispatched to their deaths.”<sup>334</sup>

As Stalin and Beria had come to realise, men of such integrity and intelligence, unlike their NKVD captors, would never become ideologically compliant Bolshevik puppets, and hence embodied a clear and present danger to the Stalinist subjugation of Poland.

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iii Easter Sunday in 1940 fell on March 24<sup>th</sup>. The early Easter implies that many of the victims would have attended Easter services just a fortnight or so before their deaths in early April. See the Calendar 12 website at <https://www.calendar-12.com/holidays/easter/1940>.

Katyń, and the other sites of mass murder and burial such as Kalinin-Mednoye, that the term Katyń now embodies, were unequivocally acts of genocide. Admittedly, Katyń was not an extermination of an entire ethnic group on the scale of the Jewish Holocaust or Rwanda. However, it was the calculated and deliberate murder of a nation's elite,<sup>335</sup> simultaneously embodying classicide,<sup>336</sup> with the intention of obliterating its political and creative energy for the future.<sup>337</sup> To these men such as Adam Solski,<sup>338</sup> perceived as a clear and present danger to the Stalinist world view, this chapter is dedicated to ensure, that their memory, which embodies so much more than just Katyń itself, will not rot in the grave.<sup>339</sup>

1 <sup>319</sup> See pages 132 to 133 of *Warsaw 1920, Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe* by Adam Zamoyski, paperback published by William Collins 2014, ISBN 9780007225538. See also the final paragraph of the online New York Times article titled *Russian Files Show Stalin Ordered Massacre of 20,000 Poles in 1940* by Celestine Bohlen, dated October 15, 1992 at <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/15/world/russian-files-show-stalin-ordered-massacre-of-20000-poles-in-1940.html>. This states the agreement of the Soviet historian Natalya Lebedeva, with Adam Zamoyski. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

2 <sup>339</sup> Adapted from the online article *Totuus ei mätäne haudassa (The truth will not rot in the grave)* at <https://www.savonsanomat.fi/paakirjoitukset/Totuus-ei-mätäne-haudassa/632263> dated April 20, 2010 in the Finnish daily newspaper *Savon Sanomat* by Seppo Kononen. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

3 <sup>5 47 56 65 71 74 75 76 94 100 102 127 161 199 229 262 316</sup> I cover these unsuccessful assassination plots in Chapter 18 “Romance, Plots and Arrest” of my book *THE PASTOR AND THE MATRIARCH OF THE GERMAN UNDERGROUND AND THEIR TIMES: A Polish Perspective* published by Elephant White Cultural Enterprise Taiwan 2021, ISBN: 9786267018231 and Liberty Hill Publishing Florida 2022, ISBN: 9781662834622. To purchase, see my website at <https://vincebarwinski.com/2021/12/26/options-to-buy-copies-of-the-pastor-and-the-matriarch-of-the-german-underground-and-their-times-a-polish-perspective/>. A chapter by chapter description is given at <https://vincebarwinski.com/library/> and book excerpts are available at <https://vincebarwinski.com/2021/12/25/list-of-book-excerpts-and-front-and-back-cover-design/>.

4 See positions 194.6 to 198.8 and 213.7 of the autobiographical ebook *Soldier in the Downfall: A Wehrmacht Cavalryman in Russia, Normandy, and the Plot to Kill Hitler*, by Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff (Author), Anthony Pearsall (Translator), published by The Aberjona Press (25 March 2013), ASIN: B00C6FYGP2, ISBN 13: 9780977756377.

5 See Chapter 18 “Romance, Plots and Arrest” of my book. Details are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

6 Position 635.0 of the ebook *Countdown to Valkyrie: The July Plot to Assassinate Hitler* by Nigel Jones, published in 2008 by Frontline Books, Digital Edition ISBN 9781783407811, in the *Dramatis Personae* gives the years of birth and death for Fabian von Schlabrendorff as 1907 and 1980 respectively.

7 Ibid position 623.0 in the *Dramatis Personae* gives the years of birth and death for Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff as 1905 and 1980 respectively.

8 See pages 24 to 25 of *Military Intelligence, Volume 15, Issue 1*, contributors United States Army Intelligence Center & School, U.S. Army Intelligence Center, Fort Huachuca (Arizona), published by U.S. Army Intelligence Center & School, 1989 which briefly describes the role of the German G-2 intelligence service.

9 Position 508.1 of the autobiographical ebook *Soldier in the Downfall: A Wehrmacht Cavalryman in Russia, Normandy, and the Plot to Kill Hitler*, by Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff (Author), Anthony Pearsall (Translator), published by The Aberjona Press (25 March 2013), ASIN: B00C6FYGP2, ISBN 13: 9780977756377. See also Gersdorff's affidavit in English, *The Truth About “Katyn,”* Document #6032179 at [https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047\\_3.pdf](https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047_3.pdf) on the website of the Munich Leibnitz Institute for German Contemporary History (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. This written statement appears in the appendix of Gersdorff's autobiography.

10 Ibid Position 340.6. The text of endnote #29 for the chapter “Soldier and Traitor,” states that this discovery was made in early April 1943.

11 Position 341.0 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.

12 Position 341.2 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.

13 This railway station is approximately 12 to 13 kilometres east of the Smolensk Central station. In Russian Cyrillic text it is Гнездово, which in Polish is Gniezdowo — pronounced “G-niez-dovo.” In English spelling, as is often the case when Romanisation of Cyrillic text is applied, confusing variants are the result. In the body of his autobiography, in the English translation at least, the spelling “Nyezdova” is used, while in his written 1946 statement to the Nuremberg Tribunal, in the English translated document at least, “Gniezdowo,” which closely resembles the Polish spelling, was used. (In Polish, the “w” is pronounced like the English “v.” In Polish, there are no letters “q,” “v” or “x.”) The most common English spelling seems to be “Gnezdovo.” In my book, in the interests of clarity and consistency, I have decided to use the Polish spelling.

14 Position 341.8 of *Soldier in the Downfall*. See also Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit in English, *The Truth About “Katyn,”* Document #6032179 at [https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047\\_3.pdf](https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047_3.pdf) on the website of the Munich Leibnitz Institute for German Contemporary History (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*). This written statement appears in the appendix of his autobiography. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

15 Position 342.0 of *Soldier in the Downfall*. See also pages 1 to 2 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit in English, *The Truth About “Katyn,”* Document #6032179 at [https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047\\_3.pdf](https://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-0047_3.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

16 Page 2 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

17 <sup>134</sup> Position 342.2 of *Soldier in the Downfall*. Note that in the body of the book, Gersdorff refers to the perpetrators as the NKVD — who were indeed Stalin's Secret Police at the time. However, in his 1946 written statement to the Nuremberg Tribunal, as stated in an endnote at position 597.3 of his autobiography, he called them the GPU — who were the predecessor to the NKVD. See the US Library of Congress (LOC) webpage titled *Revelations from the Russian Archives Internal Workings of the Soviet Union* at <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/intn.html> and <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/secr.html> and the “Abbreviations and Glossary” on pages xi to xii of *Lenin*,



*Stalin and Hitler* by Robert Gellately, published by Vintage 2008, ISBN 9780712603577. In 1934, the NKVD superseded the GPU, which in turn, in 1954, following Stalin's death in March 1953, was superseded by the KGB. See the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the KGB at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/KGB>. All links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

18 Position 342.3 of *Soldier in the Downfall* and page 2 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

19 Page xiii of *Operation Barbarossa and Germany's Defeat in the East* by David Stahel, published by Cambridge University Press, 2009, ISBN 0521768470, 9780521768474.

