

THE TRAGEDY OF VINNYTSIA

**Materials on Stalin's Policy of
Extermination in Ukraine During
the Great Purge, 1936-1938**

IHOR KAMENETSKY

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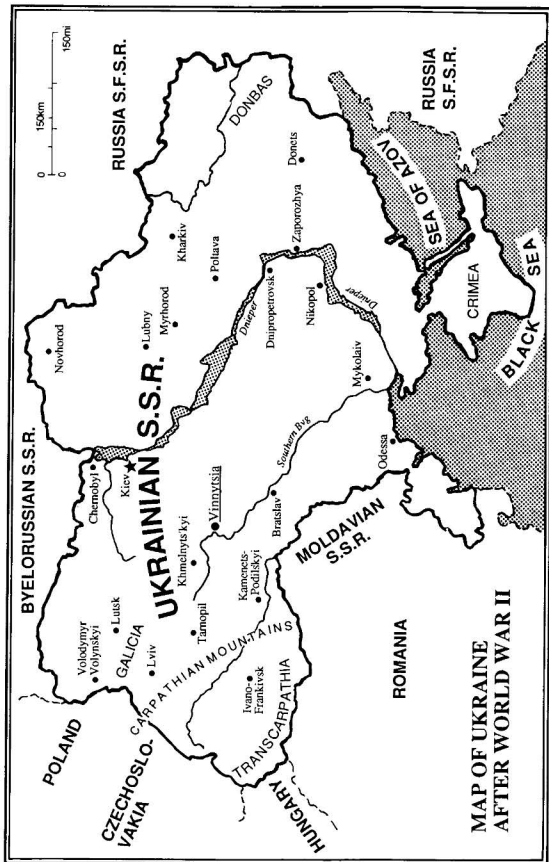
IHOR KAMENETSKY

It is the purpose of this work to reveal the reasons behind Stalin's mass executions during the Great Purge in the Ukrainian city of Vinnytsia and the surrounding region. In an extensive introductory essay, the Editor provides the historical and political background that traces the practice of genocide in contrast to an evolving concept of basic human rights in modern international relations.

The anthology contains German government documents of 1943/44 based on the findings of various medical commissions, legal investigations, and interviews with the local population. It also includes eyewitness testimonies and Congressional Hearings of those who were present at the opening of the Vinnytsia mass graves, as well as selected articles written since this event. In retrospect, the articles are meant to convey the sense of the public's reaction to this tragedy over the past fifty years.

By focusing on the unpredictability of Stalin's rule, this work also hints at the vulnerability of an individual caught in the cobweb of a totalitarian system of justice.

THE TRAGEDY OF VINNYTSIA
MATERIALS ON STALIN'S POLICY OF EXTERMINATION
IN UKRAINE DURING THE GREAT PURGE
1936-1938



Map of Ukraine after World War II, indicating the location of Vinnytsia

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IN UKRAINE DURING THE GREAT PURGE
1936-1938

EDITED BY
IHOR KAMENETSKY

UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
IN COOPERATION WITH
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AND
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Preface

By Lubomyr R. Wynar

The publication of this collection of documents on the massacre of approximately nine thousand persons in the Ukrainian town of Vinnytsia during 1937 through 1938 by the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) is very timely and broadens the historical source base on Stalinist genocide policies toward Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine. At the same time, it presents **prima facie** evidence on the activities of Soviet security police (NKVD) during the Yezhov period in the 1930s.

When compared to the Katyn massacre of over 10,000 Polish Army officers and intellectuals who were taken prisoner by the Red Army in 1939 and executed by the NKVD in 1940, the Vinnytsia mass murder is relatively unknown to many Western students of Stalinism and Soviet history. It is important to recall that the Soviet government had accused the Germans of both the Katyn and Vinnytsia massacres. However, on the basis of extensive evidence, records, testimonies and medical examination of the corpses, it was determined that both of these crimes against the Polish and Ukrainian peoples were committed by Soviet security police, prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union.¹

The recent XXVIIth Party Congress of the Soviet Union (1986) and the All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party (1988) rein-

¹For details see U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on the Katyn Forest Massacre, *The Katyn Forest Massacre*. Hearings before the Select Committee . . . 82nd Congress, 1st and 2nd session 1915-1952. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), 7 parts; On the Vinnytsia massacre see *The Crimes of Khrushchev*. Part 2. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities. House of Representatives. 86th Congress, First Session (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959).

See also Ihor Kamenetsky's "Introduction" to this publication, pp. 31-32.

forced Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and his appeal to Soviet historians to fill the "blank spots" in Soviet history with an objective re-examination of historical events. Gorbachev's denunciation of Stalin's personality cult and his crimes were instrumental in the initiation of a number of articles within the Soviet press dealing with qualitative and quantitative analyses of the killings committed by Stalin and his associates.'

In a special report to *The New York Times*, Bill Keller discusses the mass graves in Bykovnia forests near Kiev which are "the latest focus of a grisly search for the undiscovered or unacknowledged burial grounds of the millions killed by Stalin's repressions."³ The mass graves in the Bykovnia forests, similar to the recently discovered graves at Kuropaty near Minsk in the Byelorussian SSR where the NKVD murdered over 100,000 Byelorussians,⁴ reveal the staggering dimension of genocide committed by the Stalinist killing machine, especially in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics.

In view of the recent Soviet discussion of Stalin's atrocities at Bykovnia, Kuropaty and Katyn,⁵ the question is to what extent has the Vinnytsia massacre been discussed in the Soviet Ukrainian and Russian

³See Paul Quinn-Judge, "Soviets Raise Count on Stalin Victims," *Christian Science Monitor*, vol. 81, no. 44, (Jan. 30, 1989), p. 3. According to Russian historian Roy Medvedev, "Thirty six million people fell victim to Stalinist repressions between 1927 and 1953" excluding those who died from hunger during the 1930s. See also Felicity Barringer, "Stalin Victims Are Mourned by Throngs," *The New York Times*, vol. 138, no. 47, 703 (Nov. 28, 1988), Sec. A, p. 7.

Bill Keller, "Mystery of Ukraine Graves: Whose Victims Were They?" *The New York Times*, vol. 138, no. 47,801 (March 6, 1989), p. 1.

According to the Associated Press, estimates of the buried victims in Bykovnia vary from 6,000 to 300,000. Ukrainian villagers "broke five decades of terrified silence to accuse Joseph Stalin's secret police after the Ukrainian government erected a monument in May 1988 blaming Nazi occupiers for the crime. The villagers forced Ukrainian authorities in December to establish the commission, saying three previous investigations had covered up the truth." See "Soviet commission says '30s massacre committed by Stalin's police, not Nazis," *The Denver Post*, (March 25, 1989). According to the Associated Press, the TASS agency stated that an examination of archival records confirmed that victims in Bykovnia were the so-called "people's enemies," accused in the 1930s with counter revolutionary activities.

It is important to note that on May 7, 1989, representatives of the Ukrainian Society *Memorial* and thousands of Ukrainian residents of Kiev held a mass meeting at Bykovnia in order to commemorate the mass murders committed by the NKVD.

⁴Zenon Poznyak, "Kuropaty. A National Tragedy That Everyone Should Know About," *Moscow News*, no. 41, 1988. According to Poznyak, Kuropaty "was a place where people were shot on a mass scale. It was a 'murder place' which operated every day from 1937 to June 1941."

⁵On Katyn, see Thomas S. Szayna, "Addressing 'Blank Spots' in Polish-Soviet Relations," *Problems of Communism*, vol. 37, (Nov.-Dec. 1988), pp. 37-61.

presses? There is some modest indication that Ukrainian intellectual circles in Soviet Ukraine are searching for archival sources on Stalin's crime in Vinnytsia as well as other Ukrainian cities and villages. Anatolii Ben, a Ukrainian journalist, after consultation with B.I. Oliinyk, Secretary of the Ukrainian Writers Union (Spilka Pys'mennykiv Ukrainy),⁶ travelled to Moscow in order to interview Russian archivist Dmitri Yurasov, for the purpose of obtaining data on Stalin's Ukrainian victims. Ben's interview with Yurasov was published in the Ukrainian Soviet newspaper *Molod' Ukrainy* (*Youth of Ukraine*) in September of 1988.⁷ During the interview Yurasov stated that according to his archival records, in Vinnytsia in 1938 Sokolynskyi was in charge "of massive repressions, especially the execution in Vinnytsia of about 5,000 'enemies of the people'."⁸ To our knowledge, this appears to be the only information published in a Soviet newspaper on the NKVD mass murder in Vinnytsia up through 1988. The first comprehensive article on the Vinnytsia massacre was published by journalist H. Drobchak in *Silski Visi*, the daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine.⁹ In this rather lengthy article titled "Vinnytsia's Kuropaty," Drobchak clearly states that, based upon his interviews with various eyewitnesses as well as upon a thorough analysis of NKVD archival materials for 1937-38, the crime in Vinnytsia was committed

⁶B.I. Oliinyk and the Ukrainian Writers Union are very active in collecting data on Stalin's crimes in Ukraine. In the near future, they plan to publish a special documentary white book on Stalin's black deeds. A special project will be devoted to a commemorative volume on the man-created famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 during which a large number of Ukrainians from the Vinnytsia region died of starvation. See Yewhen Hucalo, "Stvorymo knyhu narodnoi pamiaty," (Let's Create a Book of People's Memories), *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 45, (Nov. 10, 1988), p. 7.

⁷Anatolii Ben, "Protest," (A Protest), *Molod' Ukrainy*, (September 21, 1988), p. 4.

⁸Captain of the Soviet secret police D.M. Sokolynsky (Sokolinski) was in charge of the NKVD in the Vinnytsia region in 1937-1938 and he was directly involved in the extermination of "enemies of the people." Sokolynsky "was responsible for the 9,000 corpses shot in Vinnitsa in 1938 and found in pits in the city's park five years later" — Robert Conquest, *Inside Stalin's Secret Police: NKVD Politics 1936-1939* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1985), p. 4.

D.M. Sokolynsky was one of Yezhov's closest collaborators who tortured and executed hundreds of innocent residents in Vinnytsia. Ironically, he was executed by the NKVD at the end of 1938.

⁹H. Drobchak, "Vinnytski Kuropaty" (Vinnytsia's Kuropaty), *Silski Visti*, No. 45, (June 4, 1989). According to Drobchak, the first official Soviet explanation of the mass graves was published in the summer of 1943 by the Soviet Information Bureau which blamed the Nazis for the killings. It is important to note that Drobchak was able to examine official Soviet archival materials which confirmed that the victims were "enemies of the people" liquidated by the NKVD in 1937 and 1938. To our knowledge, this is the first time that Soviet authorities in Vinnytsia provided archival data on NKVD executions of Ukrainians and other nationalities.

by Party officials and the NKVD. The same conclusion had been reached by the international commission of forensic experts in July of 1943, which examined the exhumed corpses in Vinnytsia. Presently the inhabitants of Vinnytsia have established a historical association, Podillia, which includes a special section, Memorial, with the specific task of collecting documents and testimonies pertaining to the massacre.¹⁰ However, Drobchak notes that despite official acknowledgement of Stalin's crimes, the revelation of the full truth regarding Vinnytsia "is still far off," because archival materials remain unpublished. He states: "Ten thousand victims! Who were they? We do not know. Glasnost has not identified them by name. Yet, each should be named. And, their murderers should also be named — many of whom still live, waiting on the outcome of the present *perestroika*.'" ¹¹ It appears that regardless of glasnost and collection of factual data on Stalin's crimes and mass murders in Ukraine, the Vinnytsia tragedy remains a relative terra incognita in Ukrainian Soviet scholarly historical publications. If glasnost is indeed to become a reality, then there can be no justification for the continued silence by Soviet Ukrainian historians and other researchers on the NKVD massacres during Stalin's regime in Vinnytsia, Katyn, Kuropaty, and Bykovnia, as well as in all those yet unmentioned or undiscovered places which silently bear witness to crimes against humanity.

Until recently, denial, cover-up, and silence were part of official Soviet governmental policy regarding the artificially created famine in Ukraine during 1932-1933 which destroyed millions of Ukrainian peasants, including many inhabitants of the Vinnytsia province.¹² It may be expected that as a result of President Gorbachev's call for openness and the eradication of blank spots in Soviet history, the Soviet government in Moscow and Kiev and the Historical Institute of the Acad-

¹⁰*Ibid.* It should be noted that the *Memorial* society has branches in various Ukrainian cities. It is headed by Les Taniuk who is also a candidate for the Congress of People's Deputies from the Kiev region.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²The U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine concluded that "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933." See U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. *Report to Congress, Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932-1933* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988) p. vii.

The mortality of Ukrainian children and adults during the Famine of 1932-1933 is calculated at 5,000,000. According to Conquest, "when it comes to the genocidal element, to the Ukrainian figures alone, we should remember that five million constitutes about 18.8% of the total population of Ukraine." Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 306.

emy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR will soon begin to reveal the magnitude of Stalin's policy of extermination of Ukrainians as well as the truth behind the NKVD massacre in Vinnytsia.

It is hoped that the publication of *The Tragedy of Vinnytsia*, edited by Professor Ihor Kamenetsky, a noted Sovietologist, will be instrumental in reconstructing the tragic events which occurred in Vinnytsia during 1937-1938 as part of the great terror unleashed by Stalin and his killing apparatus — the NKVD.

Many years ago, President Harry S. Truman stated that "what happened at Katyn is one of the most shocking events in modern history. Everyone should know about it."¹³ In an article appearing more recently in *Moscow News Weekly* (1988), Soviet journalist Zenon Poznyak writes about Kuropaty in Byelorussia as that "murder-place" where people were shot on a mass scale from 1937 to June 1941, as a "national tragedy that everyone should know about."¹⁴ The time has finally come when everyone should also know about the terrible tragedy which happened in Vinnytsia.¹⁵ For too long it has been official Soviet policy to keep the truth about the mass graves in Vinnytsia buried under denials and fabrications. In keeping with the spirit of the new openness, the brutal truth about Vinnytsia must finally be unearthed.

June 14, 1989

POST SCRIPTUM

Shortly following the printing of the Preface, I received an article authored by L. Pastushenko and V. Savtsov titled "Zlochyn bez kary" ("Crime Without Punishment") and published on July 1, 1989 in *Radianska Ukraina (Soviet Ukraine)*, the official daily of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Supreme Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian RSR. The authors, special correspondents of *Radianska Ukraina*, wrote the article as an official appeal from their newspaper to Mr. P. H. Osypenko, Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR,

¹³A. Tarnowski, "Poles Tie Soviets to '40s Massacre," *The Central European Forum*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1989), p. 66.

¹⁴Zenon Poznyak, *op. cit.*, *Moscow News*, no. 41 (1988).

¹⁵In his article, "Vynnytsia — The Forgotten Forerunner of Katyn," Louis F. Gibbon concludes his narrative with the following comment: "As a final note of sheer satanism, several of the Vynnytsya victims had been buried alive, as earth was found in their mouths and stomachs. 169 of the corpses were women, some completely nude." See Ihor Kamenetsky, ed., *Tragedy of Vinnytsia*, p. 87.

requesting him to initiate criminal proceedings in regard to the "mass graves of Soviet citizens in Vinnytsia" who were liquidated at the end of the 1930s. They feel that the crimes committed in Vinnytsia have not been forgotten and need to be viewed in a "broader context because of the evidence of other mass killings which occurred in other cities of the region (oblast)." This article is also important because it contains additional testimonies of eyewitnesses to the NKVD's mass murders in Vinnytsia in 1937-1938.

L.R.W.

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Sincere gratitude is offered to Professor Ihor Kamenetsky, the editor of this volume. He provided direction, dedication, thoroughness, and patience as well as high standards in the completion of this publication.

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Thanks are due to the staff at *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz and the *Au-swartiges Amt* in Bonn (West Germany), the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University (Stanford, CA), the Manuscript Collection at the Library of Congress, and the National Archives in Washington,

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Acknowledgement with appreciation is expressed to the following institutions and journals for granting permission to reprint some materials contained in this work: The DOBRUS Organization (U.S.); SUZ-ERO (Canada); St. Andrew's Orthodox Church and *The Orthodox Ukrainian* (Detroit, Michigan); *Ukrainian Quarterly* (Jersey City, New Jersey); *Ukrainian Voice* (Winnipeg, Canada); *East-West Digest* (London, England). Last but not least, sincere gratitude is extended to several unnamed individuals who contributed to this volume their firsthand accounts and insights into this topic.

Editorial Policy

The material gathered in this work on the Vinnytsia tragedy has been organized in such a way as to place into a proper historical and political context one of the mass murder cases in which a state terrorism of a modern political system is involved.

The work consists of four parts, of which Part I represents the Editor's introduction, while Parts II, III, and IV make up the bulk of the anthologized articles, interviews, and official reports on the Vinnytsia case. The introduction is meant to represent a unifying element for the diverse materials included in this volume, by providing a survey of ideological and political changes in world politics that contributed to the so-called "final solution." It gives the historical framework and also a comparative analysis of the Vinnytsia case, while paying particular attention to the methods used in the premeditated mass killings within the context of Stalin's "Great Purge" between 1936 and 1938, for the relationship between this period of history and the mass murder of Vinnytsia is little known to the general reader.

The bulk of the anthologized materials, stemming from various sources, should enable the reader in establishing his own version of this tragic event. To facilitate the unravelling of the mystery of Vinnytsia's mass graves, the materials were arranged with a particular objective in mind. The section entitled "Part II: Testimonies" is meant to convey some feelings and judgements of those who witnessed the opening of the mass graves and rendered their own versions of this event, either under the immediate impression of this discovery or in retrospect. It also includes the interrogations and testimonies of some of the witnesses by the U.S. Congressional Committee of September 9-11, 1952, as well as a recent interview of the editor with an eyewitness.

The subsequent section of materials, entitled "Part III: Analytical and Comparative Studies," represents a selection of articles that are of a more detached and analytical nature. In looking back to the Vinnytsia tragedy from various perspectives of time, these articles indicate what has changed and what has remained constant in the perception of this gruesome event.

Part IV of this anthology contains the official report of the German government on the executed prisoners of Vinnytsia, mostly in reference to the years 1936-38. It is based on the effort by the National Socialist government to establish the reasons behind the event, the time, the methods of the executions, and the background of the identified victims. The use of the German sources and documentations is selective because of the following reasons:

1. Some lengthy specialized German medical descriptions of the condition of the bodies that was not basically relevant to the question of timing and the methods of execution used were omitted, as they were of little value to the objectives of this anthology.

2. Passages with some obvious anti-semitic connotations were omitted, because they are irrelevant to an understanding of the Vinnytsia tragedy, and also, because it is pointless to repeat Nazi propaganda. At the time of the exhumations, the Nazi Regime was involved in a mass annihilation of Jews in Poland and Western Europe, and it was eager to justify its doings by insisting that Jews had been responsible for Stalin's mass murders during the Great Purge — a claim that was unsubstantiated and historically absurd.*

3. Some factual corrections have been made and annotations have been given regarding certain editorial reservations about which the reader should be aware. These apply, among others, to the German government report's complete omission of the Russian, Jewish, and Gypsy nationalities on the official "List of Identified Victims," and also to its partial omission of the Polish nationality.

The Editor has made some adjustments in the spellings of names and places in the list of identified victims within the German government publication, restoring to their original Ukrainian form some Russified Ukrainian names and places located in Ukraine. In cases where the spelling of place names has become internationally accepted (as in the case of "Kiev"), the standard international spelling has been retained. The name Vinnytsia is rendered variously in transliterations from the original Ukrainian name. Such variants in the spelling (Vynnytsia, Vynnytsya, for example) have been retained in the reprinted articles, but for his introduction, notes, comments, and the newly

translated materials, the Editor has chosen the spelling of *Vynnytsia* as the closest compromise between the Ukrainian version and the different transliterations.

The following symbols were used to indicate the nature of the omitted passages or phrases:

- 1) ... (s.f.) — specialized forensic reports
- 2) ... (s.f.) — antisemitic connotations
- 3) ... (s.f.) — factual errors

The Translator's comments on transliteration appear at the bottom of the first page of the German document. Additional notes and editorial comments on this document were placed at the end.

With all of its shortcomings, the German government documentation still provides the major evidence on the mass graves of Vynnytsia, in terms of the approximate dates of the killings (partially determined by the age of the trees on the graves and the roots in the upper layer of the soil), the methods of the killings (determined through autopsy reports and bullet wound examinations), and the testimonies of some victims' relatives. Together with the reports of an international commission of examiners, the evidence presented establishes beyond doubt that the executions took place at the time when Vynnytsia was under Soviet control.

It is a very regrettable situation that the Soviet government continues to treat the Vynnytsia case with secrecy and silence — in a similar way as it has dealt with the mass graves found in Ulla.** If "*glastnost*" and the newly initiated process of democratization would lead to an opening of the Soviet archives relevant to these cases, then we might hope to answer with greater certainty such questions on Stalinist terror as the selection of criteria for execution, or the alternatives, if any, presented to those who were earmarked to die. We hope that one day Vynnytsia and other related cases will no longer appear as "blank spots" of history, and that the full story can and will be told.

*There are many evidences that persons of Jewish origin were frequent victims of "Yezhovshchyna." Robert W. Thurston, in his article entitled "Fear and Belief in the U.S.S.R.'s 'Great Terror': Response to Arrest, 1935-1939" (Slavic Review, Summer 1986, p. 219) refers to the popular saying during the Yezhov period: "He's not a party member and he's not a Jew, so why has he been arrested?" Thurston cites F. Beck and W. Godin (Konstantin Shteppa) Russian *Purge and the Extraction of Confession*. New York: Viking, 1951, p. 21. Readers interested in this question will also find an abundance of relevant information in the "Archives of Anti-Komintern" for this period of time, located in the Archives of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. In the "Archives of the Anti-Komintern" which in the years 1936-1938 were controlled by the

Nazi Propaganda Ministry, there are documents in which Nazi analysts admit with a certain puzzlement and embarrassment that the arrests and executions of Soviet Jews were out of proportion in relation to the percentage of arrests among the Soviet population. These observations are supplemented by many clippings from the world press and the Nazis' own sources of information. The Nazi analysts interpreted this information in such a way that Stalin's motivation had been to diminish by such measures the Jewish influence in the Soviet establishment and also, to appease the rising Russian nationalism.

••Recently a slight change in the Soviet government's attitude toward Stalinist mass executions in Vinnytsia did occur, yet it did not essentially alter the official position on a restrictive policy of the Soviet authorities in connection with access to archives relevant to this topic. In an interview with a young Russian archivist and student of history, Dmitri Yurasov, the Soviet Ukrainian newspaper *Molod' Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine) revealed in its issue of September 21, 1988 that the Central Archives in Moscow contain, among other things, evidence that in violation of "socialist legality almost 5,000 persons were executed in Vinnytsia in the year 1938 alone." According to the interview, the man responsible for the repressions and executions of the alleged "enemies of the people" was a certain Sokolyns'kyi, whom the German documents identified as Chief of the Vinnytsia NKVD at that time. Yurasov refers to a documentary source indicating that Sokolyns'kyi himself was executed by the end of 1938, but that a post-Stalinist rehabilitation commission refused to rehabilitate him *post mortem* in view of the role that he had played in the mass executions.

The ambiguity of the Soviet authorities on the topic of "*glasnost*" in relation to Stalinist crimes is reflected in the high praise which the interviewer expressed in *Molod' Ukrainy* for Yurasov's integrity and "citizen's initiative," while simultaneously informing the readers that Yurasov had repeatedly lost his position as an archivist and is currently employed as a common transport worker in Moscow.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

by Ihor Kamenetsky

Humanitarian and Anti-Humanitarian Trends in Modern History

"We should therefore judge each society not by its external technical achievements but by the position and meaning it gives to man, by the value it puts on human dignity and human conscience." (I. Dzyuba, "Babyi Yar Address," September 29, 1966. In *Problems of Communism*, July-August, 1968, 90-91.)

In 1943, approximately 9,000 Soviet citizens were found buried in mass graves in the Ukrainian city of Vinnytsia. It was established that the majority of the related executions had taken place between the years 1937 and 1938. The most peculiar aspect of these mass graves was that the victims had not been officially condemned to death. In cases where an official conviction could be linked to a victim, either through documentary evidence or on the basis of the testimony by relatives, the maximum sentence was a term of ten years confinement in a labor camp with the denial of the right to correspondence. If a reason was stated at all for such a sentence, then only in vague and laconic terms indicating that the prisoner had been an "enemy of the people."

Thus, the mass graves of Vinnytsia represent tangible evidence of killings on a major scale for which the Soviet government did not think it was publicly accountable. The findings first of all raise two legitimate questions, namely for what reasons were those prisoners killed, and why were the executions to be kept a secret?

It is no exaggeration to state that the Soviet leaders, even at the time of Stalin's rule, tried to present their state as a civilized society. Being confronted with the world's public opinion already between the two world wars, the Soviet government professed its adherence to international law, frequently claiming that it stood for peace and brotherhood among nations, as well as for the freedom and well-being of the

common man. It is safe to assume that whatever ideological justification it may have had for these executions, it knew that neither the civilized world nor the majority of its own citizens would accept them as consistent with the image of a civilized nation.

Such an obvious discrepancy between the professed ideal and factual reality opens questions regarding the definition of a civilized state and the nature of its standards, both of which still have a bearing on the behavior of nations today.

The idea of civilized state in modern history emerged at the time of the creation of the Western State system. The Peace Treaty of Westphalia (1648) that followed the devastating Thirty Years War committed a number of influential West European states to a mutually applicable international code of behavior. This agreement recognized the limitations on what a member of the Western State System could or could not do in relation to the other nations. The Treaty was mostly linked to stipulations of international law as it had been interpreted by Hugo Grotius, a Dutch authority in this field. In his well known book *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625) he referred to a divine and natural law as a bulwark against an unprovoked and unrestrained destruction of human lives and property. He wrote:

For I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed; recourse being had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint.'

Since the seventeenth century, the concept of the Western State System was extended by broadening the humanitarian concepts and by adding new members from other regions of the world, to what used to be an exclusive West European club. The idea of the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man during the Great French Revolution (1789) left behind the general world-wide quest for the preservation of life, freedom, and the dignity of common man.

In the nineteenth and the beginning twentieth centuries, international humanitarian concerns took a more specific turn. This was reflected in such international agreements as the banishment of the use of piracy as a method of warfare, and the protection of the prisoners of war, wounded soldiers, and the civilian population from unnec-

¹ **Frederick L. Schuman**, *International Politics: The Western State System and the World Community*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958), p. 69.

essary killings and sufferings. The First and the Second Hague Conventions were particularly instrumental in this connection.

It must be admitted that the progress of the world's humanitarianism and democratization was neither always straight nor always consistent. For a period of time, the advance of industrialization and the quest of many peoples for the right of national self-determination created harsh international competition resulting in insecurity and, eventually, in a scrambling for colonies and a control of strategic bases as safeguards for supply lines. But this proved to be a relatively short and not very representative period for the Western democracies. The "new imperialism," starting by the end of the nineteenth century with the participation of some Western democracies, experienced a decline as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, from which it never actually recovered. Unfavorable public opinion, as well as economic and political risks in colonies, limited the commitment of such countries as Great Britain, the United States, and France to the idea of holding or extending their colonial possessions.

The situation was different in such authoritarian states as Germany and Russia, which had more basic problems in regard to political and social adjustments arising from the challenges of the Industrial Revolution and the idea of national self-determination. Some totalitarian ideologies suggesting radical "final solutions" took deeper roots among segments of the politically active elites in these countries. Judging from the stated objectives and the ultimate methods used in restructuring and purging the "future society," in some cases such ideologies and theories already carried the seeds of the future holocaust. Among these could be mentioned the theories of Comte Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882). He was a French diplomat and writer who wrote a book entitled *Essai sur l'égalité des races humaines* (*The Inequality of the Races*) (1853-1855) claiming that the future belonged to the superior Nordic race that managed to preserve its racial purity. Along similar lines moved the ideas of Friedrich Ratzel, a German professor of political geography (1844-1904), whose works *Anthropogeographie* (*Anthropogeography*, 1882-1891) and *Politische Geographie* (*Political Geography*, 1897) insisted, among other things, that, like various species of the plant and animal kingdom, nations had to fight for the survival of their kind and for an expansion of their "living spaces," and that only ethnically and racially homogeneous nations strongly "rooted in the soil" were likely to assert themselves in the long run.

While the ideologies of Gobineau and Ratzel to some degree could be considered the forerunners of later Fascist ideologies, some of their

values are also reflected in Marxist ideology. This applies to those aspects of human behavior that later on were labelled as Social Darwinism. Whereas in the case of Gobineau and Ratzel the agents for the contest were various races or ethnic groups, in the case of Marx and Engels these were the hostile classes. In both instances, no ultimate reconciliation was considered possible within the framework of their value systems.

In all of these ideologies, the hostile races or classes were not expected to be capable or willing to assimilate; neither were they considered fit to be re-educated or to be subject to some positive integration. Thus, the defenders of totalitarian ideologies took a hostile stand to the evolving Western concept of a world solidarity in support of some basic human values, for within their contextual framework such an attitude was mistaken and ineffective. This departure from universalism was accompanied by an attack on the growing status of individual rights in the West. Within the framework of totalitarian thought, the intrinsic value of the individual was drastically undermined by the reduction of the human being to a mere appendix of an ideologically classifiable group.

The end of the nineteenth century, and particularly the years preceding the outbreak of World War I in the twentieth century, also witnessed the emergence of political organizations that considered a "final solution" of some political issues. This applied, for example, in relation to the problems of national unity and national security that were believed to be in jeopardy in a multi-national empire. In the establishment of those traditional empires there was an increasing feeling among the politically active organizations that the minorities working on the preservation of their heritage somehow represented a danger to national unity. To such organizations belonged, for example, the Pan-Germanic League in the Wilhelminian Empire,² the Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire, and the Union of the Russian People with its para-military extension of the "Black Hundreds."³

² Georg L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Schocken Books 1981), pp. 15-18; 21; 24; Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Leipzig: C.L. Hirschfeld, 1922); Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1963).

³ Sergei Pushkarev, *The Emergence of Modern Russia, 1801-1917* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), p. 69; 71; Walter Laqueur, *Deutschland und Russland* (Berlin: Propylaen Verlag, 1965), pp. 99-106; Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977), pp. 33-34.

Even though these superpatriotic organizations did not advocate an outright genocide of those dangerous minorities, their utter skepticism concerning the feasibility of assimilation or integration of such minorities did prepare the ground psychologically either for their deportation or their physical liquidation.

The outbreak of World War I strengthened this trend, and it induced some belligerent countries to place various restrictions on racial, ethnic, or religious groups whose loyalty on a collective basis was questioned. The less of a humanitarian heritage such countries possessed, and the less legal restrictions on a given government were present, the greater was the existing possibility that the distrust toward the minorities would be translated into violent action against them.

Well known are the Turkish mass murders of the Armenian minority in the Ottoman Empire that were carried out between 1915 and 1918 when Turkey was involved in World War I. Even though this tragic event was neither necessitated by the circumstances nor by an Armenian provocation, the government used a war psychosis to get rid of this unwanted minority.

Somewhat less well known and relatively undramatic was the racial policy of the Imperial German Government towards the non-Germanic segment of society in the conquered Russian Poland. As Germany planned to establish in this part of Poland a protectorate under the name of "Polish Kingdom" she was concerned that the citizens of this Polish protectorate might attract the loyalty and political cooperation of the Polish population living in a compact mass in the eastern provinces of Germany, thus creating a potential case of the Polish irredenta. Therefore, a border belt (*Grenzstreifen*) was to be established between the territory of the Polish Kingdom and the eastern German provinces, to be settled exclusively by Germans.⁴

When the Kingdom of Poland was actually established under the control of Germany and Austria, some preparatory measures were taken for the deportation of Poles, as well as for Jews and Gypsies. There are further indications that the racial overtone of the German *Ostpolitik* during the German march eastwards in 1918 was not an isolated phenomenon. During the short German occupation of Ukraine in 1918 some proposals were made, backed by General Ludendorff, Fieldmarshal Eichhorn, and General Max Hoffmann, to establish Ger-

⁴ Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht; Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914-1918* (Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1961), pp. 196-97. Also: "Ein mitteleuropäischer Staatenbund?" *Alldeutsche Blätter* (Berlin, January 9, 1915), 9-11 and "'Gen Ostland woll'n wir fahren,'" *Alldeutsche Blätter* (August 7, 1915), 269-271.

man racial colonies in the Crimea and Southern Ukraine with the German colonists that were scattered throughout the Tsarist Empire. Both plans might be considered prototypes of later Nazi schemes in connection with World War II, during which deportations and mass-killings were expected as a particular ideological program.⁵

Imperial Russia contributed her share to ethnic and racial intolerance during World War I. Not only did the pogroms against the Jewish population continue for the duration of war, but the number of target groups subject to investigation and suppression was increased. Thus, not only did the Tsarist authorities close many Ukrainian cultural centers in Russian Ukraine at the outbreak of the war, but they also staged massive repressions of Ukrainian schools, publishing houses, newspapers, and religious organizations as the Russian troops occupied the Austrian *Kronlander* (Crown Regions) of Galicia and Bucovina, portions of which were inhabited by the Ukrainian population. During this occupation, thousands of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were deported to Russia, among them Count Andrey Sheptytsky, the Metropolitan of the Uniate Church.⁶

The German minority in the Tsarish Empire, that amounted to a population of about two million at that time, was also subjected to legal ostracism, even though their record of loyalty as subjects of the Tzar for almost 150 years had been beyond reproach. In 1915, during the debates of the Russian national legislature "Duma," criticism arose that the German communities in the Russian State were foreign bodies, both from a linguistic and cultural perspective, and that many of them were clustered around strategically important towns and lines of communication that represented a potential risk during the war. The "liquidation laws" that were passed by the "Duma" in 1915 provided for cancelling the state land grants that had been given to the Germans by the Russian State as far back as during the rule of Catherine II. At that time, the grants had represented a main inducement for settlement in Tsarist Russia. Even though these "liquidation laws" were only enforced in a few exceptional cases, they undoubtedly contributed to the measures taken by the Tsarist authorities to deport eighty thousand

⁵ "Die deutschen Kolonisten in Russland," Abteilung A, Politisches Archiv, No. 78, Bd. 18, A24064, June 6, 1918. Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn, West Germany. See also: Max Hoffmann, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Generalmajors Max Hoffmann* Vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1930), p. 191. See also: Peter Borowsky, *Deutsche Ukrainepolitik 1918: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wirtschaftsfrage* Hamburg, West Germany. *Historische Studien*, Heft 416, 1970.

⁶Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy, 1917-1923 rr*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (New York: Bulava Publishing Corporation, 1954), pp. 12-13.

German colonists from Russian Poland and thirty thousand from Volhynia before these territories were occupied by the German and Austrian troops.⁷

The reshuffling of the civilian population on a massive scale during World War I was probably the first impressive warning on behalf of the destructive potentialities of the modernizing governments that not only believed in a "total war" but also in an enforced transformation of the earmarked societies along the lines of an unrestrained totalitarian ideology.

Besides bringing frustrations and sufferings, however, the course of World War I, on some occasions, also brought hope for a better future. Some expected that the February Revolution of 1917 and the overthrow of the Tsarist government would be a turning point for providing more democratic and peaceful international relations, particularly in turbulent Eastern Europe. But when the February Revolution turned out to be impotent on many counts, the October Revolution that followed only aggravated most of the problems which the revolution originally had been expected to solve. In spite of such high-sounding principles as peace without annexations, the right of all nations for national self-determination, freedom from exploitation, equality, and justice, Lenin proved to be unwilling to accept solutions to the problems that would not coincide with the will of his Communist Party and his totalitarian ideology.

In the Civil War that followed, the contestants for power added their share of excesses in their conduct of warfare. But the role of the Soviet leaders in this struggle was particularly destructive on many counts. Not only did the Bolsheviks initially challenge the validity of international law in principle, considering it a tool of oppressive classes, but they developed within the framework of "War Communism" a number of institutions and methods that threatened the life of the average citizen in a more systematic way than had been the case under the autocratic rule of the Tsars. The Organization of the Cheka⁸ with its class-warfare orientation and a widely used system of hostages, a regimentation of economy, a banishing of free trade under draconian

⁷Gosudarstvennaya Duma, *Ukazatel k Stenograficheskim Otchetam. Chetvertyi sozyv, sessiya IV, zasedaniye 5 (Fourth Convocation, Fifth Conference) (Petrograd: August 3, 1915) Topic: "Struggle Against German Predominance," pp. 433-438. See also: "Die deutschen Kolonisten in Russland," Abteilung A, Politisches Archiv, No. 78, Bd. 8, A240641, June 6, 1918, p. 2. Auswartiges Amt, Bonn, West Germany.*

⁸This name was first used by the Soviet Secret Police in the years 1917-1921. In 1921 the name was changed to GPU.

punishments, as well as a forceful requisitioning of food with the help of the so-called "flying detachments" are just a few examples of how a combat status was forced on the majority of the people whose attitude to Lenin's cause was hostile or indifferent.

There is a strong indication in Lenin's thinking and in his commitment to his cause, that after his seizure of power, terror was more to him than just a defensive response to his immediate and concrete enemies. He saw terror as a long-range device for the transformation of society. Such a transformation carried a high price in terms of human lives, but in his view, society simply would have to pay for it. In his article on "The Food Tax" on April 21, 1921, Lenin wrote:

Let the flunkey accomplices of White Guard terror praise themselves for repudiating all terror. We shall speak the bitter and undoubted truth: in countries that are experiencing an unprecedented crisis, the collapse of old ties, the intensification of the class struggle after the imperialist war of 1914-1918 — and such are all countries of the world — terror cannot be dispensed with notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrase-mongers. Either the White Guard, bourgeois terror of the American, British (Ireland), Italian (the fascists), German, Hungarian, and other types, or Red proletarian terror. There is no middle course, no "third" course, nor can there be.'

While during the first years after the end of World War I the Soviet leaders had a tendency to view excesses of international conflicts in apocalyptic terms, the Western democratic powers were more optimistic in this regard. Even though they condemned the war crimes in general terms, they still looked upon them as temporary aberrations caused by a prolonged warfare. President Woodrow Wilson and some circles in the U.S., Great Britain, and France that supported his position, saw hope in the creation of a peace-enforcing international institution as the League of Nations, which would replace war by legal procedures for settling conflicts among nations.

But even though the League of Nations for many reasons proved to be incapable of replacing "the rule by gun with a rule by law" as President Wilson had expected it, this organization, nevertheless, provided a basis for an improvement of international relations with a humanitarian orientation. Within the framework of the League of Nations and its specialized agencies, notable progress in international cooperation was achieved, at least in regard to the less political and more practical issues. One of the examples in which the League of

'Stefan T. Possony, ed., *Lenin Reader* (Chicago: "Henry Regnery Co., 1966), p. 475.

Nations served as a successful intermediary is the case of the voluntary exchange of minority groups among such states as Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. Another case relates to its introduction of the so-called "Nansen Passports" that provided political refugees who had lost their citizenship with international support in terms of freedom of movement, permission for permanent residence, and an opportunity for employment, etc.

Somewhat less successful, but conceptually important, were some international agreements backed by the League between the two world wars, such as the introduction of the "Mandate System" for some liberated colonies during World War I that eventually helped to decolonize the Western colonial possessions after World War II. Significant in a theoretical sense of coexistence were also several international agreements to outlaw war and to declare aggressive wars to be an international crime. The Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) also tried to outlaw the annexations of new territories by a state using the method of aggressive war. An instance where the U.S. specifically took a stand on such limitations was after Japan had annexed Manchuria in 1931. On January 7, 1932, the American government notified the Japanese and Chinese governments that a transfer of Manchuria from Chinese jurisdiction to Japanese jurisdiction would not be recognized by the American government, as it was in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. This stand, known in diplomatic history as the "Stimson Doctrine," was also followed by the majority of the members of the League of Nations.

The attempt to make international relations more equitable and "to make the world safe for democracy," as the leaders of the Western democratic major powers stated it rhetorically toward the end of World War I, failed to prove itself on this account in most important political, economic, and security confrontations. Nevertheless, the shocking nature of World War II again brought to the surface the values for which the League had stood, including the need for international organizations with a democratic and universal orientation, and a commitment to sustain them.

One of the important first milestones in reviving the idea of a more democratic and civilized world order during World War II was the announcement of the Atlantic Charter on August 11, 1941. As stated by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, this document basically retraced the principles and values of Wilson's "Fourteen Points," while still adding to these such provisions as "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want." In focusing on world peace, the new Western

international organizations that emerged by the end of World War II were meant to eliminate the roots of conflict leading to violence and war. This orientation was responsible for the idea of creating an international court authorized to prosecute those charged with "conspiracy to commit murder, terrorism, and the destruction of a peaceful population, in violation of the laws of war."¹⁰

In October 1943, the United Nations War Crimes Office was established by the Allies to conduct the necessary organizational work. Sixteen allied governments joined the commission. Each government of this commission was then instructed to create a national "War Crimes Office," and to keep a record of crimes committed by the German and Japanese governments against their citizens. Eventually, two international military tribunals were established by the Allies. The first of these was created in London on August 8, 1945, with representatives of the British, French, American, and Soviet governments, who were charged with trying major Nazi war criminals. The second war tribunal was set on April 26, 1946. Being composed of prosecutors and judges of the various countries that had accepted the surrender of Japan, it was expected to try and sentence major Japanese war criminals.

In the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials that followed, the innovations were introduced in regard to the definitions of war crimes. The accused were charged with crimes against peace, including a premeditated conquest of other countries, and with crimes against humanity, which meant a deliberate killing or mistreatment of the defenseless civilian population. In regard to the first charge, an important international precedent was established, implying that the responsible leaders of a given country might be sentenced for their activities conducted during the time of peace, if these had meant a conspiracy and preparation for an aggressive war. Charges brought up in relation to crimes against humanity were also not limited to the ideas and deeds of World War II. Even if the inspirations, ideas, and structural preparations of such crimes had occurred before the war, their linkage with the war represented an important factor in the sentencing.

The composition of these courts, their use of *ex post facto* procedures, and their administering of laws were the targets of some criticism by various legal authorities. Nevertheless, public world opinion appeared to be in agreement that persons sentenced in the Nuremberg and the Tokyo trials were guilty of a violation of some basic principles of hu-

¹⁰Bradley F. Smith, *The Road to Nuremberg* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1981), pp. 199-205. See also: Louis L. Snyder, *Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1955), pp. 126-130.

manity that had arisen from their contributions to the decisions and acts of state. This approval found its reflection in the two covenants promoted by the U.N. that tried to confirm a permanency of some essential human rights, underlining the point that they were valid, regardless if they were considered during a time of peace or a time of war.

The human suffering and degradation at various levels became public from the subsequent war criminal trials, the captured documents, and an inspection of accessible concentration camp and execution sites. Particularly in Western democratic countries, this new awareness contributed to public action on behalf of the promotion of some international agreements that would provide more specific legal protection from similar excesses on such a huge scale. With the help of the United Nations Organization, two most fundamental international agreements were reached on this behalf in December 1948. One of these was the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. This Convention had two particular provisions that were of relevance not only to the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials but also to the Vinnytsia tragedy. Thus, *Article 3* of this convention reads: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of the person," and *Article 10* states: "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him."¹¹ The other agreement was the Genocide Convention, which made it an international criminal offense to order the executions of persons on the basis of their race, nationality, or religious affiliation, or to participate in such actions.

In looking back over the last two centuries that were marked by such dramatic developments as political, social, and industrial revolutions, one can have little doubt that, on the whole, relations among the nations not only intensified but also liberalized, at least conceptually. States which used to build their strength and prestige on conquests and a brutal policy toward other peoples were eventually defeated, isolated, and ostracized. Such terms as imperialism or colonialism, once used as symbols of glory, have now fallen into disrepute, and even leaders with totalitarian inclinations and convictions prefer to use publicly the language of the League of Nations when pursuing their ambitions. But with all of this said, one must still admit that the damages arising from a modern conflict among nations cause unproportionate losses that are often irreversible. The casualties of war are

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 143-144.

frequently just the tip of the iceberg, while the final price of war has to be paid by the defeated or dependent nations. Within this context, one should consider the Vinnytsia tragedy not as an isolated case, but as one related to the objectives of a totalitarian policy in Ukraine and outside of Ukraine.

