

# THE KATYŃ

# MASSACRE









Institute of National Remembrance  
Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation

# THE KATYŃ

# MASSACRE



Warsaw 2020



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On the cover: Polish War Cemetery in Kiev-Bykivnia  
(Photo: A. Siwek 2012)

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Sławomir Kalbarczyk

# THE KATYŃ MASSACRE

## IN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS



## WHAT IS THE KATYŃ MASSACRE?

In 1943, mass graves with the bodies of Polish officers imprisoned in the POW camp in Kozelsk were discovered in the Katyń forest near Smolensk. They were murdered by the NKVD. Originally, this particular event was called the Katyń Massacre (*Zbrodnia katyńska*).

In 1990, when the supposition that the Soviet authorities also murdered prisoners of war from the camps in Starobelsk and Ostashkov was confirmed, the notion started to take on the meaning of the massacre of Polish prisoners of war from three camps: in Kozelsk, Starobelsk and Ostashkov. Thus, the term broke away from the specific place of events and took on a symbolic character, connected with the extermination of Polish prisoners of war in the USSR in general.

The final shaping of the notion of the Katyń Massacre was brought about in 1992, when we acquired further details of those events. Polish prisoners of war detained in the Soviet Union were murdered on the basis of a resolution of the Politburo by the Bolshevik Party dated 5 March 1940. This resolution also informs about the murder of thousands of civilian Polish citizens who, after the aggression of the USSR against Poland in September 1939, were arrested and later imprisoned by the Soviet political police – the NKVD.

Today, the concept of the Katyń Massacre means the extermination of all Polish citizens carried out on the basis of the March resolution of the Soviet Politburo – both prisoners of war and civilian prisoners. Their number is nearly 22,000, including 14,700 prisoners of war and 7,300 civilian prisoners.



124 2.

(Из О. П.)

5 марта 1940 г.

4HK

**К С В Е Д Е Н И Ю.**

Тысячу полученных конфиденциальных документов, не делая их публичными, заставить с ними того, кто, либо, сообщит, что конфиденциальный источник ИК.

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## WHY DID THE SOLDIERS OF THE POLISH ARMY FIND THEMSELVES IN SOVIET CAPTIVITY?

It happened as a result of the outbreak of war between the Soviet Union and Poland – because there is no captivity, nor are there prisoners of war without a war. Paradoxically, the string of events that ended with the Red Army's invasion of Poland in September 1939 was launched not by the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, but by the leader of the Third Reich – Adolf Hitler. He first decided on war with Poland in the spring of 1939. The reason was the rejection by the authorities of the Republic of Poland of demands made by Germany, which violated our national sovereignty and would have made Poland a satellite of the Third Reich.

Hitler was not particularly concerned of the reaction of the Western powers, England and France, to the planned attack on the Polish state. However, he had to explain how the Russian colossus bordering with Poland from the east would react to such an attack. The Germans proposed to share Poland with the USSR – and this proposal was accepted. The deal was struck on 23 August 1939 – a non-aggression pact signed in Moscow, which went down in history as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. It contained a secret annex, in which the Third Reich and the USSR agreed that the division of Polish lands would be made along the Narew, Vistula and San Rivers.

▲ A column of policemen and soldiers taken prisoner and escorted by the Red Army in September 1939. (Soviet film chronicle, Wikimedia Commons)



The pact signed in Moscow gave Hitler a free hand and on 1 September 1939, the German army struck Poland. On 17 September 1939, the Red Army attacked the Polish state from the east. More than 200,000 Polish soldiers got into its hands.

### **WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TOWARDS POLISH POWS?**

It was decided to place the officers of the Polish Army in captivity, because there was concern that they would rebuild the Polish army in allied France. They were placed in camps in Kozelsk near Smolensk (4,500 prisoners) and Starobelsk near Kharkiv (3,900 prisoners). Police officers, gendarmes, intelligence and counter-intelligence personnel, as well as prison service officers were also detained. They were considered enemies of communism and Soviet authority. They were placed in the camp in Ostashkov near Kalinin (6,300 prisoners). All these camps were administered by the horrifying Soviet political police – the NKVD.

The fate of the soldiers (privates) taken prisoner was different. Most of them were either released – if they came from the Polish eastern territories, occupied by the USSR – or handed over to the German authorities, if they came from the territories occupied by the Germans. A total of 85,000 privates were released from Soviet POW camps. Only 25,000 prisoners in this category were detained in order to use them for road works, but they were also to be released by the end of 1939.

### **WHAT WERE THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES' PLANS FOR THE PRISONERS?**

The biographies and moods of the officers were examined, and attempts were made to identify the “counter-revolutionary element” within their ranks. This term was understood as including police officers, landowners, members of





Signing of the  
Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

political parties, social organizations, etc. Officers were also subjected to massive ideological pressure; it was intended, as we can assume, to transform them into supporters of communism and Soviet authority. This action ended in a fiasco. The prisoners of war – with few exceptions – remained loyal to Poland and absolutely convinced that the Republic would be reborn and the occupiers would be defeated.

The intentions towards the prisoners of war gathered in the Ostashkov camp were different. At the end of 1939, it was decided to institute criminal proceedings against them and begin their sentencing to forced labor camps for alleged crimes committed in the past, that is, fighting against subversive communist activity in Poland (the “revolutionary movement”). In February 1940, a tenth of the prisoners from Ostashkov were already sentenced to labour camps in Kamchatka. However, in the first days of March 1940, the head of the NKVD, Lavrenti Beria, suspended further sentencing. Later, on 5 March 1940, he turned to the Politburo with a proposal that radically changed these

earlier plans: all prisoners – 14,700 of them – were to be executed. Moreover, Beria proposed to kill 11,000 Polish citizens arrested by the NKVD and imprisoned in USSR-occupied Polish territories.



Head of NKVD Lavrenti Beria

## **WHO WERE THE PRISONERS THAT BERIA WANTED TO EXECUTE?**

The prisoners largely belonged to the same categories of people who were kept in the POW camps. Among the detainees, therefore, there was no shortage of Polish Army officers, policemen, gendarmes, landowners or prison service officers. The new categories, included mainly members of anti-Soviet underground organizations (which were created after the USSR's invasion of Poland), as well as people arrested during an attempt to get from the German occupation zone to the area under Soviet control (refugees).

In total, Beria proposed to execute 11,000 prisoners out of a total of more than 18,000 held in prisons in Soviet-occupied areas.

## **HOW DID THE HEAD OF THE NKVD JUSTIFY HIS PROPOSAL AND WHAT WAS ITS SOURCE?**

As far as the prisoners were concerned, the justification was as follows: officers and policemen imprisoned in the camps are attempting to continue their “counter-revolutionary” activity and conduct anti-Soviet agitation. They expect to be released to join the fight against the Soviet authorities.

In turn, the prisoners – officers, policemen and gendarmes – played a leading role in anti-Soviet underground organizations unveiled by the NKVD. There were also many members of such organizations among the detained refugees from the German occupation area.

The source of Beria's proposals is unknown. They can be seen in the reports from the POW camps. They reported that the prisoners of the Ostashkov



camp were planning to escape to Finland, which was at war with the USSR, and join the Finnish army in the spring of 1940. In turn, reports from Kozelsk and Starobelsk showed that the prisoners did not succumb to Bolshevik propaganda and did not lose their patriotic spirit. This could have led the head of the NKVD to recognise them – as he wrote – as “hardened, unreformable enemies of Soviet authority”, which should be annihilated.