20 Position 342.7 of *Soldier in the Downfall*, page 2 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit and the photo and description on the web page of the Imperial War Museum at <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205075618>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

21 Page 578 of the 2012 publication *Mass Murderers Discover Mass Murder: the Germans and Katyn, 1943* by Kenneth F. Ledford, Professor of Law, School of Law, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences at Case Western Reserve University Cleveland Ohio. It can be viewed online at [https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=faculty\\_publications](https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=faculty_publications). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

22 To clarify the confusing Romanised spelling of this village, see endnote <sup>13</sup> for this supplement.

23 Position 345.0 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.

24 Position 345.1 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.

25 Page 2 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 See endnotes <sup>33</sup> to <sup>37</sup>.

32 <sup>232</sup> The document signed by Stalin and others in the Politburo, authorising the execution, can be viewed on the World War II Today web site at <http://ww2today.com/stalin-orders-the-katyn-forest-murders>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. See also position 348.7 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder, published by The Bodley Head of the Random House Group 2010, ISBN 9781407075501.

33 <sup>280</sup> Pages 2 to 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit. See also the map and narrative at position 354.2 of *Bloodlands*.

34 <sup>217</sup> To clarify the confusing Romanised spelling of this village, see endnote <sup>13</sup> for this supplement.

35 See endnote <sup>17</sup> for this supplement in regard to the name of this NKVD holiday resort.

36 Gersdorff assumed the Polish officers were murdered in the wood. (See pages 2 to 3 of his 1946 statement to the Nuremberg Tribunal.) However, according to Timothy Snyder, author of *Bloodlands*, it appears that the executions took place on the nearby grounds of the NKVD holiday resort, before the bodies of the victims were taken to the wood for burial in a mass grave. See endnote <sup>38</sup> for this supplement. Gersdorff in his 1946 statement to the Nuremberg tribunal, naturally assumed the executions took place in the wood itself, as was the case with Einsatzgruppen massacre near Kiev in late September 1941, which became known as the infamous Babi Yar massacre — one of the largest single massacres of the Holocaust. (See <https://www.britannica.com/place/Babi-Yar-massacre-site-Ukraine>). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. However, this does not change the essence of Gersdorff's written statement. Namely, that the Katyn murders were perpetrated by the NKVD, more than a year before Hitler's Barbarossa invasion. Gersdorff did in fact mention the then former NKVD holiday resort, which since September 1941, had been the HQ for the German Army Group Signals regiment. (See page 1 of Gersdorff's 1946 statement to the Nuremberg tribunal and position 342.2 of his autobiography.)

37 <sup>338</sup> <sup>280</sup> Top of page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

38 <sup>217</sup> <sup>338</sup> Position 354.6 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder, published by The Bodley Head of the Random House Group 2010, ISBN 9781407075501.

39 Page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

40 Page 578 of the 2012 publication *Mass Murderers Discover Mass Murder: the Germans and Katyn, 1943* by Kenneth F. Ledford, Professor of Law, School of Law, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences at Case Western Reserve University Cleveland Ohio. It can be viewed online at [https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=faculty\\_publications](https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=faculty_publications). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

41 Page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

42 Page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

43 Page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

44 Page 3 of Gersdorff's 1946 affidavit.

45 As stated in the document: *International Katyn Commission Findings. Der Massenmord in Walde von Katyn Ein Tatsachenbericht (the Mass-Murder in the Katyn Forest, a Documentary Account of Evidence). Germany, 1943*. This English Language translated document can be viewed online at [http://www.warsawuprising.com/doc/katyn\\_documents1.htm](http://www.warsawuprising.com/doc/katyn_documents1.htm). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. This site is maintained by Project InPosterum [Latin — for the future], a non-profit, public benefit corporation established in 2004 in California with the purpose to organise for the specific purpose of preserving and popularising selected subjects of



World War II history and its aftermath with a focus on Central and Eastern Europe. It's not the official website of the Rising, however, it uses reliable sources which include by permission, Norman Davies *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404. At the bottom of this document, signed in Smolensk on April 30, 1943, is a jpeg image of signatures of all twelve medical university professors, attesting to the fact, that the massacre took place in the months of March and April 1940. The bottom of the original German language document, with signatures is given on page 47 of the 2004 paper *Professeur François Naville (1883 - 1968) Son rôle dans l'enquête sur le massacre de Katyn (His role in the investigation into the Katyn massacre)* by Kazimierz Karbowski, Professor of Neurology and Epileptology, University of Berne on pages 41 to 61 of Issue #1 of the 2004 *Bulletin de la Société des sciences médicales du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Bulletin of the Society of Medical Sciences of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg). The paper is in French, however, the abstract on page 41 is in English. It can be downloaded on the Wayback machine at [https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm\\_04\\_1\\_8.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm_04_1_8.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

46 Ibid.

47 See the Polish WWII Supplement I "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" of my book. Details given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

48 Article on the Ustaša regime at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ustasa>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

49 Article on the Axis powers at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Axis-Powers>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

50 <sup>131</sup> The 2004 paper *Professeur François Naville (1883 - 1968) Son rôle dans l'enquête sur le massacre de Katyn (His role in the investigation into the Katyn massacre)* by Kazimierz Karbowski, Professor of Neurology and Epileptology, University of Berne on pages 41 to 61 of Issue #1 of the 2004 *Bulletin de la Société des sciences médicales du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Bulletin of the Society of Medical Sciences of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg). The paper is in French, however, the abstract on page 41 is in English, which is what is quoted here. It can be downloaded on the Wayback machine at [https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm\\_04\\_1\\_8.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm_04_1_8.pdf). For the credentials of Kazimierz Karbowski, see the memorial article in German titled *In memoriam Prof. Kazimierz Karbowski* which can be downloaded at <https://sanp.ch/article/doi/sanp.2012.02368> on the website of the Swiss Archives of Neurology, Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

51 Ibid.

52 That Mikhail Gorbachev was in power in 1989 in the Soviet Union, see

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mikhail-Gorbachev>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

53 <sup>333</sup> The memorial article in German titled *In memoriam Prof. Kazimierz Karbowski* which can be downloaded at <https://sanp.ch/article/doi/sanp.2012.02368> on the website of the Swiss Archives of Neurology, Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

54 Page 53 of the 2004 paper *Professeur François Naville (1883 - 1968) Son rôle dans l'enquête sur le massacre de Katyn (His role in the investigation into the Katyn massacre)* by Kazimierz Karbowski, Professor of Neurology and Epileptology, University of Berne on pages 41 to 61 of Issue #1 of the 2004 *Bulletin de la Société des sciences médicales du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Bulletin of the Society of Medical Sciences of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg). This paper can be downloaded on the Wayback Machine at [https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm\\_04\\_1\\_8.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20091128020305/http://www.ssm.lu/pdfs/bssm_04_1_8.pdf). For the credentials of Kazimierz Karbowski, see the memorial article in German titled *In memoriam Prof. Kazimierz Karbowski* which can be downloaded at <https://sanp.ch/article/doi/sanp.2012.02368> on the website of the Swiss Archives of Neurology, Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. All links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

55 See for example the so-called Swedish language *mythcracker* website at <http://www.mythcracker.com/katyn/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

56 See the Polish WWII Supplement I "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" of my book. Details given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

57 Ibid.

58 The Central Intelligence Agency report online titled *The Katyn Controversy: Stalin's Killing Field* by Benjamin B. Fischer at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/winter99-00/art6.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

59 Page 7 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre. The Katyn Forest Massacre: Hearings before the Select Committee on Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, 82d Congress, 1951-52, Document 100-183. It can be downloaded on the Kresy-Siberia website, dedicated to the Borderland Polish family and victims of Stalinist oppression at [http://kresy-siberia.com/1952\\_Katyn\\_report\\_to\\_Congress.pdf](http://kresy-siberia.com/1952_Katyn_report_to_Congress.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

60 Position 1118.0 of Microcosm.

61 <sup>81</sup> The Central Intelligence Agency report online titled *The Katyn Controversy: Stalin's Killing Field* by Benjamin B. Fischer and page 7 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre. The Katyn Forest Massacre: Hearings before the Select Committee on Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, 82d Congress, 1951-52, Document 100-183. It can be downloaded on the Kresy-Siberia website, dedicated to the Borderland Polish family and victims of Stalinist oppression at [http://kresy-siberia.com/1952\\_Katyn\\_report\\_to\\_Congress.pdf](http://kresy-siberia.com/1952_Katyn_report_to_Congress.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

62 Page 387 of the book *The war with Japan: A Concise History edition 2* by Charles Bateson, published by Michigan State University Press, 1968.