Ukraine was one of the many non-Russian nationalities which, after the October Revolution of 1917, tried to resurrect her own statehood. She had attained the status of a *de facto* independence by the end of 1917, headed by a moderate socialist government. From the very beginning of the Revolution, Lenin had supported the Ukrainian right for national self-government and, after the seizure of power, he was one of the first heads of state to recognize the Ukrainian Rada government. His attitude toward the nationality question, however, was a dialectical one. According to his thinking, a genuine government of a working people would not insist on a continuation of her independence but would subordinate herself to the party of the Bolsheviks. Her refusal to comply with such a demand initiated the invasion of Ukraine by Lenin's Red Guards. This act marked the beginning of a struggle for control of Ukraine that lasted till 1921 and ended with Lenin's victory. Its implication was that, even though the Soviet Russian government conceded to Ukraine the right for sovereignty, it was not inclined to renounce her conquest or to abstain from an attempt to include her in Lenin's model for building communism.

As Lenin saw it, the prospects for the future lay in an equal development of all nations under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. These were not only expected to achieve the full potential of their national development, but in the process of building socialism and communism, they were to merge into a homogeneous international society. Lenin anticipated that this process would become a gradual and voluntary one, even though he did not hesitate to use "Red Terror" and "class warfare" to help history move his way. When Lenin died in 1924, the question of a time table for the Soviet society's transformation was left to his successor, who happened to be Stalin. Over the years, Stalin grew skeptical about the chances of the New Economic Policy that Lenin had introduced on a temporary basis in 1921 to transform society in a socialist way in his effort to create an international society. In 1928, he did decide to transform society from above, by means of a compulsory radical collectivization and an accelerated industrialization. In anticipation of a resistance from different quarters of society and from different regions of the U.S.S.R., Stalin tried to revive Russian imperial nationalism, while using it as a supporting factor. In moving ideolog-

ically to the right, he eventually reached the point where he projected the creation of the future communist society, not as an international society in which the best part of each nation's heritage would be incorporated, but as one that would make the Russian culture, language, and heritage a common denominator.

By combining this turn toward an elevation of the Russian heritage as a positive historical model for the other nations, Stalin proceeded to cut down accordingly the cultural development of non-Russian nationalities of the U.S.S.R. In the case of Soviet Ukraine he proceeded with a policy of promotion affecting technological and administrative fields that was simultaneously accompanied by a liquidation of those persons and groups that requested full equality in terms of national development along the lines of their individual nationalities. The Party persecuted such individuals under all kinds of political and ideological pretexts. Another one of Stalin's selective devices was to destroy and uproot the more nationally conscious segment of the Ukrainian peasantry by especially harsh methods of forced collectivization, so as to impede the cadres of Ukrainian national revival. Modernization, in whose name Stalin had formally started his first Five-Year Plan, politically did not mean for Ukrainians a transformation into a modern nation, but rather a gradual assimilation into the dominant Russian nation.

The danger emanating from the Stalinization processes in the U.S.S.R. was accompanied by a threat coming from the West as well. It was reflected in the rise of the National Socialist Party in Germany and her foreign policy designs in Eastern Europe. After the publication of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925) and the crystallization of some other aspects of Nazi ideology by such ideologists as Alfred Rosenberg, Heinrich Himmler, and Walter Darré, the rationale for the Nazis' foreign policy could be described as follows: In an attempt to regenerate after her demoralizing defeat and to regain her great status of power, Germany felt compelled to conquer the extensive agricultural and raw materials areas in Eastern Europe, of which the most important one was the European part of the U.S.S.R. Such an extension of her territories would make her economically self-sufficient, as well as invulnerable from a geopolitical point of view in future wars. Further, the Nazis insisted that the conquered territories in the East ultimately were to be settled by the Germanic race, so as to assure the permanency and stability of German rule. The unpopularity of the Soviet regime, and the unrest of the non-Russian nationalities in the U.S.S.R. led the Nazi leaders to conclude that the victory in the East would be an easy one.

Before the outbreak of the war, Ukraine had never been specifically mentioned in public by the Nazi leaders as a future settlement area. But the very direction and nature of the expansion did make Ukraine a key area of such Nazi plans. Informally, even before the initiation of World War II, Nazi leaders conveyed to representatives of the British, American, and Polish governments their particular interest in Ukraine in case of an eastward expansion.¹²

Judging objectively, the nearing conflict was extremely dangerous for Ukrainians. The approaching war implied first of all that Ukraine would become one of the major battlefields in a struggle between the two powers and, secondly, regardless of who the victor might be, that Ukrainians would be confronted either with the Nazis' or with the Soviets' "Final Solution," which, in the last analysis, meant their termination as a nation.

As the prospects of war took on reality, Stalin knew that in Hitler and the industrial might of Germany he was facing a much stronger adversary, whom, in all likelihood, he might encounter without the support of the Western allies. As one of the alternatives, he could have strengthened his position by seeking better accommodations with the Soviet society, in particular with the resentful non-Russian nationalities. This he failed to do. His idea for strengthening the Soviet system and his own was to eliminate the elements of a real and a potential opposition prior to a major international conflict.

¹²International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the Tribunal, 1947). Doc. 1759.-PS (hereafter cited as *The Trial*). See also: *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1953), p. 168 and document PS-049, "Denkschrift: England und Deutschland. Skizze einer weltpolitischen Möglichkeit," in Hans-Gunther Seraphim, ed., *Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs 1933/35 und 1939/40* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1964), p. 166.

The Vinnytsia Case and the Yezhovshchyna Era

From a historical perspective, the Vinnytsia massacre can primarily be understood as a by-product of the Stalinist construction of a totalitarian system. Its genesis was geared to the initiation of the First Five-Year-Plan which, like the plans that were supposed to follow, aimed at the distant goals of a communist utopia. Such goals as Stalin visualized them not only meant the establishment of a modern industrial society in the U.S.S.R., but also the foundation of a frictionless, harmonious, and homogeneous society in a national sense. During the realization of the first Five-Year-Plan, he linked the difficulties which he encountered in the implementation of his program with the presence of hostile classes and bourgeois nationalists. Persons whom the Stalinists labelled that way, or whom they called "people's enemies," were singled out for purge, regardless of whether they violated Soviet laws or behaved as law-abiding citizens.

In the case of Soviet Ukraine, Stalin proceeded with his policy of promoting the build-up of the intelligentsia in numerical terms, but this policy was accompanied by the liquidation of those among them who insisted on political and cultural equality regarding the development of their nations. The logic behind such measures was that those persons who had been identified as members of "hostile classes," "bourgeois nationalists," or "people's enemies," sooner or later might turn against the socialist society, as their real values and interests were irreconcilable with the goals of the new society. Such measures represented an opening move for other "preventive purges" of earmarked groups that were destined to haunt the Soviet society and its non-Russian nationalities especially during the Yezhovshchyna period.

At the end of the First Five-Year Plan, Stalin boasted about his accomplishments regarding the high rates of collectivization and indus-

trialization. He also claimed the attainment of a classless society in the U.S.S.R., which in the Marxist interpretation meant, in theory, the end of a basic conflict of interests in Soviet society and a positive relationship between the authorities and the masses. Following Stalin's rhetoric, one might assume that he now aimed at less militant methods for "building socialism in one country." If indeed he may have considered mellowing his ruthless rule, then he must have changed his mind in view of the growing dissatisfaction among the people and in the higher ranks of the Party leadership that felt the aftereffects of the forced collectivization and the artificial famine in a most uncomfortable way

There are indications that as early as 1934, Stalin opted for the use of force in building a system where both a consensus among the members of the elite and a submission of society could be taken for granted. The circumstances that made it tempting for Stalin to bid for undisputed power were the existence of an expanded terror apparatus of the NKVD, as well as collaborating activists authorized by the Party leadership in connection with the enforcement of collectivization. The NKVD and the activists were not yet demobilized and, for all practical considerations, were still largely under his control. Stalin's methods for continuing and increasing his control were to set the norms of the Party linen for almost any aspect of life and to make them applicable to each citizen, while eliminating through purges those individuals or organizations that were considered potential forces of resistance. Some years later, the Soviet writer W. Ilyenkov, a winner of the Stalin Prize, explained as follows Stalin's social objectives that he achieved at the expense of millions of victims:

Russia went her own way — toward a general uniformity of thought. Humanity suffered throughout thousands of years from a lack of common agreement. And we, the Soviet people, succeeded for the first time in finding a common understanding; we speak the same generally comprehensible language, we think the same way on behalf of the most important issues of life. This uniformity of thought is our power which gives us tremendous superiority over the rest of humanity — still split by divisive ideas.¹³

Such bids for power were always made in an indirect way by pointing out the need for Party unity and the inevitability of applying some ruthless measures that would affect the common Soviet man, as-

¹³W. Ilyenkov, "The Great Way, 1949," cited in *What Represents A Socialist Realist Realism?* (Paris: Biblioteka Kultura, 1959), Vol. XLVI, p.111. (At the time of publishing this work, the author was referred to as a "Soviet Anonymous." Today we know that the work was written by the Soviet literary critic Andrei Sinyavsky or Abram Tertz.)

sumedly for the sake of surviving in a dangerous international situation. An example of how such methods were utilized was reflected in the assassination of Sergei Kirov, a popular leader of the Leningrad Party organization.

Stalin tried to enhance his monopoly of power not only by claiming some extraordinary successes on the way towards a communist utopia, but also by utilizing some real or imaginary difficulties encountered by the Soviet system. His warnings during the forced collectivization, that either the Soviet Union would succeed in modernizing within ten years, or that it would be overrun by the capitalist countries, are well known. After the end of the Five-Year Plan, Stalin voiced the risks of the "capitalist encirclement" which, in his interpretation, meant the eminence of a capitalist invasion that supposedly was always preceded by the sending of spies and saboteurs to the Soviet Union — a danger that, in Stalin's view, could only be countered successfully by a strong police and an armed forces establishment.¹⁴ The above mentioned assassination of Sergei Kirov is a concrete example of Stalin's internal manipulation of crises. It had been rumored that he was to become Stalin's successor. After the assassination had taken place in December 1934, Stalin presented it as a starting campaign of the various clandestine anti-Party centers which intended to kill him and planned to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Such accusations, in turn, prepared the ground for his justification for building up an inflated police establishment, and for taking extraordinary measures against his political opponents and rivals. In particular, he counted on the support of the Secret Police who in the past had proven to be supportive and efficient in regard to his policy, even when such mass actions as the liquidation of class enemies and the opponents of the collectivization had been involved.

The purge which Stalin had in mind after the assassination of Kirov was somewhat different in nature when compared to those that had taken place in the past. First of all, the persons to be arrested on a massive scale were Party members, many of them high ranking officials and, in Soviet terms, of special distinction. Among the non-Party members, the earmarked victims were frequently active citizens and highly productive individuals. The peculiar new approach that Stalin had in mind was not to detect if a charge brought against a person was justified or not, but to prove that it was right under all circumstances. Such a

¹⁴Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1955), pp. 113-14.

type of purge originally startled even the hardboiled leaders of the Secret Police, and there is some indication that the NKVD used its qualified autonomy to slow it down.¹⁵

Genrikh Yagoda, who succeeded V.R. Menzhinsky as Chief of the Soviet Secret Police after his death in Mary, 1934, was temporarily able to stop Stalin's attempts to destroy Bukharin and Rykov. Thus, instead of preparing believable cases for their public trial after their arrests in the summer of 1936, Yagoda ordered their release on the basis that there was a "lack of evidence" regarding the accusations brought against them.

To Stalin, the degree of autonomy which the Secret Police maintained in relation to Party leadership was unacceptable, as he considered it inconsistent with the totalitarian system he intended to build. Therefore, barely one month after the Bukharin-Rykov case, he was already looking for another chief to head the NKVD.

Nikolai I. Yezhov, who, as the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs succeeded Yagoda in September 1936 had not only extensive previous experience in the work of the Secret Police, but was also solidly entrenched in the higher echelons of the Party apparatus. As one of the secretaries of the Central Committee, he chaired the Party Control Commission and was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In this way, he was more organically subordinated to Stalin's leadership, so much more as Stalin permitted him to keep his position in the Party simultaneously with his "Number One" position in the Secret Police.¹⁶

Stalin would proceed cautiously with his plan to break down the autonomous inclinations of the NKVD elite. Yagoda was not labelled as a traitor right after his dismissal, but was first made the People's Commissar of Communication. Also, most of his trusted officers were permitted to continue in their old positions. But since March 1937, a wave of arrests affected the senior Secret Officers that had once been associated with him and, in April, 1937, Yagoda himself was arrested.

Yezhov's purges differed from the previous ones that had been authorized by Stalin and, particularly by Yagoda, as they transformed fiction into reality on a massive scale. While in the previous arrest cases there had at least been an attempt to verify the evidence on which the accusations were based, during the "Yezhovshchyna period" the fate of the detained persons was merely determined on the basis of the

¹⁵Robert Conquest, *Inside Stalin's Police: NKVD Politics 1936-1939* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1985).

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

calculation of how much risk a given individual or a group potentially presented to the Stalinist system. According to this method, the NKVD would freely fabricate the appropriate cases, and by means of tortures and intimidations they would force the accused to confess to the fictional crimes.

Amidst the horrors of that era, Stalin tried to provide a protective ideological device, to which even contemporary Soviet sources refer as misinformative and manipulative. Thus, the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia states the following on this topic under the entry of "C.P.S.U.":

In 1937, when socialism in our country was already victorious, J.V. Stalin brought up a faulty thesis, that allegedly with the U.S.S.R. moving forward, the class struggle would increasingly gain in harshness. This thesis was correct at the time when the class struggle in our country reached the greatest acuteness, and when the foundations of socialism were in the process of creation . . . , but when the exploiting classes were liquidated and the social-political and ideological unity of the Soviet society were established, such a thesis was without a foundation. In practice, this thesis was used as a justification for a brutal interference in the socialist legality and for massive repressions. As various slanderous materials, unfounded accusations, and insinuations were applied, many Party workers dedicated to the cause as well as many communists and non-communists were arrested and perished.¹⁷

The Soviet sources cited above, as well as any other Soviet official published after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., confirm the erratic nature of the mass terror, known as the "Yezhovshchyna," without giving an explanation of what objective aspects of the Soviet system made such purges possible. There is no disagreement, however, as far as the impact of the "Yezhovshchyna" on Stalin's ascendance to power and the limitations of his accountability were concerned. Also, the authority of the Security Police was extensively increased, not in terms of its autonomy in regard to Stalin but in relation to the other Soviet institutions and the Soviet society at large. Quantitatively, this was reflected in the number of arrests made by the NKVD. In his elaborations on Stalin's crimes, Khrushchev claimed that in 1938 the number of arrests made by the NKVD had increased ten times in comparison with the preceding year.

The Secret Police also had a broad prerogative in terms of suggesting the persons who were to be arrested on political grounds or who were to be executed.

¹⁷*Ukraiïnska Radianska Entsyklopedia* (Kiev: Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1962), p. 106.

Since every authorization for arrests of high-ranking Party functionaries, government officials, and military officers had to be approved by Stalin or his lieutenants at the top, the fate of other political prisoners was in the hands of the NKVD at various levels. Beginning with late spring 1938, common Soviet citizens became subject to pressures and uncertainties on account of the unpredictability of the purges. The situation grew increasingly worse within the framework of a heated campaign urging citizens to watch for spies and saboteurs in order to denounce them, and within the context of Yezhov's assignment to execute a certain number of persons belonging to the "people's enemies" — assignments that apparently various provincial NKVD chiefs were instructed to implement. Some eyewitness testimonies regarding written orders for some Soviet cities were provided by former NKVD officers. Even though Vinnytsia was not among those places for which evidence of quotas for executions have been found so far, other quota figures correspond to the Vinnytsia case in terms of the type of region, town, persons, and backgrounds involved.

Vinnytsia possessed several qualifications for becoming a target of Yezhov's purges. It was a historical Ukrainian city, and it played an important role in the Ukrainian Cossack War of Independence (1648-1654). During a more recent historical period, from the time of the Tsarist Empire's disintegration until 1917-1921 when Ukrainians again fought for their independence, Vinnytsia was one of the well known strongholds of the Ukrainian non-communist governments that tried to assert themselves in those turbulent years of the Revolution and the foreign invasions. As Vinnytsia was located in relative proximity to the Polish and Rumanian boundaries during the 1930's and had become a subject to prolonged Western influences throughout its history, the Soviet authorities considered this city and the surrounding regions as risky areas, in the event of war or a stepped up hostile infiltration. These were anticipated dangers that Stalin presented at that time as "capitalist encirclement."

It must also be added that for the Stalinist leadership the political situation in Soviet Ukraine as a whole was not a very satisfactory one between 1932 and 1937. Not only was public resentment still very much alive on account of the forced collectivization and the artificial famine in 1932-1933, but also the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and various Ukrainian cultural centers resisted Stalin's new policy of favoring centralist Russian nationalism in Ukraine. The Ukrainian government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine were the last instances in the U.S.S.R. to yield to the acceptance of Yezhov's

implementation of the purges.¹⁸ This resistance and the subsequent delays in the implementation of Stalin's policy, probably contributed their share to the selection of the city of Vinnytsia as one of the centers for mass arrests and mass executions. Even though at the top, the resistance of the Soviet Ukrainian government and the Party was not broken until August 1937, there is evidence that the NKVD began its mass arrests among the lesser officials and the common citizens as early as May and June of 1937. This date corresponds to the estimates of the death dates of the victims found in the same graves of Vinnytsia.

At that time, "Yezhovshchyna" consisted of two basic components. One of these was the ideological orientation of Stalinism aiming at an elimination of the real and the potential opposition to the all-embracing Party line, and the other one was the bureaucratic reaction of Yezhov in Stalin's intensive purge request, in which the question of the innocence of an accused person had largely become irrelevant, but where traits of individualism and non-conformity were sufficiently strong to make persons eligible for arrest.

Under these circumstances, Vinnytsia and its region represented a tempting target for a major purge. Its residents' ties with people in neighboring Poland and Romania were stronger than average in terms of culture and family relations. Also, among them was a considerable number of amnestied persons who had once served as members in the armed forces of the Ukrainian People's Republic (U.N.R.). Besides, Vinnytsia and its region had several clandestine religious groups and a relatively self-conscious Polish minority. All of these factors combined made it easier for the Soviet authorities to place them in an earmarked category and to fabricate individual cases for the purge with the least effort.

¹⁸Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror; Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*, rev. ed. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1973), pp. 348-353.

The Role of the Local Ukrainian Population and of the German Occupation Forces in the Vinnytsia Case

Even though wrapped in the usual secrecy, the local NKVD's decision during the "Great Purge" to bury the victims within the city limits of Vinnytsia could not entirely escape the attention of the inhabitants, especially since the city was densely settled and the population at that time amounted to about 70,000. Thus, even though some of the burial places were permanently or temporarily fenced off and off limits to the public, some individuals did notice the nightly procession of trucks loaded with what appeared to be corpses, or they observed through the gates or cracks in the fence some freshly prepared graves. In spite of the fact that it was risky to talk about such observations, some rumors about the real purpose of those fenced-off areas were already circulating before the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet War.

When the Soviet authorities evacuated the city of Vinnytsia in the summer of 1941, they left behind, just as they had done in many of the evacuated cities, heaps of corpses of former political prisoners which for one or another reason they had not taken with them during the retreat. Being stirred by the gruesome findings, and remembering the rumors of the past, the local Ukrainian government and some other initiative groups of Vinnytsia approached the German occupation authorities with the request to receive permission to search for the corpses of some additional victims of the former NKVD enclosures that were still enclosed. Although the Germans would permit brief publicity regarding the Soviet atrocities discovered in newly conquered cities, they were not interested at that time in getting involved in the supervision of a prolonged systematic excavation of older mass graves. The reason for their lack of cooperation in this regard was that the Nazi leaders, first of all, believed in a quick victory in the East by purely military means and were not inclined to be involved in a long-range

psychological warfare with the Soviet regime. Another reason was that with the help of the SS-Einsatztruppen the Nazi authorities themselves planned mass killings of certain categories of people in the conquered Eastern territories and, therefore, were not eager to arouse a suspicion among the East European population that there might be some similarities between the Soviet atrocities and their own genocide practices.¹⁹

As the prospects for a quick victory faded away on the Eastern Front by the end of 1941, and as the end of 1942 brought the first serious reversal and major retreat of the German army, some circles of the Third Reich establishment started to express their criticism of the uncompromising harsh German policy in the East. There were also suggestions made by the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Areas, and some of the military leaders of the Eastern Front that support should be solicited, even military support from the various occupied Eastern European nations.²⁰ This concern about the weakness of Hitler's Ostpolitik led to a meeting between Alfred Rosenberg and some high officers of the German Army stationed on the Eastern Front, for the purpose of suggesting some remedies to Hitler. The most important proposals of that meeting, taking place in December, 1942 in Berlin, concerned the creation of the so-called "liberation councils" and "national liberation armies" composed of Russian and non-Russian nationalities. Rosenberg, for example, expected that as many as 500,000 Ukrainians would join this venture voluntarily. In January 1943, these proposals were reported to Hitler who basically turned them down. However, he did see that the usefulness of the creation of fictitious "liberation councils" and "national liberation armies," hinting that an intensified propaganda on this account would be welcome, wherever it would not be connected with the real political concessions to Russians and Ukrainians.²¹

This emphasis on propaganda, accompanied by the Nazi leaders' call for a total war when the German troops surrendered in Stalingrad in February, 1943, explains the atmosphere and approximate timing

¹⁹Helmuth Krausnick, *Hitlers Einsatzgruppen. Die Truppen des Weltanschauungskrieges 1938-1942* (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1985), pp. 114-121.

²⁰SS-Gruppenführer to Himmler; Re.: *Ostrnisteriurn*, December 17, 1942." Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. German Materials: Himmler File. Container 401, Drawer #2, Folder \$57 (7). In the same folder consult also: SS-Brigadeführer Raul Zimmermann to Himmler; Re.: *Besprechung des Reichsministers für die besetzten Ostgebiete mit den Befehlshabern der Heeresgebiete über politische Fragen im Osten*" dated January 4th, 1943, as well as Himmler to Berger; Re.: *"Ostrnisterium*," dated January 13, 1943.

²¹*Ibid.*

of the Nazis' publicity campaign regarding Soviet sites of massacre in areas under German control.

The German involvement in the case of the mass-graves of Vinnytsia during this period of total war was not an isolated one. The Germans made their first revelations in this connection on April 12, 1943 regarding the discovery of mass graves of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest, approximately 200 kilometers west of Moscow.²² The Vinnytsia massacres, including thousands of victims mostly of Ukrainian nationality, were reported about one month later. Still another German report materialized on February 24, 1944 regarding mass graves in the small Belorussian town of Ulla, not far from the city of Polotsk, which contained approximately 1,000 victims who had been executed by the NKVD on June 27, 1941 and who were first thought to have been evacuated Latvian political prisoners.²³

These cases represented just a small fraction of the mass grave sites in the German occupied Eastern sites which the Soviets left behind. Even though since 1943 the Germans were increasingly aware about the potential propaganda value of such mass graves, they only uncovered and publicized a few of them, partially because of the conflicting jurisdiction of the various Nazi authorities in the East and the different priorities which they pursued in their occupation policies.

That the uncovering of the mass graves in the city of Vinnytsia was not originally on the Nazis' propaganda priority list was reflected in the fact that the initiative for this direction came from the local population and their representatives, not from the Germans themselves. Further, the initial pressures of the local population to search for the victims of the mass murder were initially unsuccessful. It was only during the third year of the Nazi occupation that the Ukrainian local authorities of Vinnytsia and some other interested Ukrainian organizations, upon a renewal of their request, were permitted to search for the graves and the victims buried there. It seems plausible in this connection that political support of a German military unit in the vicinity of the city of Vinnytsia, as well as the fact that the Katyn mass graves were uncovered in April, 1943, had an impact on the reversal of the previous policy on this behalf by Erich Koch, *Reichskommissar* of Ukraine.

²²J.K. Zawodny, *Death in the Forest: The Story of the Katyn Forest Massacre* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), p. 24.

²³Koopman, Feldpolizei, Sekretar, Propaganda-Abteilung "W" an O.K.W. (Supreme Command of the Army), February 24th, 1944; Re.: "Finding the Graves of Ulla." Bundesarchiv Koblenz, West Germany. Call No. R55, Container 160.

While the Katyn excavations were still in progress, to which the German authorities gave considerable internal and external publicity, the Ukrainian local authorities of Vinnytsia made an organized attempt to probe some of the long suspected local sites for mass graves. The newly organized Commission to investigate these killings that had been established within the framework of the city government, visited the German *Gebietskommissar* Morgenfeld on May 24, 1943 and secured permission for the search and exhumation of the alleged victims of the NKVD. In terms of the background of the members of this commission, a considerable number of them were officials of the local government (the only level of government that was permitted by the occupation authorities), as well as of authorized local and regional non-political organizations. In occupational terms, most of them were professionals with a completed higher education. With regard to nationality, the overwhelming majority was Ukrainian, with the exception of Professor Ivan M. Malinin, who was a Russian, and Mr. Sybirsky and Mr. Midrest; whose national identities were not indicated. The individual members of the first investigating commission were: Dr. Doroshenko, Chief Physician for the Vinnytsia region (and also former Chairman and Criminal Justice of the Medical Institute of Vinnytsia); Professor Malinin of Krasnodar University; Dr. O. Klunk, City Specialist of Criminal Justice; Professor O. Savostianov, Mayor of the City of Vinnytsia; Apollon Trembovetskyi, Associate Editor of the local paper *Vinnytsia Visty*; Bishop Yevlohiy and Bishop Hryhoriy, both representing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as well as Mr. Sybirsky and Mr. M. Mamontoff.²⁴

At the beginning, the Ukrainian City Commission on Mass Killings in Vinnytsia supervised the diggings in a large orchard, within the distance of about two kilometers from the city center. Since 1938 it had been fenced off and strictly guarded by the NKVD. In this location, known as Pidlisna Street No. 1, the first grave was uncovered, containing 102 corpses. The victims had been shot in the back of the head at close range with a pistol. In the graves were also found the victims' clothing and some partial documentation regarding the detentions, as well as utensils, food, parcels, and other objects that during the time of the Great Purge were usually taken along by Soviet prisoners who

²⁴Apollon Trembovetskyi, *Zlochyn u Vinnytsi (Crime in Vinnytsia). Vinnytsia, Vinnytsky Visty, 1943, p. 21. See also: Testimony Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. house of Representatives, Congressional Hearings, "The Crimes of Khrushchev," Part II, September 9-11, p. 18. (Hereafter referred to as Congressional Hearings.)*

were on their way to distant places for deportation.²⁵ It appears that the secrecy with which the mass graves had been dug for the executed prisoners, and the way in which their personal belongings had been buried along with them, were supposed to destroy all clues that might possibly have helped their relatives, friends, or neighbors to discover the truth. At that point, the NKVD was eager to hide the fact that the prisoners were killed. Instead, they tried to give the impression that the assassinated victims were sent to ten years of corrective labor camp, with the denial of the right of correspondence.

The same pattern of burial also manifested itself in the two other secret burial sites, namely in the old Orthodox Cemetery in the city and in the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest in Vinnytsia. In both of these places, too, prisoners were found buried amidst their belongings.

By grudgingly giving publicity to this case, the Nazis also hoped to promote antagonism between the Ukrainian population and the various national minorities inhabiting the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine. Instructions on behalf of utilizing national antagonism among the various nationalities in Eastern Europe were formulated and circulated by Heinrich Himmler as early as November 29th, 1940. It was Koch's intention to continue this policy in the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine.

In the concrete case of the Vinnytsia tragedy, this policy manifested itself by Erich Koch's prohibition to mention certain nationalities among the identified bodies.²⁷ This applied at first specifically to the Russians, the Jews, and the Gypsies. Later, the victims of Polish nationality apparently also became a taboo. On the lists of names attached to the official German documentation of the Vinnytsia tragedy on which the nationalities of the victims were identified, the Polish nationality was no longer mentioned after victim No. 204. Thereafter, no Poles were mentioned among the hundreds of identified victims that followed on the lists.

According to all evidence, this National Socialist policy failed to bring the desired results, at least in connection with the Vinnytsia mass

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

²⁶*The Trial*, Doc. NO-1880.

²⁷The information has been provided by one of the surviving eyewitnesses of the exhumation of bodies, who was an official interpreter of the City Government of Vinnytsia and one of the correspondents of the *Vinnytski Visty*. See also the Editor's "Interview with an Eyewitness" in Part II of this anthology. Also, see: *Congressional Hearings*, p. 18. Among others, the witness Pavlovich states the following on the national composition of the victims: "At the time, the people did not understand what was going on. They did not understand why so many were arrested, especially Ukrainians, those of Polish descent — half Polish, half Ukrainian — and many Jewish people who were arrested in our town as well as in other towns within the Vinnytsia Province."

graves. Thus, Professor Malinin, though of Russian nationality, continued to work on the exhumations under Professor Schrader's staff. Some Russian Orthodox priests, having obtained permission by the Nazi authorities to visit the mass graves of Vinnytsia, later wrote sympathetically about the Ukrainian as well as the Russian victims found there. The Ukrainian local authorities continued to keep records of various nationalities represented among the victims, even after the *Reichskommissar's* prohibition, yet they were not permitted to publish them.²⁸

Officially, out of the 679 identified victims, 490 were recognized as Ukrainians, 28 as Poles, and 161 as of "unknown nationality." This last mentioned category carries little credibility, however, even within the framework of the Nazis' own criteria. The official statement claimed that over two-thirds of the bodies (468) had been recognized by relatives and above one-third of the bodies (202) on the basis of documents. It would be unusual, indeed, if the relatives of the victims had not known their nationalities, or if the Soviet identification documents had not mentioned it either.

Equally doubtful are the references that the German authorities made in their official publications in regard to the Jews. According to these allegations, the Jews supposedly had been in almost complete control of the responsible positions of Vinnytsia's NKVD establishment. Even though, on the basis of some other sources, there is an indication that Soviet citizens of Jewish origin were employed in the Soviet Secret Police in larger percentages than those applying to their representation in the Soviet society,²⁹ such Nazi allegations cannot be taken at their face value. The way in which the German authorities brought up this issue during the interrogation without cross-examining the witnesses, and the obvious manner in which they suggested that one or another identified victim had been killed due to the responsibility of a Jewish NKVD officer, clearly indicate that they were not interested in the truth. One may also wonder on what basis most of the interrogated witnesses could possibly have concluded at the end of their interviews that the leading personalities in the Soviet Secret Police establishment in Vinnytsia during the Great Purge had been Jews. Knowing the peculiarities of the Soviet system, such information would be difficult to obtain. First, it is known that the Soviets did not advertise or generally reveal the background of their officers in the Secret Police. Sec-

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Yury Boshyk, ed., *Ukraine during World War II: History and Its Aftermath* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986), p. 45.

ondly, the Jews working in sensitive jobs in the U.S.S.R. usually did not associate with the Jewish minority, be it socially or culturally. Therefore, unless references to Jewish personnel within the Soviet Secret Police were verified by some specific evidence, under these circumstances one has to dismiss such references and allegations as devices of Nazi propaganda.

Even though the German authorities boasted that fourteen commissions had visited the mass graves of Vinnytsia, half of them from abroad, in actuality, only three German authorities had some first-hand involvement in the investigation and analysis of the Vinnytsia case. The first of these came into being under the chairmanship of Professor Gerhard Schrader from the University of Halle, on June 15, 1943. Schrader, who at that time was also Chairman of the German Society for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation, was asked by the German government to take over the responsibility for conducting systematic exhumations and forensic medical examinations on the site of the mass graves. His staff, consisting mostly of medical experts, included two non-Germans, Dr. Malinin, a Russian, and Dr. Doroshenko, a Ukrainian. An effective practical participation of the Ukrainian Medical Commission, that had started the exhumation of the bodies, ended in the middle of June, even though it was not officially disbanded. Dr. Schrader's staff, later chaired by his deputy, Dr. Camerer, being occupied with this job uninterruptedly till the beginning of October, 1943, proved to be the most permanent commission working on this case. Even though not completely immune to political interferences of the Nazi regime (such as in the case of determining the nationalities of the victims), it proved to be competent and reliable in its work in strictly technical and professional matters. Its main contribution was its help in establishing the condition of the corpses and the growth of the sapling trees that had been planted on the graves. According to its findings, both indicated that the executions of the victims must have taken place in the years 1937 to 1938. The credible medical and circumstantial investigation of Professor Schrader's Medical Commission induced the German government to invite some experts of forensic medicine from other German universities and also from some foreign countries to verify the findings. The body to which the Germans referred as the International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners, consisted of eleven representatives from various countries. Another commission was composed of thirteen representatives of German university professors specializing in forensic medicine. Both commissions met separately for a few days on the

location of the Vinnytsia mass graves and the environment, and after their own investigations, issued a public statement on their findings. The International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners issued its report on July 15, 1943, while the representatives of German university professors specializing in forensic medicine issued theirs on July 29, 1943. Both reports confirmed easily verifiable, mostly medical facts: in almost all cases the victims had been executed by a small caliber pistol, most of them had been between thirty to forty years old, and, judging by the condition of their bodies, most of them had been killed approximately in 1938.

Such objective findings were in themselves incriminating, as far as the Stalinist establishment was concerned, which during the mass executions had exercised jurisdiction over the area where the prisoners found their death. It is inconceivable that such a large number of persons could have been liquidated on such a mass scale within a relatively short span of time at the center of a big city, without the knowledge of the Soviet authorities. The fact that such executions did take place during peace time, without a public notice or explanation, starkly contradicted the image of a "civilized humanitarian state," which the U.S.S.R. pretended to be.

In order to follow up the question pertaining to the reasons for the mass killings at Vinnytsia, the Nazi authorities supported two other centers of investigation. One of these was initiated by the Reich Office of Criminal Investigation, under the name of "Homicide Squad Vinnytsia." The second one was created by the Reich Ministry of Justice, which appointed Dr. Ziegler, President of the German Senate, to provide a legal report on this case. The chief contribution of these investigations was the initiation of a process of interviews which the German officials conducted with selected witnesses from the local population. These witnesses were either relatives of the victims, accidental personnel of the NKVD staff in Vinnytsia (usually at the level of secretaries and stenographers), former inmates of Soviet prisons in Vinnytsia, and persons who under Soviet rule had encountered the secret burials of the victims at the site where the mass graves were later discovered.

With most of the witnesses from the ranks of volunteers, the "Homicide Squad Vinnytsia" recorded twelve interviews, and Dr. Ziegler's office claimed to have conducted fifty hearings of which, however, only twenty-six were attached to the official report. While the hearings of these witnesses do not seem to meet rigorous Western standards, and while the witnesses themselves apparently were aware of the fact that they could not risk to testify quite freely, their testimonies on the

nature of the Soviet arrests, the searches, and the reasons for the arrests fall rather consistently into the same pattern as do those reports by witnesses given decades later in Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. They also correspond to other testimonies of those who experienced Stalinist terror first-hand.

The most incriminating factor for the Soviet system of justice under Stalin that emerges from these hearings is that the charges on which the arrests were allegedly based, neither represented a violation nor a transgression of existing Soviet laws. In most cases involved, the given infringement of some administrative rules was not of such an aggravating nature that it would have required the death penalty. To such infringements that formally did not violate Soviet laws belonged the following:

1. To have relatives or friends abroad and also maintaining some correspondence with them or receiving parcels from them;
2. To subscribe to foreign journals or being in possession of foreign books;
3. To be in possession of books published in the U.S.S.R. that, after a change of Party line had been declared unorthodox and withdrawn from public circulation;
4. To belong to remnants of "hostile classes" or to be associated with professions which the Soviet authorities viewed as undesirable, such as former priests, for example, who theoretically were considered reformed and therefore retrained for "socially useful" jobs, but who had not actually been removed from the lists of the "socially dangerous" elements;
5. To belong to unauthorized religious organizations (after the regular churches had been closed);
6. To be guilty of labor discipline infringement;
7. To be unwilling to stop private farming.

In the majority of cases, the information regarding the charges for arrest was not made available at all, with the exception of a generalized statement identifying the person in question as "an enemy of the people."

The Vinnytsia Mass Graves and Some Other Soviet Sites of Mass Execution

Stalin's ideologically colored motivation to take preventive measures against potential opposition resulted not only in such mass graves as those of Vinnytsia that affected Soviet citizens, of whom most were of the Ukrainian nationality, but it also affected other nations located on the path of Soviet territorial expansion. This applied first to all to the Poles, who were traditional Russian rivals for the control of Eastern Europe. In the event of Germany's defeat in World War II, Stalin hoped to inherit Polish territory that was held by Hitler since the fall of 1939. For this reason, those Poles who as a result of the Polish-German War of 1939 found themselves under Soviet jurisdiction, and whom the Soviet authorities considered as members of the Polish elite, became subject to a particularly careful scrutiny. If their background or attitude indicated an unwillingness or inability to "build up socialism," they faced the prospects of being deported to one of the labor camps — or physical destruction. In this connection, both the case of the Katyn Forest in 1943 and the case of Ulla in 1944 presented evidences of heavy Polish casualties resulting from Stalinist policies of this kind. Since, on many counts, the reasons and methods of execution were so similar to those of the Vinnytsia case, a closer examination of some specific facts regarding the mass graves at Katyn and Ulla might be helpful in throwing some light on the Vinnytsia murder.

The Katyn case began on September 17, 1939, when the Red Army crossed the Polish-Soviet border, without declaring war but by expressing peaceful intentions, allegedly in order to safeguard the local population from scourges of war and threatening disorders. Within the territory which the U.S.S.R. had received in accordance with a secret Nazi-Soviet agreement signed on August 23, 1939, the Soviets took the Polish troops as prisoners of war, whether they resisted or

not. Whereas after a few months the Polish soldiers were released from the Soviet P.O.W. camps, approximately 15,000 Polish officers³⁰ were still in confinement and subject to interrogations in three various camps in Kozelsk, Ostashkov, and Starobelsk. In the spring of 1940, the three camps were gradually emptied and the overwhelming number of Polish POWs placed on railway transports and told that they were on the way home. Only about four hundred Polish officers were transferred to a small camp, Grazovec, and informed that they were temporarily going to stay in the U.S.S.R., for the purpose of re-education. These officers, it turned out, were the only survivors of the three camps responding to the call for colors in 1941, after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union had started. At that time, the Polish Exile Government in London was given permission by Stalin to organize a Polish army in the U.S.S.R. Since the beginning of May, 1940, there has been no sign of life from other officers stationed at Camp Kozielsk, Camp Ostashkov, and Camp Starobelsk.

In the spring of 1943, the corpses of Polish officers from Camp Kozielsk, those of a few privates, and of twenty-two men in civilian clothes were found in mass graves in the Katyn Forest. The exhumations, organized and supervised by the German occupation authorities, produced a total of 4,443 bodies in that place.³¹ The Germans made the announcement regarding the discovery of the graves on April 13, 1943. Various commissions, among them an international commission composed of experts on forensic medicine, concluded that the executions had taken place at a time when the area was under Soviet control.

In May, 1944, Rosenberg's *Ostministerium* and Goebbel's Ministry of Propaganda announced the discovery of a complex of mass graves within the distance of one kilometer of the small town of Ulla, where allegedly 1,000 Latvian members of the intelligentsia had been buried after they were executed by the NKVD on June 27, 1941 at the beginning of the Soviet-German war.³² Further facts made available by these sources indicated that the victims in question had started their march

³⁰Zawodny, p. 5. See also: Karl-Heinz Janssen, "Katyn: Kampf gegen die Lüge" *Die Zeit* No. 30 (July 29, 1988), Dossier pp. 11-13.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

³²Apparently due to the activities of anti-German partisans, the preliminary report of the German Propaganda Section of February 24, 1944 (see note #23) could not be utilized to begin the exhumation of the bodies until the German control of this area became more reliable. Thus, it was not until May, 1944 that the *Ostministerium* and the Ministry of Propaganda initiated the exhumations of the mass graves of Ulla and began a broad publicity in this connection. See: "Über tausend Letten auf offener Strasse gemetzelt." R.M.V.P., Abt. Ost, May 24th, 1944, No. 180. Also: No. 181 and No. 18214 Conference No. 208. See *Armee Arzt. lz AOK. 3 Az 4a (Hyg.) Bundesarchiv*

from the village of Glabocki, located about 25 kilometers south-west of the city of Polotsk. When coming into the vicinity of the town of Ulla on June 27th, the marching column was surprised by a German plane attacking a Soviet air base nearby. At the beginning of the raid, the prisoners were ordered to take cover on a nearby meadow surrounded by a forest. It was during these moments that the whole group was liquidated by the NKVD guards, with the exception of a few who managed to escape. The NKVD guards then ordered the inhabitants of the nearby village of Nikolayev to bury the victims in the meadow in twenty-six mass graves.

In the meanwhile, the investigation of the graves at this site took another turn. With the approach of the Eastern Front, the German Army received jurisdiction in the area around Ulla, substituting the authority of the *Ostministerium*. In this new situation, the Army insisted on a verification of the results of the exhumations of the mass graves at Ulla, in the presence of German Army representatives and medical experts. This new investigation into the case indicated that the basic facts of the story were correct, with the exception of the nationalities of the victims involved. Of the estimated 800 to 1,000 bodies, the overwhelming majority was Polish, approximately 200 were Jews, and a few were Lithuanians. Judging by the clothes on the victims, they had belonged to the middle and upper class, with only a small minority representing peasants.³³

A further investigation indicated that the prisoners originated from territories which until September 17, 1939 had belonged to Poland. The news that no Latvian were buried in those mass graves was a great blow to the *Ostministerium* and the Ministry of Propaganda, because these two agencies had tried to utilize the exhumation efforts in order to induce the Latvians to volunteer on a large scale to join the German armed forces. They had already worked on a scheme that would elevate the Ulla case in terms of importance to that of the Polish Katyn case or the Ukrainian Vinnytsia case.³⁴ As neither the *Ostministerium* nor the Ministry of Propaganda were interested in the humanitarian aspects

Koblenz, West Germany. also: "Graberfunde bei Ulla (m. ca. 700 Polen, Letten, u.a., Aufdeckung und propagandistische Auswertung), 1944." R55 II, 1294. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, West Germany.

³³Conf. No. 208, Armee Arzt, lz. AOK. 3 Az 4a (Hyg.) Re.: "Besichtigung von Massengrabern lettischer Zivilpersonen," R55 - 1294, June 6, 1944. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, West Germany.

³⁴Telegram No. 183 by Dr. Tauber on May 24, 1944 to the Minister of Propaganda. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, West Germany, R55-1294, No. 178. In this connection, Dr. Tauber wrote: "The fate that has met the Latvians at Ulla, the Poles at Katyn, and

of the Ulla case, and as the German Army was only concerned with its reputation on this account, it was not difficult for the parties involved to reach an agreement to stop immediately all further exhumations in Ulla, and to announce to those concerned that due to partisan activities in the area a further exploration of graves had to be temporarily suspended.³⁵

The surface similarity between the Vinnytsia case and the Katyn case was reflected in strictly technical matters, such as the killing of victims by firing a pistol at close range at the back of the head after tying their hands behind their backs with a similar knot. However, the essential similarity (and this also applied to the Ulla case), lay in the fact that all victims were first of all classified as socially dangerous elements. As such, they were to be permanently separated from the society in which the Stalinist model of socialism was to be built. Therefore, it was not so important to Stalin if the individuals classified as such had actually committed a crime or had violated some Soviet laws, for they were deported or executed not on the basis of acts committed but rather on the basis of those which they might attempt to commit if left at peace. Stalin considered such measures inevitable within his plan to transform society in accordance with his socialist model. In that sense, both the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens and the provisions of international law protecting the Polish prisoners of war and the life and property of the Polish citizens affected by the Ulla case were definitely subordinated to Stalin's preventive measures deemed necessary for ideological considerations. According to the NKVD, the prisoners classified as "socially dangerous" elements were already legally and morally dead within the Soviet system, and if their life span was temporarily extended, then only to accommodate the interests of the Soviet state.³⁶

the Ukrainians at Vinnytsia, and which in smaller cases repeats itself daily in the Soviet occupied border areas, would be the fate of the entire European continent if the murderous Bolshevik system would ever gain power over Europe!"

³⁵Dressler, Generalkommissar Riga, to Dr. Kurtz, Conf., June 10, 1944 ("Very confidential"), R 55, Conf. 212. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, West Germany.

³⁶Enlightening in this connection are the Soviet deportation blueprints for Lithuania, dated spring, 1941, in which some persons, such as the former Lithuanian State administrators, large land owners, big industrialists and persons living with them, or supported by them were to be deported, regardless of their political convictions or activities. (Cf. "Report of the ad hoc Committee on Forced Labor (ILO, United Nations, Geneva, 1953). Doc. E/2431, p. 508.