Ultimately, it was probably about murdering such people, radically eliminating the possibility of resistance against the Soviet occupation of Polish lands and in a broader perspective – to prevent the reconstruction of a sovereign Polish state.

▲ Polish soldiers escorted by the Red Army  
(Wikimedia Commons)





## WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF THE POLITBURO?

On that very same day, the Politburo approved Beria's proposals. It was ordered to apply the "special regime", that is, to implement the death sentences on the basis of materials collected exclusively by the NKVD (so it was in effect, a default judgement). This was to be done by "three" specially appointed NKVD officers: Vsevolod Merkulov, Bogdan Kobulov (both were deputies of Beria) and Leonid Bashtakov (head of the 1st Special Division of the NKVD).

The members of the Politburo, who were in favour of accepting Beria's criminal proposals, were Joseph Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov, Kliment Voroshilov, Anastas Mikoyan, Lazar Kaganovich and Mikhail Kalinin.

▲  
One of the NKVD Board  
buildings in Kalinin



One of the murdered prisoners –  
**Henryk Minkiewicz** (photo: NAC)



One of the murdered prisoners –  
**Juliusz Malczewski** (photo: NAC)



One of the murdered prisoners –  
**Stanisław Haller** (photo: NAC)

## WHAT WAS DONE WITH THE PRISONERS OF WAR?

The execution took place during April and May 1940. The majority of prisoners of war from Kozelsk were transported to Katyń near Smoleńsk. Here, in the forest on the territory of an NKVD resort, they were killed with a gunshot to the back of their heads and buried in previously dug pits. The remaining prisoners were transported to Smolensk and shot in the local NKVD head office. Bodies were transported to Katyń. Totally in Katyń were buried 4,415 murdered Polish prisoners of war.

Six thousand two hundred and eighty seven (6,287) other prisoners detained in Ostashkov were taken to Kalinin and murdered in the building of

the local NKVD head office with a gunshot to the back of their heads. The corpses were buried in a forest near the village of Mednoye, near Kalinin.

Three thousand eight hundred and twelve (3,812) prisoners from Starobelsk were murdered in Kharkiv, in the local NKVD head office. They were killed with a gunshot to the back of the neck. They were buried in a forest near the village of Piatikhatki, not far from Kharkiv.

Three hundred and ninety five (395) prisoners survived. The motives for excluding them from the execution are only partially known. It is known, for example, that the German embassy and the Lithuanian mission in the USSR applied for the surrender of some prisoners. Among the survivors were also agents recruited in the camps and supporters of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

## **WHAT WAS THE FATE OF THE PRISONERS?**

Seven thousand three hundred and five (7,305) prisoners were executed – less than Beria assumed.

Three thousand eight hundred and seventy (3,870) people from prisons in Brest-on-the-Bug, Wilejka, Pińsk and Baranowicze were taken to a prison in Minsk, Belarus, and murdered there. Their personal details are still unknown today. According to justified assumptions, the bodies were buried at the Kuropaty nature reserve near Minsk.

The remaining 3,435 prisoners detained in prisons in Lwów, Równe, Łuck, Tarnopol, Drohobycz and Stanisławów were transported to prisons in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Kherson, and murdered there (of which, almost 2,000 people, in Kyiv. Their corpses were buried in the forest, near the village of Bykivnia, by Kyiv). We know the names of these people. Apart from Poles, who constituted the majority, there were also representatives of national minorities – Ukrainians, Jews and others.



# THE KATYŃ MASSACRE



Witold Wasilewski

# A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE KATYŃ CASE

szych nazwisk ofiar.

Tomuś Lukasa z wielu innych.

głębiny zwłok deprowa- niewiarygodnego odkry.

ię, że czażki były przalami, przyczem otwór dawał się na kości potyryłotowy na końcu ciachola, względnie na koskroniowej.

najmniejszej wątpliwości, nieludsko pomordowa- h oficerów armii polskiej i z nieznacznej odległości niesłychanemu bestjałstwie prawców z pod znaku niewątpliwie było to ich

wojzkowych władz nie-

mieckich udala się na miejsce straszliw- każni bolszewickiej delegacja polska, skl- dająca się z przedstawicielami świata litera- kiego, dziennikarackiego, społecznego ora- świata pracy z Ferdynandem Goedem, zn- tym pisarzem i członkiem Pol. Akad. Literatury na czele. — Masowy grób- tek i tysiące niewinnie i w bolsjałski- sob pomordowanych ofiar, których zwłok- rzucone w nieładzie leżały w rozmaitych- pozycjach, niejednokrotnie ze skrepowi- niami rekoma, pod nimi zaś dalsze wa- stawy trupów — widok ten wywarł w- członkach polskiej delegacji wstrząsają- wrażenie. Można sobie wyobrazić, jak- straszna i bolesna tragedia musiała prz- żyć jej nieszczęśliwi ludzie, zdala od swych- najbliższych, zdala od kraju rodzinny- rzuconci na pastwę losu, na poniewierko- by wroszeli po kilkumiesięcznym pobyci- w niewoli sowieckiej półkę na zegła- zrak krwawym siepaczy moskiewskich.

delegacja przy agnoskowaniu zwłok.

owej uprzejmości wojsko- delegacja polska miała możność uczestn- mieckich w Smoleńsku, azenia przy sekcji i agnoskowaniu szereg

.000 oficerów polskich v przez bolszewikó

**KRAKOWSKI** 20 gr.

Nr. 89.  
ków, piątek 16 kwietnia 1943

estjałstwo bolszewików.

nowało cały obóz h oficerów.

Har. — Nasz sprawozdawca opowiada o swych wrażeniach.

zwłoki ludzkie w masowach wojzkowych. Na miejscu bez skłonił się do oglądania. wili dwa stonduzie wykonano krzyż brzo-

Tymczasem wiadomości o odkry- ciej energicznie obłą, mająca na celu ustalenie okoliczności, szczegółów, zwłok i identyfikowa-

ków kilkunastu oficerów polskich — ofiar- masowej katowni bolszewickiej. Przemysłowi, profesor literatury dr- Wrocław i dyrektor Uniwersyteckiego- instytutu medycyny sądowej i naukowej- kryminalistyki. Od wojzkowych władz i naukowej-

Until the summer of 1941, the Soviet authorities were very effectual in hiding the massacre, to be later known as the Katyń Massacre. The situation changed after the German attack on the USSR on 22 June 1941. On 30 July 1941, the Prime Minister of the Polish Government in Exile, General Władysław Sikorski, signed an agreement restoring relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. In the USSR, the formation of the Polish Army began, headed by General Władysław Anders. In September 1941, it turned out that only a few hundred people released from the camp in Gryazovets were conscripted into Anders' army, while there was no sign of more than a dozen or so thousand prisoners held in Kozelsk, Starobelsk and Ostashkov. The Poles started asking what might have happened to them? Why have they not been released so far? When will it happen? The Soviet side was mum to these questions or gave absurd answers; for example Stalin, in a discussion with Sikorski, stated that the Polish prisoners of war might have escaped to Manchuria. Cavalry Captain Józef Czapski, who was looking for his colleagues, was deluding himself that maybe the officers were in the farthest regions of the USSR and would be released in the spring of 1942.