63 Position 1118.0 of Microcosm.

64 Page 276 of *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* by E. Garrison Walters, published by Syracuse University Press, 1988, ISBN 0815624409, 9780815624400. The Polish Government in Exile in London alone commanded more than 0.5 million men.

65 See the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

66 In regard to aerial Battle of Britain, following the fall of France, see <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Britain-European-history-1940>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

67 The online article *THE POLISH PILOTS WHO FLEW IN THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN* by Mariusz Gasior dated Tuesday 9 January 2018 on the website of the Imperial War Museum at <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-polish-pilots-who-flew-in-the-battle-of-britain>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

68 Page 276 of *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* by E. Garrison Walters, published by Syracuse University Press, 1988, ISBN 0815624409, 9780815624400. The Polish Government in Exile in London alone commanded more than 0.5 million men.

69 Professor Norman Davies in his book, *Rising ‘44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404, repeatedly refers to the Poles as the “First Ally.” However, pages 54-57 are perfect examples.

70 See the online article *Katyn: the long cover-up* by Dariusz Tolczyk, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at The University of Virginia, dated May 2010, at <https://newcriterion.com/issues/2010/5/katyn-the-long-cover-up>, accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020, on the website of *The New Criterion*. This article appeared in *The New Criterion*, Volume 28 Number 9, on page 4.

71 See the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

72 Page 115 of *Rising ‘44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition* (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404 by Professor Norman Davies.

73 Professor Norman Davies in his book, *Rising ‘44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404, repeatedly refers to the Poles as the “First Ally.” However, pages 54-57 are a perfect examples.

74 Not to be confused with the August to October 1944 Warsaw General Uprising. See Polish WWII Supplement IV “AK and 1944 Warsaw General Uprising — Stalin’s mass murder by German proxy” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>. Both nevertheless, were heroic acts of defiance against an inexorably more powerful and ruthless enemy. Both were about sixteen months apart. In regard to the April-May 1943 Warsaw Jewish Ghetto Uprising, see the Polish WWII Supplement IV “AK and 1944 Warsaw General Uprising — Stalin’s mass murder by German proxy” from my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

75 Pages 115 to 116 of *Rising ‘44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404. In regard to the Polish inter-war “doctrine of two enemies,” see the Polish WWII Supplement IV “AK and 1944 Warsaw General Uprising — Stalin’s mass murder by German proxy” from my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

76 See the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

77 Pages 482 to 484 of *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler*.

78 Pages 484 to 485 of *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler*.

79 See endnote <sup>1</sup> for this supplement.

80 See the Preface “Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History” of my book in regard to Lenin’s dream of spreading the Soviet revolution to the rest of the world.

81 See endnote <sup>61</sup> for this supplement.

82 <sup>171</sup> Pages 36 to 37 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre. The Katyn Forest Massacre: Hearings before the Select Committee on Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, 82d Congress, 1951-52, Document 100-183. It can be downloaded on the Kresy-Siberia website, dedicated to the Borderland Polish family and victims of Stalinist oppression at [http://kresy-siberia.com/1952\\_Katyn\\_report\\_to\\_Congress.pdf](http://kresy-siberia.com/1952_Katyn_report_to_Congress.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

83 Ibid. Also JSTOR at [https://www.jstor.org/stable/25779772?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3Ae376df3d2c9677c5caf708d3adb41a0a&seq=23#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/25779772?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3Ae376df3d2c9677c5caf708d3adb41a0a&seq=23#page_scan_tab_contents). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

84 Page 37 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

85 Page 37 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

86 Page 36 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

87 Page 37 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

88 <sup>215</sup> Page 36 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

89 <sup>215</sup> Page 3 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.

90 Page 37 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.

91 Page 2 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.

92 The climatic graph for Smolensk at <https://en.climate-data.org/asia/russian-federation/smolensk-oblast/smolensk-413/#climate-graph> on the Climate-Data website. See also the table at <https://www.eldoradoweather.com/climate/europe/russia/Smolensk.html> on the website of El Dorado Weather. Both accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

- 93 <sup>171</sup> The Warfare History Network website article by Victor Kamenir at <https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/2016/07/29/operation-barbarossa-holding-the-line-at-smolensk/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 94 In regard to the Einsatzgruppen/Einstazkommandos, see The Preface “Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History” and Chapter 17 “Pastor and Spy” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.
- 95 Page 1 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.
- 96 <sup>172</sup> Page 3 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.
- 97 <sup>172</sup> Page 3 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.
- 98 Bottom of page 3 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit. Gersdorff stated that with this discovery, an estimate of 10,000 to 12,000 executed at Katyn was certainly not too high. However, this was an overestimate, and was in fact used in the Soviet Burdenko Commission in January 1944. See position 433.9 of the ebook *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford, published by Routledge 2005, ISBN13: 978113430299-4 (ePub ISBN). The Burdenko Commission will be covered in detail later on in this supplement.
- 99 Bottom of page 3 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.
- 100 Page 4 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit. In regard to the differentiation between the Wehrmacht and SS, see Chapter 17 “Pastor and Spy” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.
- 101 <sup>239</sup> See for example the so-called Swedish language *mythcracker* website at <http://www.mythcracker.com/katyn/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 102 <sup>241</sup> See Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.
- 103 <sup>127 241</sup> Position 348.4 Gersdorff’s autobiography, *Soldier in the Downfall*
- 104 <sup>242</sup> Position 308.1 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford, published by Routledge 2005, ISBN13: 978113430299-4.
- 105 The so-called Swedish language *mythcracker* website at <http://www.mythcracker.com/katyn/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 106 Position 434.3 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 107 Page 1 of Gersdorff’s 1946 affidavit.
- 108 Position 348.9 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 109 Position 348.9 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 110 <sup>193</sup> Position 593.0 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 111 Position 348.6 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 112 Position 348.7 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 113 Position 439.3 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford, published by Routledge 2005, ISBN13: 978113430299-4.
- 114 Position 439.3 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 115 Position 348.8 of *Soldier in the Downfall*.
- 116 Position 409.6 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 117 The first name of this Katyn investigator is given on page 79 of the publication *ENCOUNTER WITH KATYN The wartime and postwar story of Poles who saw the Katyn site in 1943* by Tadeusz Wolsza, originally published as *Dotyk Katynia. Wojenne i powojenne losy Polaków wizytujących Katyn w 1943 roku*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2018, Translated from the Polish by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Marta Kapera, Piotr Pieńkowski, The Janusz Kurtyka Foundation al. Waszyngtona 39/25 04-015 Warszawa, Poland. It can be downloaded at [http://fundacijakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn\\_print2.pdf](http://fundacijakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn_print2.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 118 Page 9 of the statement of František Šubík in the Central Intelligence Agency document CIA-RDP80-00810A001000670008-9 dated May 12, 1953. It can be downloaded on the CIA website at <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80-00810A001000670008-9.pdf>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. See also the 2014 Polish Documentary *Poświęcając życie prawdzie (Dedicating Life to the Truth)* aired on Telewizja Polska S.A. (TVP S.A., or Polish Television), which is the Polish public service broadcaster and the largest Polish television network. This documentary is dedicated to the story of the twelve doctors, specialists and experts in forensic medicine who made up the International Medical Commission appointed by the Germans to investigate the murder in Katyn. More information on this documentary can be found on the Polish Film website at <http://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?film=1236402>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 119 See for example the so-called Swedish language *mythcracker* website at <http://www.mythcracker.com/katyn/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 120 <sup>193</sup> See the description of the 2014 Polish Documentary *Poświęcając życie prawdzie (Dedicating Life to the Truth)* aired on Telewizja Polska S.A. (TVP S.A., or Polish Television) on the Polish Film website at <http://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?film=1236402>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 121 See for example the so-called Swedish language *mythcracker* website at <http://www.mythcracker.com/katyn/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 122 Bottom of page 1601 of *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, First-[second] Session, on Investigation of the Murder of Thousands of Polish Officers in the Katyn Forest Near Smolensk, Russia*, by the United States Congress House Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances on the Katyn Forest Massacre, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952,



original from the University of Minnesota, digitised December 1, 2014. See also Google Books at [https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=PWFJAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbg\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=1601&f=false](https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=PWFJAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbg_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=1601&f=false). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