Conclusion

The "preventive measures" taken by Stalin undoubtedly strengthened his position of power while elevating the U.S.S.R. to a more monolithic system. But Stalin's terror had little effect on preventing a mass surrender of Red Army soldiers, especially at the beginning of the Soviet-Nazi War. Also, as it became evident after World War II, Stalin's ideological straitjacket was responsible for the fact that the Soviet Union fell behind in its competition with the West, for his rule of terror also stifled creative thinking and initiative for improvement among Soviet citizens. Further, it resulted in an unbearable insecurity also among the Soviet elite, who had developed a taste for a better quality of life. In the post-Stalin era these drawbacks, it seems, led to an abandonment of mass terror, and especially under the rule of Khrushchev and Gorbachev, they promoted an attempt not only to point out Stalin's crimes but also to fill in some "blank spots" in Soviet history, especially in relation to Stalin's period. It was under Khrushchev that the first announcement was made regarding the Soviet government's intention to create a commission and establish monuments honoring innocent victims of Stalinist terror, but he never implemented this plan.

It will be interesting to see if similar recommendations of the Central Committee under Gorbachev will be implemented, and to what degree. It has been one of the inherent weaknesses of the Soviet democratization processes, first generated by Khrushchev and more recently by Gorbachev, that they did not mitigate a discrepancy between the rule of law and the unwritten C.P.S.U. rules that are primarily concerned with preserving the reputation and power of the Party.

Keeping in mind these reservations, one must admit that Gorbachev's critical analysis of Stalin's terrorism and purges is not without

significance in regard to the changing Soviet system. In principle, this means that *glasnost* should not only apply to contemporary issues but also to the past. In this connection, the most specific Soviet initiative to analyze various aspects of Stalinist terror has been that regarding the reopened case of Katyn. According to Soviet sources, at the beginning of 1988, a joint Polish-Soviet commission was established to study the circumstances under which the Polish officers were killed. Even though a Moscow Radio broadcast on May 28, 1988 gave a hint that the NKVD may have been guilty of this crime, the misleading inscriptions on the grave had not yet been changed. The *Detroit Free Press* of May 29, 1988 wrote in this connection:

The Moscow Radio reporter said the monument, at the site of the mass graves where the bodies were found bore an inscription ascribing the massacre to Nazi forces who occupied the area from 1941 to late 1943. 'This was the accepted view held by the Soviet Union and its wartime allies for many years after the war,' the radio said, 'but now the affair has to be put down as a blank spot in history.'³⁷

During his visit to Poland in June 1988, Gorbachev addressed the Polish parliament, referring, among other things, to the need of removing some "blank spots" from the history of Polish-Soviet relations. However, he failed to mention the Katyn affair.

As yet, neither the mass graves of Vinnytsia, nor those of Ulla, nor the NKVD's role in each of them, have been mentioned by the Soviet media. A minor exception is represented by a brief article in a small regional publication, *Molod' Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine), Sept. 21, 1988. (See "Editorial Comment" and the corresponding note, pp. v-vi.) The Soviet government did dedicate almost an entire issue of the illustrated weekly *Kraj Rad* (The Country of the Soviets, July 19, 1988) to the topic "Vinnytsia and Its Environment," covering in an interdisciplinary approach the past and the present, but it did not even hint at the controversial "blank spot of history" pertaining to this city. *Kraj Rad*, a Polish language journal published in Moscow, aims at cultivating friendship between the Poles and the various Soviet peoples. In this particular issue it dedicated considerable space to the fraternal relationship between Vinnytsia and the Polish city of Kielce, as well as to the sacrifices made by the Red Army in World War II in an attempt to liberate Poland from the Germans. It also mentioned that under the Nazi occupation (between June, 1941 and March, 1944) 42,000 civilians from the Vinnytsia area were executed by the Germans and 13,000

³⁷Robert Evans, "Soviets Hint at Guilt in Massacres of Poland," *Detroit Free Press* (May 29, 1988), p. 5A.

from that area were deported to forced labor camps in Germany.³⁸ The glossy color photos provide a view of a massive memorial of glory with some overtowering military heroes, against the background of an orchard. Another picture provides a glimpse of the decorative Central Park of Culture and Rest. The Stalinist contributions to the number of those executed in Vinnytsia are conveniently omitted, and one may wonder how many persons looking at these pictures realize what is hidden behind the facade. It is possible that this issue on Vinnytsia in *Kraj Rad*, published just a few months prior to the date when the Polish Soviet commission on the Katyn massacre was created, was intended to remind the admirers of Stalinism that some more embarrassing disclosures about Joseph Stalin and his system might soon be released. On the other hand, there is a tendency among many influential supporters of Gorbachev's liberal reformers to look for allies in the conservative camp. These have tried to mitigate the fear of "guilt by association" among those who were, or are, associated with such conservative strongholds of the Soviet establishment as the Soviet Secret Police or the Soviet Armed Forces. In a recent article on this topic, the Soviet sociologist Igor Bestushev-Lada wrote:

First, many 'chekists,' similar to other honest communists in those times [Stalin's times] did not compromise their principles, did not agree to participate in crimes. They rather preferred to die themselves. It is well known from the press that alone within the organization of the NKVD over 20,000 employees became victims of purges. Naturally, in many cases, as we mentioned before, they were shot as unwelcome witnesses or as 'scapegoats.' We also know that in this process, people perished who had an opportunity to promote their 'career' by killing others, but who cherished their honor more than a career, even more than their own lives.

Secondly, in detachments and sections, the NKVD (M.G.B.) served many people who had nothing in common with the repressions. They did not differ on any account from soldiers and officers who performed their military service. Only the nature of the institution in which they were employed compelled them to pursue a demonstrative request for the preservation of the "Cult of Memory" [Stalin's cult].³⁹

It is uncertain at this time what accommodations may be reached between the Soviet reformers and some luke-warm supporters of the conservative bloc of the Soviet society, but it is certain that, in the long

³⁸"Vinnytsia and Its Environment," *Kraj Rad* (The Country of the Soviets), July 19, 1987.

³⁹Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, "About the Urgent Need of Truth: Reflections of a Sociologist on the Tragic Pages of History and the Opponents of perestroika," *Kraj Rad* (April 3, 1988), p. 15.

run, Gorbachev's democratization projects could not survive on half-truths and half-measures. Along these lines, the origin and nature of Stalinist terror, too, must be fully discussed.

Among the uncovered sites of NKVD executions, the mass graves of Vinnytsia, Katyn, and Ulla so far are the best documented ones, relatively speaking. But it would be an exaggeration to presume that they provide a complete picture regarding the anatomy of murder. The vast gaps in the documentation of these and related cases are mainly due to the fact that Soviet government documents so far have not been made available to Western researchers on this topic. Recently, the Soviet archivist and historian in Moscow, Professor Jurij Afanas'jev,⁴⁰ stated that out of seventy million documents from the Soviet Foreign Office and the Secret Police covering Stalin's period, two and a half million had been made accessible for scholarly research. At this point, it is impossible to establish to what kind of scholars those released documents will be available, and if they would shed some additional light on the cases of Katyn, Vinnytsia, and Ulla.

The missing Soviet documents on the Katyn case and the Vinnytsia case have more far reaching implications than might be expected. After the Soviet reoccupation of Katyn in the fall of 1944, the Soviet documents on this topic were not available, with the exception of a report doctored by the Soviets. Also, the Western confidential reports on Katyn and the German documents on this case vanished from the archives captured by the Western Allies. Initially, in the West the disappearance of this documentation was perceived as a pragmatic move on the part of the Allies who were trying not to upset an alliance with the U.S.S.R. For the duration of the war, the Allies even imposed a censorship on their mass media regarding the Katyn controversy. But even after the end of the war, the American government and the British government continued to maintain silence regarding the Vinnytsia and Katyn mass graves, and the relevant information that previously had been withdrawn was never again restored to the archives.

A more positive approach to Katyn and Vinnytsia was taken after World War II by the U.S. Congress, which created a Special Congressional Committee in 1951 to investigate the Katyn Massacre, with hear-

⁴⁰Equally openminded is Professor Afanas'jev's recent comparison of the Stalinist crimes and those of Cambodia. The collectivization was a terrible crime against the people of his own nation, he said, in which the Georgian dictator Stalin "might only have been surpassed by Pol Pot." Such statements indicate that the Soviet elite is becoming increasingly aware and vocal about the destructive side of a modern totalitarian system. See Christian Schmidt Hauer, "Zurück in die Zukunft." *Die Zeit* (weekly, Hamburg, West Germany) No. 32 (August 12, 1988), p. 3.

ings beginning on October 1 of that year. The Congressional Committee listened to hundreds of witnesses and investigated the question of why the executive branch of the federal government had not cooperated in examining this case. These hearings were not instrumental in motivating the U.S. government to locate the lost documents, but they brought some additional valuable evidence from witnesses and made it easy for the Congressional Committee to find the Soviet Secret Police guilty of the crime at Katyn. The Committee also passed two resolutions in 1952, suggesting two possibilities of an international adjudication. So far, these have not been enacted, and they have also never reached an international judiciary forum.

The hearings on Vinnytsia were conducted by the U.S. Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, in connection with its investigation of "The Crimes of Khrushchev." These hearings, which lasted from September 9 to 11, 1959, were worthwhile in terms of revealing some additional factual information, especially from some of the eyewitnesses, but similar to the Katyn hearings, they failed to produce additional government documents in addition to the official report issued by the German government in 1944.

Gorbachev mentioned recently that democracy is as much needed for Soviet citizens as fresh air. This implies that if he really meant what he said, he would have to take into consideration the safeguarding of fundamental human rights. Fostering human rights in the Soviet Union, however, will meet with little credibility among Soviet citizens, unless the previous governmental terror purges are specifically explained and condemned, and unless precautions are taken against their repetition that clearly prove to be effective. In this connection, the mass graves of Vinnytsia, Katyn, and Ulla will have an important role to play as a litmus test of glasnost and Soviet justice.

These mass graves should also remind us of how fragile has been our realization of a civilized world, and as warnings of what might happen again if we fail to protect individual human rights. The executions of My Lai (Vietnam), Cambodia, and Afghanistan may serve as examples. Woodrow Wilson's famous statement, that we would have to choose between a world based on the rule of law or a world based on the rule of the gun, not only applies to sovereign states but also to individuals. If an individual, intimidated by mass terror, will abdicate his basic right to keep the government accountable, then the prospects of a peaceful world will remain a mirage.

PART II

TESTIMONIES
AND HEARINGS

Vinnytsia — The Katyn of Ukraine *A Report by an Eyewitness**

By M. Seleshko

Toward the end of February, 1944, when I was marking time in a German prison in Potsdam, I was transferred to cell number 20, already occupied by several other prisoners. After a brief acquaintance I learned that one of these was a Ukrainian from the vicinity of Vinnytsia. We came to know each other closely and he told me his life history. At that time he was twenty-three years of age, born and bred in Soviet Ukraine. He had been educated by the Communist party and had been a Communist in the full meaning of the word. Communist ideals were his ideals. He fought on the German-Soviet front. After his capture by the Germans, he was forced into anti-aircraft artillery work for the Germans in Berlin. Because of negligence in line of duty he was thrown into jail. There our paths met.

I kept asking him questions about life under the Soviets. He formerly belonged to a civilian border patrol unit. Being a Komsomol member, he took his duties seriously and helped track down many foreign intelligence agents who were trying to slip across the border into the Soviet Union. There were others, young Soviet patriots like himself, in the villages and districts.

He told me of the steps taken by the Soviets in Ukraine as a preparation for war. In the Communist party at least as early as 1937 it was felt that war against Germany was imminent. Confidential instructions

*This is a reprint of an article by M. Seleshko published in *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V (1949), pp. 238.

Mykhailo Seleshko, a journalist and engineer, was a participant in the Ukrainian War for Independence in **191819**. He became an inmate of a Nazi concentration camp during World War II. In **1943**, he was mobilized by the German government to serve as an interpreter for the German Commissions investigating the mass graves of Vinnytsia.

to members of the party and the Komsomol stressed this eventuality. These instructions ordered that the Soviet hinterland in Ukraine be purged of enemies of the people. By the words "enemies of the people" were meant not only all those people who worked actively against the Soviet regime, but also those who were believed to be inclined to hostility toward the government, including those whose complete devotion to the regime had not been clearly manifested.

A purge of enemies of the population of the Soviet border regions was commenced. Herein lies the story of the Ukrainian tragedy in Vinnytsia, which was revealed to the world in **1943**.

My young companion is now a Ukrainian patriot, and much about him must not be made public. Everything he said supplemented my own knowledge of the Vinnytsia tragedy and helped to complete the picture I had formed of it during my experiences in Vinnytsia.

* * *

In the summer of **1943** I was living in Berlin under the close supervision of the Gestapo as a suspected foreigner, an unreliable alien and a Polish citizen. On July **2, 1943**, during the noon hour, I was called to the telephone by what the Germans called the Ukrainian Confidence Service. This was a German government agency which registered all Ukrainians in Germany and it tried to win their support for German purposes among the Ukrainians.

The chief of this agency informed me that in the near future a special committee for the investigation of mass murders in Ukraine would depart to do its work on the spot. He also told me that I had been appointed interpreter for this committee because of my knowledge of German, Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish, and in addition because I knew how to type in both German and Ukrainian. He suggested that I accept this position voluntarily and at the same time emphasized that, should I refuse, I would be drafted for it on the basis of a certain mobilization regulation.

I had no choice, I asked for several hours to consider the proposal. I immediately got in touch with my friends, among them Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, the Ukrainian poet, who was living illegally at that time in Berlin. We agreed that it would be best for me to go with the commission, even though its destination was not known. And I had not asked, for in Germany during the war it did not pay to be overly inquisitive.

After two hours I called the confidence service and announced my willingness to accompany the commission as a translator-interpreter,

I was instructed to await further instructions via telephone. About 5 p.m. of the same day the headquarters of the criminal police telephoned. I was ordered to appear at their address and to report to an official named Denerlein. I went.

Denerlein, a friendly man of rather advanced age, immediately introduced me to several officials in his department, and said that we would depart for Ukraine immediately. After brief interviews I was given appropriate military travelling documents and allowed to return home.

The criminal police department was swarming with uniformed police, some of them wearing an arm-band marked SD, which meant that these officials were from the special political section *Sicherheits-Dienst*. By piecing together various bits of conversation I deduced that our group was going to the front lines. Among the members of the commission were Raeder, Krupke, and Groner, all three commissars of the criminal police. State-councilor Klass, the chairman of the commission, was already at the place where the commission was supposed to function.

We set out July 4, 1943, by way of Warsaw, Lublin, Kovel and Shepetivka. Before our departure I was given a pistol as a preparation for any eventuality. We were unmolested in Warsaw, although at that time the battle in the Jewish ghetto was going on, but beyond that city our route was through a region controlled by Ukrainian insurgents (UPA).

Immediately outside of Warsaw we passed long trains that had been blown up. In the town of Kovel in the Ukrainian province of Volyn we had to transfer to another train. Precautionary measures for defense against partisans were taken and, ridiculously enough, I was ordered to hold my pistol in my hand in ready position for firing against the machine-guns and mines of the guerillas. We were not attacked, however, for the insurgents shot up with machine guns the dummy tank train that had been purposely sent ahead of us and we experienced nothing beyond fear. At the railway station in Shepetivka, however, we met action on a somewhat broader scale. After our train, loaded with German soldiers, pulled in at the railway station, the Ukrainians destroyed all of the four rail lines leading into Shepetivka and we could not continue the journey. We managed to reach Vinnitsia without any losses, about 11 o'clock at night. We were driven in police automobiles to No. 5 Mazepa Street. Under the Bolsheviks this had been named Dzherzhinsky Street and the building had housed the regional headquarters of the NKVD.

EXCAVATIONS IN VINNYTSIA

In Vinnytsia I was informed about the purpose of the commission by one of its members, a photographer who arrived in the city at some earlier date. With the aid of the civilian population mass graves had been discovered, in which thousands of corpses had been buried. These graves were to be opened and the commission was to establish whom the NKVD had murdered. The commission lived and worked in the former headquarters of the NKVD, the place from which the mass-murder was directed. It included among its members German specialists in criminal investigation.

The exhumations in Vinnytsia began on May 25, 1943, and were carried on in three places. The population was of the opinion that there were around 20,000 victims in the war years. In addition to our commission two other bodies — a legal and medical commission — took part in the investigations.

Our committee unpacked its equipment, set up its office and on July 7 after lunch set out in automobiles for the scene of the exhumations — a garden along the Lityn highway, which leads from Vinnytsia to Lviv by way of Lityn.

From the conversation of the police, who were housed in the same barrack that we were, I had gained a more or less adequate picture of what had taken place. The first sight of the corpses horrified me, as did the stench that came from them. It was a hot summer day and it was necessary to steel one's nerves in order to live through the horrible experience. I had been a soldier in the Ukrainian army during the First World War and had seen many men killed in battle, but what I had then seen can in no way be compared with what I witnessed in that park.

A huge mass of people were milling among the trees in the garden. Everything was permeated with the heat of summer and the horrible stench of corpses. Here and there workers were digging up the earth. From it with the use of ropes they pulled out human corpses, some of them whole, others in pieces. They laid them carefully out on the grass. At first it seemed to me that there were thousands of them, but later I counted them and there were but 700 lying on the grass. Everybody present had a serious expression. The local inhabitants examined the exhumed corpses, and scrutinized the remnants of clothing. From the graves workers threw out bits of cloth and placed them in separate piles. The wet clothes were spread on the grass to dry. The dry clothes were searched for papers and other belongings. Everything was taken

out, and registered; the documents found were read, when possible, and recorded; those not legible were preserved. Now and then from one group or another burst out the agonizing, hysterical cry of a woman, or the groan of a man, which resembled the terror of death. A woman recognized the clothes of her loved ones, or a man those of a member of his family. All of them, it was later ascertained, had been sure that their relatives were somewhere in exile in Siberia, perhaps, or in the Far East, in the North, somewhere. Now they learned how the Soviet government had fooled them, for their loved ones lay in Ukrainian soil, in Vinnytsia, murdered by the NKVD. The government had met all questions with the reply that all in exile were deprived of the right of communicating with their families.

After the first shock had lessened, and I had become accustomed to the sweet, unpleasant stench, I took a greater interest in the investigations. The digging was done by common criminals from the local prison under the guard of German police. Alcohol was frequently given to the workers so that they might be able to stand the stench. Men and women, clothed and unclothed, were dug up. Men with their hands tied behind their backs. Here and there heads that had been beaten in; sometimes the nape showed signs of bullet-wounds. Black corpses, mummified corpses, corpses yellow-black with cadaverous wax. They had been in the earth a long time, for the most part deformed by the pressure of the soil above. Members of the commission, old criminologists who had seen many a crime, affirmed that never before had they seen anything so ghastly. In an area close to the graves doctors made immediate autopsies and tried to ascertain the cause of death. The horror of Vinnytsia I shall never forget and it is doubtful whether even a Dante would be able to portray the agony that had taken place.

Our next point was the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest, named in honor of the Russian poet. Here the scene was no better than the previous one. A lesser number of corpses was unearthed, for the most of the digging was done in the garden along the highway. The bodies of mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers had been buried under the earth, and over it boards had been placed for the young people to dance and amuse themselves, unaware that their relatives' corpses were lying underneath! The names of those Communists responsible for such diabolical measures are known and it is hoped that their evil memory will not pass into history forgotten.

The picture was the same in the graveyard opposite the park. Beside the regular graves as well as under the stones of the original graves were found mass-victims of the NKVD.

THE COMMISSION AT WORK

The committee worked industriously. Witnesses of the horrible tragedy were questioned, the place of the criminal executions determined, and the time as well. Documents found either alone or on the corpses were analyzed, nothing was overlooked; German thoroughness, often approaching absurdity, as it seemed to me, was employed. I was not acquainted with the techniques of criminologists, the clues they put together in order to arrive at the facts, and often what to me appeared beyond dispute they accepted with reservations and searched for unimpeachable evidence. The hours of work were from 10 to 16 each day. I was used as an interpreter between the local inhabitants and the German specialists. Thousands of people volunteered to act as witnesses for the commission. They volunteered in spite of the fact that Bolshevik agents made many threats of revenge, and insisted that the Germans had killed these people and were now seeking to place the blame on the NKVD. This twist interested me and I paid special attention in order to ascertain its veracity. Insofar as I am concerned there is no doubt that the unearthed corpses in Vinnytsia were the first victims of the Bolsheviks, murdered in what was in fact a preparation for war.

I cannot describe the entire work of the commission, all that it ascertained and concluded. I imagine that its findings have been recorded in detail and are available somewhere. As a Ukrainian in civilian attire it was easy for me to get around, for I felt that I was at home, on native Ukrainian soil. The Germans, of course, did not enjoy such a confidence in Vinnytsia, for they had come as conquerors. A complete history of the entire tragedy will one day be written by historians. I was forbidden from doing anything on my own and was able to maintain official contact with my friends only through the German military post office, which was scrutinized by the Gestapo. I made no personal notes. Instead, another opportunity presented itself: through the kindness of one of the members of the commission I was able to send personal letters to Ukrainian friends in Berlin. He gave the letters to a pilot assigned to regular duty between Berlin and Vinnytsia. I recorded as much as I could in the form of private letters, and the material arrived in the hands of my friends without accident. On the basis of these letters I am able to reveal the impression I had of the tragedy in Vinnytsia.

SOME SPECIAL INCIDENTS OF THE TRAGEDY IN VINNYTSIA

A few incidents will illustrate the tragedy.

The wife of a priest named Biletsky from the vicinity of Vinnitsia recognized the garments of her husband lying on a mound. She cleaned the garment and a patch was revealed. As proof that she spoke the truth she departed for her village, and returned to the commission a few days later with other bits of the material used for patching. The committee examined the material and agreed that the patch on the priest's coat came from the same material. This was proof that her husband had been shot and buried in Vinnitsia, but the NKVD had informed her that her husband was in exile without the right of communicating with his family.

Hanna Hodovanets, a Ukrainian peasant woman, recognized her husband's coat as they unearthed it from a mass-grave. She told the police about her husband's arrest. He had been arrested because he had not reported at work on a certain holiday. She had done everything possible to find out what had happened to him, and one day in **1938** she received a card from Moscow, from the procurator's office and signed by none other than Andrey Vyshinsky, with the news that her husband had been freed from prison in March, **1938**. However, her husband had never returned home and she felt that something was wrong. Her feelings became a sad reality when she recognized her husband's coat.

Another Ukrainian women, Olkhivska by name, sat for hours on the hills of dirt as the corpses were lifted from the graves. At one grave she gave vent to cries of anguish. She had just recognized her husband, who had been arrested by the NKVD, by a broken small finger as well as by his clothes. And she too told a story that ended in a mass-grave.

There were similar examples by the hundreds, while thousands of others found no clues whereby they might identify their loved ones. I talked with them, recorded their tragedies, shared their suffering. The commission studied the methods of Soviet interrogation and trial, torture and execution, prison and exile. It interviewed thousands of witnesses, went through a mass of varied documents, and examined the belongings of witnesses.

The following incident suggests that justice may yet triumph in this world. A note was found in the coat of the exhumed corpse of a heroic Christian. It was wet, as was the corpse, but was carefully dried. Then I set to work to decipher it. With the aid of several local Ukrainians we put together the story. The paper was of ordinary stock, white in

color, used in local school tablets. In crude handwriting was penciled: "I . . . beg the person that finds this note to pass on to my wife, Zina . . . from the village . . . region of . . . that I was denounced to the NKVD by the following . . ." And here were the names and addresses of seven persons. The note continued: "They bore witness against me before the NKVD and spoke falsehoods. I have been sentenced to death and in a short time will be shot. God knows that I am innocent. Let God forgive their transgression; I have forgiven them."

We refused to believe what we had read. To expect such magnanimity from a simple peasant in the moment of death was too much to believe. But the fact stirred everybody. We informed those in charge of the investigation, and later it was found that it was all true. Two of the persons named in the note had died in the meantime, two were officers in the Red Army, and three were available in the neighborhood, peacefully going about their business, since no one knew that they were secret assistants of the NKVD. During my presence in Vinnytsia they were not arrested. The Germans, however, recorded all the secret helpers of the NKVD. Some of them managed to obtain administrative posts during the occupation, and often announced themselves as of German origin. The Germans were aware of this maneuver and were preparing a surprise move called "lightning action," *Blitzaktion*. I was later informed that this "lightning action" had been executed before the Germans abandoned Vinnytsia. The three were supposedly killed, but the act of vengeance was accomplished by unclean hands that had no right to be termed just, for they were guilty of the murder of 40,000 Jews and an unknown number of Ukrainians in the Vinnytsia region.

Hulevych, Skrepek, and many other Ukrainians testified how the NKVD transported the corpses to the burial points. They stated that the bodies were transported from NKVD headquarters at No. 5 Dzhershinsky Street, that at night they saw and heard the trucks in action, and that in the morning on the way to work they saw the blood that had dripped from the trucks, and that they saw NKVD underlings covering up the signs of their work at the site of the mass graves. There were also witnesses who testified that from trees they observed what was happening behind the high walls of the NKVD compound, and that graves were dug and corpses buried. It was a fact well circulated in the city that two Ukrainians, who had dared to peer through the board fence despite the prohibition, had disappeared never to be seen again. It was also common talk that a boy, who had tried to climb the fence in order to steal some apples, disappeared without a trace after the NKVD guards caught him in the act.

HOW THE NKVD OPERATES

I talked with those people in Vinnitsia who first divulged the information about the mass murders, on the basis of which excavation was begun by the Germans. The commission found a woman who had worked in the NKVD headquarters for fifteen years. She was superannuated, and not in command of all her mental faculties, but the memory of what had transpired long before she retained as though it had happened yesterday. When the Bolsheviks retired before the German advance, she remained in Vinnitsia by frustrating efforts made by the government to evacuate her. Her revelations, although chronologically vague, were valuable in that they described Soviet methods of investigation and punishment. Former prisoners of the NKVD gave corroborative testimony.

One such former prisoner, named Dashchin, who had been in exile in the Kolyma region, told of an incident in a gold-mining camp. The camp contained 7,000 prisoners from all parts of the Soviet Union, and upon completion of the work there it was evident that the means of transportation to another locality were not available. The prisoners were too weak from malnutrition to go elsewhere on foot, for the nearest work-camp was thousands of kilometers distant. The problem was solved very simply. The prisoners were driven to a cliff that had been mined, and were blown into oblivion. Dashchin was one of the few that miraculously survived the explosion. Somehow he managed to trek across Siberia and return to Ukraine.

The NKVD usually made arrests at night, searching the house and later writing a protocol on the case. The Commission found very many of these protocols, both with the corpses and in a separate grave where only documents were buried. All arrested were accused of being "enemies of the people." Some had refused to renounce their religion, others had opposed the collectivization of their private property, still others had spoken dangerous words against Communism. Some had been victims of denunciations or revenge, others had failed to appear at work during a religious holiday, while many had changed their place of work without the permission of the NKVD. Many witnesses questioned by the committee were unable to explain why their relatives had been arrested. Their inquiries addressed to the NKVD or the judge simply evoked the stereotyped reply, "enemies of the people exiled for a long period of time without the right of communication with their relatives." Women appealed to Stalin and other leaders of the Soviet state, but the reaction was the same. I saw and read many cards carrying that message. Among the items found in the graves were remnants of

priestly garments, religious books, and correspondence of the murdered with the authorities of the state and the police. Items discovered were put on display — photographs, letters, postage stamps, and crosses — and many residents identified their dead relatives by them.

A religious group in the region of Ulaniv deserves special mention. Called the Sect of St. Michael, nineteen of its members were arrested by the NKVD and some of them were identified in the graves. They were recognized because it was their custom to wear a white cross sewn to their clothes. Garments with this cross were found in the graves, sometimes alone and at times still about the corpse. Many members of this sect visited the excavations and recognized their co-religionists.

STATISTICS ON THE TRAGEDY

From May, 1943, to October, 1943, 9,432 corpses were found in three places of excavation. There were 91 graves with corpses, and three with only clothes or documents. Forty-nine graves had from one to 100 corpses, 33 from 100 to 200 corpses, and nine from 200 to 284 corpses. One hundred and sixty-nine corpses were of women, 120 of advanced age, according to the findings of the medical commission. Forty-nine women were of young or middle age. The corpses of females of advanced age were clothed, whereas those of the younger years were naked. This seemed to bear out the rumors common among the local population that the young women arrested by the NKVD were subjected to sexual brutalities prior to their execution. One pregnant woman was found who had actually given birth to a child in the grave. Most of the corpses were of people from 30 to 40 years of age. Most had died from bullets from a special gun. Some of the victims had been hit by two bullets, others had but one bullet in the head, while still others had received as many as four. Evidence of skull fracture by means of an instrument, apparently the butt of a rifle, was found in 391 cases. The stronger men had their arms and legs bound. Cases of shooting in the forehead as well as the back of the head were recorded.

Of the total 9432 corpses 679 were identified, 468 by their garments, 202 by documents, and 2 by body marks. From the point of view of occupation the identified included 279 peasants, 119 workers, 92 officials, and 189 members of the intelligentsia. Nationally the identified were broken down into 490 Ukrainians, 28 Poles, and 161 uncertain, although the names of the last group suggested almost all the nationalities of the USSR and some from Europe as well.

These basic statistics speak for themselves. Only one place, the garden, was thoroughly examined, for the park and the cemetery were only partially investigated. It is not excluded that many more bodies had been buried in these places. Other localities, which according to the report of the local population, were also scenes of mass murder by the NKVD were not inspected. It was ascertained that other Ukrainian cities that had been regional and district headquarters of the NKVD had also experienced mass executions. Efforts were made to verify the rumors circulating among the population regarding mass graves. Kiev, Odessa, Zhytomir, Berdychiv, Haisyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Krasnodar in the Kuban region, and other places were supposed to be investigated, but chaotic conditions in Ukraine frustrated such endeavors. . .

My companion in the German prison in Potsdam told me that in 1937 instructions were given both to the Communist party and the Komsomol to cleanse the border districts of Ukraine of "enemies of the people." This purge was carried out. The revelations of this former Komsomol both agreed with and supplemented the findings obtained by the committee of investigation.

*I Saw Hell:
Fragment of
Reminiscences**

By Petro Pavlovych

| The local population had known for a long time of the existence of mass graves in Vinnytsia, but was hesitant to discuss the matter.

But finally a group of citizens appeared at city hall and forcefully insisted that the authorities accompany them to Pidlisna Street, the alleged site of the mass graves.

On the 24th of May, 1943, we all went to #1 Pidlisna Street, where a large pear orchard stood enclosed by a tall fence that had been erected earlier.

Eventually we discovered that, according to a resolution of "the restricted section of the presidium of the Vinnytsia City Soviet," dated 1 April, 1939, this area had been withdrawn from the administration of the People's Commissariat of Defense and declared a "forbidden zone." Thereafter, it was patrolled by armies of the NKVD.

At the end of March of 1938, building equipment — boards, bricks, lime, cement — began unexpectedly appearing on the grounds of this orchard. A tall fence was erected and encircled several times with barbed wire. To the left of the gates, a small building could be seen amidst the lush greenery of the orchard. People assumed that a military installation was being constructed.

We began to dig in the area to the right of the main entrance. But after carefully surveying the site, we noticed that the grass distinctly

*Reprinted from *Ovyd*, (May 1950), p. 14.

Peter Pavlovych (original name: Apollon Trembovetskyj) was a former high school teacher in Vinnytsia in the Soviet Ukraine. Under the Nazi occupation of Ukraine he became an editor of the Ukrainian newspaper *Vinnytski Visty* and the author of a book entitled *Zlochyn Moskvy v Vinnytsi* (Crime of Moscow in Vinnytsia), which was published in Vinnytsia in 1943.

delineated almost perfect squares. Thus it happened that the grass indicated to us the contours of the pits, enabling us to distinguish between the natural land formation and the mounds that had been artificially created. As we dug into the earth, we encountered human clothing almost immediately, followed by the pervasive stench of decaying human corpses. After removing the clothing (the corpses were covered by a layer of clothing), we saw human bodies chaotically thrown into the pits.

Thus began the excavations of mass graves of the victims of Bolshevik terror — on the initiative of the Ukrainian population of the city of Vinnytsia.

Initially, the occupying German forces prohibited further excavations, as they wanted total control over the proceedings. However, a special Ukrainian committee, independently of the German authorities, devised their first official report based on the investigation of the corpses found in grave #1.

The Vynnytsya Tragedy: Testimony of An Eye-Witness

By Bishop Sylvester

| In the summer of 1943, I happened to be in Vynnytsya on business about some Church matters and agreed to hold funeral rites over the opened graves. A service was conducted in several spots among them. I listened to numerous official accounts and saw the half-decayed corpses in the wet clay and, in the display window, clothes and household articles.

How can one comprehend the tragedy of a simple school-teacher who fell into the NKVD claws and into the mass grave, together with his notebooks? This indicates that there had not been time to indict and try the arrested. They were given a bullet in the nape of the neck immediately upon being seized. Some of them had clay in their mouths, showing that they were still breathing when buried.

The wet clay transformed the corpses into virtual mummies. It prevented them from decaying or becoming odorous and made them recognizable.

In company with the mayor I was making a tour of two "Parks of Culture and Rest" and the "Old Cemetery." Scarcely one-third of the graves were re-opened and already 5,669 corpses had been interred before my visit, the mayor informed me. The fifteenth funeral took place in my presence. These funerals were witnessed by representatives from fifteen countries. From Roumania Metropolitan Vissarion and Professor Popesky; from Bulgaria, the Dean of a Seminary with several archimandrites; from Greece, Bishop Kalinikos; from Serbia, several

*Reprinted from *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*, Vol. 1. Toronto: Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, 1962, pp. 421-422.

Bishop Sylvester Hayevsky was consecrated as Bishop of Lubny during a secret convocation of the renewed Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kiev, between May 9 and 17 of 1942.

representatives of the clergy. They all saw the horror of the opened graves and heard countless first hand accounts of sadistic communist practices.

Before the NKVD began filling the mass graves with corpses the site was first surrounded by a high board fence, the entrances and exits guarded by NKVD. Where the whole area was pitted the surface was carefully leveled and packed, the board fence replaced with a picket one, and so a "Park of Culture and Rest" came into being.

People were buried in huge groups. The first layer was placed very deep, and covered with a thin layer of earth; on top of that the blood-soaked articles which had belonged to the dead, their clothing and food, and then another thin layer of earth. On this layer lay the two or three men who buried the others, to cover up all evidence, and the pit was filled to the top. Some of the victims had merely lost consciousness when buried. When they revived they breathed and filled their mouths with earth.

The whole operation was conducted hastily and rapidly. The executioners were not concerned with the state of the victims when buried, as long as they were silent.

Such sadistic acts could be committed only by one bereft of all God's Spirit, surpassing even the most savage beast. They could be committed only by one creature — the Godless communist.

*Testimony of the Crime in Vynnytsya**

By
Archbishop Hryhoriy
P. Pavlovych
K. Sybirsky

Correspondent: Would your Excellency tell the listeners what you related during your appearance on television and at the Ukrainian Manifestation.

Archbishop Hryhoriy: I told them I was the Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had been brutally and utterly destroyed by the Soviet regime in Ukraine. The communists liquidated 35 Ukrainian bishops, over two thousand priests and an incalculable number of followers. I myself was persecuted by the communists and I consider it my obligation before God and humanity to reveal here in the free world the horror of the inhuman terror raised by the communists in my native Ukraine.

One such horrible crime was the murder of peaceful residents of the Ukrainian town of Vynnytsya where, in 1943, mass graves were revealed. Some 9,439 corpses of NKVD victims shot between 1937 and 1940 were exhumed. I was the administrative bishop of Vynnytsya and participated in the special commission which uncovered and investigated this crime. I have told the free American citizens about it."

Correspondent: "Did you tell how these graves were uncovered?"

*Reprinted from *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*, Vol. I, Toronto, 1953, pp. 423-429.

On Archbishop Hryhoriy consult notes on Bishop Sylvester, p. 54 and on P. Pavlovych consult p. 52.

Kost Sybirsky was inhabitant of the city of Vinnytsia during the initial stage of the Great Purge. He was arrested in 1937, and after having been held in the N.K.V.D. prison of Vinnytsia for several months, he was sentenced to the Siblag Concentration Camp, from which he escaped in 1943. Together with the editor of *Vinnytski Visty*, Sybirsky was a member of the Vinnytsia Citizens' Committee, which was the first group to uncover the mass graves of this city.

Archbishop Hyhoriy: "Yes. I said that I was asked by representatives of Vynnytsya citizens to take part in the first search of these graves. I told of the morning of May 24, 1943. I, Bishop Evlohiy, the mayor of Vynnytsya, the editor of the local newspaper, doctors and others went into the large pear orchard surrounded by a high board fence. The local residents had suspected that graves were hidden there, but the orchard had belonged to the NKVD and entrance had been prohibited to everyone else. We noticed several depressions in the ground, overgrown with tall grass. We started digging one of these depressions and about three feet down came upon some clothing and shoes. Throwing all this on the surface we beheld a horrible sight; a mass of half-decayed human corpses with their hands tied behind their backs. An examination of the bodies and articles, particularly papers found in the clothing, revealed that these people were arrested by the NKVD in Vynnytsya between 1937 and 1940."

Correspondent: "You spoke about how the excavations were carried out and how the bodies were recognized?"

Archbishop Hyhoriy: "Naturally. I related that the excavations took six months, that in the pear orchard 39 graves were uncovered and 5,644 bodies were exhumed.

When the people read about this in the newspapers a pilgrimage to the uncovered graves began. Those whose relatives had been arrested in the period of 1937 to 1940 identified them by the remnants of clothing or papers and other articles. I know of 682 cases of such identification."

Correspondent: "How many bodies altogether were unearthed in Vynnytsya?"

Archbishop Hyhoriy: "Altogether there were 9,439 bodies dug up out of 95 graves.

Later these victims of communist terror were interred according to Christian tradition. With the participation of huge multitudes of people from all over Ukraine I escorted them on their last journey . . ."

Correspondent: "Thank you kindly, Your Excellency, for your information. Mr. Pavlovich, tell us what you said during your television appearance at the Ukrainian Manifestation about the uncovered graves in Vynnytsya."

Petro Pavlovich: "I was a member of the Ukrainian Commission which was elected by the Ukrainian people to investigate the crimes of Vynnytsya. I gave a detailed account of the investigation by the Commission and what it discovered.

I spoke about the papers found on the bodies; search warrants, tribunal verdicts, receipt documents for the prisoners' goods and money

and other documents which were conclusive evidence that these were victims of communist terror arrested between 1937 and 1940."

Correspondent: "Did you show these documents on television?"

Petro Pavlovich: "Yes. I have here with me the original document, a search warrant of December 23, 1937, of one of the victims. He was my wife's father. I have saved this document as a sacred memento of a departed relative. He was a farmer and left behind a wife and six children, whose photograph I also showed on television. Besides this paper my mother-in-law found his footwear and an initialed handkerchief."

Correspondent: "What did you say about the investigations of the bodies?"

Petro Pavlovich: "Our Ukrainian doctors, who conducted autopsies, concluded that the bodies had been buried from three to five years.

The published protocol stated the following deductions:

1. Death resulted from shots from small fire-arms.
2. Every corpse had a bullet hole in the nape of the neck and the bullets remained lodged in the brain.
3. The bullet hole was blackened with gun-powder, as usually happens when a shot is made at close range.
4. Slant of the bullets' travel showed that at the time of the shooting the prisoners were on their knees with their heads bent low and their hands tied behind their backs.

These facts, with details, were later corroborated by the International Commission made up of representatives from eleven European countries.

The Commission also declared that many prisoners had been buried alive because earth was found in their throats and stomachs."

Correspondent: "What other details of the Commissioner's investigation did you mention?"

Petro Pavlovich: "I told them that on the basis of the documents discovered and the bodies identified by relatives it was established that most of the executed victims were farmers and laborers; for instance out of the five hundred identified in my presence 212 were farmers, 82 laborers, 77 professional and office workers, 16 army men and 4 priests.

Not one of the families questioned could tell us what offense their relative was charged with when arrested. But my countryman, Kost Sybirsky, who was arrested and imprisoned in Vynnytsya prison at that time, will be able to tell you more."

Correspondent: "Mr. Sybirsky, you also testified on television and at the Ukrainian manifestation."

Kost Sybirsky: "Yes, I told of the terror in Vynnytsya in 1937 when every night the gloomy closed cars scoured the deserted streets carrying arrested victims to NKVD quarters which then occupied the whole of Dzerzhynsky Street.

One of these cars came to my home and they arrested me in spite of the rights promised me in the Constitution, and without any grounds. In searching my premises they found a book, "Ten Days which Shook the World," by an American author, John Reed. This book depicted the events of the October Revolution and in his time Lenin stated in the foreword that it was a "mirror of the Revolution." Later, the facts as stated in the book did not coincide with Stalin's version of history and the book was prohibited.

In the small Vynnytsya prison built for 3,000 convicts there were 18,000 of us. The NKVD worked feverishly. People were tried by the Military Tribunal, a Special Commission, and mainly by the "Special Council of the NKVD College." The latter considered the case in the absence of the defendant.

Correspondent: "Being arrested in 1937 you obviously knew many who were shot and whose bodies were found in the mass graves."

Kost Sybirsky: "Yes. Many of my cell-mates were shot. Every night at 2:30 A.M., 12 to 30 men were called out from each cell to the cellar under the NKVD garage where mass shooting took place. To deafen the gun reports two or three large motors were left running, but even through the din of running motors we could hear the shots and screams.

I had been sentenced to Siblåg concentration camp from which I managed to escape and return to Vynnytsya in 1943. I tried to locate the graves of my friends who had been arrested in 1937, and soon found them in three large burial grounds on Pidlisna Street, in the park and in the cemetery.

I also told of a fact well-known to me. When the communists returned to Vynnytsya in 1944, Rapoport, the last NKVD chief, announced that all those who had remained during the German occupation were required to appear. From these they picked out the ones who had identified their relatives dug up from the mass graves. Thus, they collected two hundred people, shot them and threw them into the open pits.

I finished with these words: "Terror is an integral part of the communist system and can be curbed only by the destruction of bolshevism."

Correspondent: "Thank you all for your information and best wishes for success in your future activities."

Interview with an Eyewitness in August 1987

By Ihor Kamenetsky

The person interviewed* is one of the few witnesses left of those who were actively involved in an exploration of the mass graves of Vinnytsia between May and November of 1943 when they were first discovered by the local Ukrainian authorities and then excavated under the supervision of the German Medical Commission. Both in his capacity of an official interpreter of the City Self-Government of Vinnytsia and a correspondent to the local Ukrainian newspaper *Vinnytski Visty*, he was in a unique position to learn firsthand about the findings connected with the mass graves of Vinnytsia.

Editor: In order to secure data on the background of the victims discovered in the mass graves of Vinnytsia, what sources were used by your paper, the *Vinnytski Visty*?

Witness: The Editorial Staff of the *Vinnytski Visty* received information on this topic directly from the German Commission, and later from the International Commission as additional current data became available on the basis of the diggings.

Editor: How was the nationality of the victims identified and publicized?

Witness: The nationality of those victims that could be identified, in most cases was established on the basis of documents found with them or buried in separate graves nearby. Beginning with the time when the exhumation of the bodies began, the nationality origin was indicated in the lists of the identified victims published periodically by the *Vinnytski Visty*.

Editor: Do the lists of the victims published in the *Vinnytski Visty* and later in the German "Official Report on the Identified Victims" rep-

*The person wishes to remain anonymous.

resent a reliable source for the differentiation of the victims along the line of nationalities or ethnic groups?

Witness: No. As a whole, I think they are not reliable. Two or three weeks after the exhumation work in Vinnytsia had begun, the German occupation authorities severely limited an identification of the nationality of the victims, mainly due to an order by Erich Koch, Reichskommissar of Ukraine. The editorial staff of the *Vinnytski Visty* was summoned to the office of the local German authority, the *Gebietskommissariat*, to be told that from now on the nationality of the victims categorically should go unpublished if it happened to concern the Russians, the Jews, or the Gypsies. They instructed the staff to identify only two nationalities, namely those of the Poles and Ukrainians, and to list all others as "nationality unknown." This rule also applied to the official German lists of identified victims, with the exception that the entry for "nationality unknown" was simply ignored and replaced by a blank. As this restriction formally applied only to publishing an identification of certain nationalities and ethnic groups, the editors of the *Vinnytski Visty*, Mykhailo Zerov and Apollon Trembovetskyi, continued to register the evidence pertaining to the background of the victims on their own lists. I do not know if some of these lists survived the war, and if so, where they might be located. Having been an interpreter at most of the exhumations, however, I do remember that among the bodies found there were besides the Ukrainians and Poles also Russians, Jews, Hungarians, and even one Japanese well known in Vinnytsia as a physical education instructor employed by the "House of the Red Army."