At the end of February 1943, having obtained information from local Russians, the Germans began their search in the Katyń forest and found the corpses of Polish Army officers. A mass exhumation, carried out in the spring of 1943, provided evidence that the murder was carried out by Soviet officers in 1940. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda of the Third Reich, decided to publicize this discovery. On 11 April 1943, the German Information



Agency “Transocean”, and on 13 April 1943, Radio Berlin announced that the bodies of Polish officers murdered by the Bolsheviks were found near Katyń.

Soviet culpability was confirmed in 1943 by the Polish Red Cross Technical Commission and the ruling of the International Medical Commission. In the course of the research, it was realized that in Katyń, as the place of the crime started to be defined, the Soviets killed prisoners from the camp in Kozelsk, while the prisoners from Starobelsk and Ostashkov were probably killed in other places.

On 15 April 1943, the Soviet Information Office published a communiqué that pointed out that the Germans were guilty of this massacre. It was claimed that it was Goebbels and his henchmen who have provoked the USSR. The main thesis of the Katyń lie was thus formulated. A group of NKGB and NKVD officers intimidated the witnesses and proclaimed evidence that served to justify the lie of German guilt. The Soviet commission, headed by Nikolai Burdenko, announced on 24 January 1944 that the testimonies of witnesses, court-medical expertise and documents extracted from the Katyń death pits “indicated that the POWs, the Poles, were executed by the Germans in the autumn of 1941.”

On 21 April 1943, Georgi Dymitrov in Moscow, head of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, radioed Paweł Finder, the Secretary General of the Polish Workers’ Party in Warsaw, to send a resolution stating German responsibility for the Katyń crime. On 23 April 1943, the press organ of the Polish Workers’ Party “Tribune of Freedom” printed out the position of the party in accordance with this expectation, while the rest of the underground communist press also repeated this falsehood. In the USSR, the Communist Union of Polish Patriots carried out a similar propaganda blitz in the press, and even published a collection of articles under the perverse title of the *Truth about Katyń* in 1944. The command of General Zygmunt Berling’s Polish army joined in promoting the findings of the Burdenko Commission.

All those who later held power in communist Poland had to acknowledge the Soviet lie about Katyń as being the truth. That is why it was called the founding lie of the Polish People’s Republic.

The leaders of the United States and Great Britain did not help the Polish government in exile. Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt forced the withdrawal of the Polish application to the International Red Cross to investigate. When the USSR government broke off relations with the Polish government on 25 April 1943, the Anglo-Saxon powers did not lead to the withdrawal of this decision. The motive for the behaviour of the Western leaders was the fear of a split in the anti-Hitler coalition and the will to build a post-war order in alliance with the Soviet Union. Later, the attitude of Western governments and elites changed depending on their ideological convictions and the international situation.

During the trial before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945–1946, Soviet prosecutors included the Katyń Massacre in the accusation of the German defendants. Sentencing the Germans for the Katyń Massacre would have meant a triumph of forgery, but the case was omitted from the judgement.

In 1951–1952, during the Korean War, there was an investigative committee in the US Congressional House of Representatives chaired by Ray Madden looking into the Katyń Massacre. The Madden Commission stated that the Soviets were responsible for the murder of Polish Army officers and other representatives of the Polish elite. The Soviet Union refused to help with the investigation and a campaign promoting the Katyń lie was conducted in the Eastern Bloc. It took on a most expansive action in the People's Republic of Poland. The press was flooded with biased articles and the "Czytelnik" Publishing House published a book full of lies by Bolesław Wójcicki entitled: *The Truth about Katyń*.

Poland's government in exile made a great effort to convey knowledge about the Katyń Massacre to world opinion. Katyń reports were published in London, in English, during the years 1946–1947. In 1948, a study of the Katyń Massacre in light of documents was published – with a preface by General Władysław Anders – and later smuggled into Poland. Since 1943, for half a century, Polish emigrants, including Józef Czapski, Józef Mackiewicz, Wiktor Sukiennicki, Adam Moszyński, Kazimierz Zawodny and Stanisław Swianiewicz, documented and described the Katyń case. In the 1970s, Poles and the British

in the United Kingdom recalled the Katyń Massacre through publications and BBC broadcasts. The Soviet Union responded to this with diplomatic interventions addressed to British authorities.

In People's Poland, the Katyń lie was the state version of history. Books, newspapers, scientific magazines, radio and television programmes, and even inscriptions on symbolic graves of the victims were all under scrutiny. In October 1956, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), Władysław Gomułka, rebuked listeners for raising a question about the Katyń case at a meeting. The recommendation of the Central Office of Press, Publications and Performances' Control from the mid-seventies was: "No attempt must be made to hold the USSR responsible for the death of Polish officers in the Katyń forest". Information on the subject was censored until 1989.

The authorities at various times promoted the idea of the imagined German responsibility for the Katyń massacre. This lie was disseminated not only during the period of Bolesław Bierut's rule, but also after 1956. As an example, this was standard practice in information provided to the army from March 1981, when the armed forces of the Peoples' Republic and the government was led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski. In other periods, it was preferred to remain silent on the subject, but no official back-peddalling from this forgery occurred. Studies promoting the thesis about German culpability did not disappear from libraries, while there was no public access to reliable information. A pensioner from Rzeszów was prosecuted in 1975 for making notes in books explaining what happened in 1940.

More than a hundred cases involving charges for spreading "false" knowledge about Katyń were found in archival materials of the MBP (Polish Security Services), the Ministry of the Interior, the Special Commission for Combating Abuse and Economic Harmfulness, common and military courts, and colleges for offences. Sentences were passed from the 1940s to the 1980s. Before 1956, the cases usually ended with strict prison sentences, while later on, prison sentences were usually suspended or fines were imposed. Repressions fell on family members of those murdered, as well as teachers, clergy, workers, and



craftsmen who told or wrote the truth. Students were sentenced for mentioning the crime during class lessons. In the first years after the war, Polish witnesses of the exhumation that occurred in the spring of 1943, from Polish Red Cross experts and journalists to factory workers, were fiercely pursued. On 30 September 1953, the military court in Kraków sentenced Father Jan Lech to ten years in prison, three years of infamy and forfeiture of all his property for organising hearings of witnesses, which blamed the USSR for the Katyń Massacre. Later, the Security Service prosecuted individuals for talking out loud about Katyń, for example, to colleagues working in the mines or to train passengers caught discussing this topic. In 1967, two students of the Catholic University of Lublin were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for spreading, among others, the news of the 1940 crime.

In the 1940s and the first half of the 1950s, the populace was reminded of Katyń by underground units and anti-communist clandestine youth organizations. Later, breaking the bonds of censorship was mainly due to western radio transmissions and people who passed on the knowledge to others.

From the second half of the 1970s, the fight for the historical memory of Poles was undertaken by the organised, though non-legalised political opposition. In the years 1977–1989, apart from censorship, press publications and books devoted to the Katyń issue were published in underground circulation material. For example, in 1980 the publishing house “Głos” published *Dzieje sprawy Katynia* (The Katyń Case) by Jerzy Łojek (under the pseudonym of Leopold Jerzewski). In 1978, the clandestine Katyń Institute, headed by Adam Macedoński, was established in Cracow. The underground *Katyn Bulletin* was published by him. In 1979, the underground Katyń Committee was established in Warsaw, headed by Stefan Melak. The committee organized, among other activities, observances in the so-called Dolinka Katynska (Little Katyń Valley) at the Powązki Military Cemetery in Warsaw, where people have been laying flowers since the 1950s.