123 Hitler proclaimed this “protectorate” on March 16, 1939 following German troops marching into Prague without a shot being fired. See the JOURNAL ARTICLE *Three Years of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia* by Moses Moskowitz in the Political Science Quarterly Vol. 57, No. 3 (Sep., 1942), pp. 353-375 Published by: The Academy of Political Science DOI: 10.2307/2144345, It can be downloaded at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2144345>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

124 <sup>125</sup> František Šubík was Professor of Pathological Anatomy at the University of Bratislava and Slovakian Chief of State Public Health Works. See the document: *International Katyn Commission Findings. Der Massenmord in Walde von Katyn Ein Tatsachenbericht (the Mass-Murder in the Katyn Forest, a Documentary Account of Evidence). Germany, 1943* at [http://www.warsawuprising.com/doc/katyn\\_documents1.htm](http://www.warsawuprising.com/doc/katyn_documents1.htm) on the website of the Warsaw 1944 Uprising. See this website’s credentials at endnote <sup>45</sup> for this supplement.

125 See endnote <sup>124</sup> for this supplement.

126 See for example Chapter 20 “Valkyrie II” of my book in regard to the Cephalonia massacre. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

127 See endnote <sup>103</sup> for this supplement, where Gersdorff explains how the NKVD came into possession of German manufactured ammunition used for the Katyn massacre. In regard to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, see the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

128 <sup>152</sup> This is a distortion of the truth, used by František Šubík to placate and/or stall his communist overlords. Dr. André Costedoat was merely sent by the head of the Vichy French government to observe the work of the Commission. See pages 1402 and 1423 of *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, First-[second] Session, on Investigation of the Murder of Thousands of Polish Officers in the Katyn Forest Near Smolensk, Russia*, by the United States Congress House Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances on the Katyn Forest Massacre, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, original from the University of Minnesota, digitised December 1, 2014. See also Google Books at [https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=PWFJAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1402&lpg=PA1402&dq=Dr.+Costedoat,+Medical+Inspector.&source=bl&ots=5sWJHzA\\_VZ&sig=ACfU3U2rythpcsdgp9CGoQo1c4Br6kzUYw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewJOp5KHsZfnAhVFL6YKHWYiDjQQ6AEwAHoECAGQAQ#v=onepage&q=Costedoat&f=false](https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=PWFJAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1402&lpg=PA1402&dq=Dr.+Costedoat,+Medical+Inspector.&source=bl&ots=5sWJHzA_VZ&sig=ACfU3U2rythpcsdgp9CGoQo1c4Br6kzUYw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewJOp5KHsZfnAhVFL6YKHWYiDjQQ6AEwAHoECAGQAQ#v=onepage&q=Costedoat&f=false). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

129 Again, another fabrication for the benefit of Vincent NECAS. See for example the testimony of Dr. Orsos on pages 1600 to 1601 of *ibid*.

130 Pages 8 to 9 of the statement of František Šubík in the Central Intelligence Agency document CIA-RDP80-00810A001000670008-9 dated May 12, 1953. It can be downloaded on the CIA website at <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80-00810A001000670008-9.pdf>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

131 See endnote <sup>50</sup> for this supplement.

132 Page 25 of the 2009 Italian paper *KATYN una verità storica negata: La Perizia di V.M. Palmieri (Katyn a historical truth denied: The Expertise of V.M. Palmieri)* by Luigia Melillo, University of Naples 2009. It can be downloaded at <https://www.scribd.com/document/150269981/Katyn-una-verita-storica-negata-La-perizia-di-Vincenzo-Maria-Palmieri>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

133 In regard to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, see the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

134 Note that at the time, the KGB, with Stalin still alive, did not yet exist. It was not until 1954, in the year following Stalin’s death, with Nikita Khrushchev in power, that the NKVD was superseded by the KGB. See endnote <sup>17</sup> for this supplement in regard to the succession of Soviet secret police agencies. In the context of this story, whether the perpetrators were the NKVD or the KGB, is only of peripheral importance at most.

135 Pages 24 to 25 of the 2009 Italian paper *KATYN una verità storica negata: La Perizia di V.M. Palmieri (Katyn a historical truth denied: The Expertise of V.M. Palmieri)* by Luigia Melillo, University of Naples 2009. It can be downloaded at <https://www.scribd.com/document/150269981/Katyn-una-verita-storica-negata-La-perizia-di-Vincenzo-Maria-Palmieri>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

136 The article by Lauri Saxén: *Saxén, Arno (1895—1952) Suomen kansallisbiografia (Finnish National Biography)*, Volume 8, pages 720—721. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), 2006. ISBN 9517464495. Online version of the book on the Finnish National Biography website at <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/6900/>. Lauri Saxén was a son of Arno. See the Geni genealogical website at <https://www.geni.com/people/Arno-Saxén/6000000000001127960>. All links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

137 The online article *Totuus ei mätäne haudassa (The truth will not rot in the grave)* at <https://www.savonsanomat.fi/paakirjoitukset/Totuus-ei-matane-haudassa/632263> dated April 20, 2010 in the Finnish daily newspaper *Savon Sanomat* by Seppo Kononen, accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020 and page 7 of *Finland’s Search for Security through Defence, 1944—89* by Penttilä R.E.J. (1991) in Chapter 1 “The Years of Danger”, 1944—

47,” published by Palgrave Macmillan, London 1991, ebook ISBN 9781349116362.

138 Page 6 of *Finland's Search for Security through Defence, 1944–89* by Penttilä R.E.J. (1991) in Chapter 1 “‘The Years of Danger’, 1944–47,” published by Palgrave Macmillan, London 1991, ebook ISBN 9781349116362.

139 The article by Lauri Saxén: *Saxén, Arno (1895–1952) Suomen kansallisbiografia (Finnish National Biography)*, Volume 8, pages 720–721. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), 2006. ISBN 9517464495. Online version of the book on the Finnish National Biography website at <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/6900/>. See also the online article *Totuus ei mätäne haudassa (The truth will not rot in the grave)* at <https://www.savonsanomat.fi/paakirjoitukset/Totuus-ei-mätäne-haudassa/632263> dated April 20, 2010 in the Finnish daily newspaper *Savon Sanomat* by Seppo Kononen. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

140 The article by Lauri Saxén: *Saxén, Arno (1895–1952), Suomen kansallisbiografia (Finnish National Biography)*, Volume 8, pages 720–721. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), 2006. ISBN 9517464495. Online version of the book on the Finnish National Biography website at <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/6900/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

141 Page 6 to 7 of *Finland's Search for Security through Defence, 1944–89* by Penttilä R.E.J. (1991) in Chapter 1 “‘The Years of Danger’, 1944–47,” published by Palgrave Macmillan, London 1991, ebook ISBN 9781349116362.

142 The online article *Totuus ei mätäne haudassa (The truth will not rot in the grave)* at <https://www.savonsanomat.fi/paakirjoitukset/Totuus-ei-mätäne-haudassa/632263> dated April 20, 2010 in the Finnish daily newspaper *Savon Sanomat* by Seppo Kononen. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

143 The article by Lauri Saxén: *Saxén, Arno (1895–1952), Suomen kansallisbiografia (Finnish National Biography)*, Volume 8, pages 720–721. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), 2006. ISBN 9517464495. Online version of the book on the Finnish National Biography website at <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/6900/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

144 Page 7 of the article *Professor Arno Saxén w sprawie polskiej / część trzecia (ostatnia)* (Professor Arno Saxén on the Polish Matter / Part 3 (last)), in: *Polonia-Finlandia*, number 4, 2008, by Zdzisław Mackiewicz. It can be downloaded on the Polonia-Finlandia website at <http://www.polonia-finlandia.fi/biuletyny/2008-4.pdf>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

145 Page 83 of the publication *ENCOUNTER WITH KATYN The wartime and postwar story of Poles who saw the Katyn site in 1943* by Tadeusz Wolsza, originally published as *Dotyk Katynia. Wojenne i powojenne losy Polaków wizytujących Katyń w 1943 roku*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2018, Translated from the Polish by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Marta Kapera, Piotr Pieńkowski, The Janusz Kurtyka Foundation al. Waszyngtona 39/25 04-015 Warszawa, Poland. It can be downloaded at [http://fundajakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn\\_print2.pdf](http://fundajakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn_print2.pdf). See also Yrjö Meurman (1954) Arno Saxén: In Memoriam, *Acta Oto-Laryngologica*, 44:2, 189-190, DOI: 10.3109/00016485409139627 or view at Taylor and Francis Online at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3109/00016485409139627>. The latter also makes reference to his sudden death. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

146 <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joseph-Stalin>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

147 <sup>319</sup> See endnote <sup>1</sup> for this supplement.