Editor: What was the social background of most of the victims?

Witness: In so far as the social stratification of the Ukrainian victims was concerned, about 70% of them were either peasants or agricultural workers.

Editor: Were you or the editorial staff of *Vinnytski Visty* ever aware of other burial grounds in Vinnytsia besides those officially mentioned by the German authorities?

Witness: No. The only thing I can be sure about is that in Vinnytsia alone, until September, 1943, the mass graves were uncovered in three sites: in the orchard near the Lityn Highway, in the Park of Culture and Rest, and in the Orthodox Cemetery near the hospital by the name of Pirogov. To my knowledge, there were no other excavations.

Editor: How did the Soviet authorities react to the Vinnytsia mass graves after they returned to this city in March, 1944?

Witness: I can judge this situation from the accounts of an acquaintance of mine from Vinnytsia, whom I met again in a Displaced Person Camp in Neu-Ulm, West Germany, in 1946, where I was an interpreter. As a Red Army soldier who had been stationed in East Germany, he came to ask for political asylum in the West. I recognized him right away because he had resided in Vinnytsia during the German occupation when I had been there. In my role as an interpreter, I brought him to the American military officer in charge of the new arrivals and was able to identify him officially during a brief interview. Meeting him again a little later during an informal conversation within a camp circle of interested compatriots of which I was one, we listened with fascination to the entire account of his turbulent experiences.

Among other things, he related that while being in hiding for a few days in March, 1944, he had witnessed the return of the Soviet authorities in Vinnytsia for a few days. After having been caught and drafted into the Red Army, he revisited Vinnytsia for a few months between 1945 and 1946. During the latter occasion, he looked up the sites of the mass graves.

He told us that the issue of the mass graves dating back to the Great Purge of 1936-38 was wrapped in silence. As far as he could observe it during his return, no public charges were brought up against those who had been involved in the exploration of the graves during the Nazi occupation. However, he observed something else that startled him when he revisited the burial site of the victims near the Lityn Highway. Almost immediately after the end of the World War II, the Soviet authorities had erected a huge monument there on the Christian re-burial ground of the victims. What he saw was an obelisk of a kind, on which was inscribed in the Russian language something like this:

"IN MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF THE BLOODY GERMAN
FASCISTS. THEY LOST THEIR LIVES THROUGH THE GERMAN
HENCHMEN DURING THE OCCUPATION OF 1941-1944."

His account reminds us that disinformation and deceit have been the favored Bolshevik methods used repeatedly in covering up an embarrassing situation.

*Funeral Eulogy Delivered
at Vinnytsia
October 3, 1943**

By Archbishop Hryhoriy

¶ Editor's note: On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine and the tenth anniversary of the excavations of Vinnytsia, *The Orthodox Ukrainian* (Detroit, Michigan) reprinted the funeral eulogy delivered by Archbishop Hryhoriy in Vinnytsia at the nineteenth funeral service for the victims of the Bolshevik terror. At that time, Hryhoriy was Bishop of the Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia eparchies. The following text represents a shortened version.

Today, for the 19th consecutive time, we have gathered on this sad and solemn occasion at this scene of terror in order to lift our hearts and voices in collective prayer for the departed souls of the finest sons and daughters of Ukraine, whom the world's blood thirstiest tyrant has brutally destroyed and thrown into these infernal pits. . . .

Concealing the traces of their abominable crime, the assassins threw all of the victims' belongings into the pits along with their bodies: clothing, documents, religious artifacts confiscated at the time of arrest (of priests and others). Lime was scattered over the bodies to facilitate decay and camouflage the odor. But the right hand of God remained hidden from the murderers, for they were blinded and in no condition

*Reprinted from *The Orthodox Ukrainian X* (May 1953). First published in *Vinnytski Visty*, October 4, 1943.

Archbishop Hryhoriy Ohychuk became Bishop of Zhytomyr following the consecration rites and procedures sponsored by the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kiev at the same time. He was arrested by the German occupation authorities and kept in prison for eight months. After his release from prison in May, 1943, he became an administrative bishop of the city of Vinnytsia, and in this capacity he was asked to participate in the Citizens' Commission of the City of Vinnytsia which initiated the exhumations of the mass graves. See: Osyp Zinkewych and Andrew Sorokowsky, eds. *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine. An Encyclopedic Chronology*. New York: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1988, pp. 229-230.

to recognize it. Yet God has revealed this crime for all the world to see in order to comprehend the true nature of the communists' "paradise," the true meaning of a "happy and prosperous" communist life and what precisely its foundation consists of.

But my beloved brethren, we are only dealing now with Vinnytsia, where we have unearthed 9,439 of the finest of our people. How many more such infernal pits have torn asunder the Ukrainian land. Yes, every village, even the smallest town, not to speak of major cities, can boast of these hideous pits. And how many of these pits cover the wide steppes and forests of Siberia, the Solovetsky islands, the Kuzbas, of Kolyma, where lie the remains of the heroic sons of our nation? . . .

But this is the blood of martyrs, these are the tears of innocent children and mothers — they shall not flow in vain! Liberation will come! Divine retribution will occur! . . .

When I contemplate these sacred, mutilated bodies, these bound hands and limbs, and realize what torment they suffered before dying, a chilling numbness overtakes me. And this crime was perpetrated upon the most innocent, honest people; hardworking, hungry and tattered people who worked on the collective farms (kolhosps), in factories and various institutions, submissively laboring to produce the assigned quotas. At this, I am reminded of these words: "What have I done to make you beat me? Is it for feeding you with manna and fish, or for squeezing water from desert stones for the thirsty, or for healing the sick?"

In the same manner we should ask these torturers — what have our sons and daughters done to deserve this, what deed can condone this brutal crime against these hardworking folk? The answer to this question is deceptively simple. Their "crime" was their honesty and piety, their overriding love of God and their homeland, and their attempt to defend the religious and national ideals of their country in the name of freedom.

Thus it becomes disheartening to witness self-proclaimed Christians, members of the civilized world and spokesmen of democratic freedoms sanction the bloody deeds of these murderers as they fall victim to the delusions of communism. Are they totally unaware of the destruction of churches and cultural monuments in our land? Are they ignorant of the tragic deaths of seven million of our people by means of artificial famine, or the execution of 35 Ukrainian Orthodox bishops, thousands of priests and countless faithful? Are they oblivious to the fact that prisons and concentration camps throughout this entire Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are filled with our people? . . .

Dearly beloved, we had intended to construct a monument at this holy site — a majestic temple as a contribution for the repose of the departed souls. Thanks to the generosity of our people, more than the sufficient amount of funds has already been collected. But apparently this project is not destined to be completed or even begun at the present time. However, we firmly believe that a time will come when a temple shall be erected here at this site to honor all of these holy martyrs, and within it, an eternal vigil of prayers for the dead souls shall be raised in supplication to the Lord. This sanctuary will acquire universal significance, for the faithful from all corners of the earth shall flock here to pay respects to these sanctified remains.

In the name of the Church, let us salute them one last time; let us perpetually pray to the Almighty. For now, this can be our only gift to them, for their untimely departure from this life not only tore them unexpectedly from their families, but also prevented them from partaking of a final confession or the Last Sacrament. . . . A time will come when our people shall be rid of this yoke and will finally breathe freely in their own land. We owe our faith that this will come to pass, to these holy martyrs who have reached the kingdom of God and collectively pray for us now at the altar of the Almighty.

For this redemption, let us today offer them our final respects and sing a hymn of prayer — May we always remember, Amen.

*Testimony Before the Committee
on Un-American Activities,
U.S. House of Representatives:
The Crimes of Khrushchev,
Part 2. **

First-hand accounts of the mass murder and terror perpetrated by Khrushchev, together with authenticated photographs of his victims, are revealed in the accompanying consultations with nine witnesses who appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Petro Pavlovych, former editor of a newspaper in a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa, described the atrocities committed there at the time Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Central Committee to the Communist Party in Ukraine.

In respect to the connection of Khrushchev with the massacres of Vinnitsa, Mr. Pavlovych stated:

All activity of the NKVD and other terror mechanisms were completely in Khrushchev's hands and, specifically, the purges and mass murders were by party order which he promulgated.

Dr. Ivan M. Malinin, who as a member of an official commission performed autopsies on the bodies found in mass graves in Vinnitsa, was asked whether certain photographs accurately portray the scenes when the bodies were discovered. He replied:

Yes; but these photographs cannot begin to portray the screams, the stench in the air, and the emotion which permeated the air as the relatives of these innocent victims went from body to body undertaking to identify their loved ones.

Dr. Malinin continued:

May I emphasize that the events that occurred at Vinnitsa stagger the imagination with their revolting inhumanity. The Vinnitsa massacres occurred only in one area at one time. But they were repeated ad nauseum throughout Ukraine during Khrushchev's regime

*Reprinted from U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Hearings*, Washington, D.C., September 9-11, 1959, pp. 1-3; 17-20; 3-32.

Nicholas Prychodko, who observed first hand the famine of the Ukraine in 1930-33, detailed the horrible scenes of starvation during Khrushchev's regime in that area caused by the seizure by the Communists of the crops.

His testimony continued as follows:

Mr. Arens: In your own words, give us a description of that famine and tell us who was in charge of perpetration of the famine?

Mr. Prychodko: It is very difficult to describe in a few words the picture of that terrible famine during those years, but I would like to mention a few facts which I observed myself.

First, I observed covered wagons moving along the street on which I lived and also on other streets in Kiev. They were hauling corpses for disposal. These were peasants who flocked to the cities for some crust of bread. I saw thousands of those country men — men, women, and children wandering along Kievan streets looking for some food. My personal friend, Dr. X — I cannot name him because he is behind the Iron Curtain — he was a surgeon at a hospital in Ukraine. He called me to show me something unusual. He put a white frock on me, just as he was in a white frock, and we went outside to a very large garage in the hospital area. He and I entered it. When he switched on the light, I saw maybe 2,000 to 3,000 corpses laid along the walls.

Mr. Arens: What caused the death of these people?

Mr. Prychodko: Starvation.

Mr. Arens: Who caused the starvation?

Mr. Prychodko: The starvation was due to the police and the brigades under orders from Moscow.

Mr. Arens: What caused the famine?

Mr. Prychodko: When the Germans came to Kiev, we found some statistics in hiding places in the cellar of the Academy of Sciences. They revealed that the food in 1932 was sufficient to feed all Ukrainians for 2 years and 4 months. But, except for about 10 percent, the crop was immediately dispatched from the threshing machines for export and parts outside of Ukraine. That was the cause of hunger.

Mr. Arens: Why did the Communist regime seize the crops in Ukraine during this period?

Mr. Prychodko: Because at all times there was some kind of discontent and various kinds of resistance to the Communist government in Ukraine and the collectivization drive of Moscow.

Mr. Arens: What connection did Khrushchev have with this starvation, this man-made famine, in Ukraine?

Mr. *Pycho*dko: At that time Khrushchev became a very trusted man of Stalin.

Mr. Arens: What did Khrushchev have to do with the man-made famine?

Mr. *Pycho*dko: As I said, at that time he became a very trusted man of Stalin and was in Ukraine then as one of the esteemed executors of Stalin's genocide of the Ukrainian population.

Mr. Arens: How many people were starved to death by this man-made famine in Ukraine in the thirties?

Mr. *Pycho*dko: It is estimated to be 6 to 7 million, most of whom were peasants.

I have witnessed here today the photographs which these gentlemen have exhibited to the committee of the bodies of people who were massacred by Khrushchev's agents in the community of Vinnitsa.

I would not for a moment minimize the horror of this scene, but I would remind the committee that the inhumanities which I witnessed are even more terrifying because the people who were massacred at Vinnitsa died at least — well, most of them — suddenly and by relatively quick methods. Their suffering can hardly be compared, terrible as it was, to the suffering of the millions upon millions who met their death in Ukraine by a deliberate process of slow starvation.

Mr. *Pycho*dko also detailed the atrocities of Khrushchev committed in 1938 as follows:

In January of 1938, he was sent as a dictator of Ukraine* and no tariff in human life could be made without an order of the secretary general of the Communist Party, who was Khrushchev.

At that time, I remember being in Kiev and Khrushchev arrived with a very big score of NKVD men from Moscow. They called a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At that meeting they were surrounded by the people Khrushchev brought from Moscow and there was an interruption of that meeting at noontime. For example, the head of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat asked to go home; he shot his wife, himself, and tried to shoot his son.

There was a tremendous purge all over Ukraine which followed the arrival of Khrushchev.

Constantin Kononenko, substantiating the testimony respecting the mass starvation in Ukraine, testified:

Although Khrushchev may today properly assess against Stalin the basic decision that there was to be a mass starvation in Ukraine, Khrushchev cannot obliterate the historical fact that he was actually the perpetrator of the details of his man-made famine; that he, Khrushchev, was the one who carried out the basic policy of Stalin pursuant to which millions of human beings were deprived knowingly, premeditatedly, of the food which

they themselves had raised. Khrushchev cannot disassociate himself from the blood and misery of this awful epoch in the history of Ukraine, in which he directly, actively, and knowingly participated as the chief engineer of the policy announced by his then chief, Stalin.

In 1930, Khrushchev was not yet then a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. By 1934, he became a full-fledged member of the Central Committee.

There is no doubt that in order to become a full-fledged member of the Central Committee, Khrushchev had to prove to Stalin that he was worthy of this promotion. This he did in executing the man-made famine policy in Ukraine.

Mykola Lebed testified respecting the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population conducted by Khrushchev beginning in 1944 as follows:

Mr. Lebed: After his return in 1944 to Ukraine, Khrushchev and his subordinates started the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population which previously was under German occupation. Especially the persecutions against the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were begun.

The Chairman: Do you, Mr. Pavlovych, solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Pavlovych: I do.

STATEMENT OF PETRO PAVLOVYCH (NOM DE PLUME)

Mr. Arens: Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Pavlovych: My full and real name is Apollon Trembow.* My address is Post Office Box 52, Orrtanna, Pa. I am a former high school teacher and journalist; and now I am a registered practical nurse at the Samuel Dixon State Hospital in South Mountain, Pa. I am an editorial author of the two volumes, titled "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book" (Toronto, 1953).

Mr. Arens: You are presently a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Pavlovych: I have been a citizen of the United States since June 1965.

Mr. Arens: Mr. Pavlovych, have you ever been a resident of a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa?

Mr. Pavlovych: Yes, from 1933 to the start of the second war, I was in Vinnitsa.

**Editor's note:* In this document, Mr. Trembow not only refers to his assumed name of Pavlovych but also to his name of Trembowezky.

Mr. Arens: What was your employment when you were a resident of Vinnitsa?

Mr. Pavlovych: From 1933 until the war started, I was a high school teacher.

Mr. Arens: Then after the war started in what occupation did you engage?

Mr. Pavlovych: From 1942 to 1943 I worked as an editor of a Vinnitsa newspaper.

Mr. Arens: Were you present as a resident in Vinnitsa in Ukraine when there occurred the massacre of a number of the citizenry of that area?

Mr. Pavlovych: Yes. On May 24, 1943, we of the Ukrainian Commission To Investigate the Vinnitsa Killings went to Pidlisna Street No. 1. We discovered mass graves and we looked for bodies. We knew very well some areas in Vinnitsa where there were mass graves. Many witnesses told us about graves in three places.

By permission, I repeat again, by permission, not by proposition as German officials held, we went into these areas and looked for the graves. Dr. Doroshenko, Professor-Dr. Malinin, Dr. Klunk, Professor Savostianov, Editor Trembowezky, Bishop Evlohij, Bishop Hryhorij, Mr. Mamontoff, Mr. Sibirsky, Mr. Midrest, and myself opened the first graves.

Mr. Arens: In 1937, were you living in Vinnitsa?

Mr. Pavlovych: Yes.

Mr. Arens: Can you tell us from your own experience and observations if there were any unusual occurrences which took place at that time?

Mr. Pavlovych: About the summer of 1937 and the spring of 1938, the NKVD arrested many citizens in Vinnitsa. Many of the people who worked together — as in my school, the school director — were arrested. My father-in-law and many, many other people were arrested without reason.

The Communists sent in the NKVD who arrested thousands and thousands of people. My mother-in-law and wife sent many letters to the government and asked why her husband and father were arrested. The answer they got was the usual coverup: "He has been arrested because he is a people's enemy — enemy of the people."

In 1938, the last petition went to the Central Committee, to Nikita Khrushchev. My mother-in-law remembered this very well. The answer she received: "By order of Nikita Khrushchev, we answer to you," and the answer was the same.

At that time, the people did not understand what was going on. They did not understand why so many were arrested, especially Ukrainians, those of Polish descent — half Polish, half Ukrainian — and many Jewish people who were arrested in our town as well as in other towns within the Vinnitsa Province.

On May 24, 1943, we discovered in concrete what happened in our town. People were sent to Siberia and many of them in our town were murdered.

Mr. Arens: What were the reasons for this mass terror and murder by Stalin and Khrushchev in 1937 and 1938?

Mr. *Pavlovych*: Only an analysis of political events in Ukraine can enable us to understand why Stalin and Khrushchev killed so many people in 1937-38.

In the period of January 25-31, 1937, the 14th Soviet conference was held in Ukraine and the new Stalin constitution was applied to Ukraine. From May 27 to June 3, 1937, the 13th party conference took place in Ukraine. In 1938, from June 13 to 18, the 14th party conference of Ukraine was held, at which time Khrushchev became the first secretary. On June 26, 1938, followed his election to the supreme Soviet government in Ukraine. By October 22, 1939, Khrushchev took over the western section of Ukraine.

If you analyze these points you find it easy to answer your question. Stalin sent Khrushchev to clean up Ukraine of its anti-Soviet and patriotic, nationalist elements and also of elements that would be against Khrushchev's party power in Ukraine.

Between 1937 and 1938 this happened in all of Russian-occupied Ukraine. In September 1939 and August 1940, the Red army went into the rest of Ukraine, then under Poland and Rumania, respectively.

Mr. Arens: After these kidnappings and murders which you have just described in your community, which took place under Khrushchev's administration in 1937 and 1938,* when was the fact of these kidnappings and murders made known to the free world?

Mr. *Pavlovych*: In 1943, when the German army occupied Ukraine. They occupied it originally in 1941. It had been in the hands of the Russians up to that time. In 1943 there were no Russian armies in Ukraine. The graves were discovered in 1943. Many people who knew something about these graves were afraid to tell because they were afraid that the Russians might come back and finish them off.

**Editor's note*: Khrushchev held a position in Moscow during the first two years of the Great Purge. Only in January 1938 he was selected by Stalin as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Mr. Arens: What happened then to reveal and make known the extent of the massacres under Khrushchev's regime?

Mr. Paulovych: The disclosures were made by Ukrainian administration and initiative. The German Government gave its permission. This happened on May 24, 1943, in the orchards on Pidlisna Street No. 1. The Ukrainian commission worked all the time alongside the German commission.

Mr. Arens: How many graves were discovered?

Mr. Paulovych: During the period from May 24 to October 7, we discovered on Pidlisna Street, 39 graves. One was empty; 5,644 bodies were in them.

Then, in the Orthodox Cemetery, 42 graves, 2,405 bodies; and in the Park of Culture and Recreation — we call it Gorky Park — 14 graves, 1,390 bodies.

Mr. Arens: How many bodies were discovered in all?

Mr. Paulovych: 9,439.

Mr. Arens: In how many mass graves?

Mr. Paulouych: Ninety-five graves altogether.

Mr. Arens: Were photographs taken of the bodies and of the graves?

Mr. Pavlouych: Yes.

Mr. Arens: Do you now have with you photographs taken at Vinnitsa of the bodies of some of the persons who were massacred under Khrushchev's regime in that area?

Mr. Paulouych: Yes.

Here is a photograph taken by a Ukrainian correspondent, Janushewich, in June 1943 at Vinnitsa.

Mr. Arens: Were you present when that photograph was taken?

Mr. Pavlouych: Yes. I was not only there, but I am in the photograph. I am the third person from the right.

These are the bodies from just one grave.

Mr. Arens: Who are the persons standing there with you in the photograph?

Mr. Pavlovych: These are mostly peasant women who came from surrounding villages to identify the bodies.

Here is another photograph. I personally took this photograph.

Mr. Arens: Will you describe now what is in the photograph and where it was taken?

Mr. Pavlovych: It shows the bodies of victims from another mass grave in the city.

Here is another photograph which depicts a view of one of the mass graves which I observed at the time.

Mr. Pavlovych: Here are three more photographs typical of the horrible scenes which I observed at the time.

Mr. Pavlovych: May I point out that in these photographs, the bodies are being surveyed by workers and relatives who are trying to identify their loved ones.

As you will see, I have with me today a number of other photographs, some of which are so horrible as to defy adequate description, but I believe you will agree I have given you here a sufficient glimpse into the brutal reality of the massacres which I beheld with my own eyes, and which I shall never forget.

Mr. Arens: How many of these 9,439 bodies were identifiable and identified?

Mr. Pavlovych: 676.

Mr. Arens: Give us in just a word please, sir, the classification or type of identification which was developed.

Mr. Pavlovych: From these 676 bodies, we were able to classify most of them as follows: Peasants, including collective farm workers, 338; nonfarm workers, 112; clerks, 98; specialists and professionalists, 36; preachers, 4; military men, 16. The others we do not know about.

Mr. Arens: Of these bodies, 169 were women?

Mr. Pavlovych: Yes. But we were able to identify only 20 of these women. Five women whom we identified were killed at the same time with their husbands. I have their names. They were killed at the same time their husbands were killed.

Mr. Arens: Mr. Pavlovych, you have described here with great emotion, may I say, the atrocities committed in the community in which you lived, Vinnitsa. Now I ask you, what connection did Khrushchev have with the perpetration of these atrocities?

Mr. Pavlovych: The connection of Khrushchev with the massacres at this time not only in my community of Vinnitsa, but in many other areas of Ukraine, was simply this: that Khrushchev was at the time the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine, which was the seat of all political power in that area. All activity of the NKVD and other terror mechanisms were completely in Khrushchev's hands and, specifically, the purges and mass murders were by party order which he promulgated.

Mr. Arens: Why?

Mr. Pavlovych: Because these poor souls were suspected by Khrushchev's terror organizations of being unreliable elements. They were deemed unreliable by Khrushchev's terror organizations because they loved their Ukrainian land and had burning in their hearts a spirit of

nationalism; because they evidenced resistance to the collectivization whereby their farms had been taken from them; because they had evidenced other human characteristics of freedom-aspiring people.

Mr. Arens: How did the Khrushchev regime in Ukraine attempt to maintain secrecy in regard to its terrorism?

Mr. Pavlovych: The Vinnitsa tragedy is a good example of attempted secrecy. Mass graves were found in an old, unkept cemetery.

Graves were also found in the Park of Rest and Culture, which was built over the remains of an old Roman Catholic cemetery.

My third point is that graves were found in zones that were declared off limits under the pretext of military significance.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Pavlovych.

The Chairman: Mr. Malinin, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Malinin: I do.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. DR. NAN M. MALININ

Mr. Arens: Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Malinin: I am Prof. Dr. Ivan M. Malinin. My present residence is in Beckley, W.Va., where I am employed as a pathologist at Beckley Hospital.

Mr. Arens: Dr. Malinin, are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Malinin: Yes; I am a citizen of the United States.

Mr. Arens: Have you ever lived in a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa?

Mr. Malinin: I arrived in Vinnitsa in early 1943 and left the city in October of 1943.

Mr. Arens: What occasioned your visit to Vinnitsa in 1943?

Mr. Malinin: I went to Vinnitsa after having been arrested by the NKVD in June of 1942. I was accused in a criminal court but succeeded in escaping imprisonment. I escaped to Vinnitsa.

Mr. Arens: What was the nature of the offense charged against you by the NKVD?

Mr. Malinin: The accusation was counter-revolutionary activity for the purpose of the overthrow of the Soviet regime.

Mr. Arens: Did you in fact participate in any such activities?

Mr. Malinin: No.

Mr. Arens: In **1943**, did you participate in a medical commission which was charged with the responsibility of examining bodies which had been discovered in mass graves in the Vinnitsa community?

Mr. Malinin: Yes. When I arrived in Vinnitsa in **1943**, the city was full of rumors of the possibility of various graves located around the city. When I was introduced to Professor Savostianov, who was mayor of the city, I personally insisted that an excavation take place, and, after a term of negotiation, permission was received from the German authorities to excavate. Unofficially, prior to my official commission, I personally performed autopsies on 228 bodies.

Mr. Arens: Where were the mass graves located?

Mr. Malinin: There were three locations of the mass graves.

The first was in the immediate proximity of the NKVD Building in the so-called Park of Rest and Culture. The second was at the edge of the city cemetery. And the third was in the special rest garden which belonged to the NKVD and was located outside the city. This last place was equipped with a shooting gallery for practice shooting by local members of the NKVD.

Mr. Arens: How many bodies were exhumed from these mass graves?

Mr. Malinin: There were **9,439**. This number included **160** women. These bodies were packed in the graves in mass layers.

Mr. Arens: On how many bodies did you perform autopsies?

Mr. Malinin: Prior to the arrival of the German commission, I performed autopsies on 228 bodies. Since the arrival of the German commission and also the international commission, I continuously performed autopsies. I do not have the precise number but it is approximately **1,000**.

Mr. Arms: Did the autopsies show the approximate time of the execution?

Mr. Malinin: The bodies, according to medical examination, varied in the length of burial from **3** to **5** years, since the lowest layers of the bodies were much more decomposed and obviously the upper layers had been placed there after the lower bodies were buried.

Mr. Arens: Did this indicate that some of the bodies were massacred during the time that Khrushchev was secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine?

Mr. Malinin: Yes.

Mr. Arms: Was the manner in which the person was executed revealed in the autopsy?

Mr. Malinin: The autopsies indicated that the methods used for execution were the standard methods used by the NKVD, a small caliber pistol discharged into the area of the medulla.

Mr. Arens: Did your autopsy reveal any evidence that some of the victims had been buried alive?

Mr. Malinin: Yes.

Mr. Arens: What was the nature of the evidence which caused you to reach that conclusion?

Mr. Malinin: There was dirt detected in the organs.

Mr. Arens: I show you additional photographs which were provided earlier this afternoon by another witness as well as photographs taken at the scene of the atrocities. I ask you whether these photographs truly, honestly, and accurately portray the scenes at Vinnitsa when the bodies were discovered.

Mr. Malinin: Yes; but these photographs cannot begin to portray the screams, the stench in the air, and the emotion which permeated the air as the relatives of these innocent victims went from body to body undertaking to identify their loved ones.

Mr. Arens: What nationalities, Doctor, were represented in the corpses on which you performed autopsies?

Mr. Malinin: The majority of those executed, according to found documents, were the local population of Ukraine, but there were also Russians, Poles, and even some Jews.

Mr. Arens: Doctor, could these atrocities in the community of Vinnitsa and, as I understand, elsewhere in Ukraine, have been committed while Khrushchev was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine without his knowledge and direction?

Mr. Malinin: All these mass murders were known to any first secretary of any large administrative unit and he participated or, at least, tacitly approved without exception.

Mr. Arens: Is there anything else, Doctor?

Mr. Malinin: May I emphasize that the events that occurred at Vinnitsa stagger the imagination with their revolting inhumanity. The Vinnitsa massacres occurred only in one area at one time. but they were repeated ad nauseum throughout Ukraine during Khrushchev's regime.

I have here a photograph of a skull which I examined. It portrays the inhuman, bestial manner in which Khrushchev's agents murdered these innocent victims in Vinnitsa. This photograph shows a skull which obviously had been crushed by some heavy instrument, perhaps

a rifle butt. Also, may I conclude that many of the bodies showed that the victims were bound by string.

Mr. Arens: An earlier witness also provided these two additional photographs which show the methods used by Khrushchev to entrench his tyranny in Ukraine.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Dr. Malinin.

PART III

EVALUATIONS
AND COMPARISONS

Who Were These 'Enemies of the People'?

(A Categorization of the Identified Victims According
to their Occupation, on the Basis of Statistics
Available by August 30, 1943.)*

By Apollon Trembovetskyi

Editor's Comment: Apollon Trembovetskyi was one of the editors of *Vinnytski Visty* at the time of the exhumations in Vinnytsia. In his book he provides, among other things, a breakdown along social lines of the identified victims of the mass graves in Vinnytsia. By using such categories as "Peasants," "Workers," and "Clerks and Office Workers" in categorizing the background of the first five hundred identified victims, Trembovetskyi created the impression that to an overwhelming degree the victims had been the common people. Even though such an impression is not altogether incorrect, there is no evidence that the persons classified as peasants and workers really represented only simple folk from the bottom of the Soviet society. It should be observed that under various subcategories he also listed a relatively large number of persons characterized by an independent income and a more independent judgement, such as private farmers, brigadeers, administrators, and craftsmen. In contrast to the victims in Katyn and Ulla, who had predominantly been members of the upper and middle class, the victims in Vinnytsia were indeed of a more humble social status, but within the stratified society of the U.S.S.R., many of them could be considered *de facto* as members of the rural elite.

In accordance with the data available until August 30, 1943, Trembovetskyi classified the identified victims as follows: Peasants: 212; Workers: 82; Clerks and Office Workers: 52; Specialists and Professionals: 26; Military Personnel: 15; Clergy: 4.

Since he did indicate a total number of identified 500 victims, yet in accordance with their occupations, listed only a total of 391 victims,

*Reprinted from *Zlochyn u Vinnytsi* (Crime in Vinnytsia). Vinnytsia: "Vinnytski Visty," 1943, p. 18.

we must assume that the remaining victims were only identified by name. possibly because not all of them could be identified in terms of their occupation. or because their occupation (such as that of housewives) was considered irrelevant. Further. the apparent discrepancy between the total number of identified victims cited by Trembovetskyi and that cited in other documents included in this volume may be explained by the fact that he referred to a relatively short period of time. namely May 25 to August 30.1943. whereas some of the German documentation. for example. referred to the body count during the entire period of excavation from May till October. 1943.

The following categories represent a breakdown of the figures cited by Trembovetskyi. in accordance with the identified occupations:

<i>Peasants</i> (212)	
Collective farmers	163
Private farmers	33
Brigadeers (foremen of collective farms)	6
Custodians and watchmen	3
Gardeners.....	2
Foresters.....	1
Budget specialists.....	1
Administrators	1
Stable boys	1
Bee keepers.....	1
<i>Workers</i> (82)	
Unskilled laborers	40
Railway workers	10
Blacksmiths.....	4
Drivers	3
Locksmiths	3
Shoemakers	3
Road construction workers	2
Joiners (cabinet makers).....	2
Tailors.....	2
Barbers.....	1
Cooks	1
Telegraph operators	1
Railroad locksmiths	1
Bakers	1
Masons	1
Engine drivers	1
Millers	1
Pest controllers	1

Mechanics	1
Lumbermen	1
Pitmen	1
Director of confectionery	1
<i>Clerks and Officer Workers (52)</i>	
Unspecified officer workers	27
Accountants	13
Directors of machine tractor station	3
Inspectors	3
Salesmen	2
Bank inspectors	1
Station masters	1
Trade inspectors	1
Director of sugar factory	1
<i>Specialists and Professionals (26)</i>	
Teachers	8
Military veterinaries	6
Engineers	3
Veterinaries	3
School principals	1
Midwives	1
Land surveyors	1
Military technicians	1
Director of bacteriological laboratory	1
Judges	1
<i>Military Personnel (Ed.: unspecified): (15)</i>	
<i>Clergy (4)</i>	
Priests	4

*On The Fourth Anniversary of Vinnytsia**

By Leonid Lyman

In the unforgotten summer of 1943, the Podilian city of Vinnytsia, where the paths of Ukraine's tragic history had often crossed, became marked as the city of terror and death. In early June, excavations of mass graveyards began along the Litynsky highway on the outskirts of the city. Buried within were the strangely mutilated bodies of over ten thousand ordinary people (civilians), or in the terminology of a certain northeastern imperialistic state, ten thousand "enemies of the people."**

The responsibility for this heinous atrocity can be ascribed to one of two parties: either Soviet Russia, which occupied this territory until the summer of 1941, or Germany, which invaded it afterwards. In the face of the irrefutable fact of the event, neither side attempts to evade the issue entirely, but both condemn the Vinnytsia massacre as an unsurpassed crime. The corpses were unearthed by the Germans. One question remains: Who fired the shots and who buried the bodies? At first the Germans, exposing certain evidence, laid the blame on Soviet Russia. The latter in turn, neither before nor after the re-occupation of Vinnytsia, made any effort to officially refute the serious charges of guilt. On the contrary, and for reasons unknown, Russia is awkwardly attempting to obliterate all traces of "foreign" (allegedly German) crimes with measures such as arresting eyewitnesses, journalists and medical experts in Eastern European states. Despite the fact that at one time

*Reprinted from Pu-Hu, 1947. Ukrainian monthly, West Germany

***Editor's note:* The exact number was 9,439.

Leonid Lyman is a Ukrainian journalist and writer, as well as a contributor to many Ukrainian emigre publications in West Germany and North America after World War II.

the entire European continent knew of the crimes at Vinnytsia, among the most horrific committed in recent history, the Soviet prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials failed to accuse any one of the defendants of the murder of ten thousand people. Yet a war crime of similar magnitude — the Katyn massacre — figured as an issue at the trials.

Before the war, the graves, situated in an orchard along the Litynsky highway, had been sealed off with a fence three meters in height. During the war, access to this area was restricted on the pretext of military containment. Finally, pressure from the inhabitants to investigate the suspicious and enclosed tract of land led the German authorities to begin proceedings. By the end of May the existence of graves was determined and in June, a massive exhumation effort was begun.

Arranged in an evenly distributed chessboard pattern and measuring approximately 4-6 meters in depth, 2 meters in width and 4 meters in length, the grave pits each contained 100-150 bodies. Civilian clothing was discovered at a depth of one meter. Beneath this first layer of clothing lay a stratum of corpses with their hands bound behind their backs, then another layer of clothing and again a layer of bodies and so forth until the bottom. The victims had all been shot with small-caliber pistols at a range of 5-6 meters. Some of the corpses showed signs of physical assault — (broken skulls and teeth). Bits of earth found in the mouths and esophagi of some of the dead indicated an agonizing death by strangulation — some of the victims had obviously been buried alive. Female corpses had been thrown into the pits together with male corpses; among them children's bodies and even the corpse of a pregnant women were also found.

The advanced state of decomposition of the bodies made it impossible to identify the victims. However, some of the clothing was sufficiently preserved to enable distinguishing features to be discerned — a specific embroidery pattern, a monogrammed handkerchief, personal artifacts, etc. Thus, a given item or article of clothing could determine who its owner had been. Once exhumed, the tattered garments were then hung on ropes strung between the trees for examination by the crowds who had congregated at the site in search of their missing loved ones.

The most easily identifiable items found in the graves were prominently displayed in the front window of a government building situated in the center of Vinnytsia. These include: photographs from the tsarist period, personal articles such as spoons, forks, and neck chains, and various documents issued by the Soviet state, such as trade-union I.D.'s, Komsomol cards, and chauffeur's licenses.

Medical experts (from Greece, Finland, France and other European nations) working under the aegis of the German army, ascertained that the executions had occurred five years previously, i.e., prior to the war.

News of the gruesome discovery of the graves spread rapidly and soon thousands of people flocked to Vinnytsia in the hope of finding their lost relatives. Hundreds witnessed the rendezvous of the living with the dead: wives re-uniting with husbands, sisters finding brothers, daughters finding fathers. An inexpressible pall of grief and pain hung over the gravesite all summer long as the hysterical keening of relatives echoed throughout the city.

The clothing and other property found with the bodies indicated that the victims had been almost exclusively ordinary workers and villagers — innocent, laboring people. Eventually, some of the victims were positively identified.

Christian funerals were carried out till autumn. Many were present to mourn and pay their last respects: the local population, people from all areas of Ukraine and delegates from various European nations. The bodies were respectfully laid into freshly dug graves. The burial ceremony was accompanied by the anguished cries of the victims' families, as well as the unrestrained tears of all those who were present. The weeping mingled together with the dirge-like songs of the choir and drifted upwards: a plea to God to hear the lament of a grief-stricken people. Ripened fruit from the orchard trees covered the rows of blackened corpses, as well as flowers, wreaths and clumps of earth that the mourners had tossed in. A delegate from Greece also contributed some earth from his homeland. Thus the dead were finally laid to rest, establishing in Vinnytsia an entirely new Christian cemetery. For a long time the graves stood covered in wreaths brought by representatives from many European nations.

In order to commemorate the victims, the Ukrainian people resolved to build a monument and a church at the site. A massive fund-raising campaign was begun, but the consequent turn of events cancelled these plans.

Thus reads the short history of Vinnytsia's tragedy. Today, observing the fourth anniversary of this unparalleled crime, we cannot simply continue to lament it. We must search for root causes other than our adversary, who continues to plague us. Let us consider who the victims were: neither members of the upper classes, nor people who actively sought to change the course of events, they happened to be comprised of the proletariat. These are the same masses who, outnumbering other

social strata, suffer from tunnel vision even today, and fail to see beyond their own doorstep. . . .

Among those who found their way to Vinnytsia's grave pits were undoubtedly some who, having filled their bellies, leaned back and applauded the retreat of the Ukrainian national army. Today we call upon reserves of strength and resolve to re-evaluate current national values. Once again we must tackle the issue of our national strength in order to re-assess our capabilities in terms of both military deployment and spiritual strength. Defending ourselves against further onslaughts and fresh graves is essential.

The casualties of Vinnytsia, like so many others, are in danger of fading into oblivion, as the iron curtain of the Soviet empire descends once again over history's memory. Vinnytsia remains grievously mute, but the time will come when the hundreds and thousands of dead and living witnesses from all corners of the earth shall arise from their graves and fearlessly bear testament at the international tribunal. . . .

*Vynnytsya — The Forgotten Forerunner of Katyn**

By Louis Fitz Gibbon

Katyn was by no means the first of Soviet massacres, although in some ways it may have served as a preliminary exercise from which lessons on how to conduct such mass-murders should be carried out.

Vynnytsya (called in the West: Vinnitsa) is an old Ukrainian town known as far back as the 14th century. Now it has a blood-soaked history almost without parallel. In the period of 1921-22 more than 10,000 men of the then Ukrainian People's Republic were killed in the vicinity, and later when the Soviets discovered the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine a further 8,000 were killed. In 1930-31 when the Ukrainian farmers tried to resist expropriation of their lands yet another 20,000 lost their lives. In 1935 when one of Stalin's henchmen, Kirov, was assassinated in Moscow, a wave of mass-murders spread throughout Ukraine, and over 2,000 people were murdered at Vynnytsya alone.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

During the rule of the infamous Yezhov, the head of the NKVD, about 15,000 Ukrainians were massacred at Vynnytsya in 1937-38.** This dreadful crime, which is known as the 'Vynnytsya Massacre,' is every bit as bad as Katyn, but obscured by time and later tragedies.

During the war time occupation of Ukraine by the Germans the citizens of Vynnytsya, in 1943, asked for an investigation and, as at Katyn, an International Commission composed of prominent men from

*Reprinted from East-West Digest, May 1980. Bi-monthly, England.

**Editor's note: According to the 1944 official German Government Report, 9,439 bodies were found in the Vinnitsa mass graves in 1943.

Louis Fitz Gibbon is a contemporary British writer whose work, *Katyn: A Crime Without Parallel* (Tom Stacey, Ltd., 1971), received considerable attention from British readers, including a debate in the House of Lords.

different countries, opened the mass graves in which recent victims of Soviet bestiality had been buried. Members of the Commission comprised such persons as Professor Soenen of Belgium; Professor Pesonen of Finland; Professor Duvoir of France; Professor Cazzioniga of Italy; Professor Haggqvist of Sweden; Professor ter Poorten of Holland; Dr. Waegner, Professor Semander and Dr. Conti of Germany (and it will be recalled that Professor Conti also investigated the grisly find at Katyn in 1943). The Commission opened three mass graves in different locations and examined the papers found on the bodies. It was established that the Soviets had three prisons at Vynnytsya, whereas before the Revolution of 1917 there had been only one. The old prison was built for 2,000 persons but the Soviets used it to house about 18,000. From 1937-38 the three prisons held about 30,000 people. One can imagine the conditions!

Documents showed that the Ukrainian victims were killed in a garage which had a special sewer to drain away the blood. In the main prison the basement was used for mass murders, and the NKVD used dry peat to absorb the blood.

In a fruit garden, 34 graves containing 5,644 bodies were found. In a cemetery 40 mass graves were uncovered and 2,405 corpses found whilst in the city park of Vynnytsya 13 mass graves contained 2,583 bodies. Thus altogether 9,432 persons were brutally done to death. Medical examination showed that some had been tortured with red-hot irons, whilst others had been used for medical research as witness incisions according to the practice of pathological and anatomical research.

Personal papers found on the bodies and others established that 60% of the victims were farmers, the remainder being factory workers and the intelligentsia. The majority were men between 20 and 40 years of age – all had been killed by a shot in the back of the head.

It was also shown that in many cases it had taken several shots to kill a man for the reason that the bullets used were less than 6mm caliber. Could it be for this reason that, at Katyn, the NKVD used 7.6mm German ammunition?

The horrible story of Vynnytsya is far too little known. It is yet one more example of what the Kremlin is capable of doing – it could be happening now in Afghanistan and maybe tomorrow in Pakistan and Iran.

As a final note of sheer satanism, several of the Vynnytsya victims had been buried alive, as earth was found in their mouths and stomachs. 169 of the corpses were women, some completely nude.

*Fiftieth Anniversary of Vinnytsia**

By Orysia Tracz

| On my first Friday evening commentary, I was going to talk about something cheerful and upbeat. But because of the anniversary that falls on October 11th, I have to tell you about something ugly, horrible, and inhumane.

October 11th has been designated by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians as the 50th anniversary of Vinnytsia. What is that? Until around fifty years ago, Vinnytsia was just a lovely city on the banks of the Boh River in central Ukraine, in the Podillia region. But because of what began there in the 1930's and was uncovered in 1943, Vinnytsia now denotes the same horror as Katyn, Auschwitz, and the other places of mass murder and man's inhumanity to man.

It is hard even to tell you about what happened, but if we do not let people know, Vinnytsia will remain as unknown as it has to the present, as unknown as the genocide by famine in Ukraine in the 1930's was until a few years ago. In 1943 the German army which had occupied Ukraine was retreating. The *Reichskommissariat* still ruled. The people of Vinnytsia approached the authorities to investigate what during Soviet rule, right before the war, had been made into — the Gorky Park of Culture and Recreation. With each shovel of soil there and in other parts of the city, the residents saw what one woman described as "the earth opened and we saw hell." Over a six-month period, supervised by an international commission from 11 European countries comprised of doctors, clergy and foreign correspondents, 95 mass graves were unearthed. In them, just in Vinnytsia, were found 9,439 bodies. Each victim had been executed with at least one shot at close range on the nape of the neck. Each victim, except for the 169

*Reprinted from *Ukrainian Voice*, November 16, 1987 Winnipeg, Canada.

women, had his hands tied behind his back in a knot that was especially secure. Many also had their feet bound. The women did not have their hands tied, and many of their bodies were nude. Some of the victims had been buried alive, as autopsies indicated. The autopsies also showed that many had been mutilated and tortured before being shot. They had been dead from three to five years. Out of the 9,439 corpses found, 682 could be identified on the basis of clothing, marks on the body, or personal papers. Of those identified, 490 were Ukrainian, 28 Polish, and an indeterminate number [were] Jews and Russians. The majority were peasants, along with workers and intelligentsia.

After news about the mass graves spread through Ukraine, people traveled from across the whole country to Vinnytsia, to try to identify their relatives who had been missing since at least 1937. They identified them mostly through clothing, especially by the embroidered shirts the peasants wore. The exhumation of the graves in three separate city locations lasted from May 24th to October 3rd in 1943. Nineteen mass funerals were held, to give the victims a Christian burial. Bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church presided at the exhumations and funerals. . . .