After the strikes in August 1980, the activists of NSZZ “Solidarność”, the Independent Students' Union and the non-legalised Confederation of Independent Poland distributed publications about the Soviet crime. On 31 July

1981, the Melak brothers erected a monument in the Dolinka Katyńska, which was prepared in a garage. During the night, it was quickly confiscated by Security Service officers.

After the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, the Katyń Massacre was a continuing reminder during opposition demonstrations and various leafletting efforts. In some Roman Catholic churches, plaques commemorating the murdered officers were unveiled. In 1988, associations of the victims' family members were established, one of them in Warsaw, under the care of Father Stefan Niedzielak, murdered by "unknown perpetrators" on the night of 20–21 January 1989.

It was only during the political changes that occurred in 1989 that the authorities of the People's Republic of Poland gradually reconciled themselves to the presence of knowledge about the crimes of the Soviets in the public realm. In October 1989, the independent Committee for the Investigation of the Katyń Massacre was established, which took public action, as did the associations of Katyń Families. In 1990, Katyń-related matters could be written about without any restrictions, which resulted in reliable publications. The founding lie of the People's Republic of Poland did not survive its collapse.

Until the collapse of communism in Poland, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev did not withdraw from the lie. It was not until 13 April 1990 that an announcement by the TASS press agency indicated "Beria, Merkulov and their helpers" as the perpetrators of crime against the Polish officers. Gorbachev gave the Polish authorities copies of some NKVD documents. Since 1990, the Main Military Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, later of the Russian Federation, conducted an investigation into the Katyń Massacre. The key testimonies of the 1940 crime collected in a "special briefcase" kept in the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as most of the NKVD documents known today, were revealed after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991.

In 1992, Russia's president Boris Yeltsin declassified the decision of the Politburo VKP(b) of 5 March 1940 and other documents from the "special

briefcase” that has in it material concerning murdering – besides prisoners of war – also the other prisoners. Testimonies extracted from the archives allowed to reconstruct in detail the course of events, the list of victims from camps and partially from prisons, but without the so-called Belarusian list. The places where the prisoners were killed and their bodies hidden were selected, from which thanks to exhumations and archaeological research, the site at Kyiv-Bykivnia was confirmed. Polish and Russian researchers issued valuable editions of documents devoted to the Katyń issue. The Russian association “Memorial” undertook the effort to commemorate Polish martyrdom, which it continues to this day, despite the hostile attitude of the Russian authorities.

In the mid 1990s, fingering the Germans for the massacre was reactivated in Russia, and in the 21st century, this false version appeared on numerous occasions in Russian books and press publications, television and the internet.

In 2004, the Russian prosecutor’s office discontinued the Katyń investigation, and judged this mass murder as a common crime. A copy of the complete set of investigation files was not provided to Poland. The current Russian authorities did not withdraw from the declarations on Katyń from the first half of the 1990s, but they questioned their significance. Russian institutions do not allow attributing legal responsibility for the murder of Polish citizens to the Soviet Union and Russia. They claim that the crime remains unexplained, for example, for it is impossible to determine who exactly was its victim. Such an argumentation was used when in the 21st century, the applications of the “Memorial” Association to the Main Military Prosecutor’s Office and the district court in Moscow for rehabilitation of individual victims of the Katyń massacre were rejected.

The history of the Katyń case, just like the massacre itself, was exceptional. The secret about the Soviet massacre of 1940 was exposed in 1943. The communists responded with a big lie. They engaged unprecedented means and methods in its promotion and defense. Those who knew the truth and preached it were followed, intimidated, imprisoned, and even killed. The contemporary return of the Katyń lie shows that this case is still relevant.



Małgorzata Kuźniar-Plota

# INFORMATION ABOUT THE POLISH KATYŃ INVESTIGATION



The investigation of the Katyń massacre, that is, the murder of no less than 21,768 Polish citizens committed from 5 March to an undetermined day and month in 1940, within the territory of the USSR by officers of that state, performing the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted in Moscow on 5 March 1940, for the crime under Article 118 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code, as amended under Article 123 paragraph 1 point A of the Criminal Code, 3 and 4 of the Penal Code and others – is being conducted by the Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu) in Warsaw, since 30 November 2004.

Common knowledge about the death of Joseph Stalin and other senior party and state functionaries of the USSR of that time did not prevent the initiation of the Katyń investigation, as the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, in Article 45, paragraph 4, demands, that is, to initiate and carry out criminal proceedings even when it is known that the perpetrators of the crime are already dead. The aim of the investigation - in addition to the premises resulting from the general regulations of the Code of Criminal Procedure (detection and prosecution of the guilty person) – is also “to clarify the circumstances of the case, and in particular to identify the wronged parties”. (Article 45(3) of the Act on IPN-KŚZpNP). This regulation was introduced by the legislator, taking into account, *inter alia*, the duty to compensate all wronged parties.

A comprehensive explanation of the circumstances of the case involves the establishment of the names of all victims of the Katyń Massacre, determining the hitherto unknown places of their execution and burial, in order to draw up a full list of persons who are entitled to the rights of victims, to determine all persons participating in both the adoption and implementation of the decision of 5 March 1940, to determine the scope of responsibility of each of them and, if possible, to hold the living perpetrators responsible. The realization of these intentions is conditioned upon the possibility of collecting the full evidence.

The investigation is currently being conducted by a team consisting of two prosecutors from the Warsaw Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation. Their work is supported by other IPN prosecutors in eleven branch commissions in Poland and their delegations, who, in accordance with the local jurisdiction of their commissions, interview witnesses as part of legal aid.

Evidence gathering activities in the investigation focus on witness interviews and the search for archival materials relating to the Katyń massacre. To date, a total of 3,970 witnesses have been questioned. Most of them are members of the families of those murdered. The Katyń witness hearings are carried out not only in Poland but also abroad. Documents and other evidence that may be of significant importance to the subject matter of the proceedings are sought in Poland and abroad. Numerous searches are to lead to finding archival documents, photographs and documentary footage of the Katyń massacre.

Due to the fact that the evidence gathered by the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation in the investigation under file no. 159 is of significant importance for our investigation, the Branch Commission in Warsaw submitted requests – on two occasions (in 2005 and 2009) – to the General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation for legal assistance in our criminal proceedings, that is, in making available the entire files of the investigation no. 159, providing transcripts or copies of the investigation files



and the formal resolution to discontinue it. To date, a total of 148 volumes of file copies of investigation no. 159 have been submitted to the Polish Katyń massacre investigators in several tranches. Among this documentation, there is no so-called “Belarusian Katyń list”, that is, personal files of 3,870 Polish citizens imprisoned in the so-called Western Belarus and murdered as part of the “Katyń Massacre” categorization, or other source documents allowing its reconstruction.

As no photocopies of the remaining 35 file volumes and the decision of 21 September 2004 to discontinue the investigation no. 159 were handed over, in December 2013 the Warsaw Branch Commission sent another request for legal assistance. The General Prosecutor’s Office of the Russian Federation took a negative view on its execution. It was also impossible to obtain copies of materials from the investigation into the mass graves in Kuropaty near Minsk from the Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Belarus. The Branch Commission in Warsaw obtained, however, materials from Germany, Ukraine and the United States.