148 <sup>243</sup> Page 7 of the article *Professor Arno Saxén w sprawie polskiej / część trzecia (ostatnia)* (Professor Arno Saxén on the Polish Matter / Part 3 (last)), in: *Polonia-Finlandia*, number 4, 2008, by Zdzisław Mackiewicz. It can be downloaded on the Polonia-Finlandia website at <http://www.polonia-finlandia.fi/biuletyny/2008-4.pdf>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. Note that at the time, the KGB, with Stalin still alive, did not yet exist. It was not until 1954, in the year following Stalin's death, with Nikita Khrushchev in power, that the NKVD was superseded by the KGB. See endnote <sup>17</sup> for this supplement in regard to the succession of Soviet secret police agencies. In the context of this story, whether the perpetrators were the NKVD or the KGB, is only of peripheral importance at most.

149 Ibid page 8.

150 Ibid page 8.

151 The article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski titled *Lektura na weekend: Naoczni świadkowie Katynia — Reading for the weekend: Eyewitnesses of Katyn* on the website of *Kresy24* at <https://kresy24.pl/lektura-na-weekend-naoczni-swiadkowie-katynia/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. *Kresy24* is an information portal run by the “Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja” — “Freedom and Democracy Foundation.” Full name of the website: *Kresy24.pl - Wschodnia Gazeta Dnia — Kresy24.pl Eastern Newspaper of the Day*. It publishes news from Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Russia, Asia and the Caucasus. The Freedom and Democracy Foundation is an independent, non-party non-governmental organisation. Since its foundation in 2005, the Foundation has been operating in two main areas: helping Poles in the East and supporting democratic changes in the former Soviet Union. The impetus for the foundation of the Foundation was the closing of two independent Polish magazines related to the Union of (ethnic) Poles in Belarus in summer 2005 by the Belarusian authorities. The need to publish magazines in exile and to raise funds for this purpose led to the creation of the Foundation. See their statement online at <http://wid.org.pl/kim-jestesmy/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

152 See endnote <sup>128</sup> for this supplement in regard to Dr. André Costedoat's role at Katyn.

153 Page 79 of the publication *ENCOUNTER WITH KATYN The wartime and postwar story of Poles who saw the Katyn site in 1943* by Tadeusz Wolsza, originally published as *Dotyk Katynia. Wojenne i powojenne losy Polaków wizytujących Katyń w 1943 roku*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2018, Translated from the Polish by Teresa

- Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Marta Kapera, Piotr Pieńkowski, The Janusz Kurtyka Foundation al. Waszyngtona 39/25 04-015 Warszawa, Poland. It can be downloaded at [http://fundacjakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn\\_print2.pdf](http://fundacjakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn_print2.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 154 The article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski titled *Lektura na weekend: Naoczni świadkowie Katynia* — “Reading for the weekend: Eyewitnesses of Katyn” on the website of Kresy24 at <https://kresy24.pl/lektura-na-weekend-naoczni-swiadkowie-katynia/>. Kresy24 is an information portal run by the “Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja” — “Freedom and Democracy Foundation.” Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 155 The article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski titled *Lektura na weekend: Naoczni świadkowie Katynia* — “Reading for the weekend: Eyewitnesses of Katyn” on the website of Kresy24 at <https://kresy24.pl/lektura-na-weekend-naoczni-swiadkowie-katynia/>. Kresy24 is an information portal run by the “Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja” — “Freedom and Democracy Foundation.” See also, page 83 of the publication *ENCOUNTER WITH KATYN The wartime and postwar story of Poles who saw the Katyn site in 1943* by Tadeusz Wolsza, originally published as *Dotyk Katynia. Wojenne i powojenne losy Polaków wizytujących Katyń w 1943 roku*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2018, Translated from the Polish by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Marta Kapera, Piotr Pieńkowski, The Janusz Kurtyka Foundation al. Waszyngtona 39/25 04-015 Warszawa, Poland. It can be downloaded at [http://fundacjakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn\\_print2.pdf](http://fundacjakurtyki.pl/images/Encounter-with-Katyn_print2.pdf). Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 156 Page 83 of Tadeusz Wolsza.
- 157 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 158 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 159 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski. See also page 83 of Tadeusz Wolsza. This latter source does not give the name of the victim, but it still states that the victim was from Kraków.
- 160 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 161 In regard to international communist ideological acrobatics in the wake of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, see the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.
- 162 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 163 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 164 In regard to international communist ideological acrobatics in the wake of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, see the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of which are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.
- 165 See the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the Korean War at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Korean-War>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 166 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 167 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 168 Page 83 of Tadeusz Wolsza and the online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski.
- 169 The online article dated April 12, 2019 by Feliks Koperski. See also pages 83 to 84 of Tadeusz Wolsza.
- 170 <sup>215</sup> Page 36 of the US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre.
- 171 <sup>215</sup> See endnotes <sup>82</sup> to <sup>93</sup> for this supplement.
- 172 See the maps for September 15, 1943 and October 1, 1943 on pages 15 and 17 respectively of the Atlas of the World Battle Fronts in Semimonthly Phases, to August 15, 1945, produced for the Chief of Staff of the United States Army in 1945 by the United States War Department General Staff, published by the Army Map Service. Analysis of these maps, infer the Soviet capture of Smolensk by the Soviet Army sometime in September 1943. The digitised US Army Atlas can be downloaded from the Wikimedia website at [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/42/Atlas\\_of\\_the\\_World\\_Battle\\_Fronts\\_in\\_Semimonthly\\_Phases\\_to\\_August\\_15%2C\\_1945.pdf](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/42/Atlas_of_the_World_Battle_Fronts_in_Semimonthly_Phases_to_August_15%2C_1945.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. See also endnotes <sup>96</sup> and <sup>97</sup> for this supplement concerning the approximate time of withdrawal of the Germans from Smolensk.
- 173 Position 428.8 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 174 This date was actually January 22, 1944 as stated on page 687 of the article *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski, written in 2012 and published in 2013 in Volume 45, issue 3 of *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*. This article can be downloaded on the website of the *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* at <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol45/iss3/3/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 175 <sup>208</sup> Pages 109 to 110 of Tadeusz Wolsza. He in turn cites J. Tebinka, ‘Dyplomacja brytyjska wobec sprawy katyńskiej w latach 1943—1945, (‘British diplomacy in the Katyn case in 1943—1945’) in *Z dziejów Polski i emigracji (1939—1989) (From the history of Poland and emigration (1939—1989))*. Book dedicated to the former President of the Republic of Poland Ryszard Kaczorowski, by M. Szczerbiński and T. Wolsza, editors. See also J. Tebinka, *Wielka Brytania dotrzyma lojalnie swojego słowa. Winston Churchill a Polska (Great Britain will keep its word. Winston Churchill and Poland)*, published by Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2013. (Warsaw: Neriton Publishing House, 2013), in the chapter entitled ‘Katyń,’ 134—148.
- 176 Position 434.1 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 177 Ibid.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Position 427.6 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.
- 180 <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Aleksey-Nikolayevich-Graf-Tolstoy>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.