Why and when were these people executed? The citizens of Vinnytsia and other regions of Ukraine finally had the hideous answer to what had been happening behind the fenced-in "off-limits zones" in factories, parks and woods. From the late 1930's people lived in dread of the NKVD's "black raven" car which took people away, usually at night. The reasons for arrest, if given, were as trivial as (for example) being the recipient of a postcard from another country. Families were told that the arrested individual had been sent away to a labour camp without the right to communicate. But most of those arrested had been murdered, not far away, but in the case of Vinnytsia, in the city itself, in the NKVD building and courtyard. Truckloads of corpses were then dumped into the waiting mass graves; those who had dug and filled the graves were the last corpses to fall in, to insure that no witnesses remained. Antin Dragan in his book *Vinnytsia — A Forgotten Holocaust* wrote that "the investigation and findings did not come up with a single case which, in any civilized country, would warrant arrest and interrogation by the police, let alone the death penalty. The fact that all the victims were secretly executed and buried is indication enough that the NKVD was unable to come up with charges which would have stood up in court of law." And in the Gorky Park of Culture and Recreation, a dance platform had been built over two of the mass graves, and a "house of laughter" over another one.

That was the "how." The "why" I cannot give you. We might as well ask why [such cases as] Afghanistan still, why Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia a few years ago, why the Baltic states, why the Berlin Wall, why the genocide by famine in Ukraine, why the gulags. Is there a sane answer to this "why"? . . .

This crime against humanity is well-documented, in pictures, testimonies, and eye-witness accounts — and a few books. For some reason, *The Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* mentions Vinnytsia a few times in both volumes, but does not cover this topic specifically. What a glaring omission. As with the Katyn forest massacre of the 15,000 Polish officers* by the NKVD, and the Zundels and Keegstras who deny the Jewish Holocaust ever happened, so there will be the apologists for the Soviets who will deny that Vinnytsia ever happened. But it did. And we cannot forget it.

**Editor's note:* According to the Polish Red Cross Organization that had been invited to be present during the excavations in the spring of 1943, only 4,443 bodies of Polish victims were found in the mass graves of the Katyn forest. It is true, however, that of the 15,000 Polish PW's (mostly officers) only about 400 could be accounted for in the summer of 1941. It is generally believed in the West that the others were executed by the Soviets and buried in as yet undisclosed sites.

PART IV

GERMAN GOVERNMENT
REPORT ON VINNYTSIA
(1944)

GERMAN GOVERNMENT REPORT ON VINNYTSIA 1944

OFFICIAL MATERIAL ON THE MASS MURDER OF VINNYTSIA: SELECTIONS

By the order of the *Reich* Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories. Compiled, researched, and edited on the basis of documentary evidence. Berlin: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Franz Eher, Nachf., 1944. Translated from the German.

Original title: *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Winniza*. Im Auftrage des Reichsministers für die besetzten Ostgebiete auf Grund urkundlichen Beweismaterials zusammengestellt, bearbeitet und herausgegeben.

EDITOR'S COMMENTS

Symbols used for passages omitted in this translation:

...(s.f.) — specialized forensic reports

...(a.s.) — antisemitic connotations

Bold print and exclamation marks, wherever they appear, correspond to the German original.

(Please consult pp. i-v on "Editorial Policy.")

To avoid confusion, all text references to the numerous maps and illustrations contained in the original German Government Document on Vinnytsia have been deleted in the translation, as only some of these could be reproduced. The selected illustrations, among others, have been logically rearranged in the "Appendix" following Part IV in this anthology.

FOREWORD
(1944)

For nearly twenty-five years, the Soviet Union has been a complete mystery to the world, its borders having been hermetically sealed off to all. Only occasionally did reliable information on the system and practice of Bolshevism reach the outside world.

For years prior to World War II, Germany had called the world's attention to the ghastly experiment imposed by the Soviets upon a population of 190 million in an area of enormous dimensions. Yet despite the extensive material that Germany passed on to the international community, the world remained indifferent. Only after June 11, 1941¹ has it been possible to examine first hand the consequences of the Bolshevik regime. The reality surpassed all of the previous accounts and portrayals.

The mass graves of Vinnytsia represent one facet of this Soviet reality. The results of the excavations and official investigations in Vinnytsia now make it possible for everyone to gain an immediate impression of the organization of Bolshevik mass terror. The systematic extermination of 10,000 Ukrainians* from among the indigent rural population – carried out by the NKVD² in a single Ukrainian city and in a relatively short period of time – has been proven beyond doubt by an overwhelming abundance of official documentary materials, protocols, eyewitness reports, expert opinions, and photographs.

The inquiry into the monstrous crime of Vinnytsia was conducted by an official investigation commission constituted by order of the *Reich* Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories and chaired by Dr. Harald Waegner, Head of the Department of Health of the *Reich* Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories.

**Editor's note:* the official number of victims cited in the documents lies slightly below this figure. See: Introduction, p.1. The Introduction further points out that although the majority of the bodies were identified as Ukrainians, there were also those of other nationalities and ethnic groups among them.

The investigation commission was composed of three groups:

1. The Forensic Medical Unit, which was supervised by Prof. Dr. Schrader, Chairman of the Society for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation and Director of the Institute of Forensic Medicine of the University of Halle-Wittenberg, and by his deputy, University Lecturer Dr. Camerer. Local Ukrainian medical specialists and physicians were called in to provide indispensable cooperation and support.

2. The Homicide Squad of the Reich *Office of Criminal Investigation*, Berlin, under the direction of Class, Government Councillor and Police Superintendent (*Regierungs- und Kriminalrat*), and

3. The Unit from the Reich Ministry of *Justice*, under Dr. Ziegler, President of the Senate, who served as Examining Magistrate.

In addition to the permanent investigation commission, representatives of foreign governments, political figures, medical examiners, clergymen, labor groups, and members of the foreign press and radio have also played an essential part in exposing the crime at Vinnytsia. In the period from June 24, 1943 to August 23, 1943, a total of fourteen commissions, of which six were foreign ones, visited the scene of the crime.

The mass graves were located with the indispensable cooperation of the local Ukrainian population of Vinnytsia. In the winter of 1942-43, the German civil administration became aware of rumors circulating among the people that, contrary to the information given to the families involved, the Soviets had not sent a large number of men and women under arrest to Siberia for ten years, but that they had "liquidated" them in summary proceedings. The population continued to press the offices of the German civil administration for an inquiry into the matter, submitting information concerning alleged mass graves at three locations: the so-called "Orchard," the "Old Cemetery," and the so-called "Park for Culture and Recreation." The subsequent trial excavations set in motion by the German civil administration indeed led to the discovery of numerous corpses. By the time inclement weather set in during the fall of 1943, a total of 9,432 bodies of murdered Ukrainians had been recovered. On the basis of testimony submitted by the local population and the circumstantial evidence that had been assembled, the examining magistrates and criminal investigators of the officially mandated Homicide Squad were able to determine that the mass murders of Vinnytsia had been carried out in the time span from 1937 to 1938.

In a comprehensive judgment of the events in Vinnytsia, it should not be overlooked that this crime is not an isolated incident. Cities like

Vinnytsia exist by the dozens in the Soviet Union. In each of these cities there is a GPU³ prison that has served as a starting point for occurrences similar to those officially confirmed in full detail in Vinnytsia. The graves of the Ukrainians in Vinnytsia thus serve as a reminder of an undetermined number of mass graves throughout the vast reaches of the Soviet Union. Moreover, once again they bring to mind the mass graves in Katyn containing the bodies of the Polish officers who had been taken prisoner by the Soviets in 1939, as well as the fate of the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Galicians, and Bessarabians deported in 1941.

I. FORENSIC MEDICAL REPORT

Report of the Chairman of the German Society for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation

Prof. Dr. Gerhard Schrader

*Director of the Institute of Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation
of the University of Halle-Wittenberg*

The Excavations and Findings of Vinnytsia

INSTRUCTIONS AND PREPARATIONS

On the basis of initial reports submitted to Dr. Conti, Head of the Reich Health Office (*Reichsgesundheitsfuhrer*), concerning the discovery of human corpses in Vinnytsia, I was entrusted by him on June 10, 1943 with a special mandate to proceed to Vinnytsia in order to conduct systematic excavations and forensic medical examinations *in situ*.

Due to the lateness of the season, these excavations had to be initiated immediately with all possible dispatch. Time for more extensive preparations could not be entertained; I had already been aware that only shortly beforehand — that is, on June 3, 1943 — the excavations in Katyn had had for medical reasons to be discontinued as a result of the excessive heat and the plaguing annoyance caused by swarms of flies. Fortunately, the weather in Vinnytsia was in the following interval far more favorable than in Katyn. The assignment could thus be carried out throughout the summer months essentially without interruption.

Examination of the bodies was conducted at the sites of the finds. A semi-open wooden hut was erected in order to provide protection against the effects of the weather. For special examination procedures — for example, cranial macerations or cranial reassembly — selected pieces of evidence were taken to the Forensic Medical Institute in Halle.

For the examination of clothing, wires were hung up between trees at the sites of the finds.

On June 15, 1943, after these preparations had been expeditiously carried out, the investigation commenced.

STAFF

Records of the proceedings were taken by a special commission of the Reich Office of Criminal Investigation. Assisting me in the forensic medical examinations and criminal investigations were:

My colleague, University Lecturer Joachim Camerer, Dr. *med. habil.*, who was specially appointed to conduct operations for the recovery of the bodies and examine the findings of the examinations;

University Lecturer Dr. Volland, who volunteered his services at the outset of the investigation;

Professor Dr. Malinin of the University of Krasnodar, currently in Vinnytsia;

University Lecturer Dr. Doroshenko, Medical Examiner in Vinnytsia; Autopsy assistants Weingartner and Wiiffel; and

Karl Lentsch, dissector at the subsequent special examinations in Halle.

THE SITES OF THE FINDS

Site I: The Orchard

The first of the mass graves containing the bodies of murdered Ukrainians were discovered on the western outskirts of Vinnytsia — to be precise, 1.8 kilometers from the center of the city. The graves were located on the grounds of an orchard on the northern side of the road to Lityn. The Orchard measured approximately 100 by 60 meters, consisted of an uneven grass surface, and had been planted with several old fruit trees among which there was still some somewhat younger shrub growth. This area, which was bordered on two sides by field paths, was surrounded by a closely jointed board fence of more than three meters in height that had been erected in the winter of 1937/1938 and that blocked all view from without. The grounds stood at the time under the constant watch of NKVD guards and allegedly served military purposes. On the eastern edge of the grounds, there were two rows of dirt heaps, foisted off as a firing range, that extended all the way to a two-meter high dirt pile (so-called target butt), located at the northern end of the area. During the harsh winter of 1941/1942, the high

board fence was removed by the Ukrainian populace for use as a source of heat.

In the southern part of the area, a pit containing chlorinated lime was discovered. In addition, depressions of five to ten centimeters in the earth (corresponding to the rectangular figures) were seen. The first excavations were begun here at the end of May 1943 with the enlistment of the above-mentioned Russian and Ukrainian physicians. Before my arrival, 228 bodies had been recovered from pit nos. 4 and 5, some of which I was able to examine myself. The greater number of them had already been reburied at another location following the examinations conducted by Professor Malinin and Dr. Doroshenko.

The rectangular figures that are marked with numbers indicate the arrangement of the mass graves. The four rectangular figures without numbers refer to plots originally assumed to be still more graves, an assumption that, due to the condition of the soil, however, was rejected after excavations of one half to one meter in depth had been carried out. Excavation probings were, with the assistance of a geologist, also carried out in the open field in the form of trenches that traversed the orchard at an angle and small, square spot diggings. The results were negative.

The sizes of the individual mass graves are drawn in the illustration according to scale. They varied from 2.5 by 3 to 2.8 by 5 meters. The larger graves, which also yielded the most extensive of the body finds, were located at the northern end of the site (nos. 21-24c). Taken together, the graves at this site were thus equal to an area of more than 350 square meters.

A more or less thick layer — generally of about 30-40 centimeters in width — of the most diverse kinds of clothing was found in each of the graves at a depth of nearly two meters throughout. In the smaller pits (excepting nos. 15a, 18, and 20), the bodies lay immediately beneath the clothing in a layer of 50-70 centimeters thick, and of correspondingly greater dimensions in the larger pits. After the removal of the bodies, the smaller of the mass graves proved to be approximately three meters deep. The floors of the larger graves (nos. 21-24c) were approximately 3.8 meters deep and consistently level throughout. The side walls — that is, the thin walls separating the individual graves from one another — were propped up in a vertical position and, due to their surfaces of loam and loess, remained very smooth.

Site II: The Cemetery

Sites II (Cemetery) and III (Public Park) were, on the basis of information received from the populace, discovered on the immediate periphery of Vinnytsia, while the excavations and examinations at Site I were still under way. The second group of mass graves was located in the Cemetery, which lies to the south of the road to Lityn and which is roughly 600 meters from the center of town. A roadway crosses the cemetery from north to south. To its east lies a tract of cemetery land that in recent times had apparently no longer been used and in 1937/38 had been enclosed by a board fence that blocked all view. Shrubbery growing above eye level was not to be found here and there at the site. Due to the considerable unevenness of the surface of the ground, neglected individual graves were almost everywhere more or less still easy to discern. Numerous larger depressions of roughly 10-15 centimeters, all rectangular in shape, could nevertheless be detected after removal of the shrubbery. During the excavation probings, layers of clothing, underneath which corpses, as in the case of Site I, were found, were usually encountered at a depth of two meters. The above-mentioned depressions correspond to grave nos. 1-15. The mass graves here are also drawn to scale. Altogether, 42 graves were opened up. Only nos. 3 and 29 were unproductive efforts, as no bodies were to be found there. Those mass graves numbered 16 and up were not immediately detected through depressions in the earth; they had apparently been disguised with more recently plotted graves. Several additional probings taken in the vicinity of this burial site, especially in the area also west of the roadway, led us to the conclusion that no further mass graves existed here. In the spaces between the mass graves numbered 1-9, there were several individual graves from earlier times, as the inscriptions on the gravestones indicate.

On the average, the mass graves here were smaller than those at Sites I and III. They varied in size from 1 by 2 to 2.5 by 4.5 meters. The row formation was not as evenly arranged as at Site I. Whereas, in the larger pits, layers of clothing were, as previously stated, encountered at a depth of two meters, and the bodies of the victims at 2.5 meters; the same finds were found in the smaller pits in some cases at only one meter, in most others, at 1.5 meters. The overall depth of the pits also varied. Like those at Site I, the larger pits were up to 3.5 meters deep, the smaller ones 2-2.5 meters deep. The walls of the pits facing the neighboring graves were, almost certainly due to the sandier consistency of the soil, not as vertical as had consistently been ascertained at Site I. It was nevertheless quite possible to keep the new

graves separate from the firm, undisturbed ground; there were fissures here of up to 15 centimeters in width so that, as in the case of the site at the orchard, convicts used for the diggings were able to spot the boundaries of the older individual graves rather easily.

Site III: The Public Park

Shortly after the discovery of Site II, the finds at Site III were unearthed in the immediate vicinity on the basis of information received from a former park attendant. The site is located in an area resembling a park on the northern edge of the Lityn Highway, north of the Cemetery. The Park is sparsely covered in part with old oak trees, between which densely thick hazelnut, young oak, and hawthorn underbrush has grown above eye level. Other Park areas are covered with grassy meadow-like land tracts. Various amusement park facilities stood there, notably a swing set. The Soviets named this particular area "Park for Culture and Recreation." The area bordered the former NKVD prison on its northwestern side. Several slight square and rectangularly shaped depressions in the earth were found immediately adjacent to the swing set, in part in the open meadow, in part in the underbrush. These depressions, however, were considerably fewer in number than at Site I. The assumption, therefore, that the graves had carefully been re-landscaped so as not to be noticed by park visitors is well justified. Another part of the park grounds had recently been plowed up for agricultural purposes and used for planting.

A total of 13 mass graves were discovered here. The mass graves are once again drawn to scale. The unnumbered rectangle in the illustration represents an excavation site in which nothing was found. According to witnesses, grave nos. 3-5 occupied the spot where the old dancing area, grave no. 6 where the so-called fun house had been.

Searches for further graves were conducted in the vicinity of this graveyard by means of trial excavations and drillings of up to a depth of 2.6 meters. Compared to Sites I and II, these inquiries were greatly hampered by the extraordinarily thick shrubbery and underbrush that in places was as high as four meters and that covered the area in an irregular pattern. Depressions in the earth, which at sites I, II, and partly in the grassy areas of the park had eased the tracking down of the graves, were here barely or extremely difficult to ascertain. The tall underbrush had apparently been planted over a number of graves (nos. 7-12) for purposes of disguise. It can thus be well assumed that in a park of such relatively large dimensions, mass graves are still to

be located in other places covered by such thickets. The same may also be said of the agriculturally cultivated area, where all traces on the ground's surface had been erased by the plowing. An exhaustive investigation, which would have required a particularly large staff of soil scientists, had, in view of the considerable dimensions of the park, to be postponed to a later date.

The mass graves that were discovered were in size and arrangement not as uniform as those at Site I. They were approximately the size of the smaller graves at the orchard, such as those in the western row, varying from 2 to 2.5 by 3 meters. Here, too, was a layer of clothing found almost consistently at a depth of two meters, after the removal of which human bodies were discovered. These graves were, with a few minor exceptions, three meters deep. The walls of the pits facing the neighboring graves generally maintained a uniformly vertical position, thanks apparently to the loamy soil. As at Site I, the soil here was more or less homogeneous. Only deep inside pit nos. 7-12 was there any sand content in the soil.

RECOVERY OF THE BODIES

General Obsementations

The disinterment of the mass graves was carried out by Ukrainian and Polish prisoners of war under the direction of the afore-mentioned staff of physicians. Particular attention was paid to the securing of identification material.

As we have already mentioned, a more or less thick layer of clothing was the first thing encountered in all of the graves at each of the sites. The clothing lay in complete disarray and had in large measure become, the closer one came to the bodies, all glued together, inside and out, through a liquid putrescence. It was in most cases, however, possible to separate the articles of clothing from each other without any major damage to them. They were then spread out for a while along the edge of the graves where they were found and arranged according to general as well as specific distinguishing characteristics. In addition to jackets, trousers and underwear, there were also especially warm winter articles, such as fur coats, fur caps, felt boots, lined jackets and trousers, wool coats, wool jackets, and the like. In between lay several small packages containing toilet utensils or tobacco or some food as well. Pockets were always immediately checked for their contents; the results were preponderantly negative. Only occasionally were any documents found. Printed texts that were found still rather easy to decipher,

whereas written characters were often quite faded. These finds were sent through channels to the Special Commissioner of the Reich Office of Criminal Investigation for further examination. Valuables, jewelry, or larger sums of money were not found in the victims' pockets. Concerning monograms or other personal markings on the apparel — shirts, underwear, and the like — such apparel was hung out between the trees with particular care and in this way made accessible to the public for identification purposes.

At Site I, three pits were discovered in which, in place of dead bodies, items that were particularly important for identifying the murder victims were contained. In pit no. 15a, an immense number of documents was found at the usual depth of two meters, including: NKVD warrants of arrest, containing the exact names and addresses, and identification photos apparently of the murder victims; letters with addressed envelopes; family keepsakes, such as photographs (some of which were pasted in albums) with signatures; books and book fragments, primarily in Ukrainian, partly of religious content; and the like. Pit no. 18 contained shoes only — specifically, those of sturdy design that, according to people familiar with the area, are for the most part worn in the farming section of the population. Pit no. 20 contained apparel alone, which, in all the other graves, was found in the form of a layer of clothing lying atop the corpses. Articles of clothing, especially underwear, containing monograms or conspicuous embroidery to which attention had been drawn upon first inspection, were also found in pit no. 20. This extremely important material was, following initial inspection, submitted in its entirety to the Lost Articles Bureau (*Fundstütte*) of the Special Commission of the Reich Office of Criminal Investigation for further analysis. In pit no. 12, numerous suit cases, pillows, and blankets together with a number of clothing articles were found atop a mass of bodies!

After the removal of this layer of clothing, on which in some graves a few corpses lay scattered, a new mass of human bodies was discovered. In the large pits (nos. 21-24c) at Site I, there were still more layers of bodies placed between two or sometimes even three additional strata of clothing articles. In the smaller pits, by contrast, interlayers of additional clothing items were only seldom found. With regard to the second and third layers of clothing, the same procedures of observation described above obtained.

In a few of the mass graves, some of the apparel showed traces of scorching or partial charring, which could be observed on both individually scattered clothing and underwear as well as on that worn by

the corpses. These discoveries were made at six different pits at Site I and at pit no. 22 at Site II, whereas no traces of burns were found at Site III. One observation was particularly interesting for the study of this evidence, namely that spontaneous combustion had taken place as a result of the dampness of the apparel, which had been lying in the previously emptied pit no. 6 at Site I and thus continually exposed to wetness from the rain and then to strong sunrays and heat. Smoke vapors developed within, not on the surface, of the pile of clothes; the same was encountered in several localized smoky, hot pockets of carbonization. Combustion originating from the outside, such as through a smoldering match or cigarette butt, was, due to the depth of this seat of fire, ruled out, particularly as these clothing articles had already been in the pit for a few days. The assumption was therefore justified that the observed scorching and partial charring of the clothing articles in the other mass graves were also a result of a similar process of spontaneous combustion. Conducive, if not necessarily decisive, to this process was likely to have been the highly intensive soaking of the more deeply buried layers of clothing with dissolved human flesh. It was indeed particularly significant, furthermore, that these layers of clothing were exposed for several days to atmospheric oxygen, atmospheric dampness, and, finally, strong heat from the sun. This was the result of the fact that some of the mass graves had initially been excavated only as far down as the layers of clothing and then, for extrinsic reasons, allowed to sit for a few days or week until their final clearance. Similar conditions are likely to have existed at the time of burial. Thus, bacterial growth, which undoubtedly played a crucial role as the temperature of the clothing increased, was surely brought on.

Placement of the Bodies

The actual recovery of the bodies after the removal of the layer of clothing occasionally presented considerable difficulties. The bodies in several pits at Site I (especially nos. 6-12) were covered with an unevenly thick layer of lime, which had apparently formed from chlorinated lime (chlorinated lime pit at the entrance of the orchard!). Chlorinated lime had been poured over the corpses to arrest any stench caused by decomposition. The layer of lime had in some cases been baked together with the bodies at the top of the pile, forming a cement-like solid mass. At Site II, such a layer was found at pit nos. 32 and 34, whereas it was completely absent from Site III. The extraction of the bodies even from the lime-free graves was in many cases not easy.

The corpses lay almost entirely in complete disarray — that is, they were piled up on one another in several layers and became firmly stuck together through the pressure of the two-meter thick strata of earth lying atop. Great care was necessary for the removal of the bodies so as to prevent, whenever possible, any further damage to them. The tearing off or disintegration of individual parts of the bodies, which through maceration had already become semi-detached, could often not, however, be prevented.

A uniform and careful layering of the bodies was alone to be found in pit no. 24a at Site I, which clearly set it apart from other pits here and at the two remaining sites. No reason could be discovered why the corpses were so carefully placed in this particular pit alone. In a few of the large neighboring mass graves at Site I, there was, despite the otherwise disorderly arrangement of the bodies, a certain symmetry in that, when, after roughly 100 to 120 corpses had been removed, a distinct layering of earth and clothing could be discerned. After their removal, another complete disarray of bodies was found. One explanation for this may be that, at the time, the large pits had been filled with bodies in stages; then, clothing and earth were presumably spread over the bottom layer of corpses so as to arrest the irritating stench of decay before the next strata was to follow. Finally, the pit was covered up.

Number of the Bodies Recovered

All of the mass graves discovered were completely cleared of their contents in the months from June to September 1943. The bodies were first removed from Site I. After the discovery of Sites II and III, excavation probings were conducted for the purpose of gathering information; only a few bodies were recovered at various places. A systematic emptying of all mass graves, including those at which probings were carried out, took place later on. For purposes of investigation, the cadavers were placed at the time in the open areas of the individual sites of the finds. For their transport, makeshift stretchers were prepared. Record was kept of the number of bodies in the individual graves on a continuous basis. Following the efforts at identification (see below) and the forensic medical examinations, the bodies were solemnly laid to rest in large row graves in an area near Site I declared a memorial cemetery.

The **total number** of bodies found at **Site I** came to 5,644. Among them, 53 were female.

The **total number** of bodies found at **Site II** came to **2,405**. Among them, 85 were female.

The **total number** of bodies found at **Site III** came to **1,383**. Among them, 31 were female.

Thus, when the excavations were suspended on October 3, 1943, a **total of 9,432 bodies** had been recovered from the three sites. Of these, 9,263 were male; 169 were female.

The number of victims found in each of the mass graves varied considerably. The smaller graves in the eastern and western rows at Site I contained between 67 and 171 bodies. Grave nos. 33 and 34 were exceptions, containing four and two bodies respectively. The bodies in no. 33 had been buried at a depth of only 1.2 meters. Compared to the other graves, which had been dug very carefully and deep, nos. 33 and 34 appeared unfinished. The large mass graves on the northern edge of Site I all contained well over 200 bodies (241 to 284).

At Site II, only four mass graves contained 100 or more bodies (nos. 4, 6, 12, and 42). The others yielded varying numbers of under 100, ranging considerably from four to 97.

At Site II, most of the graves again contained more than 100 bodies: eight of the 13 graves had between 116 and 153 corpses. The number of bodies in the five remaining pits ranged from 33 to 89. The exact figures in the individual graves are indicated in the tables below.

Table 1

Site I (Orchard)

Grave No.	No. of Bodies	Grave No.	No. of Bodies
Comments		Comments	
1	161	15	148
2	127	15a	documents only 0
3	110	16	102
4	128	17	106
5	100	18	shoes only 0
6	69	19	112
7	130	20	clothes only 0
8	145	20a	86
9	159	21	259
10	134	21a	276
11	171	22	276
12	70	22a	282
13	152	23	241
14	140	23a	273

Table 1

Site I (Orchard)

Grave No.	No. of Bodies	Grave No.	No. of Bodies
Comments		Comments	
24a	284	29	93
24b	252	30	125
24c	282	31	130
25	147	32	127
26	100	33	4
26	67	34	2
28	74		5,644

Table 2

Site II (Cemetery)

Grave No.	No. of Bodies	Grave No.	No. of Bodies
1	86	29	no contents 29
2	65	30	35
3	no contents 3	31	38
4	137	32	73
5	62	33	41
6	147	34	14
7	83	35	6
8	69	36	49
9	97	37	66
10	50	38	50
11	55	39	8
12	100	40	4
13	65	41	12
14	93	42	111
15	55		2,405
16	30		
17	40		
18	79		
19	54		
20	79		
21	82		
22	66		
23	61		
24	60		
25	28		
26	79		
27	60		
28	16		

Table 3
Site III (Public Park)

Grave No.	No. of Bodies	Grave No.	No. of Bodies
Comments		Comments	
1	126	8	120
2	141	9	85
3	153	10	33
4	72	11	65
5	116	12	116
6	144	13	89
7	123		1,383

IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS AND DETERMINATION OF THEIR AGE

With only one exception, the male bodies found were bound at the wrists with their hands behind their backs — in some cases, at the feet as well — and were in the vast majority dressed in apparel typical of the area. The men wore mostly lightweight shirts, trousers, and jackets. Undershorts and vests were also occasionally found. None were without footwear. The women were in part dressed in clothes typical of the area; a larger number of them at Site II were found with chemise only. The female bodies were, with only a few exceptions, unbound. At all three sites, a noticeably large number of female bodies were completely naked. This particular finding was ascertained 49 times out of a total number of 169 female corpses. These, according to tests, were mainly younger or middle-aged women, whereas the properly dressed female bodies had all been more advanced in years.

For purposes of identification, the articles of clothing found on the bodies were examined with particular care. The results may be drawn from the criminal investigation report. Those identified numbered 679 or 7.2 percent of the total.

Starting with the recovery and the preliminary examination of the bodies, attention was chiefly paid to physical anomalies, especially amputations, so as to make identification possible. Such conspicuous physical attributes were found on 15 bodies. They were subsequently made available to public inspection through the Ukrainian press. In one case, it was possible to recognize the body of a male, also identified by the victim's wife, on the basis of an old amputation of the lower arm. In another case, an identification was made on the basis of an unmistakable finger contracture. Another two men were identified by

relatives on the basis of their orthopedic footwear. Finally, another old amputation — this time of the large right toe of a woman — as well as the artificial leg of a 19-year old man led to identifications.

Hair color and hair-cutting style were fully eliminated as identification factors, as the hair of the head had been loosened to a large degree by maceration. The original color of the hair was difficult to determine as a result of its having been soaked in liquid putrescence or human fat. Next to hair cutting, the most common form of styling found on the female bodies was braiding.

On the basis of forensic experience in Germany in the identification of unknown corpses, special attention was devoted here to dental finds. The possibility of arriving at judgments on individual personalities by examining typifying dentures, dental bridges, metal crowns, and so on had been considered. Expectations in this connection, however, had to be abandoned, as there was such an accumulation of dentures of the kind mentioned above that hardly any particular characteristic could be discerned. This was a departure from relevant observations made in Germany. The Ukrainian dentists, moreover, who had provided the treatment and could have recognized their work, were no longer present. Assessments made from a conspicuous accumulation of dentures could also be drawn from conversations with the Ukrainian populace, especially with men and women from the rural areas — also with a number of the convicts used to carry out the excavations. For these reasons, an exact record of these dental finds was not kept in the course of the subsequent investigations. Only in two cases could an identification be made in this manner. It should be noted that in the few cases in which gold teeth were found, they had not been extracted before or after the killings, and that, during the dental examinations, no signs of attempted removal could be detected.

At the same time that the efforts at identification were being taken, attempts were also being made to ascertain the age of the bodies. Clarifying the matter appeared particularly important, as, in view of the largely unsuccessful identification efforts, an examination of the age groups would at least provide a more exact insight into the makeup of the murder victims found together in the individual pits. It was also hoped that a few cases of identification could thus be substantiated.

Similar efforts to determine age, particularly of unidentified corpses, have in forensic medicine already been taken many times, but never in such numerically large proportions as demanded by conditions in Vinnytsia. Experience has shown that efforts of this kind, in particular made on corpses in a more or less advanced stage of decomposition

encounter, as was the case at the three sites in Vinnytsia, certain difficulties. A number of indications that help ascertain age, such as facial features as well as condition and turgor of the skin at the corners of the eyes (canthi), the base of the ears, and the backs of the hands, were no longer present. Furthermore, it had to be borne in mind at outset that, in view of the extensive nature of the body finds, it was impossible to search in each case for the various known age indicators in the skeletal system, the cranial bone, the larynx, the ribs, as well as the teeth and then synoptically analyze them for a diagnosis. Such an effort, which could by no means invariably provide a guarantee for complete success, had to be omitted in view of the limited time and restricted size of the staff. Only a limited number of age indicators could be tested — that is, those tests that could be conducted as quickly as possible and without further technical preparation, which, for example, would be required by time-absorbing bone macerations.

For that reason, attention was primarily directed toward the condition of the teeth, especially toward dental attrition. Recent practice, in this respect, has been provided with a scientific foundation such as that described by Renner and other authors in the *Concise Dictionary of Forensic Medicine and Scientific Criminal Investigation*.⁴ In this connection, the guidelines for estimating age — estimates made, invariably, in ranges of ten-year periods at best — are given as follows:

Under normal conditions of occlusion, only the dental enamel on the morsal surface is worn out by the 30th year of human life. By the 40th year of life, the dentine may become exposed and take on a darker facet-like color. By the 50th year, the attrition continues to develop; the exposure of the dentine assumes greater proportions. Beyond the 50th year, it shows further signs of wear, so that at about the 60th year, the whole cross section of the tooth is sometimes exposed by the process of attrition. At the same time, the darker pigmentation becomes more intense, and the dentine takes on various shades of color from light brown to blackish-brown, especially in smokers.

These practices had been evaluated primarily for the purpose of determining age. Certain deviations in these calculations obviously had to be taken into account from the start, as it is known that dental anomalies (labiodontia, cross bite, and the like) as well as the formation of larger gaps in the teeth varyingly affect dental attrition.

Attention was paid, moreover, to the condition of the sutures in the area of the dome of the skull, which, especially in victims over 40 years old, provide certain possibilities for estimating age. Experience has taught, however, that determining the extent to which the sutures had

ossified under the existing local conditions was considerably more difficult.

A systematic examination of the humerus by sawing it open to locate the epiphyseal line, which between the 20th and 30th year of life sometimes facilitates an even more accurate age estimate, had to be dispensed with. Its technical implementation would have taken too much time especially because the maceration of the upper arm, necessary for precise measurements, could not have been avoided, as experience at the Forensic Medical Institute in Halle shows. The value of this kind of evidence moreover appears to require further study, since the results of the examinations performed on the victims of Bydgoszcz (German name: Bromberg)⁵ testify to the fact that, in some cases, the ossified epiphyseal line nevertheless remains recognizable, even beyond the currently accepted time limitation.⁶

In those cases in which an autopsy was performed on the thoracic and abdominal cavities, attention was directed at the ossification of the larynx and the costal cartilage, which usually appears around the 50th year or during the fifth decade of human life. Attention was also given to pathological manifestations of aging, such as atherosclerotic deposits of fairly extensive proportions.

The examinations of the victims' age were carried out at the three sites on the basis of the viewpoints developed above. In this connection, it became apparent that in none of the individual mass graves were there exclusively young or old people. To the contrary, it was determined that the most diverse age groups were invariably buried together in each of the individual graves, whereby the middle-aged victims were numerically preponderant. The results of the examinations were as follows:

Site I (Orchard)

<i>Age estimates</i>	<i>No. of victims</i>
between 20 and 30	274
between 30 and 40	3,508
between 40 and 50 and over	827

Site II (Cemetery)

between 20 and 30	294
between 30 and 40	1,436
between 40 and 50 and over	451

Site III (Public Park)

between 20 and 30	58
between 30 and 40	1,032
between 40 and 50 and over	88

A reliable estimate of the age of the remaining corpses could not be made. This was in part due to the considerable loss of teeth during lifetime and the extensive presence of dentures. Neither the few teeth that were still present, nor the examinations of the bone systems thus could provide an adequate means of determining age. In other cases, however, teeth had fallen out in large measure as a result of advanced postmortem changes in the victims' bodies. At the same time, the mandibular and skeletal joints had become detached by means of the same process so that the findings and age estimates here were also very unreliable.

GUNSHOT WOUNDS AND CAUSE OF DEATH

Gunshot wounds, most of which had been inflicted in the back of the neck, were with few exceptions, found on all the bodies. Findings of this kind could not be ascertained on those bodies in a state of advanced decomposition, during which extensive decay of the soft parts of the neck and a rotting away of the ligamentous apparatus of the cervical vertebral column had already been taking place. The result, in many instances, was the detachment of the head from the rest of the body during disinterment.

In the remaining (numerically predominant) cases, gunshot wounds were ascertained in a quite orderly fashion, if also with frequent difficulty. Due to postmortem changes, the entry wound was sometimes difficult to establish. Careful scraping of the macerated epidermic layer, however, led to the discovery of one or more slit-like entry wound openings, the continuation of which in the form of bullet tracks could be confirmed through further dissection.

The bullet openings in the skin of the nape were round, oval, or sometimes slitlike in form and had a diameter rarely exceeding .3 to .5 centimeters. Their placement revealed, in part, the rather diverse circumstances of bullet entry, though it must be added that the findings made from examinations of the individual mass graves in some cases revealed clear differences as well. The point of entry was usually placed about five centimeters below the external occipital protuberance, generally somewhat off center. In other, fairly frequent instances, however,

the point of entry was located in the second or third spinous process. In some bodies, a conspicuously deeply lodged bullet was found in the fourth, fifth, or even sixth cervical vertebra.

In the majority of cases, there were several gunshot wounds: mostly double shots, occasionally triple shots, in two instances four shots. These findings are shown in the following table:

	<i>Site I</i>	<i>Site II</i>	<i>Site III</i>
Double Shots	3,345	1,889	1,126
Triple Shots	50	19	9
Four Shots	1	1	—

In most of the remaining cases, single shots, insofar as gunshots could at all be ascertained, were established. In this connection, however, there were many instances in which it was no longer possible to determine whether a second or third shot had been fired or not. The decayed state of the soft parts of the neck had in several cases made an exact assessment in this respect difficult or even impossible.

The course of the bullet track also pointed to diverse circumstances of entry. In some of the mass graves, especially at Site I, an examination of the victims determined that the line of fire ran obliquely from the point of entry in the skin in an upward direction to the occipital bone or to the occipital foramen. In yet another situation encountered to an extent in some graves with remarkable frequency, the line of fire was in a more horizontal position, which had prevented the bullets from reaching the occipital bone or the cranial cavity. The bullets had instead pierced or struck the dorsal side of the vertebral arches in the cervical region, passed between two cervical vertebrae, and penetrated the vertebral canal in the cervical area.

Those shots in the back of the neck that had penetrated the head region entered either through the occipital foramen or at its posterior ridge, where one or even several crescent-shaped splinters were later found. These splinters had spread towards the cranial cavity in characteristic fashion. In yet other cases, the points of entry in the occipital bone were located more or less above the ridge of the occipital foramen, in most instances to the right or left of the median line. The bullet holes in the outer plate of the cranial bone were for the most part symmetrically round and measured slightly more than six millimeters in diameter throughout. In still other instances, considerably larger, rather irregularly shaped bullet holes with jagged edges were found. In this case, small fragments of lead bullets were found along bone

ridges or scattered sideways and at times were facing backwards in the neck tissues as well. Such entry wounds were therefore larger than the caliber size of the bullet. Thus, due to the compression, the projectile had, upon impact, torn a hole into the bone of a size exceeding its own dimensions. Particularly in the case of the above-mentioned smooth bullet holes having a diameter of about six millimeters, a rather clear funnel-shaped extension of the bone injury toward the cranial cavity could be discerned.

Only in a few instances could the further extension of the bullet track in the cranial cavity be more precisely established. Due to decay, the brain had more or less been considerably softened. Even in a still preserved state, it had often shrunk and, depending on the position of the body, sunk into the anterior, posterior, or one of the lateral regions of the cranial cavity.

A relatively large number of lead bullets were found in the remains of the brain, though jacketed projectiles were not observed. (This category of bullet will be separately considered below.) A few of them, moreover, were also found inside the cranial section lodged in cracks or also in holes bored into the bone opposite the point of entry. In many instances, therefore, it was possible to determine precisely the termination point of the bullet track and thus the line of fire as well. From this emerged an often rather non-uniform pattern of bullet tracks forming straight lines from points of entry in the skin and bones, especially in instances of multiple gunshot wounds. In case of several shots, at least one was usually pointed upwards at an angle from the back of the neck in an ascending direction towards the inside wall of the frontal bone — toward the center of it, to be precise — or frequently toward the region of the coronal suture. Normally, there was more or less considerable deviation to the right or left, in that a bullet that had lodged itself in the vault of the skull was later found in the lateral or upper sections of the frontal bone. A clear trace of lead, marking the point of impact on the inner plate of the bone, could be seen from yet another bullet further to the rear, lodged, say, directly in the coronal suture. In the outer plate, a funnel-like rupturing out or a more extensive splintering, often without evidence of any considerable forward thrusting of the bone fragments, could be seen. Bullet tracks located conspicuously deep in the cranial cavity, moreover, could be observed. After having spread throughout the dorsal area of the cranial fossa, the bullets penetrated the right or left petrosal, leaving themselves there to be discovered at the end of a channel in the bone almost two centimeters deep. In other, albeit relatively rare instances, the bullets

entering the head below the petrosal reemerged from the hollow of the head, thereby having penetrated the posterior area of the cranial fossa alone, occasionally the clivus as well. Upon further examination, therefore, the bullets were found to have stopped in the soft parts immediately before the bone. In one case, the deformed lead bullet had thrust itself even further to the front, up to the rear-most section of the upper jawbone. In this, as in similar instances, there was accordingly a relatively horizontal bullet track as well, often accompanied by extensive fracturing of the skull base, particularly where the bullet had entered through the occipital foramen and making either slight or even no impact on the bone at all.

Conventional exit wounds in the bones, especially in the region of the more compact cranial parts, such as the frontal or the parietal bone, were observed only fairly rarely. Insofar as the soft parts of the anterior head region had been preserved together with such exit wounds, it could almost regularly be observed that the bullets, after penetration of the bone, had become lodged at the place of exit underneath the skin or also in the external section of the bone exit wound, exhibiting, as a result, considerable deformation as a rule, mostly a flattened shape. On occasion, they had receded into the anterior section of the cranial cavity and become lodged between dura mater and bone. The outer skin, though having escaped injury, nevertheless revealed in several instances a clear reddish to blackish-brown coloring more or less as a result of extensive blood effusion. The exit wound openings in the cranial bone were of varying size and shape. Some were as large as a penny; yet others, however, had a diameter of two to 2.5 centimeters. Most were rather irregular in form with jagged or angular cracks opening outwardly. Smaller as well as larger bone cracks extended outward in many cases in radial form towards the sides.

Shots in the back of the neck that had been directed towards the head made frequent impact on the exterior of the occiput. This was particularly evident when the bullet hit the compact bone parts, such as the hard occipital protuberance or the bone ridges extending from it (*linea nuchae suprema*). As a result of an apparently inadequate striking force, the lead bullets had been unable to penetrate these harder bone parts and had in some instances been flattened immediately at the point of impact, where they had become lodged. Clear traces of lead marked the exterior bone plate. Other bullets that had apparently made impact on something of an angle on the above-mentioned firmer bone parts had glanced off the exterior of the occiput and had then either stopped at the end of a short track underneath

the periosteum or had become lodged in the subcutaneous fatty tissue, usually a few centimeters from the median line. A lateral flattening, particularly in the region of the bullet's point, could on occasion be seen as a characteristic mark of their having glided off on a tangent. Still other bullets, which had burst into the tiniest lead fragments, were found in the scalp within a radius of 2.5 centimeters.

In several instances, the line of fire had gone, as we have briefly noted, from the back of the neck not upwards towards the head cavity, but rather almost horizontally towards the vertebral canal. With respect to these cervical cord wounds, an exact tracing of the bullet track has yielded the following findings: Depending on the lay of those points of entry observed from the second to the sixth spinous process, the bullet, which was usually clearly marked with brownish-black blood traces, entered by way of the dorsal region of the corresponding cervical vertebral arch or in between two arches and directly through to the vertebral canal. The injured cervical vertebra thus indicated a generally broad splintering, though it must be noted that the bone fragments had been jammed into the vertebral canal a certain distance. In other instances, there was only a shallow, trough-like injury, usually along the upper ridge of the dorsal area of the vertebral arch. The injury normally lay along the median line or only slightly off to the side of it. Here as well, small lead bullet splinterings were to be found again and again in the region of the bone injuries. Traces of bullet jackets, in contrast, were nowhere to be discovered. The cervical cord itself had usually dissolved into an amorphous mass as a result of decomposition so that the bullet track could no longer be traced in it. Its further course was generally difficult to establish, even though, as we had observed in a few cases, the other vertebral arch had not been penetrated. In this connection, the bone splinters could clearly be recognized as having become lodged somewhat towards the front. Thus, there were also traces of shattered lead bullets in the same place, as well as occasionally a markedly deformed slug or a larger bullet fragment. In other instances, the bullet had apparently exited in the front or somewhat to the side after having penetrated the cervical cord between two cervical vertebrae. More or less clear traces of blood were also discovered here in the form of a trail in the bullet track. Bullets themselves were in these instances no longer to be found, especially as they still had enough penetrating force in this area, due, apparently, to the negligible resistance of the bone (though the vertebral arch had only been grazed from behind), to pierce deep into the anterior cervical region and probably exit on several occasions again from the neck as

well. In two cases, well-preserved soft parts of the neck could be observed without any difficulty. As a result of the softening and decay of these soft parts, it was generally impossible to establish any exit wounds with certainty. The dissection of the bullet track near the soft parts in the anterior cervical region also met with the greatest of difficulties as a consequence of the tissue decomposition and dehydration and was in most cases abandoned as hopeless. In a few instances, however, a few exit wounds were established in front under the hyoid. In other cases, the shot had bypassed the vertebral canal without injuring the cervical cord.

Some extraordinary observations are still to be pointed out are two cases in which the victims were found shot through the head from right to left in the temporal region. In another case, the shot had been released from the front, whereby the entry wound lay in the middle area of the forehead and the exit wound to the left of the occipital foramen. In yet another case, finally, two entry wounds in the middle of the bregma were observed; the deformed bullets had become lodged in the petrosal.