The most important task facing prosecutors from the investigation team is to achieve the objectives of the investigation as fully as possible, within existing restrictions on access to new source materials. In view of the passage of time and the legislative rule in force in the Russian Federation concerning refusal to surrender its citizens to other jurisdictions, it should be stated that the Polish Katyń investigation is currently historical in nature and will not ultimately lead to legal proceedings against the perpetrators of the crimes. However, this does not diminish the rank of this proceeding, because it is our duty to reconstruct the circumstances of the crime and to determine its perpetrators – both those who made the decision on 5 March 1940 and those who executed it at all levels of the NKVD. It is our responsibility. A crime can be committed by a specific person, not by the State or its institutions.

Adam Siwek

# THE KATYŃ MASSACRE

SIGNS

OF MEMORY



The crime committed by the Soviet regime on officers of the Polish Army and other functionaries of the Second Polish Republic left an unhealed wound in the memory of both the families of the victims and the entire Polish nation. The victims' closest ones were deprived of the opportunity to bury and say goodbye to their husbands, fathers and brothers. In a natural way, there was a need for at least a symbolic commemoration of those murdered, creating a substitute for the actual graves.

The communist authorities installing themselves in Poland from the middle of 1944 ruthlessly eliminated all public information about the Katyń massacre and its victims. Therefore, the families were left with their memory nurtured in discretion, in the circle of closest and trusted people. This memory was manifested in a veiled way – the names of those who were lost in the East were placed on family tombstones. Due to a lack of knowledge about other places of massacre, families usually connected the place of death of their loved ones with Katyń. Cemeteries and churches were the first places of material commemoration of the victims of Stalinist crimes.

The struggle against lies spread by the Soviets and Polish communists became one of the main goals of Polish independence circles, legal Polish authorities in exile, and many leaders of the post-WW2 political emigration. Monuments erected in successive cities of Western Europe and overseas were an effective weapon in this fight. Monuments propagating the truth about the perpetrators of the Katyń massacre in the West, undermining the legitimacy





The grave of the Turek family in the parish cemetery in Pułtusk. The commemoration of Captain Czesław Turek (in 1939, cf.), buried in Kharkiv (photo: A. Siwek 2019)

of the communist usurpers' of power, provoked furious attacks by Soviet and other the communist diplomatic services and agencies.

In Poland, official commemoration of the victims of NKVD crimes became possible only after the political changes that occurred in 1989. Since then, thousands of monuments and plaques have been created. As part of the "Save from oblivion" programme, nearly 5,000 oak trees have already been planted. We present below a selection of the most important or interesting objects devoted to the Katyn massacre, located in Poland and abroad.



The grave of the Lewicki and Sokołowski families in the parish cemetery in Marysin Wawerski (Warsaw). The commemoration of Major Wiesław Sokołowski, buried in Kharkiv (photo: A. Siwek 2019)



Monument at Gunnersbury  
Cemetery in London  
(photo: A. Siwek 2012)





## COMMEMORATIONS OF THE KATYŃ MASSACRE ABROAD

### **The Katyń Monument in London**

The initiative of the Fund for the Construction of the Katyń Monument Association in London, under the patronage of the Presidents of Poland in exile – August Zaleski and Stanisław Ostrowski.

Designers: British writer Louis FitzGibbon, author of books about Katyń, and Stefan Adam Zamoyski. In view of protests and threats by the Soviet Union, the British authorities refused to allow the monument to be located in a public space. They also refused to allow representatives of the British government to attend the unveiling ceremony and for British military assistance. Despite attempts by the communist secret services to intimidate and even physically attack the families of the monument's initiators, the monument was unveiled on 8 September 1976 in Gunnersbury Cemetery. The ceremony was performed by Maria Chełmecka, the widow of Tadeusz Chełmecki, the Commissioner of the Border Guards murdered in Tver.