181 Position 428.6 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

182 Page 677 of the article *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski, written in 2012 and published in 2013 in Volume 45, issue 3 of *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*. This article can be downloaded on the website of the *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* at <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol45/iss3/3/>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

183 Ibid. That NKVD meant “People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs” see page 672.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186<sup>269</sup> Ibid page 678.

187 Ibid page 678.

188 See endnotes <sup>34</sup> to <sup>38</sup> for this supplement.

189 Page 678 of the article *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

190<sup>269 319</sup> Ibid page 678. See also the third page of the undated document *Katyn Massacre* by the Russian historian Natalia S. Lebedeva, explaining the establishment of the Burdenko Commission. It is available on the website of Princeton University at [http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/p0ns/s5\\_9143.pdf](http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/p0ns/s5_9143.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. See also endnote <sup>1</sup> for this supplement.

191<sup>268</sup> Ibid pages 678 to 679.

192 See endnotes <sup>12</sup> to <sup>16</sup> for this supplement.

193 See endnotes <sup>110</sup> to <sup>120</sup> for this supplement.

194 Page 680 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

195<sup>272 278</sup> Position 430.5 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

196 Page 681 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

197 Ibid.

198<sup>264 266 301 334</sup> Ibid page 682.

199 Position 977.9 of Schlingensiepen and page 925 of Bethge. See also Chapter 24 “Dietrich’s Final Days” of my book in regard to the sentencing and execution of Hans von Dohnányi on Monday April 9 1945 — the same date as Dietrich’s execution. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

200 Page 684 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

201 Page 690 to 691 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

202 Ibid pages 684 to 685.

203 Ibid.

204 Ibid page 691.

205 Ibid page 687.

206 Position 433.9 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

207 Position 434.2 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

208 Pages 109 to 110 of Tadeusz Wolsza. See also endnote <sup>175</sup> for this supplement.

209 As discussed in Witold Wasilewski’s article *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie*.

210 Position 434.8 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

211 As discussed in Witold Wasilewski’s article *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie*.

212 Position 435.0 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

213 Page 683 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski gives the full name and title of Vladimir Potemkin, who was one of the eight members of the Burdenko commission.

214 Pages 688 to 689 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

215 See endnotes <sup>88</sup>, <sup>89</sup>, <sup>170</sup> and <sup>171</sup> for this supplement.

216 Pages 688 to 689 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

217 See endnotes <sup>34</sup> to <sup>38</sup> for this supplement.

218 See footnote #97 on page 690 of *The Birth and Persistence of the Katyn Lie* by Witold Wasilewski.

219 See endnote <sup>28</sup> for this supplement.

220 See endnote <sup>28</sup> for this supplement.

221 Position 435.5 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

222 Ibid position 435.9.

223 Ibid position 436.2.

224 Pages 132 to 134 of *Katyn: the Untold Story of Stalin’s Polish Massacre* by Allen Paul, published by Macmillan Publishing Company New York, First Edition, First Printing edition (August 1, 1991), ISBN-10: 0684192152, ISBN-13: 9780684192154.

225 Position 436.4 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

226 Position 353.8 to 357.4 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder, published by The Bodley Head of the Random House Group 2010, ISBN 9781407075501. Note the map given for the location of the three massacres of Polish officers committed by the NKVD.

227<sup>230 331</sup> Pages 76 to 77 of the English language article (translated from Polish by Iwona Ewa Waldzińska (State School of Higher Education in Oświęcim (Auschwitz))) *Katyn Massacre — Basic Facts* published in the periodical of *Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II* (Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, Faculty of Theology, Section in Tarnów — <http://www.wt.diecezja.tarnow.pl/dzia%C5%82alno%C5%9B%C4%87-naukowa/czasopisma-naukowe/>

[the-person-and-the-challenges](#)) *The Person and the Challenges*, Volume 3 (2013) Number 2. It can be downloaded at the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (the Polish Institute of National Remembrance) at <https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/1105.Katyn-Massacre-Basic-Facts.html>. Its authors are Monika Komaniecka, Institute of National Remembrance, Kraków, Poland; Krystyna Samsonowska, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland; Mateusz Szpytma, Institute of National Remembrance, Kraków, Poland; and Anna Zechenter Institute of National Remembrance, Kraków, Poland. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

228 Ibid.

229 See the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book in regard to the Stalinist objective in 1939-41 of wiping Poland from existence on the map of Europe. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

230 Page 72 of *Katyn Massacre — Basic Facts* published in the periodical *The Person and the Challenges*, Volume 3 (2013) Number 2. It can be downloaded at the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (the Polish Institute of National Remembrance) at <https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/1105.Katyn-Massacre-Basic-Facts.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. For full information on this source, see endnote <sup>227</sup> for this supplement.

231 Ibid.

232 See endnote <sup>32</sup> for this supplement.

233 Pages 65 to 66 of *Katyn Massacre — Basic Facts* published in the periodical *The Person and the Challenges*, Volume 3 (2013) Number 2.

234 Ibid.

235 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tver> gives exact dates from Monday 13 October 1941/Tuesday, 14 October to 19 December 1941. Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Tver-Russia> confirms the Germans occupied Tver in 1941.

236 Page 48 of the publication *The WAR & MYTH UNKNOWN WWII 1939 1945*, by Igor Bigun, Sergii Butko, Volodymyr Viatrovych, Kyrylo Halushko, Serhii Horobets, Sergii Gromenko, Oleksandr Zinchenko, Olesia Isaiuk, Bogdan Korolenko, Maksym Maiorov, Vasyl Pavlov, Rostyslav Pyliavets, Yana Prymachenko, Sergii Riabenko, Viktoria Iaremenko, under the editorship of: Oleksandr Zinchenko, Volodymyr Viatrovych, Maksym Maiorov, published by the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, 2018, ISBN 966136558X, 978966136558.

237 Page ccvii (207) in Chapter 5 “Kicking in the Door: June-December 1941” of the book *The Storm of War: A New History of the Second World War* by Andrew Roberts, published by Penguin UK, 2009, ISBN 0141938862, 9780141938868.

238 Page 48 of the publication *The WAR & MYTH UNKNOWN WWII 1939 1945*.

239 See endnote <sup>101</sup> for this supplement.

240 Page 48 of the publication *The WAR & MYTH UNKNOWN WWII 1939 1945*.

241 See endnotes <sup>102</sup> and <sup>103</sup> for this supplement.

242 See endnote <sup>104</sup> for this supplement.

243 See endnote <sup>148</sup> for this supplement. It was in 1954, in the year following Stalin’s death, with Nikita Khrushchev in power, that the NKVD was superseded by the KGB.

244 The article by Matthew Luxmoore, dated December 22, 2019 on the website of Radio Free Europe at <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-katyn-massacre-rewriting-history-removal-plaques/30338487.html>. “Memorial” is an international historical and civil rights society that operates in a number of post-Soviet states. It focuses on recording and publicising the Soviet Union's totalitarian past, but also monitors human rights in Russia and other post-Soviet states. Its website is at <https://www.memo.ru/en-us/>. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

245 Ibid.

246 Ibid.

247 Ibid.

248 Ibid.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid.

251 The questionable research of this neo-Stalinist historian will be dealt with in the coming pages.

252 The article by Matthew Luxmoore, dated December 22, 2019 on the website of Radio Free Europe at <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-katyn-massacre-rewriting-history-removal-plaques/30338487.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. The article provides a youtube link to a clip one of these neo-Stalinist propaganda movies.

253 Ibid.

254 Ibid.

255 Ibid.

256 See the English language online article by Halya Coynash at <http://khpg.org/en/index.php?id=1588896084> on the website of *Human Rights in Ukraine — Website of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group* dated May 8, 2020. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

257 The article by Matthew Luxmoore, dated December 22, 2019 on the website of Radio Free Europe at <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-katyn-massacre-rewriting-history-removal-plaques/30338487.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

258 Ibid.

259 Ibid.

260 <sup>312</sup> Ibid.