In those cases in which the bullet had become lodged in or passed through the brain or had penetrated the uppermost part of the cervical cord, death was caused by a paralysis of the brain or of the vital centers, especially the respiratory center, located in the uppermost part of the cervical cord and the adjacent medulla oblongata. In a number of instances, however, brain paralysis surely did not set in immediately, especially when the bullet track had markedly gone off to the side and thus could not have injured the brain stem. Similarly, and as we had observed in one female corpse, there was a complete absence of fatal effects in those cases in which one or even two bullets had ricocheted off the bone. The same holds true of the bullets deep in the cervical cord (from about the third to the sixth cervical vertebra): that there could not, in this connection, have been an indirect effect on the respiratory center or the medulla oblongata. These victims, however, must have suffered a complete paralysis of the arms and legs; and it must be assumed that, after having received such a gunshot wound, they remained conscious. This incomplete effect of the shots in the back of the neck offers an explanation for the numerous multiple gunshot wounds. The lack of such a total effect, apparently, had to have been noticed after the first or second shot.

In addition to gunshot wounds, there were many cases of injuries attributable to brutal physical violence resulting in a more or less pronounced crushing of the skull. This is particularly relevant to the ques-

tion of whether the above-mentioned deep gunshot wounds was the immediate cause of death. Here, there were numerous instances of a localized brownish-red coloring in the cranial cavity, which was interpreted as the residue of a vital bleeding and therefore spoke for the skull's having been crushed while the victim was still alive. The blows were dealt in most cases on the side of the head. Larger parts of the parietal bone, the temporal bone, at times on the frontal bone as well, in such cases, were included in the extensive comminuted fractures; they had been shattered into numerous fragments and obviously forced downward again and again. These zones of comminuted and impression fractures were usually the size of the palm of the hand and assumed an oval or sometimes an amorphous form. Clearly contoured fractures, suggesting the impact of a massive, butt-like instrument with an oblong-oval or round form, were found in large numbers. In this connection, the violent blows, as far as could be inferred from the shape of the fractures, generally had been dealt, but with considerable force.

In one case, it could be inferred from the characteristic dislocation of the bones and the varying contours of the comminuted skull fracture that the head had twice received a violent blow. In another case, there was another distinctly oblong-oval-shaped skull fracture with somewhat jagged edges from which a large bone crack extended in very horizontal fashion across the frontal bone towards the front, passing over the periphery of the frontotemporal region. With respect to the impact of the blows, it was assumed, in this connection, that an oblong instrument, such as a powerful cudgel or something similar, was employed. Extending from these severe cranial injuries, it was repeatedly noted, were more or less gaping bone fractures in the vault as well as across the base of the skull.

In other cases, the facial bones had been smashed, which often resulted in an extensive fragmentation and crushing of the nasal bones and the bones of the upper jaw, sometimes of the lower jaw as well. A closer examination of the adjacent soft parts revealed here as well the characteristic colorings of traces of blood effusion. In all these cases, the severe comminuted skull fractures must have led to considerable brain injuries and intracranial bleeding, so that the cause of death is not to be seen here in the shots fired into the back of the neck but in a paralysis of the brain as a result of the impact of the violent blows to the skull. The localization and extent of the skull fractures in the lateral and frontal areas suggest that the victims had already fallen to the ground; their heads were in a side or supine position.

The following table lists the number of victims found with comminuted fractures of the skull:

Site I (Orchard) — out of 5,644 bodies.....	268 = 4.7%
Site II (Cemetery) — out of 2,408 bodies.....	78 = 3.3%
Site III (Public Park) — out of 1,383 bodies	49 = 3.5%

In a number of cases of deep gunshot wounds in the neck, there were no comminuted skull fractures of the kind described above. The rest of the examination of these cases did not provide a clear explanation of the cause of death either. Any one or another of these victims may have bled to death through a penetration wound in the blood vessels of the neck or throat. This, however, could not be proven because of body decomposition, especially as an exact dissection of the blood vessels in the throat for the purpose of exposing a gunshot wound would not for the same reason have been possible. Yet such a cause of death for an enormous number of people could hardly be attributed to a small-caliber bullet and an apparently negligible velocity. **Thus, the legitimate assumption remains that, in a number of these cases, a quick onset of death could not have resulted from the deep gunshot wounds in the cervical cord.** In two such cases, a dissection of the esophagus and a careful exposure of the throat revealed that a thick loam had forced its way down to the middle of the esophagus and into the piriform recesses. These findings indisputably point to the fact that a vital function — namely, the swallowing mechanism — had still been intact in the two victims. Accordingly, they had still been alive when they came into close contact with the mass of earth that was then forced down into the esophagus a certain distance by the intact swallowing function. These conclusions, which were reached by two critical observers — namely, by Prof. Orsós of Budapest and Prof. Malinin — independently of one another, were interpreted on the basis of forensic medical and criminal investigative considerations to mean that the wounded victims had, as a result of the deep gunshot wound in the cervical cord, likely suffered a drooping paralysis of the limbs, a so-called quadriplegia, but were subsequently buried alive. Asphyxiation was the obvious cause of death in these two cases.

BULLETS AND EVIDENCE OF CLOSE-RANGE FIRING

It has already been established from the bullet holes in the vault of the skull that calibers of less than six millimeters had been used. With some exceptions, the bullet holes were characterized by considerable

splintering. This conclusion is supported largely by various important pieces of evidence. First of all, despite the heavy deformation of several bullets found in the cranial cavity, a well-preserved bullet base could still be observed as a result of the projectiles in question having been compressed from top to bottom into a more or less mushroom-like shape. Thus, the base of the bullet had hardly or only very slightly been deformed. As a rule, the base had a diameter of five millimeters. In a few cases, moreover, completely undamaged projectiles were found in the soft parts of the neck, which, apparently as a result of an insufficient penetrating force and a weak powder charge, had not entered the body very deeply or even reached any bones, so that the entire bullet in its original shape had remained intact. In one such instance, the bullet base remained embedded in the skin, which meant the projectile could be discovered intact during the external examination of the neck. From this case and others, it could be concluded that unjacketed .22-caliber lead bullets had been used. They were 1.2 centimeters long and were distinctly narrowed down (to a diameter of five millimeters) at the base in the area of that part of the bullet that had been pressed into the cartridge case. Three fine ring-formed serrations were on the bullet surface. We are thus dealing with small-caliber or so-called long-rifle bullets. Land groovings with a right-hand twist could be distinctly seen on the projectiles, including the deformed ones. Four groovings, which in part were not very pronounced, could be seen on each of the intact projectiles mentioned above. They were 1.7 to 1.8 millimeters in width. Firearms with rifled barrels had therefore been used.

A comparison between the deformed bullets recovered from the cranial cavity with those that were well preserved revealed comparable weights with minor differences (2.50 to 2.52 grams) that can be explained by the loss of small metal splinters. Finally, a few intact cartridges and cartridge cases were discovered between clothing articles or bodies in the mass graves at the orchard. These were lead bullets of the above-mentioned caliber with brass cases of 1.5 millimeters in length, the exterior of which had a dark grayish-black to black coating. The bright brass luster could be reproduced through careful cleansing. The dark oxidation or coatings had been produced by fatty substances from the body fluid. As already shown by an examination of the lead bullets found in the bodies and explained above, these completely intact cartridges turned out to be in as good condition as the projectiles. The cartridge cases did not show any manufacturer's trademark so that the precise origin of this ammunition could not be investigated.

On opening and emptying these cartridges, we found a yellowish-green flake powder. We were thus dealing with a kind of smoky black powder.

Only once, in a mass grave at Site II (Cemetery), an empty cartridge case with a length of 3.8 centimeters and an opening measuring .8 centimeters in diameter was found. The case base revealed the clear impress of a firing pin in the center. The designation "T 33" was found on the outer ring of the case base. The case had a largely blackish coloring, revealing a clear brass luster after a careful cleansing. It was apparently the cartridge case from a Russian army pistol. No corresponding bullets, however, were found during the examination of the firearms injuries on the bodies from this grave. Insofar as projectiles in this instance could be secured, they were all small-caliber bullets of the above-mentioned caliber type. No further conclusions could be drawn accordingly from this single cartridge discovery.

The question of the range at which the shots aimed at the back of the neck had been fired was also of considerable interest. Particular attention was therefore devoted to close-range firing, insofar as this was possible in view of the body decomposition that had taken place. This consideration, however, met with some difficulties, for it was only in a few cases it was possible to detect bullet traces on the clothing, particularly on the back parts of the collar. This is primarily a reference to the deep gunshot wounds in the back of the neck or in the cervical cord, where a penetration shot through the jacket collar — in several cases, through the shirt collar as well — was repeatedly established. Intensive soaking in masses of saponified fat had made the detection of soot or of powder flares here considerably difficult, especially as, for external reasons, no conventional chemical testing or spectroscopic control could be used. A more or less clear zone of black accumulation encircling the bullet holes, suggesting gunpowder residue, could be seen in transmitted light on a few damaged collars.

Evidence, in contrast, of close-range firing in the form of a characteristic skin blackening by a firmly adhesive soot could be established without question by a large number of bullet holes in the neck tissues. Despite postmortem changes, such coronas of soot could be recognized fairly regularly after careful cleansing of the epidermis. They were one, two, sometimes up to three centimeters in diameter and were a clear contrast to the grayish-white skin coloring. The contour of the outer edge, however, was usually blurred. In some cases, moreover, a clear powder flare could still be seen near the bullet holes in the neck. They had formed a radius of about 1.5 to two centimeters around the coronas,

in which several of the faintest dotlike black flares could be detected in the uppermost layers of the skin. Neither traces of burns from, say, the muzzle flame of the firearm, nor any desiccated coronas were observed.

A distinct blackening of the soft parts, however, could be seen with exceptional frequency in the front section of the bullet track. On occasion, the blackening gave the impression of having created a soot cavitation. With respect to the gunshots in the upper neck, especially those near the occipital protuberance, a black accumulation in the short bullet track located in the soft parts could be traced to an entry wound in the bone, insofar as one existed. Still another, if less intensive blackening as a result of a firmly adhesive soot could also be seen on the rim of the bullet hole and, in a very few cases, in a funnel-like extension to the cranial cavity as well as on the dura mater, too. The characteristics of relative and absolute close-range firing (contact range) were thus established. Muzzler imprints, however, were not found at the point of entry in the skin. Yet their absence cannot be interpreted as a counterargument to the contact-range theory, as skin maceration could have erased such traces.

On the basis of differential diagnosis, the possibility of bullet ricochets could not, of course, be ignored in some of the above-mentioned conclusions, as the unjacketed lead bullets, as previously emphasized, had undergone considerable deformation upon impact on the bone and as a result of bone penetration. The same holds true for the grayish-black accumulations or colorings found around the bullets embedded in the soft parts, particularly in those cases in which the projectiles had glanced off the outer side of the cranial bone. These last mentioned effects could not be interpreted as evidence of close-range firing but instead as traces of lead that had ricocheted or splintered off and transformed during body decomposition into black lead sulfide (PbS). The first-mentioned findings, in particular on the surface of the skin as well as in the front section of the bullet tracks, nevertheless provided sufficiently reliable evidence of powder residues — that is, evidence of close-range firing — and, therefore, of the fact that, in the case of these shots in the back of the neck, the distance of the gun barrel from the surface of the skin had to have been only a very slight one. In those negative cases — that is, those in which there were insufficiently clear and ascertainable indications of close-range firing — a disturbance or erasure of the evidence as a result of postmortem functions had to be taken into account. Thus, a significant number of instances of close-range firing probably escaped detection. Soot deposits could have dis-

appeared, for example, as a result of the liquid putrescence, the removal of the macerated epidermis, and the like.

THE METHODS AND SITES OF EXECUTION

The lengthy examinations of the bodies revealed a noteworthy uniformity of the gunshot wounds in the back of the neck. With a few exceptions, two groups of wounds could be distinguished. One concerned obvious head wounds, though it should be added that the line of fire from the nape, assuming an upright head position, lay pointing upwards at an angle of usually 30° to 45°. Two subgroups were discerned in this connection: a) those shots fired into the occipital foramen and its immediate vicinity; b) those shots fired into the occipital protuberance (at Site II, these subgroups, which were identified according to alternating grave numbers, were particularly distinct). The other group included the cervical cord wounds, which were conspicuously present in large numbers in some of the mass graves at Site I (Orchard) and observed with regularity. In most cases, the line of fire here was horizontal.

From these observations, the conclusion is drawn that the shootings had been carried out by experienced hands, and fairly systematically as well. In view of the fact that the small-caliber ammunition and weapons had not been substituted for better suited ones, the inadequate force of the bullets to penetrate the cranial bone apparently necessitated a particular technique.

The weapons used in the shootings could not be examined. Only through well-preserved bullets could it be learned that these were firearms with a rifled barrel of four groovings with a slight right-hand twist. Foreign observers have often raised the question of whether a handgun or a small-bore rifle had been used. The fact that several gunshot wounds in the back of the neck had been found on most of the bodies suggests a multifire handgun, though it should be added that the bullet holes often lay close together and that the line of fire in almost all cases ran from the neck forward towards the sagittal suture.

Another question raised by the examination findings was whether the shots had been received in a lying or standing position. In view of the predominant line of fire in the case of both the head and the cervical cord wounds, the possibility of a lying position can be excluded altogether. Close-range firing evidence suggests that the gun had been placed directly against the skin of the neck or very close to the skin

surface. In addition, the muzzle had, with respect to the head wounds, been pointed upwards at an angle, whereas, in the case of the cervical cord wounds, it had usually been held in a horizontal position. Had the victims been in a lying position, the executioners would have had to assume an extremely unnatural gun-bearing posture. This theory was therefore rejected. Alone in the single case of a double gunshot wound in the crown, with the line of fire in an almost vertical position directed towards the base of the skull (bullets in the petrosals), was a lying position possible. The simplest explanation for this is that this execution was an exception. Such an assumption, however, is rather questionable, if not altogether impossible, in the case of the two completely horizontal shots through the head. With respect to the frontal shot (from the mid-forehead to the left side at the back of the head), the theory of a lying position could hardly be justified, for, according to the prevailing pattern of skull fissures, it must have been fired first. Its diagonal, upward course towards the back of the head suggests that the head had leaned forward somewhat, although the victim could have been hit while in a half-stooped body position. The second shot found in the skull (from the right mastoid process upwards at an angle to the left petrosal) was apparently then fired into the stretched-out victim, who had been lying on his left side.⁷

The above-mentioned considerations only apply to a very few isolated cases. In the final analysis, the assumption that the overwhelming majority of the victims had been shot while in a standing position remains the most credible theory. In this way, it can be concluded that both the head and cervical cord wounds had therefore been inflicted under the same circumstances, though the firearm in some cases must have been pointed at an upward angle; in others, held horizontally. **The multiple shots in individual victims, whose bullet wounds in the back of the neck were in many cases spaced closely together, suggest that the condemned had likely been held by the upper arm on the side and thereby had been prevented from collapsing or from sinking sideways until the second, third, or even fourth shot was fired.**

With respect to the location of the shootings, the examinations at the three sites convinced us that they had not likely taken place at the edge of or even in the mass graves in large numbers, as there were not many cartridges to be found anywhere. Instead, only a few were discovered so that such an assumption could hardly be justified, especially in view of local conditions (location on the outskirts of town). By no means can it be excluded that isolated shootings had taken place,

especially at Site I (Orchard) in the open. A few bodies, for example, were found on top of the uppermost layer of clothing in some of the mass graves — a finding that differed from others as it led us to assume that these two victims, immediately after having assisted in transporting the bodies to the graves, were shot in the end as well. It is therefore most likely that the shootings, as testimony received from the Ukrainian population indicates, had primarily taken place in prisons.

Discussion of the bullet marks in the trees at the three sites or of any ricochet effects is superfluous, as the examination findings reveal that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the bullets had become lodged in the bodies because of the inadequate penetration power of small-caliber ammunition and that, as a result, corresponding traces in the vicinity of the victims were hardly to be expected.

BINDING, GAGGING

While most of the female victims had not been tied up, practically all male corpses were found with their arms bound — in several instances, with their feet bound as well. Where a binding of the arms was not present, there had usually been considerable postmortem changes that led to a loss of the wrist bones or the entire hand. One explanation for this, of course, is that a hand binding that had existed could have slipped off the corpse. As a rule, the hands or arms had been tied behind the back.

The same hand-binding technique was encountered in several thousands of examinations with stereotyped consistency, and it had been extraordinarily firmly applied so that the rope had left deep imprints in the soft parts of the wrist. The entire exercise points to the use of experienced personnel.

In making these bindings, a twine rope with a diameter of five to six millimeters, apparently an industrially manufactured hemp cord of considerable thickness, had been used. The length varied from 1.2 to **1.3** meters.

The binding was such that the cord had been tied twice around both wrists. The two ends had then been tied into a knot over the gap between the two wrists so that one end was firmly wound around the first rope loops towards the front and the other towards the back between the forearms and finally tied into a double knot. The rope had initially been tied around each wrist, thus separating the hands from each other. Each wrist was thus more or less bound in one half

of a double loop, making it impossible, in the process, for the victims to free their hands. In this way, the method of binding used here differed somewhat from that found in Katyn.

In a few instances, the victim had been bound at the elbows or the upper arms: namely, once at Site I (Orchard), four times at Site II (Cemetery), and twice at Site III (Public Park). The bindings consisted of the same kind of hemp twine but required a greater length of cord so that they could be applied behind the back, namely in such a way that rope had been run back and forth three or four times between the elbows and then tied into a knot. In the single case at the Orchard, the elbows had been pressed very tightly together so that there was only a very slight gap between them. This was the case of the man with an old hand amputation already discussed in connection with the question of body identification. It had thus been impossible to bind his wrists. With regard to those cases at Sites II and III, elbow bindings were found on those tied at the wrists as well and were somewhat looser. The elbows were thus separated by a distance of up to 30 centimeters. The reason for the double binding could not be determined.

In addition to the hand bindings, a few cases of the feet having been tied up were also discovered: eight at Site I, 14 at Site II, and two at Site III. The kind of rope described above had been used here as well. The rope had been wound around the shanks just above the ankles and over the trousers. The rope had been wound in one loop around each shank and tied into a tight knot. In each case, the foot binding was such that the feet could still be moved up to a distance of 25 to 30 centimeters apart. The victims had thus been able to take small steps. The foot bindings were primarily found on younger men, who, presumably, had been considered potential escapees.

At Site II, two male bodies were discovered with each having a noose tied around his neck made from the same hemp-twine material as the bindings. This was a single noose that had been placed tightly around his neck and from which a long end had freely hung. It was thus an obvious strangling device. Yet it had not, apparently, been used as a means of killing both men, as the latter were found, as in the case of the other victims, with typical fatal gunshot wounds in the back of the neck. Similarly, other strangling devices made of tightly twisted handkerchiefs or scarves that had also been rather tightly wound around the neck were found on some of the other bodies at the same site. A convenient loose end with which the strangling device could be tightened had hung here as well. Because these victims, too, had been killed

by gunshots in the back of the neck, it is likely that the strangling devices had been rigged for other purposes. The most probably assumption is that **the screams of the victims were supposed to have been stifled through an occasional choking of the throat.** This assumption, furthermore, is suggested by another means of gagging that has incontestably been established in three cases. Gags of twisted cloth, in this connection, had been stuffed deeply into the mouth and throat. The three victims had also received typically fatal gunshot wounds in the back of the neck, from which it can be concluded that gagging was used not to kill them but merely to stifle their cries. It can therefore be assumed that gagging devices had been employed in several other cases but escaped detection because a thorough examination of the throat could not, for reasons of time, be conducted on all the bodies.

From these observation, it must be concluded that these methods employed prior to the shootings had inflicted considerable pain on the victims. . . (s.f.)

ASCERTAINING THE TIME OF DEATH

The question of the length of time from the execution of the victims found at the three sites to their discovery requires special consideration. This is primarily a problem of evaluating the forensic medical and criminal investigative findings as a means of determining the time of death.

These considerations, first of all, had to be seen in relation to the length of time necessary for the bodies to decompose, to the extent that they had. As we have already detailed, the postmortem changes consisted, in their various combinations and stages of development, of putrescent maceration, mummification, adipoceration, and extreme dehydration during autolytic softening. These processes, in unmistakable contingence on the respective site of the finds, had assumed various forms, though numerous combinations were noted several times. In this connection, the rather extensive build-up of adipocere, which was abundantly present on the bodies discovered in the deep lateral areas of the grave pits, was in many cases particularly noteworthy.

Clearly specified time spans necessary for the development of these processes cannot be calculated here, since they had been brought about, as we have said, by the most heterogenous factors. In the few comparable instances already recorded in the scientific literature, these processes had, of course, been continually influenced by certain conditions not found in Vinnytsia. If, at first, we were to take the case of

an extensive decay of the soft parts and a more or less pronounced characterization of *individual* corpses as those found in large numbers in the upper soil strata atop the mass graves at Site II, we would only be able to rely on comparative analysis at best. It takes at least four or five years until this stage of decomposition is reached in bodies buried in relatively shallow, loose, porous soil as in the case of the individual corpses discovered at Site II. The digging out of the mass graves, over which the individual ones, apparently as camouflage, had later been laid out, therefore had to be backdated by a comparable period of time.

Of all postmortem phenomena, it is primarily to the adipoceration that considerable importance must be attached as a means of determining the time of death. A wealth of forensic medical experience suggests that at least two and one-half months pass before the first indications of adipocere are evident, however slightly at first. In this connection, the fatty degeneration and saponification processes gradually advance from the outer body parts towards the inside. The facial soft parts, with their relatively small muscular apparatus, take much longer, though those muscle parts still free of the process are also affected by it after a year.

By way of qualification, it must be emphasized that these had been observations made on individual bodies found in water — in circumstances, therefore, that had not been directly applicable to those existent in Vinnytsia. By contrast, the peculiar conditions, and certainly to some extent also the uniqueness of the events of Vinnytsia lay in the closest placing and pressing together of large masses of corpses in deep mass graves that, as a result of the extraordinarily low ground-water level, were rather far from any water table. At the same time, there was a most uncommonly high level of pressure of at least 5,000 kilograms per square meter on the upper layer of corpses, which in the course of the colliquative body decomposition and autolytic functions had, to a large degree, squeezed out the chemically released tissue fluid. Finally, it was also significant, certainly, that the mass graves were located in a distinct zone of loess, which, because of its peculiarly fine grain size, ensured only very minimal air permeability of the soil layers. These factors, in connection with the findings from the excavations in Vinnytsia, strongly suggest that, compared to the above-mentioned individual experiences, a considerable delay was to be anticipated here with regard to the postmortem appearances, particularly the adipoceration, which in turn demanded a time-of-death estimate of different proportions.

There have been very few, though certainly rather significant studies of past experiences that, relatively speaking, could be drawn upon for analyzing such mass grave finds. These are: first, the examination of mass graves in Paris undertaken at the end of the 18th and in the middle of the 19th century; and secondly, the observations made in Katyn from the most recent past.

The Paris observations refer in part to mass burials undertaken with the use of wooden coffins and in part to those by which the corpses had apparently been placed together in deep pits side by side in rows and on top of one another in layers.' The mass graves of in part giant proportions had been opened after five or six years. Here were found the most heterogenous stages and combinations of conservatory as well as destructive postmortem functions. In addition to a pronounced skeletonization, there was also dehydration and mummification in the upper layers. In the deep layers, the bodies had been transformed into adipocere; it should be added that the lowest layers of corpses had revealed the heaviest build-up of adipocere, apparently undergoing the transformation first. These detailed observations, to some extent, strongly resemble the findings of Vinnytsia so that the length of time (five to six years) can certainly be drawn upon for purposes of comparison.

The statement concerning these common graves, moreover, appears noteworthy in that the soil, also of loose consistency, had become increasingly incapable of promoting further decomposition following its heavier impregnation by the products of body decay and was later apparently no longer able to soak up the squeezed-out corpse fluid and its admixtures. It thus came to a build-up of adipocere of increasing dimensions without the effects here of groundwater — a development that in a certain sense could also well be compared to the circumstances in Vinnytsia, especially at Site I.

Another extremely important opportunity for comparison may be found in the investigation findings in Katyn, as we are here dealing with body finds in mass graves from the immediate post, during the examination of which special attention had been devoted to the condition of the soil. As in Vinnytsia, the bodies in Katyn had also not been buried in coffins; rather the clothed bodies had been piled up on one another in numerous thick layers. In both location, the bodies had been subject to considerable compression caused by the soil on top. Finally, the same violent means had been employed in Katyn — namely, a shot in the back of the neck — so that the infectious disease processes

or lingering illnesses as specific factors for the development of the postmortem phenomena thereby failed to play a role here.

The external circumstances of these two sites differed mainly in their contrasting soil conditions. The mass graves in Katyn were discovered in a sandy soil in which the bodies had lain in groundwater during periods of greater precipitation or thawing weather in the fall and spring. The rest of the time, the bodies remained largely dry as a result of the high liquid porousness of the sand. During the investigation, the groundwater level was high. In Vinnytsia, however, the mass graves were primarily located in thick loess soil, which was interspersed with sand in only a few places. The water table here lay far below the grave floors so that the bodies could not be reached by the rising groundwater either during the rainy periods or periods of snowbreak. The greater soaking-up and absorption properties of the fine-grained loess soil, however, certainly impeded drainage of the body decomposition products through the floor or walls of the graves. A further difference lay in the size and depth of the mass graves. In Katyn, they were considerably larger and contained more extensive piles of bodies respectively. Yet the corpses did not lie buried as deeply in the earth. The upper layer was buried at a depth of 1.3 meters, whereas, in Vinnytsia, they were found, with few exceptions, at two to 2.3 meters. The depth of the mass graves in Katyn varied from 1.85 to 3.3 meters; in Vinnytsia, from three to 3.8 meters. As a result of these contrasts, there was also a different level of pressure from the piled-up masses of earth. In Katyn, this was equal to about 3,000 kilograms; in Vinnytsia, at least 5,000 kilograms per square meter on the upper layer of corpses.

These respective discrepancies must be considered when comparing the nature and extent of the instances of body decomposition, for the purpose of ascertaining the time of death in the Vinnytsia case. Even if the primary phase of decomposition, conditioned by microflora and autolysis, runs its course essentially without depending on the soil type or groundwater conditions, the secondary phase of the subsequent postmortem changes would certainly be regulated to a fairly significant degree. That means that, after extensive liquefaction of the organic substances, their movement from the mass graves is subject to various conditions, depending on the type of soil. To some extent, one can nevertheless assume parallel processes in the findings both in Katyn and in Vinnytsia, for at both locations, the primary period of putrefaction certainly faded away early after having assumed more or less far-reaching proportions as a result of the considerable pressure of the earth and thus of the sealing out of air caused by it. The secondary

conservatory processes, particularly the build-up of adipocere, were thus probably influenced substantially — in addition to the sealing out of air — by the high groundwater level in Katyn, whereas in Vinnytsia, the impeded movement of the liquid body decomposition products (as a result of the considerably higher capillary potential of the loess soil) in this connection played an important role.

The end results reached in both cases were to some degree comparable. With all due caution, it is unmistakable that in Vinnytsia, the processes that had developed the furthest were clearly more advanced than those in Katyn. For in Katyn, the "adipoceratous transformation had affect only the subcutaneous fatty tissue, whereas the skeletal muscles for the most part revealed a pale salmon-pink color together with a perceptible loss of consistency and was interspersed with white adipoceratous particles in the connective tissue of the fasciculus alone. A complete metamorphosis of all the soft parts of the limbs into adipocere, therefore, had not yet taken place anywhere."⁹ In Vinnytsia, however, a total metamorphosis of all the soft parts of sections of the peripheral extremities (forearm, shanks) were perhaps not observed regularly, but certainly a whole number of instances. The findings on the inner organs ascertained during the autopsies also revealed a clearly advanced stage of decomposition in Vinnytsia as opposed to those of Katyn. In Vinnytsia, for example, the contents of the gall bladder, the spleen, and the adrenal tissues, as well as the structural dissimilarities of the renal cortex and medulla nephrica could in almost all cases practically no longer be recognized, whereas in Katyn, clear structural details of the organs in question could still be discerned.

On the basis of these various pieces of evidence, which are each founded on observations made by several forensic medical examiners independently of one another, inevitably follows the conclusion that the time of death of the victims in Vinnytsia must be placed well before that in Katyn. It has been established that the shootings in Katyn took place in the months of March, April, and May **1940**. In view of the above-mentioned examination findings and considerations, the shootings must therefore be backdated to the period before **1940**. In view of the very high compression to which the bodies in Vinnytsia had been subjected and the greater depth at which almost all of them had been buried, a relatively slow progression of the postmortem changes in the secondary phase certainly had to be anticipated. Accordingly, the obvious, if not inordinately glaring differences in the postmortem appearances discussed above, by no means exclude the possibility that the bodies in Vinnytsia had been exposed to a process of decomposition

of one to two years longer than those in Katyn. Nor is the relatively well-preserved state of the clothing articles discovered in the mass graves of Vinnytsia, which amazed some observers, by any means incompatible with the considerations and conclusions mentioned above. In this connection, it should be considered that the layer of clothing atop the body piles, which because of its particularly well-preserved state was secured primarily for purposes of identification, had been exposed to the effects of the body decomposition products to a considerably lesser degree than the apparel items on the corpses themselves. Based on the considerable experience gained from examining graves and other sites of body finds, it is known, finally, that textile fabric can maintain its structure and durability in an earthen grave over several years.

In determining the time of death, the study conducted on the high shrubbery growing over various mass graves at Sites II and III with the expert advice of a particularly experienced specialist (Professor Sevastianov) was also significant. It was established that these plants consisted of seven- and eight-year hazelnut, oak, and hawthorn saplings and had been transplanted in their second or third year.

The same conclusions were reached by the examination of tree roots that had, in various places, grown into the earth over the graves from older trees standing off to the side.

The forensic medical and scientific findings all suggest, therefore, a point in time of about five or six years before the excavations in the summer of 1943 as the time of death. This was therefore in full accord with further results of the investigation that, through the examination of witnesses, clarified the external circumstances of the shootings in Vinnytsia. From this follows that the arrests had taken place in the period from October 1937 to May 1938, which, among other things, was confirmed by a considerable number of arrest and search warrants of the NKVD found in the mass graves. The digging of mass graves, furthermore, had been repeatedly observed from the fall of 1937 to the beginning of 1939.

From all these things, we can draw the conclusion that the shootings and burial of the victims took place about five years ago — that is, in 1938, perhaps in part as early as the end of 1937.

SUMMARY

1. Three mass graveyards were discovered in Vinnytsia (the Ukraine) in the early summer of 1943. During the months from June to Septem-

ber, a total of 9,432 bodies were recovered from the graves. Of these, 169 were female.

2. The distribution of bodies at the three sites was as follows: At Site I (Orchard), 5,644 bodies were disinterred, including 53 female bodies; at Site II (Cemetery), 2,405 bodies, including 85 female; at Site III (Public Park), 1,383, including 31 female.

With the cessation of excavation activity, Site III had, because of its extensive spatial dimensions, not yet been fully explored so that still further body finds are to be expected.

3. On the basis of physical traits, characteristic markings on the clothes, and documentary finds, 679 victims (or 7.2 percent of the total) could be identified. These were members of the Ukrainian populace that had largely stemmed from among the farm labor segment. The clothes of the unidentified victims also pointed to membership in this social stratum.

4. The male victims had primarily been middle-aged and were all properly dressed. Yet 49 of the 169 female corpses were found completely naked. These had been mostly younger and middle-aged women, whereas the properly dressed had belonged to the older age group.

5. With a few exceptions, the bodies exhibited gunshot wounds in the back of the neck, mostly double shots; 78 were found with triple shots, and two had been shot four times. Some of the shots had been directed towards the head cavity, others towards the cervical cord, and had in almost all cases become lodged in the bodies. A conspicuously large number of bullets that had glanced off the outside of the cranial bone were found. The ammunition used was the unjacketed .22-caliber bullet, which was in part substantiated through undamaged cartridges found among the bodies. The type of ammunition had in most cases apparently possessed an inadequate penetrating power, which explains the reason for the several shots fired into individual victims. Where no gunshot wounds could be established, no conclusions could be drawn because of the advanced stage of body decomposition.

6. The shots in the back of the neck had been given off from the immediate vicinity, in several instances with the muzzle of the weapon up against the skin, which was substantiated by clear markings of close-range firing. In a whole number of cases, however, they could not have had an immediately fatal impact, as was evident from the course of the bullet track, which had not penetrated any vital centers.

7. In addition to the shots in the back of the neck, there were 395 cases in which death, in the final analysis, had been caused by a comminuted skull fracture as a result of the impact of a heavy blud-

geoning instrument. The comminuted fractures were usually found in the lateral areas of the head, but also repeatedly in the facial bone region, and had apparently taken place while the victim still lay alive in the ground, a fact that could be established from the clear traces of vital bleeding.

8. In cases in which there was a series of particularly deeply embedded cervical cord shots, which must have led to a complete paralysis of the limbs but not to a rapid fatal impact, no evidence of vicious assault (such as comminuted skull fractures) was found. The cause of death could therefore not be attributed to these shots with certainty. The two cases in which a compact loam mass was discovered in the esophagus suggest that the victims in question had been buried while still alive and thus asphyxiated.

9. With one exception, all male bodies had been bound at the wrists behind the back. In a few instances, a binding was also discovered on the upper arms and on the feet as well. The overwhelming majority of the female bodies had not been bound. A large number of male and female victims were found with a strangling device around the neck, which, however, is not to be understood as a cause of death and which had apparently served as a means of temporarily choking off the supply of air. In three cases, gags of twisted material were found in the mouth or throat of the body. These victims also exhibited gunshot wounds in the back of the neck and had most probably been prevented earlier from screaming, by means of temporary choking or gagging.

10. Different forms of decomposition were found on the bodies of the three sites, depending on their placement. Whereas, on the surface of the mass graves, a skeletonization and partial or more extensive mummification was predominantly found, a damp maceration and advanced stage of adipocere was ascertained in the middle and lower areas of the graves. The tissues and organs in many instances could still be recognized and were shown, apparently as a result of the extraordinarily high compression under the stratified earth above, to be in relatively well-preserved condition as accompanied by pronounced tissue dehydration.

11. The pervading build-up of adipocere, the intensive baking of the corpses, the findings concerning the inner organs, as well as the structural soil changes in the mass graves suggest that the victims had been buried for several years. Compared to the evidence drawn from the mass graves in Katyn and from other observations, we are led to the inescapable conclusion that the burials in Vinnytsia predated those of Katyn by about five to six years.

12. The forensic medical findings are in complete harmony with the examination results of the trees and shrubs over the graves, furthermore with the evidence found in the documents among the victims, as well as with the eyewitness testimony of the Ukrainian populace. They all suggest that the fatal shootings and beating must have taken place in 1938, in part in 1937 as well. . . (s.f.)

Protocol of the International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners

The following protocol was drawn up in Vinnytsia on July 15, 1943 subsequent to an examination of mass graves containing the bodies of Ukrainians from the vicinity of Vinnytsia. The examination was conducted by the undersigned commission of leading representatives of forensic medicine and pathological and descriptive anatomy from European universities.

The mass graves in the vicinity of Vinnytsia were subjected to a scientific and exact examination from July 13 to July 15, 1943.

The commission was composed of:

1. Belgium: Dr. *Soenen*, Professor of Anatomy, University of Ghent;
2. Bulgaria: Dr. *Michailov*, Chief Resident Physician, Forensic Medical Institute, University of Sofia;
3. Croatia: Dr. *Jurak*, Professor of Pathological Anatomy, University of Zagreb;
4. Finland: Dr. *Pesonen*, Professor of Anatomy, University of Helsinki;
5. France: Dr. *Duvoir*, Professor of Forensic Medicine, University of Paris;
6. Hungary: Dr. *Orsós*, Professor of Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation, University of Budapest;
7. Italy: Dr. *Cazzaniga*, Professor of Forensic Medicine, Royal University of Milan;
8. Netherlands: Dr. *ter Poorten*, Prosector, Institute of Pathological Anatomy, University of Amsterdam;

9. Rumania: Dr. Birkle, Medical Examiner, Ministry of Justice, and Chief Resident Physician, Prof. Dr. Mina Minovici Institute of Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation, Bucharest;
10. Slovakia: Dr. Krsek, Professor of Forensic Medicine, and Chairman, Institute of Forensic Medicine, Slovakian University, Bratislava;
11. Sweden: Dr. Haggqvist, Professor of Anatomy, Carolinian Institute, Stockholm.

Also present during the work of the foreign delegation were:

1. Dr. H. Waegner, Head, Department of Health, Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories;
2. Prof. Dr. Schrader, Chairman, German Society for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation.

At the invitation of Dr. Conti, Head of the Reich Health Office, the commission was requested to proceed to the sites of the finds in order to assist in clearing up the investigation.

Before the arrival of the commission, Prof. Schrader had ascertained the following:

Three mass grave sites had been under investigation up until July 15, 1943:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Site I: the "Orchard" | with 38 mass graves; |
| Site II: the "Cemetery" | with about 40 mass graves (of which 15 have been opened); |
| Site III: the "Public Park" | with about 35 mass graves (of which 14 have been opened). |

Up to that time, only 1,206 bodies had been recovered from the partially emptied graves. Of those, 817 had been submitted for a forensic medical examination under the supervision of Prof. Schrader with the assistance of German and local physicians.

Forensic Medical Findings from the Investigation Conducted by the Commission

The members of the commission have inspected all the above-mentioned sites in Vinnytsia. All of the grave pits were of the same form, size, and depth; only ten pits were larger and deeper. In the pits inspected by us, the bodies lay in complete disarray.

Eleven autopsies were personally performed by members of the commission, and in 24 cases, there was a coroner's inquest. All the bodies underwent an autopsy at Site I. One body came from Site III (Public Park).

In view of the fact that the bodies had, according to the examination findings up to now, been buried for five years, they must be considered well preserved. The extent of decomposition differed according to the condition of the individual bodies and body parts. We found considerable skeletonization and mummification on the surface of body piles. In the middle and deeper layers, however, there was damp maceration and advanced adipoceration with good perceptibility of the tissues and organs in several cases. In a few instances, the major parts of the brain could be recognized in their topography.

Insect remains that could have simultaneously been buried with the corpses were not at all discovered. It should be noted, however, that there was an unevenly distributed layer of chlorinated lime over the bodies.

The male bodies were all dressed without exception, and almost all of them had their hands tied behind their backs. The three female corpses that were recovered from a mass grave in our presence were completely undressed and unbound (pit no. 24b).

Gunshot wounds were found on all bodies, mostly in the back of the neck, and were caused by a .22-caliber handgun. The lead bullets used were without exception unjacketed (long rifle).

In 14 cases, the shot in the back of the neck was at the same level as the second and third spinous processes. In a few instances, however, the bullet hole was much lower — at the fifth and sixth cervical vertebrae. The bullet track was in some cases horizontal, passing, for example, through the second cervical vertebral body and exiting under the hyoid. In other instances, it ran from the shot in the back of the neck in a more or less upward direction, injuring the skull base and brain. We observed, moreover, a few shots in the occiput and one through the temporal region from right to left.

Most bullet wounds showed evidence of close-range firing; in most cases, the projectiles became lodged in the body. Many of the bodies exhibited two or three separate gunshot wounds.

Secondary head injuries caused by vicious assault had been inflicted in several instances — that is, fractures of the lower jaw as well as impression fractures and completely comminuted fractures of the skull. We saw an impression fracture in a body in which there were only two deep gunshot wounds in the back of the neck.

On those skull fractures caused by vicious assault, we found localized characteristic staining, which suggested vital bleeding. The soft parts were preserved for microscopic study.

Apart from the violent injuries described above, no major perceptible changes were revealed by the autopsies. In most of the cases examined, the cause of death can be attributed exclusively to gunshot wounds. In those instances in which a deep gunshot wound in the back of the neck could not have been instantly fatal, the subsequent cranial injury must be presumed to have been the immediate cause of death.

In several cases of gunshot wounds in the neck in which the bullet hole lay in the lower back neck area and no evidence of vicious assault was present, it must be assumed that the victim had died as a result of unknown causes. In one case, in which compacted loam was established in the middle of the esophagus and in the pear-shaped recesses of the throat, it can be assumed that the victim had swallowed earth while buried alive.

As suggested by their clothing, the victims examined belonged almost entirely to the simple working class or peasantry and were mostly advanced in years.

From the tall, thick elder bushes over a part of the pits and the thickness of the soil in the pits, and particularly from the baking of the bodies and the advanced state of their decomposition, most of all the penetrating adipocere, it can be concluded that the burials had indeed taken place five years ago, as local residents, many of whom were interrogated by ourselves and by the municipal authorities, have confirmed.

Summary Findings

In the vicinity of the Ukrainian city of Vinnytsia, mass graves containing members of the local population have been examined by the undersigned commission. Sixty-six of the graves have been opened. The bodies examined exhibited occipital and neck shots, with the exception of a single lateral shot that had passed through the head of one victim. Apart from some of the deep neck wounds, the immediate cause of death was a gunshot wound to the head.

From the testimony of family members and witnesses, as well as the documents found with the bodies, and from the postmortem changes and secondary findings described in the protocol above, we conclude that the killings had taken place approximately in 1938.

(Signatures)

Dr. Soenen	Dr. Mikhailov	Dr. Pesonen	Dr. Krsek
Dr. Duvoir	Dr. Cazzaniga*	Dr. Jurak	Dr. Orsds
Dr. ter Poorten	Dr. Birkle	Dr. Haggqvist	

**Editor's note:* A source indicating the German authorities' non-interference in the investigation of the International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners is a letter of Professor Dr. Antonio Cazzaniga, a former member of this Commission, to Senator John M. Butler in 1959. He also reaffirms that the conclusions of the official protocol which he signed in 1943 and the German official documents on the findings of the Vinnytsia mass graves are correct. See: "Italian Member of the Vynnytsia Commission Attests to Russian Communist Crimes on Ukrainians," *Svoboda Ukrainian Weekly*, No. 178, September 16, 1959.

Protocol of the German Professors of Forensic Medicine from German Universities

The following protocol was drawn up subsequent to an examination of mass graves containing members of the Ukrainian population from the vicinity of Vinnytsia. The examination was conducted by the undersigned participants of the Commission of Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation of German Universities from July 27 to July 29, 1943.

1. Prof. Dr. Schrader, Halle, Chairman of the German Society for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Investigation;
2. Prof. Dr. Forster, Marburg;
3. Prof. Dr. *Hallermann*, Kiel;
4. University Lecturer Dr. Hausbrandt, Königsberg (representing Prof. Dr. Mueller, who was detained because of official duties);
5. Prof. Dr. *Jungmichel*, Göttingen;
6. Prof. Dr. von Neureiter, Strasbourg (German name: Strassburg);
7. Prof. Dr. Panning, Bonn;
8. Prof. Dr. Raestrup, Leipzig;
9. Prof. Dr. Schneider, Vienna;
10. Prof. Dr. *Timm*, Jena;
11. Prof. Dr. Walcher, Würzburg;
12. Prof. Dr. Weyrich, Prague;
13. Prof. Dr. Wiethold, Frankfurt am Main.

Present during the work of the German delegation was Dr., H. Waegner, Head of the Department of Health of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, as Chairman of the Examination Commission in Vinnytsia.

The commission convened on the instructions of Dr. Conti, Head of the Reich Health Office.

The commission in the first place acknowledged the findings made before it by Prof. Schrader and his assistants and inspected the three mass grave sites. At the three sites, the 67 mass graves that had already been opened were inspected. From these, 2,125 bodies had been recovered, according to disclosed documents, and examined in the period up to July 26, 1943.

At Sites II (Cemetery) and III (Public Park), furthermore, about 45 rectangular depressions in the earth covered with grass and shrub growth were seen, which, in the experience of Prof. Schrader and his assistants, suggest additional graves.

Forensic Medical Findings of the Commission

The inspected pits varied in size from about 2.5 by three meters and three meters in depth to 2.8 by five meters and 3.8 meters in depth.

The pits, which were in various stages of excavation, each showed that first there was a layer of earth about two meters deep, then a layer of clothing of about 30 to 40 centimeters thick. After this followed a layer of corpses, the thickness of which varied from pit to pit. The corpses lay in complete disarray and were more or less rather compressed.