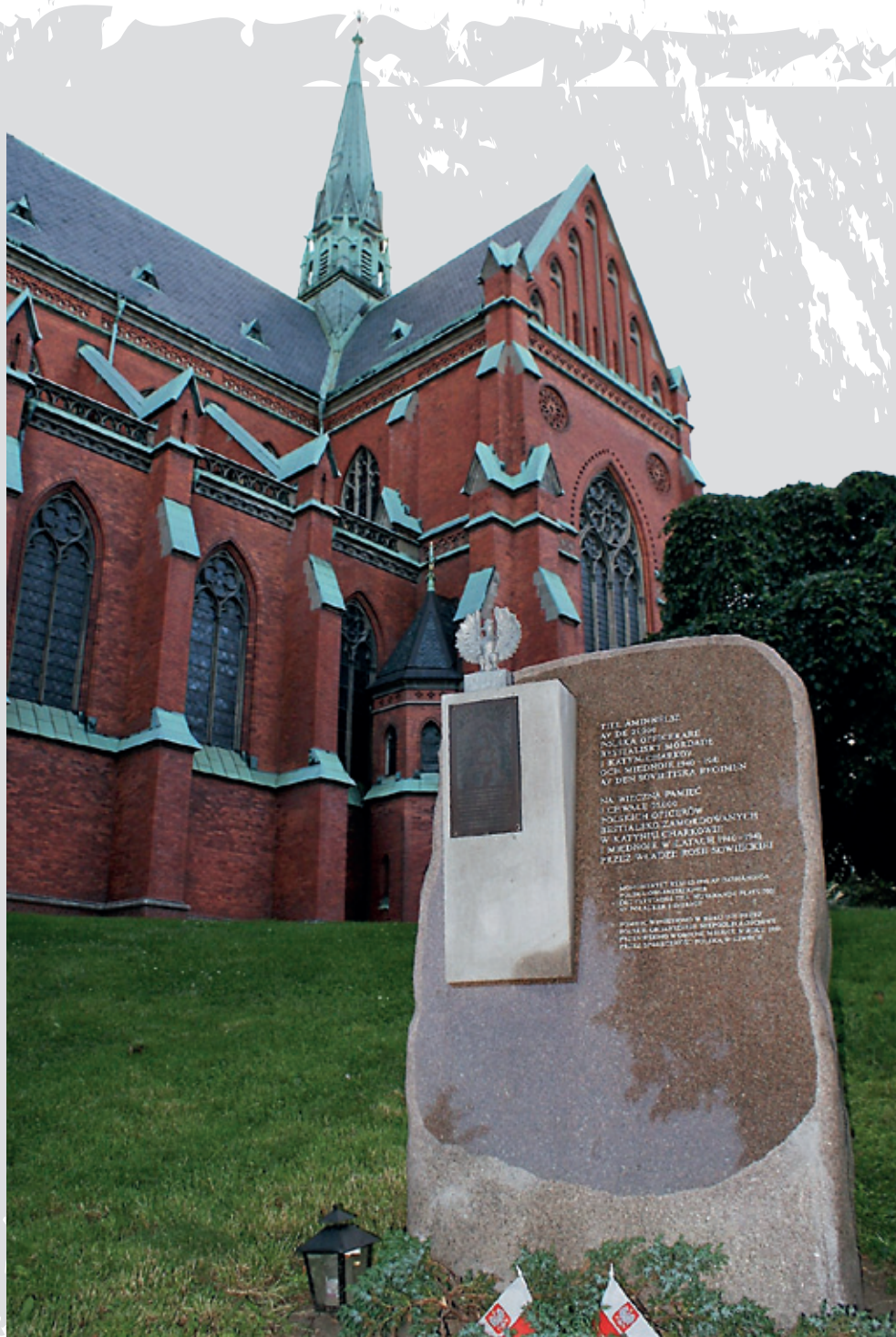
### **The Katyń Monument in Stockholm**

The undertaking of the Polish emigration group in Sweden in the mid-1960s met with a very reluctant response from the Swedish authorities, as well as from the local Catholic Church, which is why the monument was erected on private property – at the rear of the seat of the Centre for Polish Independence Organisations at Östermalmsgatan 75. The main sponsor was the later President of the Polish Refugee Council in Sweden, Tadeusz Głowacki. The unveiling of the monument on 16 November 1975 triggered a fierce protest by the Soviet Embassy. Efforts were made over the next 26 years to move the monument to a more dignified location. Eventually, on 6 May 2001, a new monument was consecrated at St. John's Church in Stockholm, designed by Michał Bieniasz, onto which a commemorative plaque and an eagle from the first monument were incorporated.



First Katyń Monument in Stockholm (photo: "Polish Traces in Sweden", <http://polskieslady.se>)

The Katyn Monument  
at St. John's Church in Stockholm  
(photo: A. Siwek 2017)





ABSOLVE, DOMINE, ANIMAS  
OMNIUM FIDELIUM DEFUNCTORUM  
AB OMNI VINCULO DELICTORUM,  
ET GRATIA TUA ILLIS SUGGERENTE,  
MEREANTUR EVADERE IUDICIUM  
ULTIONIS, ET LUCIS AETERNAE  
BEATITUDINE PERFRUI. REDEMPTOR  
AETERNAAM DONA IIS, DEUS PATRIS  
ET LUX PERPETUA GLORIAM IIS.



### **The Katyń Monument in Toronto**

The monument was erected on the initiative of Colonel Tadeusz Walkowski, undertaken at the XXIII Convention of the Canadian-Polish Congress on 12–16 October 1974. The design competition was won by Professor Tadeusz Janowski, a Polish architect living in the United States. The location was chosen for the square at the junction of King Street West, Queen Street West and Roncesvalles Avenue – the most Polish street in Toronto. The monument stands on a hill overlooking the shores of Lake Ontario, a little over 200 meters away. On 14 September 1980, more than 10,000 people participated in the unveiling and consecrating ceremony of the monument.





The Katyn Monument  
in Toronto (photo: A. Siwek 2018)





The Katyn Monument  
at Southern Cemetery  
in Manchester  
(photo: A. Siwek 2019)

### **The Katyn Monument in Manchester**

The monument was erected in the Southern Cemetery, near the fencing off of Princess Road, and unveiled on 29 April 1990. An urn with some soil from the graves in Katyn was laid underneath, followed by an urn of soil from Kharkiv-Piatikhatki on 26 April 1992, and finally on 29 April 2001, from Mednoye. In the vicinity of the monument, there is a cemetery walkway lined with graves of Polish veterans and their families.





### **Monument to the Katyń Martyrs in Budapest**

On 28 March 2008, Budapest City Council passed a resolution to name the square at the intersection of Nagyszombat, Szőlő and Bécsi Streets as the Katyń Martyrs' Park. The idea of building a monument at this location was supported among others, by the Mayor of Budapest, Gábor Demszky. The authors of the monument are Hungarian artists Géza Széri-Varga and Zoltán Széri-Varga. The monument is in the form of a cube made of Corten sheet

Monument to the  
Martyrs of Katyń,  
III District of Budapest  
(photo: W. Abramowicz)



steel with cut-out silhouettes of trees. A smaller cube made of black polished granite can be seen through the openwork. The unveiling of the monument was planned for April 2010, but the plane crash near Smolensk forced the ceremony to be postponed until 8 April 2011. The presidents of Hungary and Poland participated in the ceremony. Next to the monument, two oak trees were planted to commemorate the Hungarian victims of the Katyń massacre: Emanuel Aladar Korompay and Oskar Rudolf Kühnel.

It is worth mentioning that Emanuel Korompay also has a commemorative plaque located on the grounds of Warsaw University.

## KATYŃ MEMORIALS IN POLAND

Emanuel Aladar Korompay's plaque on the Faculty of Oriental Studies building, University of Warsaw

### **Warsaw, Powązki Military Cemetery – the Little Katyń Valley**

The first Katyń monument erected in a public space in Poland.

The fight for this commemoration lasted fourteen years. In the so-called Little





Katyń Valley – at that time an empty, slightly recessed place near the quarters of the Warsaw Uprising soldiers – flowers were spontaneously laid and votive lamps lit for the intention of Polish officers murdered by the NKVD. Since 1974, the Circle of National Remembrance Association, founded by Father Wacław Karłowicz and Stefan Melak, began to organise religious and patriotic ceremonies dedicated to the victims of the Katyń Massacre.

On 31 July 1981, activists of the illegal Civic Committee for the Construction of the Katyń Monument erected a stone cross 4.5 m high with the date “1940” engraved on it and plaques with the names of NKVD camps for Polish prisoners of war from 1939 and the inscription reading: “Katyń.” On the first night, the cross was dismantled and taken away by the communist Security

Little Katyń Valley at the  
Powązki Military Cemetery  
(photo: A. Siwek 2020)





Little Katyń Valley at the  
Powązki Military Cemetery  
(photo: A. Siwek 2020)

Service. On 6 December 1981, the newly established Civic Committee for the Construction of the Monument to the Katyń Victims set up a temporary birch cross, during a ceremony which was attended by several thousand participants. The communist authorities removed this cross after martial law was imposed on 13 December 1981.

After the destruction of another wooden cross erected in August 1984, the authorities decided to build a monument in the Little Katyń Valley. First place in the officially announced competition was awarded to the work by sculptors Adam Myjak and Janusz Pastwa, consisting of a massive granite cross and a plate with the inscription “Polish Soldiers at rest in the land of Katyń.” However, when the Soviet embassy demanded that the Germans be identified as the perpetrators of the crime and the authors of the sculpture did not agree to this, the monument was dismantled and hidden away in warehouses. In its place, in the spring of 1985, the authorities erected another granite cross with the inscription “In memory of Polish soldiers, victims of Nazi fascism resting in the land of Katyń – 1941.” This caused public outrage at home and abroad, as well as a fierce protest by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany, led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In March 1989, in the atmosphere of upcoming political changes, the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom at the request of the Warsaw Katyń Families supplemented the inscription with the date “1940” and names of three Soviet POW camps, in Polish: “Kozielsk, Ostaszków, Starobielsk”. In April 1989, the communist authorities ordered the inscription to be taken away. On the night of 5–6 July 1989, they dropped off elements at the cemetery of the first 1981 dated monument.

During his visit to Poland on 25 August 1993, Russia’s President Boris Yeltsin laid flowers under the cross in the Little Katyń Valley and asked representatives of the Katyń families for forgiveness. Finally, on 31 July 1995, the Katyń Monument consisting of two crosses from 1981 and 1985 was consecrated.