261 From Grover Furr's university profile page at [https://www.montclair.edu/profilepages/view\\_profile.php?username=furr](https://www.montclair.edu/profilepages/view_profile.php?username=furr). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

262 See the Polish WWII Supplement I "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" of my book in regard to this spurious claim. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

263 See endnote the Polish WWII Supplement I "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" of my book. Details of it are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

264 See endnote <sup>198</sup> for this supplement.

265 <sup>285</sup> The 2013 article by Grover Furr *The "Official" Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine*, published in the periodical *Socialism and Democracy*, 2013 Vol. 27, No. 2, 96 — 129. It can be downloaded at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08854300.2013.795268>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

266 See endnote <sup>198</sup> for this supplement which documents the sycophantic and official title for the Burdenko commission.

267 <sup>278</sup> Page 115 of the 2013 article by Grover Furr *The "Official" Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine*.

268 In regard to the questionable testimony gathered by the Burdenko commission, see endnote <sup>191</sup> for this supplement.

269 In regard to the questionable documentary evidence gathered by the Burdenko commission, see endnotes <sup>186</sup> to <sup>190</sup> for this supplement.

270 <https://www.britannica.com/event/Katyn-Massacre>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

271 Page 115 of The 2013 article by Grover Furr *The "Official" Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine*.

272 See endnote <sup>195</sup> for this supplement and position 430.5 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford.

273 Ibid.

274 Pages ccx to ccxi (210 to 211) in Chapter 5 "Kicking in the Door: June-December 1941" of the book *The Storm of War: A New History of the Second World War* by Andrew Roberts, published by Penguin UK, 2009, ISBN 0141938862, 9780141938868.

275 That Sikorski was a major figure in the 1920 Battle of Warsaw, see page 84 and the map on page 85 of *Warsaw 1920, Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe* by Adam Zamoyski.

276 That General Władysław Sikorski headed the Polish Government in Exile in London after the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939, see page 34 of *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw Reprint Edition*, by Professor Norman Davies, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404.

277 In regard to Władysław Anders, see the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Wladyslaw-Anders>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

278 See endnote <sup>195</sup> for this supplement and position 430.5 of *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, justice and memory* by George Sanford in regard to the fictitious "ON" camps. See also, the implausible claim by Grover Furr at endnote <sup>267</sup> for this supplement, who maintains that they did exist, in spite of the fact that they were never found and never mentioned in Polish-Soviet exchanges from 1941 to 1943, preceding the discovery of the Katyn mass graves.

279 <sup>303</sup> Page 73 of the publication *KATYŃ - ZBRODNIĄ BEZ SĄDU I KARY (KATYŃ - A CRIME WITHOUT JUDGMENT AND PENALTIES)* by Jacek Trznadel, published by Antyk Marcin Dybowski Warszawa (Warsaw) 1997, ISBN 8390587718, ISSN: 14264064. See also page 180 of *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in the Second World War* by Halik Kochanski, published by Harvard University Press, 2012, ISBN 0674068165, 9780674068162 and page 363 of *God's Playground A History of Poland: Volume II: 1795 to the Present*, by Norman Davies, published by Oxford University Press, 2005, ISBN 0199253404, 9780199253401.

280 See endnotes <sup>33</sup> to <sup>37</sup> for this supplement in regard to the significance of the diaries of the Katyn victims.

281 Page 103 of the 2013 article by Grover Furr *The "Official" Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine*.

282 Ibid page 110.

283 See the official website of the modern-day eastern Polish town of Hrubieszów at <https://www.miasto.hrubieszow.pl/page/w%C5%82odzimierz-wo%C5%82y%C5%84ski-ukraina> for the article regarding the cooperation agreement between the cities of Włodzimierz Wołyński and Hrubieszów, which was signed on May 19, 1995. The agreement extending cooperation for an indefinite period was signed on February 24, 2011 in Włodzimierz Wołyński (Ukrainian: Володимир-Волинський which Romanised is Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy). The website for for modern-day Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy is at <http://volodymyrrada.gov.ua/>. Both accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

284 Ibid.

285 See endnote <sup>265</sup> for this supplement.

286 The online article *Kontrowersje wokół ekshumacji we Włodzimierzu Wołyńskim* (Controversy around exhumation in Włodzimierz Wołyński), dated April 18, 2013 on the website the bi-weekly magazine *Kurier Galicyjski* (Galician Courier) at <https://kuriergalicyjski.com/rozmaitosci/2033-kontrowersje-wok-ekshumacji-we-wodzimierzu-woyskim>. The magazine was first published on August 15, 2007, with its purpose to inform Poles living in Ukraine about the cultural and political life of the Polish community, as well as Polish-Ukrainian relations. The editors devote a lot of attention to historical, social and regional issues. In February 2018, the magazine received a special award of the Polish Minister of Culture and National Heritage. See the article at <https://www.kuriergalicyjski.com/actualnosci/report/6631->

[nagroda-specjalna-ministra-kultury-i-dziedzictwa-narodowego-rp-dla-kuriera-galicyjskiego](#). Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

287 See for example the online article on the website of Ukrainian Euro Maidan Press at <http://euromaidanpress.com/2016/07/01/lists-of-nkyd-victims-killed-in-mass-executions-in-1941-published-online/>. In this article, the original NKVD document list of prisoners for Lviv (Polish Lwów) prison #4 which carries the resolution of the local NKVD chief: "I authorize the execution of the enemies of the nation." Euromaidan Press (EP) is an online English-language independent newspaper launched in 2014 by Ukrainian volunteers. EP focuses on events covering Ukraine and provides translations of Ukrainian news and expert analysis as well as independent research. Through its work, EP strives to bridge Ukraine with the English-speaking world. See their "About page" at <http://euromaidanpress.com/about/>. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

288 See the Figure 1 map on page 24 of the publication, *The Great West Ukrainian Prison Massacre of 1941* edited by Ksenya Kiebusinski and Alexander Motyl, published by Amsterdam University Press 2017, ISBN 9789089648341 e-ISBN 9789048526826 (pdf) doi: 10.5117/9789089648341 nur: 689. It gives the number of 36 for Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy (Polish: Włodzimierz- Wołyński).

289 April 18, 2013 article on the website the bi-weekly magazine Kurier Galicyjski (Galician Courier) at <https://kuriergalicyjski.com/rozmaitosci/2033-kontrowersje-wok-ekshumacji-we-wodzimierz-woyskim>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

290 Ibid.

291 Ibid.

292 Ibid.

293 Ibid.

294 Ibid.

295 For more information on the UPA see the article *Interventions: Challenging the Myths of Twentieth-Century Ukrainian History* by John-Paul Himka from the Department of History and Classics, Winner of the J. Gordin Kaplan Award for Research Excellence University of Alberta. Text based on an address delivered at the 2<sup>nd</sup> annual Celebration of Research and Creative Work Faculty of Arts, March 28, 2011. It can be viewed and downloaded at [http://www.viaevrasia.com/documents/celebration\\_jph\\_march28.pdf](http://www.viaevrasia.com/documents/celebration_jph_march28.pdf). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

296 April 18, 2013 article on the website the bi-weekly magazine Kurier Galicyjski (Galician Courier) at <https://kuriergalicyjski.com/rozmaitosci/2033-kontrowersje-wok-ekshumacji-we-wodzimierz-woyskim>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

297 Ibid. In particular, see the earlier quoted statement of the Polish Archaeologist Adam Kaczyński.

298 Page 109 of Grover Furr's 2013 article. He refers to them as the "Ukrainian Nationalist" forces.

299 April 18, 2013 article on the website the bi-weekly magazine Kurier Galicyjski (Galician Courier) at <https://kuriergalicyjski.com/rozmaitosci/2033-kontrowersje-wok-ekshumacji-we-wodzimierz-woyskim>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. In particular, see the earlier quoted statement of the Polish Archaeologist Adam Kaczyński.

300 Ibid. In particular, see the earlier quoted statement of the Polish Archaeologist Adam Kaczyński.

301 See endnote <sup>198</sup> for this supplement which documents the sycophantic and official title for the Burdenko commission.

302 The Holocaust Controversies Blogspot at <https://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2020/01/looking-for-katyn-lighthouses.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. This source later makes reference to, and gives a link to Alexandr Guryanov's work documenting the names of Polish victims buried at Mednoye in May 1940, and explaining the reason for the badges of two Poles buried at Mednoye, being found at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy.