A middle-sized pit at Site I was opened in the presence of the commission. In accordance with Prof. Schrader's findings mentioned above in this connection, a similar pit was found to contain 100 to 130 bodies. All of the male bodies were dressed, and all of them had their hands tied behind their backs. The bindings of sturdy hemp twine were all of the same kind. Some male bodies, furthermore, were bound at the feet. Nine female bodies were disinterred in the presence of the commission; of these, four were dressed, the others undressed. Subsequent autopsies on six female bodies revealed that the four naked ones had belonged to a younger age group, whereas the two clothed corpses had been approximately 40 to 50 years old. These female bodies were all unbound.

The clothing apparel, both the unworn articles as well as those found on the bodies, were all of the kind in which Ukrainian workers, especially farm workers, are dressed. Generally, only trousers and a shirt — often a jacket and footwear as well — were found on a body. The clothes on top of the layers of bodies included, in general, outer garments, particularly warm winter items, such as furs and felt boots. In

two cases, clothing items were recognized by Ukrainian women in the presence of the commission as having belonged to missing family members.

Valuables were not found on any of the victims inspected and examined by the commission, either on their person or among their clothes. Documents — that is, handwritten papers, such as those presented in larger quantities to the commission from the materials collected thus far — were in one case discovered during our own investigation in the jacket of a male body.

Members of the commission conducted autopsies on 19 bodies and coroner's inquests on another 49.

The autopsied bodies belonged primarily to the middle- and upper-age brackets.

Gunshot wounds were found in all but one of those autopsied — ten bodies with one shot, seven with two, and one with three.

From a total of 27 shots, no fewer than 18 had become lodged in the bodies. The embedded bullets were all unjacketed and made of lead; most of them had been flattened out considerably and splintered in part as well. Better-preserved fragments all point to a caliber of 5.6 millimeters, corresponding to the US caliber marking of .22 inches. As far as could be determined, there were four rifling marks, usually with a distinct right-hand twist.

A closer examination of the group of corpses with several gunshot wounds will uniformly show that at least one of the bullets, after running its course, could not have rapidly brought about death. In the main, these were deep neck shots that, with only a very slight ascent of the bullet tracks, had been limited to the vertebral column and the soft parts of the neck. The several high occipital bone shots that at the end of their bullet tracks could not have hit the vital medulla oblongata fall into the same category. In the case of one 40- to 50-year old woman, there were two facial shots, similarly non-fatal, that had only reached the base of the skull.

Not in all cases, however, of insufficiently effective shots was a bullet fired to finish off a victim. In several instances, death was finally dealt with great force through the use of vicious assault, probably administered with a rifle butt or similar instrument. In the end, the victim was thus beaten to death. This was true of four of those examined: three had extensive comminuted skull fractures in the cranial and facial areas, including the skull base with bone fragments having been thrust inward; one had an extensive but localized impression fracture of the right temporal region. This is the one case in which, as mentioned

above, no gunshot wounds could still clearly be established, but may be presumed, in the decomposed neck tissues. Further forensic medical tests have been initiated in this case.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, there was clear evidence of bleeding while the victim was still alive.

In several further instances of insufficiently effective shots, no evidence of more such injuries was established that would have likely brought about death immediately. This was the case of one deep neck shot. In another involving a lateral neck shot, in addition to which a bullet had become embedded outside the maxillary sinus, no fatal impact at all could be determined. In such instances, it is probable that the victims had been transported from the place of execution while still alive or had even been buried alive.

In a number of cases, there were incontestable signs of close-range firing, on occasion with an imprint, which would presume contact range (soot cavitation).

The corpses' state of preservation was varied. There were cases of body dehydration, adipoceration, and extreme, greasy decomposition of the soft parts and inner organs, depending on whether the victims had been placed at the top of or deep in the graves. Particularly conspicuous was the degree to which the inner organs had shrunk. Taking into consideration the thickness of the loam soil in the graves and the thickness of the layers of bodies, the extent of the postmortem changes points to the time of death at about four or five years ago. The relatively well-preserved state of the clothes and bindings would, in view of past forensic medical experience, in no way contradict this. The findings are thus compatible with the facts emerging from the documents and eyewitness testimony made available to the commission — namely, that the killings had taken place in 1937 and 1938.

Summary

Within the framework of clarifying the murder of Ukrainians in the vicinity of Vinnytsia, the commission has inspected the mass graves already open and has itself conducted a dissection or coroner's inquest of 68 bodies. Gunshot wounds were ascertained, primarily in the back of the neck, leaving an unusually large number of lodged bullets, some of which had not had an immediate fatal impact. **In many cases, the victims, most of them bound, had been killed only through additional shots or had been beaten to death. In a few instances, they were buried alive.** The reason for this, apparently, was primarily the in-

adequate force of the weapons and ammunition (22-caliber) employed. The consistency of the soil and the vegetation, the condition of the bodies and clothes, as well as the concurring evidence provided by the population, the content of the documents found among the victims, and additional criminal investigation findings all point to the conclusion that the crime had been committed approximately four or five years ago.

(Signatures)

<i>Dr. Schrader</i>	<i>Dr. Forster</i>	<i>Dr. Hallermann</i>	<i>Dr. Wiethold</i>
<i>Dr. Hausbrandt</i>	<i>Dr. Jungmichel</i>	<i>Dr. von Neureiter</i>	<i>Dr. Waegner</i>
<i>Dr. Panning</i>	<i>Dr. Raestrup</i>	<i>Dr. Schneider</i>	
<i>Dr. Timm</i>	<i>Dr. Walcher</i>	<i>Dr. Weyrich</i>	

II. CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION REPORT

Report on the Criminal Investigation Findings on the Mass Murders in Vinnytsia

Berlin, November 16, 1943

By order of the Chief of Security Police, SS General (SS-Obergruppenführer) Dr. Kaltenbruner, the Homicide Squad of the *Reich* Office of Criminal Investigation, which was established at the request of Dr. Waegner, Head of the Department of Health of the *Reich* Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, proceeded under the direction of the undersigned to Vinnytsia. The assignment of the Homicide Squad was to solve the discovered mass murders by means of objective, careful, and conscientious inquiry as well as through the use of the necessary criminal investigation aids. The Homicide Squad began its work on June 28, 1943 and terminated it on October 18, 1943. Its inquiries and observations have led to the following conclusions:

DISCOVERY, LAYOUT, AND DIMENSIONS OF THE MASS GRAVES

In the winter of 1942-43, a German unit quartered in Dolyнки, a suburb of Vinnytsia, had been informed by the Ukrainian civilian population of mass graves located there on the grounds of an orchard once used and guarded in the Bolshevik period by the NKVD (earlier known as the Cheka and the GPU). The unit thereupon notified the local district commissar of the German civil administration, who, with the onset of warmer weather in the spring of 1943, initiated the excavations. On May 25, 1943, the first mass graves were discovered, and a relatively large number of bodies was recovered. A superficial examination of the bodies even by laymen would have made it clear that they had not died a natural death but had indubitably been murdered. The information received from the Ukrainian civilian population was thereby borne out.

The first excavations were supervised by a Russian university professor, Dr. Malinin, of Krasnodar and a Ukrainian medical examiner, Dr. Doroshenko, of Vinnytsia, both of whom also conducted the coroner's inquests on the first 228 bodies. Their work was assumed on June 15, 1943 by a German medical examiner, Prof. Dr. Schrader of Halle, and later by his assistant, University Lecturer Dr. Camerer. In the course of further excavations and the criminal investigation, which in the meantime had been initiated, indications of more mass graves at two other locations in the vicinity had come to light — namely, in the southeastern part of the military cemetery on the Lityn Highway and in the Public Park across the way — through the testimony of the city's residents. The new information was also fully confirmed by the excavations initiated at these two locations.

The layout of the three mass grave sites, as well as details of individual mass graves are shown in the attached illustrations. Together with the process of recovery are a number of the discovered bodies and clothing items also portrayed here.

The mass graves are designated according to the order of their discovery as : Site I (Orchard), Site II (Cemetery), and Site III (Public Park).

At the conclusion of the excavations on October 3, 1943, the following had been ascertained:

At Site I, there were 38 mass graves containing a total of 5,644 bodies, of which 33 were female; at Site II, there were 40 mass graves containing a total of 2,405 bodies, of which 85 were female: at Site III, there were 13 mass graves containing a total of 1,393 bodies, of which 31 were female.

The total number of bodies thus equalled 9,432, of which 169 were female.

All the pits had in common a number of clothing articles lying on top of the actual layer of bodies. In another three pits at Site I, only clothing items, footwear, and documents were found.

FINDINGS ON THE BODIES

All of the male bodies were dressed; the quality and condition of the clothing largely pointed to members of the rural population. Of the 169 female bodies, however, 49 were completely nude, while still others wore only a shirt. According to the forensic medical findings, the nude and very scantily dressed women had belonged to the younger

and middle-age brackets. A majority of the men had been between 30 and 40 years old. With only one exception, all male bodies had their hands tied behind their backs with a sturdy hemp twine. Twenty-four bodies also exhibited bindings at the feet; seven were bound at the upper arms. Two bodies each had a noose, and a few others, twisted hankchieves and scarves placed around their necks. Three bodies, in addition, had gags in their mouths. The female bodies, however, were, with few exceptions, unbound.

The coroner's inquest also revealed shots in the back of the neck in most of the bodies. Ascertained in the main, single shots excepted, were double shots, yet there were also a further number of cases in which three or four bullets had been fired into a victim. Almost all of these had become embedded. There were only a few exit shots as well. Two bodies were bound with lateral shots through the head with the entry wound in the right temple. Another body had an entry wound in the forehead and an exit wound in the occiput. One body had two exit wounds in the forehead. With respect to shots in the occiput, the bullet track ran upwards, as a rule, at an angle of 30° to 45° , assuming a normal posture of the head. The lower-aimed shots in the cervical cord, in contrast, produced a more horizontal bullet track.

The gunshot wounds had all been caused by small-caliber bullets, which were also invariably found in the bodies and could be secured, although they were usually rather deformed. These were .22-caliber bullets, which can be fired from both rifles and handguns. A few of the secured bullets, as well as one of the cartridge shells of the same caliber found at the mass graves, were submitted to the Technical Institute of Criminal Investigation for appraisalment.

Three hundred and ninety-five bodies had, in addition to the gunshot wounds described above, also exhibited comminuted skull fractures, which must have been inflicted through the use of blunt instruments and brought on death after the shots in the back of the neck had not apparently been completely effective.

The findings on the bodies described above prove that these people had all been murdered.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE BODIES

Considerable difficulty was encountered in identifying the victims. Since only in a relatively small number of cases, papers of identity and other documents could be found on their bodies that would have

immediately made it possible for us to draw firm conclusions. There were, furthermore, no valuables or jewelry, which could have also been particularly useful in identifying the bodies. Another complication was the fact that the exhumed bodies could lie exposed to the elements for only a short time for purposes of identification by family members. Due to the warm weather, they had to be buried in new graves as quickly as possible. Another barrier, finally, was the fact that the Ukrainian population was, as a result of the earlier measures of the NKVD, to a large extent still so frightened that, even now, it will not even dare attempt to acquire certainty over the fate of family members arrested by the secret police in 1937 and 1938 who had since then disappeared without a trace.

These difficulties explain the number of identifications that were possible. A total of 679 could be positively identified on the following basis:

- a) Unusual physical traits (amputations, deformities, artificial limbs, dental work 9 bodies;
- b) Recognition of clothing, underwear, etc. by family members 468 bodies;
- c) The discovery of documents 202 bodies.

The names of those identified are included on a list attached to this report. The list identifies the known victims according to

- a) Nationality:
 - Ukrainians 490;
 - Poles..... 28;
 - Unknown 161

(—the spelling of the names of the victims in the latter group indicates that most of them, apparently, were Ukrainian—); and

- b) Profession:
 - Collective farm workers..... 225;
 - Collective farmers 54;
 - Workers 119;
 - Employees..... 92;
 - Members of the professions 183.

The percentage of collective farm workers and collective farmers of the total number of victims, no doubt, is much higher still. The interviewed family members of those identified rather frequently declared that the victims had been arrested together with a large number of other persons — sometimes 200 and more — mostly collective farm workers and collective farmers from their home localities and imme-

diate vicinity by the NKVD, and who apparently shared the same fate. Those clothing items, furthermore, that were not used to identify the victims, almost entirely pointed to members of the rural population.

The method of identification is portrayed in the illustrations.

TIME OF THE CRIME, SCENE OF THE CRIME, EXECUTION OF THE CRIME

Time of *the* Crime

The testimony of the victims' family members revealed that the arrests, with few exceptions, had been carried out by officials of the NKVD in 1937 and 1938. The victims had been brought to Vinnytsia, insofar as the arrests had not been made there, and were delivered either to the prison in the NKVD office building or to the city jail. In almost every case, the family members, upon inquiry into the fate and whereabouts of those arrested, were told by the NKVD at the time that the victims had been exiled to Siberia or the Far North for a long time, usually ten years, and that no correspondence was permitted. This information was given as soon as a few days after the arrest in a number of cases; in others, however, only after a few weeks or several months. The exact time of arrest is provided in a number of search warrants of the NKVD that were found on the victims. Some of these search warrants have been reproduced here. The NKVD officials had filled out the warrants following the search with carbon copies and handed them to the intended victims. The originals remained in official safekeeping. The dates listed in the warrants of the searches made immediately afterwards fully correspond to the testimony of the interrogated witnesses. Since the arrests, the witnesses had not seen their family members and, after the NKVD's explanations of the alleged exile sentences, had not heard from them either. The alleged exiles, however, have not been found by their families among the victims in the mass graves of Vinnytsia.

At the time, however, when the waves of arrests were being carried out and the NKVD's explanations regarding the supposed exiles were being presented, a considerable number of witnesses had become aware of the existence mass graves and the nocturnal transports of bodies to those places. Observations were made in relation to the same three sites at which the numerous mass graves are now to be found and the 9,432 bodies were discovered.

The three sites — the Orchard, the Military Cemetery, and the Public Park — had all been under constant watch by NKVD guards. Under the latter's supervision, prisoners dug out the pits by day. At night, the covered and unilluminated trucks were driven to the guarded grounds, and the pits were refilled. Then, usually several high-ranking NKVD functionaries appeared the next day and stayed at the three sites for a time.

The Orchard in the suburb of Dolynki, which up to then had been the property of an individual citizen, was confiscated by the NKVD shortly before these events; it was then surrounded in the spring of 1938 by a board fence of about three meters in height. The gaps in it were sealed with a cover molding in order to make every view into the Orchard impossible. Flower beds were later planted over the covered mass graves, and the observation was passed around that a children's playground was being laid out over the fenced-off area. The penetrating odor that, according to eyewitness testimony, soon emerged from the grounds, and the disinfection carried out there, were hardly consistent with this rumor. In the Public Park, which carried the more exact name of "Park for Culture and Recreation," several refreshment, game, and shooting booths were erected over the mass graves. A swing set and a dancing area were built in close proximity to the graves.

The contents of the previous paragraph are based essentially on the testimony in volume two of the documents of the following witnesses: Bilets'kyi, Klymenko, Vasyl' Kozlovs'kyi, Oleksa Kozlovs'kyi, Olena Amosova, Trokhym Amosov, Zivak, Skrepka, Starenets', Ponomarchuk, Prolins'ka, Bokhan.

According to them, the murders must have been carried out in 1937 and 1938. Only in a few cases did the arrests and murders take place at a later time.

The findings of the inquests, which were arrived at by an independent team, are consistent with these conclusions, according to which the victims had been placed in their graves at least four or five years ago.

Scene Of The Crime

It has also been established that the murders, as a rule, had taken place in the courtyard of the NKVD office building in Vinnytsia — specifically, in that part of the courtyard completely surrounded by automobile garages. This area, which is closed to all view from without, was particularly suited to carrying out executions by firing squad be-

cause of the car wash in front of one of the garages at which fresh traces of blood could be immediately washed away again. During the shootings, the motors of several trucks, ready to take the bodies away, were constantly running so that the firings of the small-caliber shots would be drowned out by the engine noise. Nevertheless, it was not entirely avoidable that a few shots could be heard by witnesses.

These findings do not, however, exclude the possibility of individual shootings in the rooms of the NKVD office building itself. Eyewitness testimony, above all, suggests severe maltreatment of prisoners during interrogation; a number of female bodies were also found completely naked. It must be assumed that this maltreatment, in some cases, had also ended in death by shooting or beating; in particular, it was followed by the undressing, rape, and murder in the rooms of those women found naked. There is no evidence that shootings had taken place in the city jail as well.

According to eyewitness testimony, the mass graves were not the places of execution. The witnesses never actually observed lifeless bodies being unloaded from the nocturnal transport vehicles at the mass grave sites. After having noted the passage of one of the transports to the Orchard, Opanas Skrepka, a witness, saw traces of blood on the roadway that were later covered up with sand by the NKVD employee who had been guarding the grounds. The blood traces also prove that the transported victims had previously been murdered. Finally, the discovery of only a few cartridge shells at the mass graves also suggest that shootings on a larger scale had not taken place there. As a result, only a few people could have been shot at the mass graves — presumably those who had to fill up the pits. This is suggested by the discovery of a few shallower-buried victims, compared to the remaining mass of bodies found deeper in the earth.

Execution Of The Crime

Usually on the pretext of being sent into exile, the victims were taken from the prisons, bound, and gathered at the individual transport vehicles. Their belongings, insofar as they had any beyond the clothes they wore, were taken along at the same time as well. The prisoners were then led to the part of the courtyard surrounded by the garages where they were killed with small-caliber ammunition, their captors taking advantage of the engine noise of the trucks that had been prepared for transport. Those who still showed signs of life had their skulls smashed. Transport to the mass graves followed the shootings.

Finally, the clothes taken along were thrown over the bodies in order to get rid of them at the same time. This explains the layer of clothing found over the actual pile of bodies in every individual mass grave. The clothing items, shoes, and papers found in three pits separate from the bodies were apparently things that had been taken from the victims upon being transported to the prisons and kept on official deposit, and which were also hidden at the time of the murders for obvious reasons. This probably had to be done so that prison personnel, insofar as it had remained uninitiated, would not become suspicious. Only valuables and jewelry taken from the victims could have been of rather obvious use, though the commission was unable to present any proof of it. Insofar as the prisoners facing execution had been in the city jail, they, too, were first taken to the courtyard of the NKVD office building to be shot. As one witness in the city jail at the time has testified, it was generally known among the prisoners that such transports led to death.

The foregoing description of how the crime was carried out is based on the testimony of various eyewitnesses, on other pieces of evidence, as well as on the total picture that had been gained during the investigation.

Handguns, in all likelihood, had been used to carry out the executions. The use of small-caliber rifles would have indeed been much too complicated and time-consuming. The medical examiners have, on the basis of the location and angle of most of the gunshots, particularly of the multiple shots, arrived at the same conclusion. The use of small-caliber rifles is unthinkable, particularly with regard to the horizontal shots in the cervical cord. Under this circumstance, the victims, apart from the exceptions, of course, would have to have been shot in a standing position. The fact that some of the bodies exhibited shots in the occiput with the bullet tracks pointed in a diagonal, upward direction while others had deeper cervical cord wounds with almost horizontal bullet tracks, merely leads to the conclusion that there had been several executioners employing different techniques. Those who had fired the shots into the occiput were undoubtedly more experienced. The cases in which, in addition to the hand bindings, the upper arms were also tied as well suggest that these victims had been dealt even more extraordinary agony. The same holds true for the victims with nooses, handkerchiefs, or scarfs around their necks or gags in the mouths. The nakedness of a number of female bodies, most of all the younger and middle-aged ones, can hardly lead to any conclusion but that the women had been raped before their murder. Another

plausible explanation for the completely different state in which the bodies of the older women and the men were discovered was in any event not to be found.

CRIME SUSPECTS

Through the findings discussed in the foregoing subchapters also further airtight evidence has been established that the crime could have only been carried out by members of the NKVD. The conclusive evidence of this is once again briefly summarized as follows:

1. The victims were arrested by NKVD officials in **1937** and **1938**.
2. The victims were taken to the prison in the NKVD office building and to that part of the Vinnytsia city jail reserved for NKVD prisoners.
3. After a certain period of time following the arrests, NKVD officials explained upon inquiry to the family members of the victims that the latter were no longer in Vinnytsia but had been sent into exile for several years without the right of correspondence.
4. In a few cases, however, the families were also told without equivocation that they would never see their arrested kin in this life again.
5. At the time when the waves of arrest were taking place and explanations of alleged banishment were being circulated, executions by firing squad were being carried out uninterruptedly in the courtyard of the NKVD.
6. While this was occurring, the pits were being dug up at the three mass grave sites under the supervision and constant watch of the grounds by NKVD servicemen. The orchard, furthermore, had been confiscated by the NKVD shortly beforehand and surrounded by a high fence.
7. As the sites were being kept under the guard of the NKVD and the pits were being dug up, nocturnal body transports were taking place by truck. The following day, generally, high NKVD functionaries appeared and remained at the mass grave sites for a time.
8. The NKVD search warrants, prison documents, as well as papers of the victims, the dates of which fall exclusively into the period before the arrests — all found at the mass grave sites —, clearly indicate a direct route from the NKVD prisons to the body finds.

Which of the NKVD officials had personally carried out the murders could no longer be determined as there were no immediate eyewitnesses to the shootings and the guilty participants had already left the territory before its occupation by German troops, thus avoiding capture.

Responsible for carrying out the mass murders in Vinnytsia in the first place were undoubtedly the senior officials of the NKVD at the time. It is completely out of the question that the mass murders, with all the extensive preparations and resources necessary, could not have been carried out without the appropriate instructions of the NKVD's senior ranks ...[a.s.]

The petitions were refused in all cases, and the inquiries were answered with the same false explanations already given by the NKVD — namely, that the individuals in question had been exiled for a long period of time without the right of correspondence. Some of these responses have been reproduced here. Letters personally addressed to Stalin or Kalinin¹⁰ were answered in the same manner. Only one witness, Hanna Hodovanets received an answer to her petition addressed to Stalin from Procurator-General of the USSR Vyshinskii, saying that her husband had been released. The answer, however, was incorrect, as Mrs. Hodovanets' has not seen her husband since his arrest and alleged release. Yet she did find his clothing in the mass graves, thus arriving at the certainty that, in reality, he had been murdered.

MOTIVES BEHIND THE CRIME

In order to clarify and assess the motive for the mass murders, the reasons given at the time for the arrests must be examined. The comprehensive findings reached in this connection are as follows:

The overwhelming majority of the victims had been guilty of neither any criminal nor political misdemeanors. Indeed, they considered themselves completely innocent, and it is still unclear to their family members today, why they were deprived of their freedom and later murdered. The reason given for the arrest was that they were "enemies of the people."

In several cases, the arrests were made on the basis of obvious trivialities. The victims were allegedly responsible for the illness of horses or had changed jobs in order to feed their families better. Others, in turn, were accused of having brought agricultural products to market that were either spoiled or oversalted. Even maintaining correspondence with relatives living in Rumania, Poland, Germany, England, or the United States was sufficient cause for arrest.

More common, however, were arrests carried out on the basis of denunciations made by personal enemies ...[a.s.]

A relatively large number of the victims, however, were martyrs of their faith. Apart from the four identified priests, at least another 30 former clergymen were arrested and murdered at the time. Alone in the town of Kalinovka, eight, and a half years later, another 16 former clergymen, who had eked out a living as lumbermen, were arrested with the priest Miskievych, who was found murdered. Parts of vestments as well as church stamps and crosses found in the mass graves provide the certainty that these clergymen, too, were murdered. A number of laymen, moreover, were arrested because of their religious views and activities. Some had refused to leave the church or had held prayer meetings and sung church hymns; others had merely possessed sacred writings or maintained ties with former clergymen. Alone from the village of Lozna in Ulanov Raion, 19 persons were arrested and supposedly banished because of their membership in the community named "True Greek-Orthodox Peasants of the Archangel Michael and the Holy Spirit." A number of them were discovered among the murdered victims by family members. There can be no doubt that the others shared the same fate.

A larger number of rosaries, religious amulets, and handwritten religious tracts found among the bodies suggests that a yet much larger number of people were eliminated for adhering to their faith.

In sum, it can be concluded that completely lacking in every case were those valid reasons for depriving citizens of their freedom and their lives as demanded in every civilized and constitutionally governed state for which there must be legal codification. The surreptitiousness of the killing and burial of the victims also shows that the latter had not committed any legally punishable offense and that they, therefore, could not have been tried according to due process of law. The action of the NKVD against the Ukrainian people was thus cold-blooded murder and terrorism, the only purpose of which could have been to put the population into a state of fear and terror and thus keep it under control.

(signed) Class,
Government Councillor and
Police Superintendent

Certificate of the Findings of the Technical Institute of Criminal Investigation (TICI), Reich Office of Criminal Investigation on the Small-Caliber Ammunition Found at the Mass Graves.

Technical Institute of Criminal Investigation of the Security Police, Reich Office of Criminal Investigation

Daybook No. 114467, 1943 TICl Berlin C 2, November 19, 1943

Werderscher Markt 56 Tel...

The above number is to be used on all correspondence

To the

Reich Central Office for
Combating Capital Crimes
Berlin

Re: Examination of small-caliber ammunition
Request of November 9, 1943

Enclosure: One small-caliber cartridge

The enclosed cartridge has been thoroughly examined here. It is a .22-caliber long rifle cartridge, which can be fired from both small-caliber rifles and target pistols and other handguns. Because there are no loading marks on the cartridge, no conclusions on the kind of weapon used could be drawn.

The small-caliber cartridge weighs 3.477 grams. The bullet, which weighs 2.554 grams, consists of a lead antimony alloy with a content of .9% antimony. In the cartridge case, there is a grayish-green smokeless noodle-shaped powder weighing 67 milligrams. The igniting charge, which has not been uncovered and is dry-loaded, consists of mercuric fulminate. The cartridge case is made of brass and has no markings on its base.

German munitions factories have not manufactured small-caliber ammunition with igniting charges made of mercuric fulminate since March 1930, but rather employ only those made of sinoxide, which prevents rust. Brass cases have, for a longer period of time, been used only on indoor cartridges with an extra-weak charge. Nickel-plated copper cartridges are used in small-caliber ammunition for self-loading guns. Copper cartridges are used on certain kinds of ammunition for single-loaders. The small-caliber cartridges made in Germany, furthermore, carry the trade mark of the manufacturing company on the base of the cartridge. Only in exceptional cases is the trademark omitted — that is, when, on foreign deliveries, the client expressly requests that no trademark appear on the cartridge base.

The foregoing examination findings already suggest that the analyzed small-caliber cartridge is not a German-made product. The data provided to us at our request by the Rhine-Westphalian Explosives, Inc. (Rheinisch-Westfälischer Sprengstoff AG) on Russian small-caliber ammunition, which is known there, closely correspond to the data supplied by us on the small-caliber cartridge that we have examined. There is therefore no reason to doubt that the small-caliber cartridges submitted to us is a Soviet Russian-made product. Data on the year of manufacture can not be made, as we have no information on further details on certain changes that have taken place in the course of time in the production of small-caliber ammunition in Soviet Russia.

(Seal)

for (signature) Dr. Schade

(Editor's note: This document was originally placed in the middle of the following section. It was transferred, so as to provide for an uninterrupted continuity of the "Protocols of Police Investigation.")

Protocols of Police Investigation

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia" —
The Ukrainian,

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

Vasyl' Kozlovs'kyi, laborer, born 1923 in Vinnytsia, residing with his parents at 1 Pidlisna Street, Vinnytsia, having been called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

I live in the immediate vicinity of the NKVD cemetery on Lityn Highway. Regarding the history of this plot of land, I must state the following: I can still remember from the time when I was in school that there was a fruit plantation on this land, which was watched by guards. A mason by the name of Mazlov¹¹ lived on this land. Workers for the fruit plantation were supplied by the municipal administration. I am not able to say whether Mazlov was the owner of the land. It is possible that the land had once belonged to a family member or acquaintance of Mazlov's and that Mazlov then later remained on it as a resident. Mazlov was often very drunk. He spent his entire earnings on drinks. His wages were good. To the question whether Mazlov's wages were enough to pay his bills, I would say that it was possible. He spent nothing on clothes. He went about in tatters. Mazlov was married. His first wife died around 1935. Then he had different women with whom he was not married. He often beat them when he was drunk, which caused them to leave him. I know nothing about his personal attitudes.

Mazlov left the plantation around 1937 and moved into the city near the Bug River. I do not know what his exact address was. After Mazlov had left the land, the NKVD brought boards and put up a high fence around it. The boards were nailed together so that, over the edges of two adjoining boards, another board was fastened so that it would be impossible to look into the enclosed area from the outside. Thus, it could no longer be observed what was taking place in this area. All that could be seen were NKVD commissars driving up onto the premises in cars during the day. I do not know what they did there. Because dog barking could be heard from time to time from inside the area, it was generally assumed that the land was being watched by a guard with a dog. I knew the guard by sight. I did not know his name. He was an unpleasant man. His face was pockmarked and freckled. He had earlier served in the militia, then in the NKVD. He wore an NKVD uniform and carried a revolver. He lived there on the land and did not have a wife. In any event, I had never observed anything that suggested his being mamed. I do not think that he is in Vinnytsia today. I have not seen him for two years.

With regard to what I know of the purpose of the land for the NKVD, I would say the general view was that people had probably been buried there because, after the fence had been erected, there was a stench, especially in the spring. One could also have seen that the grounds inside had been disinfected because heavy lime slops continued to penetrate the fence. Regarding the traffic into this area, I know only that trucks drove into it in the evening and at night. I cannot, however, say whether the trucks were loaded or unloaded, opened or closed. No one dared to go near the entrance to find out anything more. I have also heard that workers with spades and other tools had come to the grounds during the day. I myself had never seen this. I do not remember who told me this. I should also mention that I had never heard any shots fired on the land. I do not know of anyone who has worked for the NKVD who is still in Vinnytsia or its vicinity. Because I was then young at the time, I had not

learned the names of any NKVD people. Nor do I know of anyone who has more information about the land, as no one could dare show any particular interest for fear of also being arrested and shot by the NKVD. It is possible that my parents have a better memory regarding individual data. I have nothing more to add.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) *Kozlovs'kyi*

Interpreter:
(signed) *Schroder*

Witness dismissed:
(signed) *Lange*

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia" —

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Oleksa Kozlovs'kyi, asylum attendant, born March 1884 in Vinnytsia, residing at 1 Pidlisna Street, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

During the Tsarist period, the grounds of the so-called NKVD cemetery belonged to a community of people who adhere to a particular faith. In the main, it was the Strylov family, which still lives today in the city near the two bridges over the Bug River. A certain Mazlov was employed by these people as a guard. When the Soviets assumed power, these people were dispossessed. Mazlov was allowed to continue living there.

Around the spring of 1938, the land was confiscated by the NKVD. Mazlov also had to leave the land. A board fence was erected that permitted no view of the land from the outside. Then, tarpaulin-covered trucks drove up to the grounds at night. I never heard any noise. I also never heard any screams or shots from the grounds. The trucks usually came between 11 p.m. and 4 a.m. During the day, I repeatedly saw from far away how men under guard with spades were taken both on foot and in trucks to the grounds. They were prisoners, apparently from the city jail. I am not aware of Mazlov's having anything to do with the NKVD. To the question whether I know anyone who would know more about events having taken place around or on the grounds, I could name Skrepka, who lives on Pidlisna Street. Skrepka was a guard at the rear of the property and had to watch over the plants there. He was also the only one allowed to walk directly along the fence of the NKVD cemetery. I do not know the whereabouts of anyone today who had been on this property.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) *Kozlovs'kyi*

Interpreter:
(signed) *Schroder*

Witness dismissed:
(signed) *Lange*

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia" —

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Natia Kozlovs'ka, born June 28, 1912 in Vinnytsia, residing with her parents at 1 Pidlisna Street, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

In the spring of 1938, Mazlov was forced to leave these grounds. After that, the NKVD built the fence. I never took note of what went on there. I worked during the day as a bookkeeper and was not at home. I went to bed early in the evening because

my health was not at its best. Of course, I had seen a few times in the morning how cars drove onto the grounds. I never heard anything about shots or screams. Children said that they had looked, on occasion, over the fence and seen ball games. I can make no further comment on the matter. I do not know anyone who belonged to the NKVD and is still in the city or vicinity today.

(signed) Kozlovs'ka

Interpreter:
(signed) Schroder

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Lange

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia" —

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Olena Amosova, nee Glukhenka, born 1899 in Lityn, residing at 42 Lityn Highway, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

I have lived at the above address with my husband for 23 years. Our apartment is located near the so-called NKVD cemetery. A certain Mazlov, who used to live on this piece of land, had to leave, if I remember correctly, in 1938, around the spring of 1938. The land was confiscated by the NKVD. A fence was erected through which no view into the enclosed area was possible.

Prisoners were used to build the fence. Soon afterwards, trucks drove onto the grounds, at night as well. One could not see what was in the trucks. During the day, I also saw men with spades arriving at the grounds. NKVD commissars also came during the day to the grounds. I furthermore heard shots fired during the day, of which my son said that target-shooting had been taking place there. Neither my son nor I had seen this. I never heard screams or loud shouts of people.

I also know of no one who might be aware of the happenings on these premises. I should like to mention that a man in civilian dress once came to me during the day and asked me for a lodging. Then he also asked me what exactly was being built there and what was going on on the premises. I had never seen the man before. I later saw the man in the city again and again, however, in an NKVD uniform. I am therefore aware today that he only wanted to sound us out to see if we knew anything about the occurrences there. I have nothing further to add.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) Arnosova

Interpreter:
(signed) Schroder

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Lange

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Trokhym Amosov, shop superintendent at a brick factory, born 1896 in Vinnytsia, residing at 42 Lityn Highway, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

I have lived at the above address near the so-called NKVD cemetery with my wife for 23 years. There used to be a fruit plantation on these grounds. In the spring of

1938, it was confiscated by the NKVD, and a fence was built around it. When asked why, it was said that children would steal the fruit and that this should be prevented.

After the fence had been built, trucks began to come up after dark, often into the morning hours, and drove onto the premises without their headlights on. I never noticed any noises, screams, or shots. I also cannot name anyone who might know about what took place at the cemetery.

I also know of no NKVD people who are still in the city. The night-time happenings already mentioned went on continuously into 1941. I cannot say now whether this took place every day because I also worked at night. I never saw anyone with spades approach the grounds during the day.

It should also be noted that, after a rainfall and in the spring, there was a horrible stench coming from the grounds so that one could imagine what was going on there. With regard to whether the populace, under the impact of the supposed occurrences there, became excited, I have to answer that no one dared to talk about it, but rather kept his thoughts to himself. I am unable to add anything further.

read, approved, signed
(signed Amosov)

Interpreter:
(signed) Schroder

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Lange

For the correctness of the foregoing transcripts:

Lange

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
June 30, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Petro Zivak, day laborer, born 1908 in Vinnytsia, residing at 46 Lityn Highway, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

Since birth, I have lived with my mother in the house at 46 Lityn Highway. This house is about 50 meters from the body finds. Around the end of 1937, beginning of 1938, NKVD people came and surveyed the Orchard of the Russian, Strelkov. I am no longer able to supply the exact time. Somewhat later, the Orchard was surrounded by a fence almost four meters high. At the same time, guards were posted so that no one could approach the grounds. I was employed at the time at the Piatnichany Ranger Lodge, so that I, myself, did not have any conversations with the guards. People said, however, that, according to the guards, a garden would be laid out. Later on, the premises were watched by two guards who remained on the other side of the fencing. Dog barking was often heard as well. I worked at the above-mentioned ranger lodge until the arrival of the German troops. I therefore had to leave early in the morning and arrived home only very late in the evening. For this reason, I did not see any transports arriving at the grounds. Once, however, I heard some people, whose names I do not know, who were coming out of the cinema say that trucks drove to the grounds in the evening hours after dark. I must correct myself: In early 1939, I took sick leave from the ranger lodge for a time. During that time, I worked as a wagoner. Well, one evening, as I was driving the horse that I had been keeping at my house to pasture, it began running towards the fence. Completely dismayed, I ran after it and heard in the process how a truck on Lityn Highway stopped at the turn-off to the grounds, gave a signal, and then drove onto the premises with dimmed lights. As the gates were opened, I heard how the truck was unloaded and soon afterwards drove off towards the city. To the question, what noises did I hear during the unloading,

I am not able to supply any specific information about it today. At the time, I simply had the impression that something was thrown from the vehicle. On Sunday, when I was off work, I saw higher ranking NKVD people driving up in a car several times. They stayed about 15 to 20 minutes. At such times, I heard small-caliber shots fired behind the fencing.

I can add nothing further and swear that I have told the whole truth.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) Zivak

Interpreter:
(signed) Neumann

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Lange

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
June 30, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Opanas Skrepka, market assessor, born January 1, 1886 in Poltava, residing at 10 Pidlisna Street, Vinnytsia, called in for questioning, has testified as follows:

I have been living in Vinnytsia since 1921. I am a smith by trade. From 1923 to 1933, I was employed as a smith with the fire department of Vinnytsia. Since 1934, I have been employed by the city as an attendant at the fruit plantation on Lityn Highway in front of the NKVD cemetery. I was employed in this position until German troops marched in. I am now a toll assessor at the city market for the finance department. I am married and have no children. I have never belonged to the Communist Party. I have never belonged to a political movement. Like all working people, I only had to be a member of a trade organization.

To the question of what I had seen during my employment as a guard at the fruit plantation near the NKVD cemetery, I would answer that in March 1938, this land had been surrounded with a wooden fence built by the NKVD. Because I was curious, I asked the carpenters erecting the fence about it. I was told that a children's home or children's playground was supposed to be put here. One month later, I climbed a tree close to the fence surrounding the grounds. Right past the fence on the side of the grounds facing away from the city, I saw six pits about three meters square. Almost a year later, I climbed the tree once again and saw immediately behind the pits a new row that ran at an angle towards the side of the fence facing the city. I should add here that I noticed trucks driving up at night and unloading something on the premises. I heard a plumping sound from which I concluded that some bodies had been thrown into the pits. I could not see what was taking place on the grounds. The mornings following those nights when the trucks were on the grounds, I saw trails of blood on Lityn Highway leading to the NKVD grounds. Then, in the early morning hours, a guard or sentinel of the NKVD removed the blood traces with sand. I never followed the traces to their point of origin. In any event, the traces only led to outside the cemetery. I never heard any shots or screams from the grounds at night. I heard shots only during the day. I cannot say why the shots were fired. During the day, I could only observe a few NKVD commissars drive onto the grounds in cars. A sentinel kept watch inside and outside the fence. No one was permitted near the land. To the question of how it was possible for me to climb the tree, my answer is that this took place at night and that I noticed that the sentinel had not been walking his beat properly.

I would also like to mention that, after the fence had been torn through, following the arrival of German occupation troops, I noticed that yet another whole row of pits

must have been dug out along the side of the fence facing the city. I noticed graves there that were still fresh. These could have been from 1940 or 1941. I cannot say whether the graves in the center of the area had already been dug out.

I know of no NKVD employees by name, only a few by sight. I am not aware of any still in the city. I have not seen anyone. I have only seen some from the militia, which was subordinate to the NKVD, a few times in the city. I do not know their names either, or where they live.

In answer to your questions, I declare that I was a member of the Petliura army, which fought for Ukrainian independence and against bolshevism, in 1917 and 1918. I was captured and sentenced to five years in prison. I served two and a half years and was released in 1922. I have otherwise not served any jail sentences. I was once taken into custody in 1938 by the NKVD and spent two hours in the NKVD building. I had prevented NKVD people from taking any pine trees from the plantation, where I was a guard, and transplanting them in the cemetery. I was only told that I might not forbid them to do this but must be quiet. I have nothing else to add.

In response to the question, why I did not report my knowledge of these conditions at the NKVD cemetery, I have to say that I had already informed the mayor at the time of the excavations at the city jail. I do not know why these conclusions regarding the NKVD cemetery had not been drawn earlier. I have nothing to add.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) Skrepka

Interpreter:
(signed) Havalenko

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Lange

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
June 30, 1943

The Ukrainian,

Mariia Ponomarchuk, married, born January 8, 1895 in Marmulievka, residing at 44 Lityn Highway, Vinnytsia, having been familiarized with the object of the questioning and called upon to tell the truth, has testified as follows:

I have lived on Lityn Highway as a subtenant since 1927. My apartment is about 300 meters from the NKVD cemetery. Until the beginning of April 1938, it was the orchard of the Ukrainian, Mazlov. He was moved to the old city in April 1938. The fencing off of the orchard began in early March. The work was supervised by members of the NKVD. The workers were probably NKVD prisoners. I repeatedly observed that the grounds were being guarded day and night by uniformed NKVD people. The population itself did not know what was being built behind the fence. Nevertheless, it was said even then that when the NKVD builds something, it is certainly nothing good. Despite the fact that the rumor was spread that a children's playground was being built, the population did not believe it. I myself saw a number of times how two trucks, fully loaded, pulled up to the cemetery. I could not tell what they had loaded, because the trucks were covered with tarpaulin. Sometimes, NKVD supervisors also drove up in cars. I never heard any shots fired. It was assumed at the time, however, that those who had been shot were buried there by the NKVD. After the German troops had arrived, the fence was torn away from the grounds. Nothing could be seen of the graves at the time. Although various people had pointed out to the

soldiers that there were probably graves there, nothing was undertaken on the part of the *Wehrmacht*.

I can add nothing more to the matter. The information I have given is the whole truth.

Read, approved, signed
+ + +

Interpreter:
Vakh. Bratiur

Grote

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad “Vinnytsia”—

Vinnytsia
July 1, 1943

The head cook,

Ievheniia Prolins'ka, maiden name Androchowicz, born March 23, 1897 in Stanislaviv, Galicia, Austria-Hungary (now: Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, USSR), Roman Catholic, Polish nationality, formerly of Austro-Hungarian citizenship, since her marriage a Soviet citizen, residing at 10a Kotliarevskiyi Street, having been familiarized with the object of the questioning, has testified as follows:

. . . Before I conclude my testimony, I would like to describe briefly a few things regarding the mass graves. In the fall of 1938, I was employed as a nurse in the local hospital on Pirogov Street. The hospital is located in the immediate vicinity of the Russian cemetery, in the suburb of Kalicha. At the time, I usually had night duty. During my hours of duty there, I was able to observe the following:

Around the midnight hour, a physician from the NKVD prison . . . [a.s.] often appeared at the hospital and at this time got the gravedigger, who had his apartment at the hospital and slept there as well. The prison doctor wore an NKVD uniform but had a civilian coat over it. He probably did not want to be recognized. The physician ordered the gravedigger to take three or four shovels, and both went to the cemetery. Because I had already lost my husband — he had been arrested by the NKVD on December 20, 1937 — I was all the more interested in the shadowy activities of the NKVD and its stooges. In order to convince myself of what the prison doctor was up to at the cemetery, I took off my white nurse's coat at two or three in the morning and put on a dark overcoat so that no one would recognize me in the dark and secretly made off in the direction of the cemetery. The hospital is located about 100 meters from the cemetery. I stopped about 20 meters from the cemetery and heard a conversation in the immediate vicinity of it. It was so soft, however, that I could not understand anything. I believe there were up to about ten people participating in the conversation. A few meters in front of these people, I saw two trucks. They were covered with a tarpaulin. I do not know what was in the trucks. I believe, however, that this was a transport of prisoners who had died in the NKVD prison and were to be buried in the cemetery. I must correct myself. I did not assume that there were people who had died in the NKVD but prisoners who had been tortured to death or electrocuted. If these prisoners had died of natural causes, they could have been buried openly and not secretly at night. As I noticed that the people involved in the conversation were approaching the trucks, I was afraid that I would be seen. I thus returned to the hospital. The next day — it could have been in October 1938 — I went to work early in the morning, past the cemetery as usual. In order to convince myself of what had happened, I went that morning directly through the cemetery. I should also note here, however, that this part of the cemetery was guarded by a policeman, not by the NKVD. Yet I could clearly see about ten meters away that an area of an estimated three meters square had been freshly shoveled and evenly leveled with the ground.

A few days before, I had seen an open grave at this very spot. That day, I asked the gravedigger what had taken place at the cemetery the previous night. He answered me in this way: "Oh, that is not your problem and none of your business!" I must add here that I was now afraid to question him about this topic any further because he would have found out that I was interested in such things. I never heard any shooting at the cemetery. The foregoing was repeated at the cemetery many times.