The Katyń Monument, designed in 1984 by Adam Myjak and Janusz Pastwa, was finally erected on the square in front of the Concathedral of Our Lady of Victory at Grochowska Street 365 in Kamionek, Praga Południe district, in Warsaw.



The Katyń monument designed by Adam Myjak and Janusz Pastwa in front of the Concathedral of Our Lady of Victory in Kamionek, consecrated on 31 July 1995. (photo: A. Siwek 2020)

### **Wrocław, the Monument to the Victims of the Katyń Massacre**

This is one of the most interesting and expressive of the Katyń monuments in Poland. It was erected on the initiative of the Lower Silesian Katyń Families on the basis of a design by Tadeusz Tchórzewski. The composition on the plan of a cross is based on the relation of two sculptural elements. A woman kneeling at the base – an allegory of Poland – mourns an officer who was shot through the skull. The Angel of Death, but also the Angel of Vengeance wielding a sword, looks down on this scene from a high pedestal. The monument was unveiled on 22 September 2000, after six years of construction.

Monument to the Victims  
of the Katyń Massacre, Juliusz  
Słowacki Park in Wrocław  
(photo: A. Siwek 2010)





Monument to the Victims  
of the Katyn Massacre, Juliusz  
Słowacki Park in Wrocław  
(photo: A. Siwek 2010)



Monument to the Victims  
of the Katyn Massacre, Juliusz  
Słowacki Park in Wrocław  
(photo: A. Siwek 2010)





## KATYŃ SANCTUARIES

### **London, St. Andrew Bobola's Church – Chapel of Our Lady of Kozelsk**

The church, which was built in 1869, was purchased in 1961 for the needs of the Polish émigré community in London. At that time, on the right side of the altar, a chapel designed by Maryla and Marek Jakubowski was added, dedicated to the image of Our Lady of Kozelsk.

A painting, actually a polychrome bas-relief, was made in May 1941 by Reserve 2nd Lieutenant Tadeusz Zieliński during his stay in the Kozelsk II camp.

Reserve 2nd Lieutenant Zieliński's Madonna was displayed on the field altar during the first mass for freed Polish prisoners of war in the camp in Gryazovets on 25 August 1941, in the presence of Major General Władysław

Chapel in the right nave  
of St. Andrew Bobola  
Church in London  
(photo: A. Siwek 2019)





Chapel in the right nave  
of St. Andrew Bobola  
Church in London  
(photo: A. Siwek 2019)



Anders. Our Lady of Kozelsk accompanied the command of the Polish Army in the USSR, in the Middle East, and then went through the entire Italian campaign with the Polish II Corps. After the 2nd Corps was dissolved, the bas-relief went to London, first to the Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in 1962, to the parish of St. Andrew Bobola. Our Lady of Kozelsk is exhibited surrounded by medals, military badges and small personal items extracted from the death pits in Katyń.



## Warsaw, Church of St. Charles Borromeo at Powązki Cemetery, Sanctuary of the Fallen and Murdered in the East

The sanctuary was initiated by the Powązki parish monsignor, Father Stefan Niedzielak, while the author of the design was Jadwiga Zienkiewiczowa.

On 1 September 1984, the Primate of Poland Cardinal Józef Glemp, consecrated the cross, which was the main element of the composition.

Sanctuary on the external wall of St. Charles Borromeo Church in the old Catholic cemetery, Powązki district, Warsaw (photo: A. Siwek 2020)





The image of Our Lady of Ostra Brama made by Reserve 2nd Lieutenant Henryk Gorzechowski in the Kozelsk camp

The community of Katyń Families (since 1991 the Katyń Family Association in Warsaw) focused around Father Niedzielak and started to place individual epitaphs of those murdered in the Soviet Union on the church's exterior wall, which were a substitute for the far-off graves. About a thousand of them were made. In 1990, the skull of one of the Polish officers murdered in Katyń was placed in the reliquary at the base of the cross. It was taken out of Soviet Russia in 1943 by Prof. Eduard Miloslavić, a member of the international medical commission investigating the Katyń death pits, and hidden away at the Institute of Forensic Medicine and Criminology in Zagreb. The epitaphs are supplemented by a plaque dedicated to the members of the technical commission of the Polish Red Cross which exhumed the death pits of Katyń in 1943.

### **Warsaw, the Field Cathedral of the Polish Army, the Katyń Chapel**

After the restoration of the field ordinate in Poland on 21 January 1991, the field bishop, Major General Sławoj Leszek Głódź, decided to create the Katyń Chapel. The architectural design is the work of Konrad Kucza-Kuczyński and Andrzej Miklaszewski, the interior design by the sculptor Marek Moderau, with an eagle sculpture by Mariusz Drapikowski. The chapel was consecrated on 15 September 2002. In the recess on the altar there is the skull of Major Ludwik Szymański who was murdered in Katyń, uniform buttons excavated from the graves and an image of Our Lady of Ostra Brama, also known as Our Lady of Katyń. The author of the bas-relief is Reserve 2nd Lieutenant Henryk Gorzechowski, who was murdered in Katyń. He made the relief on a board from the camp bunk as a gift for the nineteenth birthday of his son, Henryk Mikołaj Gorzechowski (28 February 1940), a prisoner of the same Kozelsk camp. The young Gorzechowski got out of Russia with General Anders' army. He never parted with the gift from his father. After Henryk Mikołaj Gorzechowski's death in 1989, the piece was sent to the Katyń Chapel in the Field Cathedral.

The walls of the chapel are covered with metal tiles with about 15,000 names of those buried in Katyń, Kharkiv and Mednoye and 3,435 names of





The Katyn Chapel in the interior of the Field Cathedral of the Polish Army (photo: A. Siwek 2020)

victims from the so-called Ukrainian Katyń list, most of whom are buried in the cemetery in Bykivnia, near Kyiv.

## CEMETERIES IN KATYŃ

The fight for the truth and for the memory and dignified commemoration of the victims of the Katyń Massacre was crowned with the exhumation from the actual death pits and the relocating of the found remains in the cemeteries.

Between 1998 and 2012, four new cemeteries were constructed: in Kharkiv (consecrated on 17 June 2000), Katyń (28 July 2000), Mednoye (21 September 2000) and Bykivnia (2 September 2012). The first three were designed by the team: Zdzisław Pidek, Andrzej Sołyga, Wiesław and Jacek Synakiewicz – winners of the competition organized by the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom. These cemeteries have common elements, made of cast iron or Corten steel: pylons – entrance columns with eagles, altars and altar walls covered with the names of those buried, a bell beneath the altar wall, individual epitaphs, and religious symbols of the main religions professed during the period of the Second Polish Republic.

Cemetery of the Victims  
of Totalitarianism in Kharkiv  
(photo: A. Siwek 2011)







The cemetery in Bykivnia – designed by the Air Projekt Robert Głowacki Studio and the Moderau Art Marek Moderau Company, also contains all the above mentioned elements, but in a slightly different interpretation. Instead of corrosive steel elements, gray, noble granite was used, and the bell was suspended on a low bell tower decorated with religious symbols.