303 See endnote <sup>279</sup> for this supplement.

304 The Holocaust Controversies Blogspot at <https://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2020/01/looking-for-katyn-lighthouses.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

305 <sup>320</sup> Ibid and pages 79 to 81 and 620 of *УБИТЫ В КАЛИНИНЕ, ЗАХОРОНЕНЫ В МЕДНОМ (Ubyty v Kalinine, zakhoroneny v Mednom — Killed in Kalinin, buried in Mednoye) 2019, volume 1* by Alexandr Guryanov, published by Издательство «Бослен» Москва (Boslen Publishing House Moscow), ISBN 9785604192146 (т.1), for Международный Мемориал 127051 Москва, Малый Каретный пер, (International Memorial 127051 Moscow, Maly Karetny <https://www.memo.ru>). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. This work has been compiled with the help of numerous assistants, among which Polish historians figure prominently.

306 The Holocaust Controversies Blogspot at <https://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2020/01/looking-for-katyn-lighthouses.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

307 Pages 103 to 104 of Furr's 2013 article.

308 Ibid pages 110 to 111.

309 Pages 79 to 81 of *УБИТЫ В КАЛИНИНЕ, ЗАХОРОНЕНЫ В МЕДНОМ (Ubyty v Kalinine, zakhoroneny v Mednom — Killed in Kalinin, buried in Mednoye) 2019, volume 1* by Alexandr Guryanov.

310 Ibid and The Holocaust Controversies Blogspot at <https://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2020/01/looking-for-katyn-lighthouses.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

311 Page 620 of *УБИТЫ В КАЛИНИНЕ, ЗАХОРОНЕНЫ В МЕДНОМ (Ubyty v Kalinine, zakhoroneny v Mednom — Killed in Kalinin, buried in Mednoye) 2019, volume 1* by Alexandr Guryanov and The Holocaust Controversies Blogspot at <https://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2020/01/looking-for-katyn-lighthouses.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

312 See endnote <sup>260</sup> for this supplement.

313 Pages 122 to 123 of the 2013 article by Grover Furr *The “Official” Version of the Katyn Massacre Disproven? Discoveries at a German Mass Murder Site in Ukraine*.

314 See the description for photo #60 after page 220 in White Eagle Red Star and position 635.8 in the ebook. See also endnote <sup>188</sup> of The Preface “Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History.”

315 Position 510.5 of White Eagle Red Star in the ebook and pages 238 to 239 of the paperback published in 2003 by Pimlico, Random House UK Limited, ISBN 9780712606943.

316 See the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” in regard to the deportation of Borderland Poles to the Gulag. See also the Preface “Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History” in my book. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

317 See The Preface “Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History” and the Polish WWII Supplement I “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” of my book. Details of my book are given in endnote <sup>3</sup>.

318 Cited on Grover Furr’s Katyn discussion page *The Katyn Forest Whodunnit* at [https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furr/pol/discuss\\_katyn041806r.html](https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furr/pol/discuss_katyn041806r.html). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

319 See endnotes <sup>1</sup>, <sup>147</sup> and <sup>190</sup> for this supplement.

320 See endnote <sup>305</sup> for this supplement.

321 Final Report from the examination of the aviation accident no 192/2010/11 involving the Tu-154M airplane, tail number 101, which occurred on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010 in the area of the SMOLENSK NORTH airfield (<https://wayback.archive-it.org/all/20120906032711/http://mswia.datacenter-poland.pl/FinalReportTu-154M.pdf>) (PDF). Committee for Investigation of National Aviation Accidents. 29 July 2011. Archived from the original (<http://mswia.datacenter-poland.pl/FinalReportTu-154M.pdf>). Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

322 Online article in the New York Observer at <https://observer.com/2018/05/evidence-shows-russia-had-role-in-smolensk-crash-killed-kaczynski/>, dated May 15, 2018 by John Schindler, security expert and former National Security Agency analyst. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

323 Online article in the New York Observer at <https://observer.com/2018/05/evidence-shows-russia-had-role-in-smolensk-crash-killed-kaczynski/>, dated May 15, 2018 by John Schindler, security expert and former National Security Agency analyst. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

324 Online article in the New York Observer at <https://observer.com/2018/05/evidence-shows-russia-had-role-in-smolensk-crash-killed-kaczynski/>, dated May 15, 2018 by John Schindler, security expert and former National Security Agency analyst. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

325 The online article on the website of Reuters at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-poland-smolensk-kaczynski/poland-finds-other-body-parts-in-coffin-of-president-killed-in-2010-crash-prosecutors-idUSKBN18S620>, dated June 2, 2017 and the article in the New York Observer at <https://observer.com/2018/05/evidence-shows-russia-had-role-in-smolensk-crash-killed-kaczynski/>, dated May 15, 2018 by John Schindler, security expert and former National Security Agency analyst. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

326 Online article on the website of Aljazeera by Natalia Ojewska, dated April 11, 2013, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/04/2013410113411207111.html>. The results of the Polish poll can be downloaded given at [https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2013/K\\_025\\_13.PDF](https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2013/K_025_13.PDF). The homepage of CBOS, the Polish survey firm, is at <https://www.cbos.pl/PL/home/home.php>. All links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

327 Online article on the website of Aljazeera by Natalia Ojewska, dated April 11, 2013.

328 See the online article *Poland Marks 10 Years Since Smolensk Plane Crash Killed Top Officials in Russia* on the website of Radio Free Europe, dated April 10, 2020 at <https://www.rferl.org/a/poland-smolensk-kaczynski-10-yearsplane-crash-russia/30546535.html>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

329 The June 2018 report of the Council of Europe on the April 2010 Smolensk air disaster on its website at <http://www.assembly.coe.int/LifeRay/JUR/Pdf/TextesProvisoires/2018/20180625-PolishCrash-EN.pdf>. Its “about us” page is at <https://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/who-we-are>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

330 Position 360.9 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder, published by The Bodley Head of the Random House Group 2010, ISBN 9781407075501. Note the map given for the location of the three massacres of Polish officers committed by the NKVD at position 350.7.

331 After 1921, following the conclusion of the 1919-20 Polish Soviet War, small, specially trained groups of Ukrainian and Belarusian Bolsheviks and Red Army soldiers slipped across the border from the Soviet Union. They attacked police stations, civilians, clerks and set fire to forests. The Creation of the Border Protection Corps in 1924 gradually restricted the penetration of these agents and terrorists. See Pages 66 to 67 of the English language article (translated from Polish by Iwona Ewa Waldzińska (State School of Higher Education in Oświęcim (Auschwitz)) *Katyn Massacre — Basic Facts* published in the periodical *The Person and the Challenges*, Volume 3 (2013) Number 2. It can be downloaded at the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (the Polish Institute of National Remembrance) at [https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/1105\\_Katyn-Massacre-Basic-Facts.html](https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/1105_Katyn-Massacre-Basic-Facts.html). Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. For full information on this source, see endnote <sup>227</sup> for this supplement.

332 Position 361.1 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder.

333 The memorial article in German titled *In memoriam Prof. Kazimierz Karbowski* which can be downloaded at <https://sanp.ch/article/doi/sanp.2012.02368> on the website of the Swiss Archives of Neurology, Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. See also endnote <sup>53</sup> for this supplement.

334 <sup>198</sup> Position 358.2 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder.

335 Online article by Neal Ascherson on the website of the UK Guardian at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/apr/17/smolensk-crash-katyn-accident-of-history>, dated Saturday 17 April, 2010, which was just one week after the Smolensk air disaster. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

336 Norman Davies uses this term at position 509.5 of *White Eagle Red Star* in the ebook, and page 238 in the paperback published in 2003 by Pimlico, Random House UK Limited, ISBN 9780712606943.

337 Online article by Neal Ascherson on the website of the UK Guardian.

338 See position 358.2 of *Bloodlands* by Timothy Snyder for the account of Adam Solski. Or see endnotes <sup>37</sup> and <sup>38</sup> for this supplement.

339 See endnote <sup>2</sup> for this supplement.