Cemetery of the Victims  
of Totalitarianism in Kharkiv  
(photo: A. Siwek 2011)





Cemetery of the Victims of Totalitarianism in Kharkiv (photo: A. Siwek 2011)







Polish War Cemetery in Katyn  
(photo: A. Siwek 2011)









Polish War Cemetery in Katyni  
(photo: A. Siwek 2011)









Polish War Cemetery in Katyn  
(photo: A. Siwek 2011)









Polish War Cemetery  
in Katyn (photo: A. Siwek  
2011)

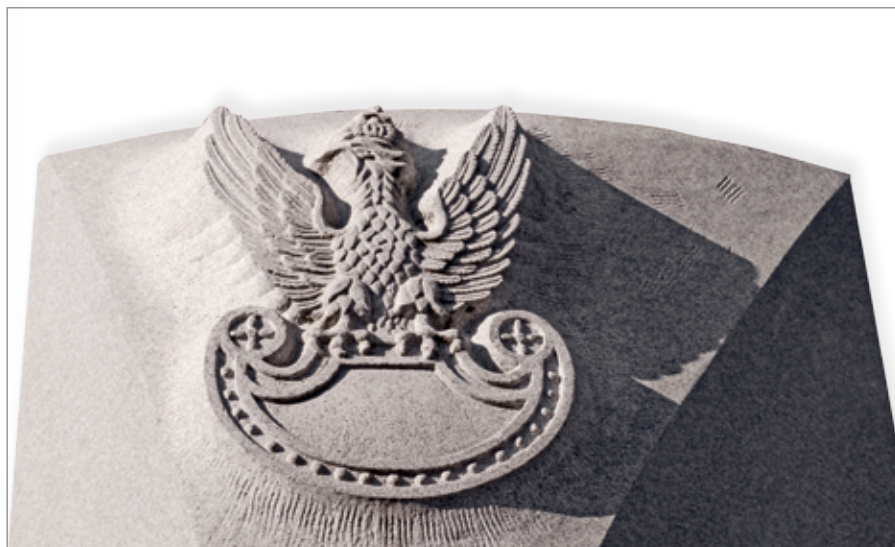




Polish War Cemetery  
in Mednoye (photo: Association  
of Katyń Families)



Polish War Cemetery  
in Kiev-Bykivnia  
(photo: A. Siwek 2012)





Jan, Romuald A. Chong A. DERBERG,  
TONIOK, Wacław ANTONIOK, Jan ANTONIO  
REJCZUK, Abram BAKER, Józef BAKER  
ZYK, Mikołaj BARDYŃSKI, Szymon BARMA  
Magnały BEREZANSKI, Józef  
Jan BIELECKI, Władysław  
Józef BITMAR, Róża BIAWSZTEJ  
DAR, Ewa BONDARCZUK, Piotr BONDAR  
Zimierz BRATEK, Wawrzyniec BRZUK  
Mikołaj BUCZER, Jan BUCZNA, Józef  
Piotr BURZANOWSKI, Maria BURZANSKA  
zek CHICHEOWSKI, Stanisław CHIMAR  
JBAK, Antoni CHROŚĆ, Zdzisław CHRU  
Jan CZAJKOWSKI, Józef CZAJKOWSKI  
JURK, Edward CZERWENKA, Władysław  
Romuald DĄBROWSKI, Wacław DĄBROW  
KO, Stanisław DJUK, Henryk DMO  
MIN, Józef DOMINIĄK, Stanisław DOMI  
oni DUBIŃSKI, Józef DUBIŃSKI, Wład  
ZIEDZIC, Stanisław DZIEGIEC, Stefan  
AK, Petró FEDESZYN, Hilary FEDIUK  
Stanisław FRANCAK, Józef FRANCAK  
KAPICH, Władysław GARBOWSKI, Zdz  
KPA, Włodzimierz GLEICH, Władysław  
DSZTEJN, Marian GOŁĘBIOWSKI, Stani  
Adam GORZKOWSKI, Roman GOSTIUK  
AK, Adam GRUBOWSKI, Michał GRANKOW  
ORYSZYN, Franciszek GRYGUC, Michał  
ANUSZCZAK, Dymitr HARASIMCZUK  
FMAN, Franciszek HODDA, Wiktor  
Jeniosz IWANOWICZ, Grzegorz IWA  
symilian JAL, Aleksander JAROWIEC  
JAROSZEWICZ, Marcin JAROSZEWSKI  
JĘDRZEJEWSKI, Władysław JĘDRZE  
OR, Tomasz KACZOR, Florian KADEU  
Wincenty KAPUŚCINSKI, Zygor  
NER, Sylwester KEMPA, Dawid  
KLIMCZUK, Marcin KLIMCZUK, Woi  
staw KOCUR, Antoni KOCZOWSKI  
USZEK, Timko KONON, Włodzimierz  
SKI, Józef KORZENIOWSKI, Tomasz  
Mikołaj KOWALCZUK, Antoni KOWAL

Wacław KAZMER, Szymon KAZMER, Je  
WICZ, Teodor ANTONOWICZ, Gerard AR  
WICZ, Jan BAKULA, Jan BALCEREN, Wac  
Aleksander BARSZCZEWSKI, Michał  
BEREŻECKA, Róża BER  
BIELECKI, Andrzej BIE  
Michał BLAHO, Andrzej BRASZYK, Bole  
CZUK, Jeremi BONDARCZUK, Ewa BO  
Józef BRAGIEL, Stanisław BRAMA  
BUCZNA, Jan BUCZYŃSKI, Marian B  
Józef BURZYŃSKI, Paweł BUSIEK, Piotr  
Jerzy CHŁEBEK, Stanisław CHŁOPEK  
ŚCIEŁ, Hilary CHRZĄSTOWSKI, Jan C  
Michał CZAJKOWSKI, Wacław CZAJ  
CZERWIŃSKI, Zygmunt CZERWIŃSKI  
SKI, Władysław DĄBROWSKI  
CHOWSKI, Józef DMOCHOWSKI, Jan D  
NICZAK, Józef DOMINIĄK, Andrzej  
sław DUBIŃSKI, Andrzej DUBKA, J  
DZIEKOŃSKI, Henryk DZIERŻAN  
Konstanty FEDOROWICZ, Michał FED  
Rudolf FRANK, Józef FRANKIEWI  
sław GARBUSIŃSKI, Apolinary GAR  
GLIŃSKI, Antoni GŁOC, Prokop GŁ  
sław GOŁĘBSKI, Andrzej GOŁOTA  
Hilary GOSTYŃSKI, Jan GOSZKO  
SKI, Stanisław GRANKOWSKI, R  
GRYNIEW, Franciszek GRYS, Jer  
Kazimierz HARASZ, Jan HARM  
HOZUBOWICZ, Włodzimierz HO  
NOWICZ, Jan IWANOWSKI, Stanis  
Jerzy JAMPOLSKI, Władysław JAM  
Piotr JAROSZYŃSKI, Jarosław J  
JEWSKI, Stanisław JON, Feliks  
BIEC, Józef KAISER, Roman KA  
KARACZEWSKI, Stanisław KAR  
KESSLER, Paweł KESSLER, Dawid  
ciech KLIMCZYK, Jan KLIMMER, Kle  
Wasy KOCZENASZ, Emilia KOGA  
KONOPACKI, Daniel KONOPKA  
KORZYK, Józef KOSEL, Trofim  
CZYK, Miron KOWALEC, Aleksan



Polish War Cemetery  
in Kiev-Bykivnia  
(photo: A. Siwek 2012)





Polish War Cemetery  
in Kiev-Bykivnia  
(photo: A. Siwek 2012)