In this connection, I would also like to mention that I have carefully observed such mass graves across the street. To be more precise, this is the place where the swings are located. As far as I can recall, it was in January, February, and March of 1939. To the question whether I myself had ever heard prisoners being shot at the above-mentioned cemeteries, I must admit that I had never heard any shooting with my own ears. I have nevertheless heard from others who live near the cemetery to the rear, the international cemetery, that prisoners had been shot there from May to the end of 1938. I, myself, had never seen this. No prisoners were shot at the Russian cemetery, about which I spoke before, because the people living in the immediate vicinity would have known about it.

In view of the reasons given above, I am convinced that my husband cannot be in Siberia. Rather, the conclusion that can be drawn is that he is among the butchered prisoners at the cemeteries.

I would be glad to provide you with further information on the activities of the NKVD insofar as I am able to do so.

Read, approved, signed
(signed) Ievheniia Prolins'ka

Witness dismissed:
Lux

Criminal Investigator and Interpreter

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
July 2, 1943

Memorandum:

On July 1, 1943, the Ukrainian, Petro Bokhan of 2 Sadkovskyyi Street, Vinnytsia, appeared at the military cemetery and made statements regarding further NKVD pits. Bokhan was called in the July 23, 1943.

Peters

Criminal Investigation Secretary

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad "Vinnytsia"—

Vinnytsia
July 3, 1943

The bookkeeper,

Petro Bokhan, born July 1, 1899 in Pikov, Pikov Raion, residing at 2 Sadkovskyyi Street, Vinnytsia, has testified as follows:

Regarding His Own *Person*:

I am a Ukrainian. I finished the fourth grade in elementary school. After my schooling, I have had different kinds of work. In 1918, I married the Ukrainian, Iekatelena Omel'chuk, here in Vinnytsia. I have two children. Up until shortly before the war, I worked as a secretary at a fuel storehouse.

After the arrival of German troops, I worked in various positions in the German administration. At present, I am employed as a bookkeeper in the Vinnytsia municipal administration.

Regarding Political Views and Military Status:

I have never been politically active. I have also never belonged to the Komsomol.

I was in the Petliura army from March 1919 to July 1920. I also took part in various actions against the Bolsheviks. I was captured in the fighting near Starokonstantinovka. I was taken to a camp with other prisoners. Because the Bolshevik army was being formed at precisely that moment, we prisoners were able to volunteer. In order to free myself from imprisonment, I also volunteered.

In 1920, after having served seven months in the Russian army, I released for reasons of health.

I was not called up for the present war.

Regarding the Topic at Hand:

In 1937, I lived on Rosa Luxemburg Street. My parents-in-law lived in Slavianka, a suburb of Vinnytsia. I often used to visit my parents-in-law at the time. Most of the time, I went across the cemetery, as the way through it was much shorter. Again and again, I saw that pits had been dug up at what is now the site of the body finds. Very often, I came back around 8 p.m., when work was still being done in the pits. A few days later, I noticed the same thing. When I came through the cemetery in the morning, all the pits had been filled up. I did not know that these pits were in an NKVD cemetery. I only assumed they were. No one among the population dared to inquire into the truth of the matter. Everyone feared being arrested himself.

In March or April of 1938, I was walking one day along Litin Highway. At the park wall, I noticed how three men with long rubber boots climbed over the fence. The men had spades with them. Because the men's behavior appeared suspicious, I followed them and saw them throw soil onto different spots. As I have now heard, NKVD pits have been found there. Until then, I had known nothing. I am not aware of any other places where there are NKVD pits.

I have no information on the NKVD's methods of operation. I also do not know where the people were shot and how they were buried.

I have no knowledge regarding the matter of more pits at the railroad station. I know nothing about them.

As I have already said, I have never investigated the matter because I was afraid of being arrested. At the time when the NKVD was operating here, no one could be trusted.

I also know of no one who has been connected with the NKVD. In my opinion, these people have already left Vinnytsia.

Petro Bokhan

Interpreter:
Neumann

Witness dismissed with the notation that Bokhan could not provide any specific information. The information that there were pits in the park has been confirmed. Until now, about 14 pits have been established. Some have already begun to be excavated, and in some of them, a few bodies have already been found. Bokhan knows of no further NKVD pits.

Peters
Criminal Investigation Secretary

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad “Vinnytsia” —

Vinnytsia
July 19, 1943

Proceedings:

The Soviet citizen,

Aleksandra Senderova, Russian, born October 1891 in Nizhnyi Novgorod (now: Gor'kii), formerly residing at 55 Grushevskii Street, Vinnytsia, now an inmate at the prison of the security police, has testified as follows:

I have been in the prison of the security police in Vinnytsia since June 30, 1943. I was arrested on the suspicion that I had been associated with former secret agents of the NKVD in Vinnytsia. Furthermore, I have already been questioned twice by the criminal investigation authorities here.

I was born in Nizhnyi Novgorod, the second child of the foundry-man, Nikolai Serebrennikov. My father died in Nizhnyi Novgorod in 1905 and my mother in Vinnytsia in 1940. I finished my schooling in 1912. I received church school instruction in my parents' home. This instruction served as training for teaching in a village school. After my schooling, I received a position as a school teacher in Sarlei, Nizhnyi Novgorod Guberniia, where I remained until 1917. During the Revolution, I returned to Nizhnyi Novgorod to my mother, and in 1918, married a sailor, Arkadii Semenovich Senderov, there. My husband belonged to the Red Army until 1921, when he was released from service after having been wounded in a battle on the Volga. I later moved with him and my mother to Vinnytsia. My husband was employed here as an electrician. He died of tuberculosis in 1939. Neither my husband nor I have ever been politically active. While I was married, I worked — from 1921 to 1933 — as a stenotypist in the highway department of the oblast administration, which was later placed under the Ministry of Transportation. In 1933, as the GPU, the State Political Administration, initiated a broad-sweeping purge of political opponents in the Ukraine, office workers were removed in large numbers from the civil service and put at the disposal of the former. In this connection, I was taken as a stenotypist by the GPU and engaged in the Economic Department of what later became the NKVD. . . [a.s.]

Until 1937, the NKVD, then known as the GPU, consisted of the following departments:

1. Department I, called *Osobyi Otdel* (Special Department), abbreviated OO. This was the special department for military affairs. I am unfamiliar with the specific activities of this department.

2. Department II, called the *Ekonomicheskii Otdel* (Economic Department), abbreviated EKO. This department dealt with economic matters.,

3. Department III, called the *Sekretno-Politicheskii Otdel* (Secret Political Department), abbreviated SPO. It was charged with observing political opponents.

4. Department IV, called the *Ucheto-Statisticheskii Otdel* (Statistical Registration Department), abbreviated USO. This department controlled the records of persons who had been arrested, exiled, or sentenced.

5. Department V, called *Finansoyi Otdel* — Finance Department, abbreviated Fin.

6. Department VI, called the *Otdel Kadrov* (Department of Cadres), abbreviated OK. It dealt with personnel questions. In 1937, when the GPU was renamed People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), other departments were added: *Poshamyi Otdel* (Fire Department), *Dorozhnyi Otdel* (Highway Department), and ZAGS (abbreviation for the Civil Registry Office).¹²

Notation:

The questioning was interrupted at 10:35 a.m., due to other urgent business.

Krupke
Criminal Investigation Secretary

Vinnytsia
July 20, 1943

Proceedings Continued:

Aleksandra Senderova, personally known to me, is brought in and testifies as follows:

After having been reminded not only to answer the questions put to me but also to volunteer information that could serve to clarify the issue at hand, I declare myself ready to supply all data known to me without hesitation.

In addition to what I said yesterday, there was, apart from the six departments, a Department VII, called the *Inostrannyi Otdel* (Foreign Department), abbreviated INO, which was also located in the NKVD building. The department dealt with espionage and Communist activity abroad. All the residents (chiefs) of the espionage departments, the Communist central offices, and the Comintern abroad were subordinated to this department. The fire department, the highway department, and the civil register" were located in offices in the city — where, I do not know. The testimony that I have given thus far on the areas of activity of individual departments corresponds to the administrative breakdown of the GPU up to 1937. After the GPU was absorbed by the NKVD, the departments made no further use of initials but were simply referred to by numbers. At the same time, the functions of the individual departments changed. For example, I worked in the Third Department, which had, as opposed to its earlier duties, assumed the functions of the Economic Department. Even before it was re-named, I had only worked in the Economic Department (EKO) as a stenotypist. My duties were from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and from 8 p.m. to 12 p.m. We stenotypists often had to work well past this time, until 3 a.m.

Notation: Senderova was given the opportunity to show the office in which she worked as a stenotypist. She pointed to a room on the second floor, which is now occupied by First Lieutenant Baumgartner.

Four to five stenotypists of various departments were in the room. We did not discuss our duties, as this was forbidden. It was also forbidden to talk in the corridor. If we had to go into the corridor at the same time, we could only pass through it quickly. There were armed NKVD guards posted in every corridor of the building. For the interrogation of prisoners, there were certain stenotypists responsible to individual officials. The prisoners were led for this purpose into the office of the interrogating official. The questionings were usually held at night. I often heard the prisoners in the corridors or the interrogation rooms yell loudly or emit shrieks of pain. I usually noticed this after normal work hours, after midnight. We stenotypists usually heard the prisoners brought in by the jangling of the chains in which they had presumably been bound. To the question as to whether we stenotypists talked about the incidents upon hearing the shrieks of pain, I can only say that we certainly looked at each other knowingly, but that no one said a word about it. In addition, we often heard a loud engine noise at night and occasionally shots in between. The noises came from the courtyard, but I could not hear from which part of it. I heard shots twice in 1937; I cannot say exactly when. I must add, however, that I heard the engine noises almost every night. These, presumably, were the running motors of trucks. The noise lasted at times a half an hour to an hour and a half. Because I had already heard the rumor earlier that prisoners on the GPU (later NKVD) building had been shot, I thought that the executions were always carried out when the motors were running. I became sure of this when I heard the explosion of the shots through the noise of the engines. I never heard shots from the rooms of the interrogating officials. I myself had never been used as a stenotypist during an interrogation. The stenotypists who sat in my room had also never taken part in such interrogations. My job largely consisted of transcribing the handwritten protocols and questionings and making copies of them. Anything dictated into the recorder by an official in our office usually concerned

questionings and records dealing with economic espionage and sabotage. These papers were sent almost entirely to the head of the NKVD for further decision. I never saw any of his decisions. My job was also to type the reports of secret agents for the official dealing with the case under consideration. The official, in turn, extracted information from the material in order to fill out a warrant of arrest. . . [a.s.] At the end of 1937, I was relieved from duty by the NKVD at my request on the grounds that I had to take care of my husband, who had a serious case of tuberculosis. As early as 1939, I was again a teacher at a school — Middle School No. 17, of the fifth and seventh grades, for Russian language and literature.

In response to your question, I can still add that many reports of secret agents were received on anti-Semitic remarks. It was enough, for example, if a Jew was called a Jew, instead of a Hebrew. This was considered an insult and often led to severe punishment.

I would further like to add that not the regular stenotypists of the respective interrogating officials were present at the most confidential and secret meetings but stenotypists who were reliable Party members.

To the question as to whether I had ever noticed if those shot had ever been transported from the building or NKVD courtyard, I can only say that, following the continuing engine noise, I usually heard a lively revving up of truck engines from the courtyard and the NKVD building as well. It is quite possible that such transports took place, but I saw nothing of them.

I also ask you to record that, after the arrival of German troops around August or September 1941, I ran into an NKVD informer I knew, named Galetskyi — first name probably Fedor, NKVD cover name Samsonov — in Vinnytsia, as an employee of the oblast administration of the cooperatives (now the house next to the municipal administration — food card distribution). I immediately informed the mayor of Vinnytsia, Professor Sevast'ianov, who then wrote down Galetskyi's name. What happened as a result, I do not know. In any event, I saw Galetskyi there again three months later. The mass finds of those shot by the NKVD did not surprise me, insofar as I could imagine that the victims had to be buried somewhere. I was not aware of where this took place until the discovery of the graves.

I would also like to note that we all had to lead abnormal lives under the Bolshevik regime. Internally, we witnessed the cruel reality, while we openly had to praise the regime as a paradise, so as not to be denounced to the NKVD as enemies of the people by informers lurking among us. Everyone kept double book — for himself and for the outside world.

I can only affirm that I was engaged — under duress — only as a paid office worker with the NKVD but without belonging to this institution internally.

Interpreted, approved, signed
Senderova, Aleksandra
Seleczo
Criminal Investigator
as Interpreter

Krupke
Criminal Investigation
Secretary

Witness dismissed:
Reeder
Police Commissioner
as Examiner

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad “Vinnytsia”—

Vinnytsia
July 10, 1943

Proceedings:

The prisoner,

Nykyfor Adamovych Myshuk, born June 1, 1914 in Kopievata, Monastyrishche Raion, now an inmate in the city jail of Vinnytsia, has testified as follows:

I attended the school in my home town of Kopievata when I was in my twelfth and thirteenth years and learned to read and write a little. I worked in a machine and tractor factory from 1934 to 1937 and was trained there as a driver. In May 1937, I was drafted into the military and served in a motorized brigade. In April 1938, I was assigned to Brigadier-General Kurkin as a driver. On May 16, 1938, the general was arrested by a special department of the NKVD as an enemy of the people. I was arrested on May 10, 1938 by the same department in order to testify against the General. I stayed ten days in Proskuriv and was then transferred to the jail in Vinnytsia in which I am in now. During my imprisonment, I was not permitted to write and did not receive any correspondence either. My family — I had a wife and two children — had not learned that I was under arrest. After my release in July 1938, I learned that, during my imprisonment, a commissar of the Special Department of the NKVD had been in my home town and made inquiries about me among the inhabitants. When I was brought to the jail in Vinnytsia, I was put in a cell in which we were altogether thirty-two. It was cell no. 83.

Notation: The cell was measured in paces and was about 54 square meters. Only some of us could lie on the plank bed, which was attached to the wall, while most had to sleep on the bare cement floor. At 7 a.m. I received millet gruel and 150 grams of bread to eat. Around 7 p.m., I received warm water and 100 grams of bread. To relieve ourselves, there was a barrel in the room; it was emptied twice daily, mornings and evenings, by specially selected inmates. There were neither covers and sheets on the plank beds, nor for those who were on the floor. The area was so small that only sixty prisoners could lie down, while the rest had to stand and lean against the wall. From time to time, the inmates took turns lying and standing. In the cell, there were two windows, which, however, could not be opened. There was ventilation only through a small opening, about 20 centimeters square, over the cell door. During the three months I was imprisoned, I was questioned about 16 times by NKVD people in the jail. The interrogations began in the morning after we had received our food and took place in a special cell. They often lasted a whole day. The NKVD's interrogation people relieved each other usually after a few hours. During the interrogation, I had to stand at continual attention. In posing the questions, they often poked a revolver barrel into my ribs and threatened to shoot me if I did not answer. In addition, they had a device in the hand that was fastened around the wrist and was of metal and with which they often hit me. This treatment was extremely painful and left wounds on my body from which there are small scars today.

Prisoners taken from the cell around 7 p.m. were always exiled or shot. These prisoners also had to take all their laundry with them from the cell. It was generally known among the prisoners that such pick-ups with belongings usually led to death or exile. The prisoners were not informed of the sentence. Whenever prisoners were picked for interrogation or transport, every one had to face the wall before the arrival of NKVD people in the cell. This always took place at the command of an approaching NKVD man. About a quarter of an hour after the prisoners had been taken from the cell in the evening, we would always hear motors running, so that we could assume that the prisoners were being transported. None of those who were taken away in the evening returned to the cell. I never heard any shots that suggested shooting in the jail. In my time, the guard had shot three times into the cell through the peephole

in the cell door. This was once due to loud conversation, once to singing, and once to smoking, which was prohibited. No one was hit. None of my cellmates or I were aware at the time of any shootings by the NKVD in the jail or anywhere else in Vinnytsia. I must add that we were also kept completely isolated from the outside world and from other inmates.

During the two months that I had been detained, pending trial for theft, I also did not hear anything about shootings or burials of those shot in Vinnytsia.

Except for my time in jail, I have never been in Vinnytsia and do not know any NKVD people or persons in any way connected with the NKVD.

Read, approved, signed
Myshuk, Nykyfor

Interpreter:
Seleczko

Witness dismissed:
Kudir
Police Commissioner as Examiner

Reich Office of Criminal Investigation
—Homicide Squad“Vinnytsia”—

Vinnytsia
July 11, 1943

Proceedings:

The Ukrainian,
Boys Dashyn, born January 21, 1893 in Garmatskoe, Orgeev Raion, Trans-Dniestria (now: Moldavian SSR), now an inmate in the city jail of Vinnytsia, has testified as follows:

In 1934135, I was in the city jail of Vinnytsia as a political prisoner awaiting trial. I was accused of belonging to the petty nobility, of being a former Tsarist officer, and, as the responsible head of an agricultural warehouse, of having stored farm seed so poorly that it lost 20% of its value. I was also accused of spying and receiving foodstuffs from my family in Bessarabia. I spent 14 months in a special section for political prisoners. The cells there were occupied on the average by two or three men. Only shortly before my deportation to the Far East, I spent seven days in the center building of the prison in which there were mostly transit prisoners. I was in cell no. 11. The cell had been built for about 18 people but had 200. No one could lie down to sleep. Crammed together, we had to stand or squat. Only at the command of one prisoner was it possible for everyone to change position. Whenever someone wanted to relieve himself at the barrel in the cell, he was lifted by the other prisoners over their heads and moved in the proper direction.

Those in this cell were without exception political prisoners. There were among us about ten or twelve priests whose religious activities had been labeled anti-state behavior. In addition, approximately 20% of the prisoners had been arrested for anti-Semitic behavior. In another example, the 14-year old son of the railroad stationmaster in Gaivoron, Murashko, had been arrested for interpreting the initials "USSR" as standing for, "The death of Stalin = the salvation of Russia."¹⁴ Young Murashko was sentenced to ten years exile in the Far East. . . [a.s.]

During my imprisonment at that time, I never heard any shootings carried out by the NKVD. I heard neither shots nor screams.

The rations in the department for political prisoners under investigation were somewhat better than that in the center building. After rising at 6 a.m., we received per man 20 grams of sugar cubes, 600 grams bread, and warm water in a pot. Between noon and 1 p.m., we received something more than a quarter-liter soup (grits, buckwheat). Afterwards, there was also a plate with a few spoonfuls of a thick porridge,

and for dinner, only a bowl of very hot water. In the center building, there was no porridge at midday, and the soup was thinner.

The prisoners who were employed in gainful work received better rations.

I do not know the names of any NKVD people or anyone else who was connected with the NKVD in any way.

Read, approved, signed
Dashyn, Borys

Interpreter:
M. Seleczo
Criminal Investigator

Witness dismissed:
Reeder
SS Second Lieutenant (*SS-Untersturmführer*)
and Police Commissioner as Examiner

List of Victims Identified as of October 7, 1943*

"The names on the following list have been indirectly transliterated from the German rendering by way of their Ukrainian or Russian spellings. For those familiar with the difficulties in converting Eastern Slavic names from the usually imperfect, and in this case rather inconsistent, German transliteration back into the Cyrillic lettering so that a final, precise rendering into English could be facilitated, the problems encountered by the translator here will be appreciated. (Ed. note)

1. *Syniavs'kyi*, Ivan Romanovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Savyntsi, Trostianets Raion.¹⁵ NKVD search warrant, indicating that S. was arrested on April 14, 1937.
2. *Rymsha*, Mykhailo Petrovych. Ukrainian, technician. Residence: Pliakhova, Koziatyn Raion. NKVD search warrant, indicating that R. was arrested in April 1938.
3. *Molodychenko*, Vasyl' Mykolaiovych. Ukrainian. Prison receipt no. 945, dated April 21, 1938, on the confiscation of articles; prison receipt no. A 5023 on the confiscation of money.
4. *Maniavs'kyi*, Liudvig Sygizmundovych. Ukrainian. NKVD receipt no. A 281, dated January 8, 1938.
5. *Men'shuk*, Feodosii Volodymyrovych. Ukrainian, born 1907. Residence: Ol'shanka, Kryzhopil' Raion. NKVD search warrant, indicating that M. was arrested on April 2, 1938.
6. *Pidlisnyi*, Al'bin Oleksandrovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Rozsoshe (now part of Nove Misto),¹⁶ Tyvrov Raion. NKVD search warrant, indicating that P. was arrested on April 10, 1938.
7. *Dubeniuk*, Vasyl' Kyrylovych. Ukrainian. NKVD receipt, dated March 13, 1938, on the confiscation of money.
8. *Bevs*, Hryhorii Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age 33. Residence: Shkuryntsi (renamed: Pribuz'ke), Vinnytsia Raion. Medical certificate on B.'s state of health.
9. *Denysiuk*, Semen Trokhymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Savyntsi, Trostianets Raion. NKVD search warrant, indicating that D. was arrested on April 14, 1938.

10. *Babulevych*, Oleksandr Iosypovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Shpykiv, Shpykiv Raion (now in Tyl'chyn Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that B. was arrested on March 12, 1938.
11. *Splavs'kyi*, Samiilo Fedorovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Trostianets, Trostianets Raion.
NKVD search warrant, indicating that S. was arrested on April 6, 1938.
12. *Makovs'kyi*, Lukash Andriiovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Oleksandrivka, Trostianets Raion.
Two receipts for payment of life insurance premiums for the months of November and December 1937; summons to a proceeding on April 3, 1938 at the people's court in Trostianets.
13. *Mykhailiuk*, Klym Ivanovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Zарvantsi, Vinnytsia.
Note in his wife's possession in which he accuses various people of having caused his arrest. In addition, his wife, Mariia Petrivna M., recognized his trousers and handkerchief with monogram.
14. *Kucher*, Petro Myronovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Nova Obodivka (now part of Obodivka), Obodivka Raion (now in Trostianets Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that K. was arrested on March 29, 1938.
15. *Ianyshevs'kyi*, Dmytro Semenovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Demivka, Ol'hopil' Raion (now in Chechel'nyk Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that O. was arrested on March 10, 1938.
16. *Orymchenko*, Andrii Kindratovach. Ukrainian. Residence: Nova Obodivka (now part of Obodivka), Obodivka Raion (now in Trostianets Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that O. was arrested on March 29, 1938.
17. *Lukiianchuk*, Z. (S.), H. Ukrainian. Residence: Tul'chyn, Tul'chyn Raion.
Receipt of the Tyl'chyn NKVD, dated March 8, 1938, on the confiscation of money.
18. *Ol'khovs'kyi*, Petro Dymytrovych. Ukrainian, age 30, baker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Olena, recognized his shirt.
19. *Dzevanos'kyi*, Vasyl' Kostiantynovych. Ukrainian, age 28, bookkeeper in a bank. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested May 9, 1938. His former wife recognized his body and clothing.
20. *Bobyk*, Khvedir Trokhymovych. Ukrainian, age 62, collective farm worker. Residence: Lozna, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
His daughter-in-law, Kylyna, recognized his shirt and Bible.
21. *Sydoruk*, Mykhailo. Ukrainian, age 33, collective farm worker. Residence: Lozna, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested December 1939. Relative recognized his body on the basis of the clothing found on it.
22. *Hryhoruk*, Dem'ian Onyfriiovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Borkiv, Lityn Raion.
Arrested April 2, 1938. His wife, Stepanyda, recognized his shirt.
23. *Kozak*, Vasyl' Ivanovych. Ukrainian, bookkeeper. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested October 26, 1937. His wife, Nastasiia, recognized his body on the basis of an amputated arm.
24. *Kvast*, Endryk Rudol'fovych. German, driver on a collective farm. Residence: Komarivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested December 14, 1937. His wife, Horpyna, recognized his body on the basis of the clothing found on it.

25. *Hashtelian*, Frants Bronislavovych. Ukrainian, age 47, engineer. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested October 10, 1937. His wife, Lonhina, recognized his body on the basis of the trousers on it.
26. *Harlins'kyi*, Kazymyr Antonovych. Ukrainian, cook. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested April 24, 1938. His wife, Iuliia, recognized his body on the basis of the hand towel and laundry items found with it.
27. *Seveyn*, Oleksandr Pavlovych. Ukrainian, bookkeeper. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested April 24, 1938. His daughter, Olena, recognized his body on the basis of the laundry items found with it.
28. *Solomon*, Stanislav Iosypovych. Ukrainian, age 46, shoemaker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested November 19, 1937. His wife, Ievdokiia, recognized his body on the basis of the jacket and cap found with it.
29. *Kotsiubyns'kyi*, Ivan Pavlovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested December 1937. His brother, Leontii, recognized his body on the basis of the shirt and suit on it.
30. *Kozovs'kyi*, Kindrat Kyrylovych. Ukrainian, age 59, collective farm worker. Residence: Medvezh'e Ushko, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 5, 1937. His wife, Liuba, recognized his body on the basis of the underwear found on it.
31. *Dobrans'kyi*, Volodymyr. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Pultivtsi, Zhmerynka Raion.
His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his body on the basis of the outer garments found with it.
32. *Konoval'chuk*, Semen Petrovych. Ukrainian, age 36, collective farm worker. Residence: Telepen'ky, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his body on the basis of the trousers found on it.
33. *Naruts'kyi*, Anton Frantsovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia.
His wife, Tetiana, recognized his body on the basis of the underwear found on it.
34. *Ianits'kyi*, Viktor Ivanovych. Ukrainian, telegraph operator. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested March 1938. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his body on the basis of the cap found with it.
35. *Kharkhuta*, Ivan Danylovych. Pole, born 1904, road construction worker. Residence: Stryzhavka, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested February 17, 1938. His wife, Iuzefa, recognized his body on the basis of the underwear found on it.
36. *Oblyvach*, Vasyl' Tereshkovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Luka, Voronovytsia Raion (now in Nemiriv Raion).
Arrested April 14, 1938. His wife, Dominika, recognized his body on the basis of the overcoat and cap found with it.
37. *Kyychenko*, Solovei Kyrylovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Luka, Voronovytsia Raion (now in Nemirov Raion).
Arrested April 30, 1938. His wife, Palazhka, recognized one of his felt boots.

38. *Trehubchak*, Pylyp Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 33, collective farm worker. Residence: Hlubochok, Teplyk Raion (now in Trostianets Raion). Arrested February 13, 1938. His wife, Karyna, recognized his underwear.
39. *Dovhan*, Harion Kyrlyovych. Ukrainian, age 28, collective farm worker. Residence: Hlubochok, Teplyk Raion (now in Trostianets Raion). Arrested March 23, 1938. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized him on the basis of the trousers found on the body.
40. *Halaburba*, Tadeush Feliksovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vytava, Tyvriv Raion. Arrested spring 1938. His wife, Bronislava, recognized his jacket.
41. *Romishovs'kyi*, Pavlo Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, fitter. Residence: Vitava, Tyvriv Raion. Arrested January 5, 1938. His wife, Antonina, recognized his shirt.
42. *Dedenyk*, Foka. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Viitivtsie (renamed Zhdanivka), Khmil'nyk Raion. Arrested February 7, 1938. Family members recognized some of his clothing.
43. *Zadorozhnyk*, Oleksandr Kalenykovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Viitivtsi (renamed: Zhdanivka), Khmil'nyk Raion. Arrested March 14, 1938. Family members recognized some of his clothing.
44. *Kuz'muk*, Maksym Korniiovych. Ukrainian, age 43, collective farm worker. Residence: Pahurtsi, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested April 25, 1937. His wife, Uliana, recognized his laundry items.
45. *Kuz'muk*, Mykhalko Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, age 19, collective farm worker. Residence: Pahurtsi, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested April 25, 1937. His mother recognized his jacket.
46. *Lekhov*, Semen Hnatovych. Ukrainian, age 38, collective farm worker. Residence: Hatka (now part of Ulaniv), Ulanov Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested April 26, 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his raincoat.
47. *Paliiarush*, Kharyton Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: D'iakivtsy, Lityn Raion. Arrested September 17, 1937. His wife, Frosyna, recognized his jacket.
48. *Dubchak*, Luka Vasylovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested June 3, 1938. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his suit.
49. *Misak*, Omel'ko Andriiovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Kolo-Mikhailivka, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested March 4, 1938. His wife, Frosyna, recognized his overcoat and cap.
50. *Iurchenko*, Dmytro Mykytovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Selyshche (renamed: Hostynne), Nemyriv Raion. Arrested April 15, 1938. His wife, Dominika, recognized his warm jacket.
51. *Uhlianytsia*, Dmytro. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Vitava, Tyvriv Raion. Certificate of the Tyvriv Raion (Party) Committee that U. had been exempted from the meat tax. Date of issue: December 4, 1935.
52. *Potashkov*, Zakhar Vasylovych. Ukrainian, veterinarian. Residence: Haisyn, Haisyn Raion. Certificate indicating that P. had worked as a veterinarian. Receipt, dated December 3, 1936, indicating payment of the horse tax.
53. *Klopots'kyi*. Ukrainian. Residence: Pohrebyshche Raion. NKVD prison document dated April 25, 1937 with K.'s signature.

54. *Karmins'kyi*, Petro. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. NKVD document dated November 22, 1937, indicating that K. had been in prison and had worked there.
55. *Iavors'kyi*, Sevastiian. Ukrainian, born 1884, farmer. Residence: Dorohoshcha, Iziaslav Raion, Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Receipt dated September 7, 1933 on Ia.'s payment of taxes, issued by the village soviet of Dorohoshcha; membership identification no. 6928, issued to Ia. by the trade union of Slavuta Raion, Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast).
56. *Havilovs'kyi*, Kostiantyn Pavlovych. Ukrainian, engineer at a machine-tractor station. Residence: Obodivka, Obodivka Raion (now in Trostianets Raion). Identification issued to H. by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture in 1936.
57. *Nechyporuk*, Petro H. Ukrainian. Residence: Frontivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsi Raion). Breadbag with N.'s name on it.
58. *Rudoman*, Vasyl' Fedorovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Frontivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsi Raion). His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his bread bag and shirt.
59. *Honchar*, E. (Ie.) Z. (S.). Ukrainian. Raincoat with H.'s name on its inside.
60. *Palamarchuk*, Zakhar. Ukrainian. Breadbag with P.'s name on it.
61. *Kamins'kyi*, V.P. Ukrainian, age 50, driver and mechanic. Residence: Haisyn, Haisyn Raion. Arrested April 5, 1938. His wife, Domka, recognized his jacket. K.'s name was found on a pair of underpants.
62. *Pochynok*, Semen Fedorovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Frontovka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsi Raion). Breadbag with P.'s name on it.
63. *Lytvynenko*. Ukrainian. Breadbag with L.'s name and the date of March 2, 1938 on it.
64. *Rohal's'kyi*. Shirt with R.'s name on it.
65. *Komar*. Ukrainian. Clothes sack with K.'s name on it.
66. *Kushch*. Ukrainian. Undershirt with K.'s name on it.
67. *Kucheruk*, Viacheslav. Age 28, collective farm worker. Residence: Samchyntsi, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested December 1937. His mother, Mariia, recognized his fur coat.
68. *Iakubovs'kyi*, Bonifat Vasyl'ovych. Pole, age 65, collective farm worker. Residence: Viitivtsi (renamed: Zhdanivka), Khmel'nik Raion. Arrested April 18, 1938. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his jacket.
69. *Kotyky*, Trokhym. Ukrainian, teacher. Residence: Stepashky, Haisyn Raion. Arrested February 1, 1938. His wife recognized his body and his hand towel.
70. *Fiutak*, Stanislav Eduardovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Selyshche (renamed: Hostynne), Nemyriv Raion. Arrested November 24, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket and shirt.

71. *Brunets'kyi*, Iuzef Feliksovych. Pole, age 55, collective farm worker. Residence: Pustokha, Kaziatyn Raion.
Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Antonia, recognized his fur coat.
72. Pylypenko, Andrii Ivanovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Vynnytsia.
Arrested March 22, 1938. His wife, Ksenia, recognized his shut.
73. *Strilets'kyi*, Boleslav Ivanovych. Pole, born 1904, white-collar worker. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Emilia, recognized his jacket.
74. Balits'kyi, Rafail Kyrylovych. Age 45, farmer. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his jacket.
75. *Fedorovych*, Ivan Mykolaivych. Age 38, farmer. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Maria, recognized his jacket.
76. Khmilovs'kyi, Mytrofan Semenovych. Pole, laborer. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Tsetsilia, recognized a sack with a monogram that he himself had marked and had taken with him at the time of his arrest.
77. Merynovych, Iosyf Iakovlevych. Pole, farmer. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Angela, recognized his undershirt.
78. Radets'kyi, Mykhailo Ivanovych. Pole, farmer. Residence: Bryhydivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 27, 1937. His wife, Petrunia, recognized his blanket.
79. *Kovbasiuk*, Danylo Kindratovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Tyrlovka, Dzhurnytskyj Raion (now in Bershad' Raion).
Arrested April 15, 1938. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his jacket.
80. Vandzhula, Pavlo Semenovych. Ukrainian, age 53, collective farm worker. Residence: Miziakivski Khutory, Vynnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 27, 1937. His wife, Kharytyna, recognized his jacket and fur coat.
81. Usatyi, Ivan Oleksandrovych. Ukrainian, age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Ivanivtsi, Bar Raion.
Arrested September 1937. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his shirt.
82. Hlushko, Adam Iosypovych. Pole, age 35, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife, Rozalia, recognized his underpants.
83. Hlushko, Voitek Adamovych. Pole, age 52, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Maria, recognized his jacket and shut.
84. *Samosenko*, Voitek Iuzefovych. Pole, age 51, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Petrunelia, recognized his jacket.
85. *Stepankevych*, Ian Ivanovych. Pole, age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his underpants.
86. *Prybeha*, Pavlo Pylypovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Luko-Meleshkivska, Vynnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Maria, recognized his shirt.

87. *Dul's'kyi*. Ukrainian.
His name was on his underpants.
88. *Skliaruk*. Ukrainian.
His name was on his shirt.
89. *Malits'kyi*, Anton Ianovych. Pole, forester. Residence: Adamivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his fur coat.
90. *Humeniuk*, Anton Zakharovych. Ukrainian, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Mykhailivka, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested April 20, 1938. His wife, Lukeriia, recognized his raincoat.
91. *Neborachuk*, Matvii Bartolomiiiovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested February 9, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
92. *Dziubyns'kyi*, Trokhym. Ukrainian, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Mykhailivka, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested March 20, 1938. His wife, Iaryna, recognized his clothing.
93. *Bohuts'kyi*, Kazymyr Ianovych. Age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Borzhiv, † Bar Raion.
Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife, Domitsela, recognized the laundry bag that he had taken with him at the time of his arrest.
94. *Plakysi*, Karpo Panasovych. Ukrainian, teacher. Residence: Babyn, Il'intsi Raion.
Arrested April 25, 1938. His wife, Ievhena, recognized his jacket.
95. *Maryndas*, Maksym. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Birkiv, Lityn Raion.
Arrested April 16, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his fur coat and cap.
96. *Kozachok*, Vasyl' Semenovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Birkov, Lityn Raion.
Arrested April 16, 1937. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his jacket and cap.
97. *Valkou*, Mekhtod Mykhailiovych. Residence: Birkiv, Lityn Raion.
Arrested April 16, 1937. His wife, Iustyna, recognized his shirt.
98. *Petlins'kyi*, Feliks Iakovlevych. Pole, age 48, collective farm worker. Residence: Ksaverivka, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his jacket.
99. *Oucharenko*, Lazar Stepanovych. Ukrainian, age 52, collective farm worker. Residence: Demidivka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested February 18, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his blouse.
100. *Bazan*, Il'ko Ivanovych. Collective farm worker. Residence: Kurylivka, Khmil'nik Raion.
Arrested October 1937. His wife, Frosyna, recognized his blouse.
101. *Martyniuk*, Syl'vester Romanovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Luka-Meleshkius'ka, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Olena, recognized his trousers, jacket, and underpants.
102. *Martyniuk*, Vasyl' Romanovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Luka-Meleshkius'ka, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Frosyna, recognized his jacket.
103. *Krauets'*, Adam Kyrlyovych. Pole, collective farm worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested January 4, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.

104. Bondar, Mykola Petrovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested October 25, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
105. *Ivanits'kyi*, Apollinari Klymovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Kumanivka, Makhnivka Raion (now in Kozityn Raion).
Arrested September 8, 1937. His wife, Adelia, recognized his shirt.
106. Bondar, Fedir Arseniiovych. Ukrainian, age 45, school director. Residence: Kurylivka, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested December 27, 1937. His wife, Olena, recognized his jacket and blouse.
107. Kvasnits'kyi, Domenyk Domenykovych. Pole, age 66, plumber. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested September 19, 1939. His wife, Ievheniia, recognized his blouse and hand towel.
108. Bondar, Harion Petrovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested January 4, 1938. His wife, Palazhka, recognized his fur coat and belt.
109. *Harash*, Frants Karlovych. Pole, age 37, bookkeeper. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested August 19, 1937. His wife, Ievheniia, recognized his blouse.
110. Khomenko, Oleksa. Ukrainian, age 46, railroad stationmaster. Residence: Nemyriv, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife recognized his trousers.
111. Kashchuk, Marko Il'kovych. Ukrainian, age 47, collective farm worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested December 15, 1937. His wife, Tereza, recognized his trousers.
112. Dubobyi, Oleksa Fedorovych. Ukrainian, age 27, white-collar worker. Residence: Pischanka, Pischanka Raion.
Arrested 1938. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his trousers.
113. *Fedan'*, Ivan Vasylovych. Ukrainian, age 28, collective farm worker. Residence: Viitivtsi (renamed Zhdanivka), Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested April 22, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his fur coat.
114. Burkats'ka, Mariia Viktorivna. Ukrainian, age 42, midwife. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested September 20, 1937. Her girlfriend, Ievhena Harash, recognized her body and clothing.
115. *Kravchuk*, Frants Sevastiianovych. Pole, age 51, laborer. Residence: Kuna, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested September 20, 1938. His wife, Tekla, recognized his jacket.
116. Iasenchuk, Fedir Mykhailovych. Age 39, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Kuna, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested April 7, 1937. His wife, Dariia, recognized his shut and hand towel.
117. Porokhnia, Ivan Fylymonovych. Ukrainian, age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Miziakius'ki Khutora, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Stepanyda, recognized his fur coat.
118. Novits'kyi, Frants Ianovych, Pole, age 42, collective farm worker. Residence: Samhorodok, Samhorodok Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion).
Arrested April 17, 1938. His wife, Karolina, recognized his wadded jacket.

119. *Khomenchuk*, Ivan Iukhymovych, Ukrainian, age **37**, collective farm worker. Residence: Tatars'ke Selyshche (renamed: Selyshche), Koziatyn Raion. Arrested February **20, 1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his shirt and trousers.
120. *Omelianiuik*, Lavrentii Vasylovych. Ukrainian, age **46**, collective farm worker. Residence: Tatars'ke Selyshche (renamed: Selyshche), Koziatyn Raion. Arrested March **20, 1938**. His wife, Iuliia, recognized his bread bag and hand towel.
121. *Malarenko*, Fedir Semenovych. Ukrainian, age **45**, collective farm worker. Residence: Stryzhavka, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested December **24, 1937**. His wife, Tanas'ka, recognized his pullover.
122. *Hlushko*, Iosyf Martynovych. Age **33**, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemeris'kyi (renamed: Chemeris'ke), Bar Raion. Arrested December **22, 1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
123. *Uhlianytsia*, Anton. Ukrainian, age **47**, bookkeeper. Residence: Vitava, Tyvriv Raion. Arrested **1938**. His wife, Nina, recognized his overcoat.
124. *Honchar*, Vasyli' Pylypovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Vovchok, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested February **3, 1937**. His wife, Irena, recognized his blouse.
125. *Chervins'kyi*, Viktor Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age **55**, collective farm worker. Residence: Sobolivka, † Monastryshche Raion, (now in Cherkassy Oblast). Arrested April **20, 1938**. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his jacket and trousers.
126. *Kozolup*, Arekhta Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age **50**, collective farm worker. Residence: Vovchok, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested March **5, 1938**. His wife, Hania, recognized his trousers.
127. *Borachuk*, Aksentii Trokhymovych. Ukrainian, age **63**, clergyman. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion. Arrested July **7, 1937**. His daughter, Vira, recognized his fur coat.
128. *Prosolovs'kyi*, Stanislav Stanislavovych. Pole, bookkeeper. Residence: Voronovysia, Voronovytsia Raion (now in Vinnytsia Raion). Arrested January **6, 1938**. His wife, Antonina, recognized his fur coat.
129. *Stadnyk*, Vasyli' Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, age **40**, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Bilychyn, Bar Raion. Arrested March **20, 1938**. His wife recognized his body.
130. *Kytiuk*, Andrii Korniiiovych. Ukrainian, age **42**, collective farm worker. Residence: Bilychyn, Bar Raion. Arrested April **1938**. His wife recognized his body.
131. *Hutsuluk*. Ukrainian, age **42**, collective farm worker. Residence: Bilychyn, Bar Raion. Arrested March **15, 1938**. His wife recognized his body on the basis of the clothing found on it.
132. *Kychuk*, Ivan Korniiiovych. Ukrainian, age **30**, collective farm worker. Residence: Bilychyn, Bar Raion. Arrested March **15, 1938**. His wife, Ahafiia, recognized his body on the basis of the clothing found on it.
133. *Ivaniuk*, Danylo Mykytovych. Ukrainian, age **45**. Residence: Hlukhivtsi, Makhnovka Raion (now in Kaziatyn Raion). Arrested February **27, 1937**. His wife, Tekla, recognized his clothing.

134. *Franko*, Dmytro Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age **48**, white-collar worker. Residence: Hlukhivtsi, Makhnovka Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion). Arrested March **1938**. His wife recognized his clothing.
135. *Viders'kyi*, Mykyta. Ukrainian, age **50**, veterinarian on a collective farm. Residence: Rohyntsi, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested April **1938**. His wife, Iefiniia, recognized his clothing.
136. *Bobynchuk*, Vasyl'. Ukrainian, age **41**, white-collar worker on a collective farm. Residence: Mykhailivka, Haisyn Raion. Arrested April **1938**. His wife, Rozina, recognized his overcoat.
137. *Chaikovs'kyi*, Iosyf. Pole, age **27**, railroad worker. Residence: Koziatyn, Koziatyn Raion. Arrested February **22, 1938**. His mother, Rozaliia, recognized his body.
138. *Sorochyns'kyi*, Leon. Pole, born **1905**. Residence: Pustokha, Koziatyn Raion. Arrested December **1937**. His wife, Varvara, recognized his overcoat.
139. *Korsyk*, Lonko. Ukrainian, age **30**, laborer. Residence: Semky, Khmil'nyk Raion. Arrested December **1937**. His wife recognized is overcoat.
140. *Podhorodets'kyi*, Al'bin. Pole, age **36**, unskilled laborer. Residence: Semky, Khmil'nyk Raion. Arrested Christmas **1937**. His wife, Sofiia, recognized his jacket.
141. *Meskevych*, Dmytro Feofanovych. Ukrainian, born May **18, 1890** in Moshkiai,† clergyman. Residence: Bratslav, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). Arrested December **2, 1937**. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his fur coat.
142. *Pekars'kyi*, Iosyf. Ukrainian, age **57**, collective farm worker. Residence: Nemyriv, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested **1937**. His wife, Ievheniia, recognized his suit and fur cap.
143. *Semeniuk*, Mykhailo. Ukrainian, age **57**, collective farm worker. Residence: Buhikiv, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested March **1938**. His wife, Irena, recognized his fur jacket.
144. *Shmel'tser*, Frants. Pole, laborer. Residence: Kozachivka (now part of Brailiv), Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested June **20, 1938**. His wife, Antoniiia, recognized his jacket.
145. *Prusak*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age **39**, collective farm worker. Residence: Verkhivka, Bar Raion. Arrested March **24, 1937**. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his raincoat.
146. *Matii*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age **45**, collective farm worker. Residence: Verkhivka, Bar Raion. Arrested April **1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
147. *Mel'nyk*, Vasyli'. Ukrainian, age **47**, laborer on a collective farm. Residence: Verkhivka, Bar Raion. Arrested spring **1937**. His wife, Hania, recognized his fur coat.
148. *Bilodai*, Hnat. Ukrainian. Residence: D'iakovka, Dzhulynka Raion (now in Bershad' Raion). NKVD search warrant, indicating that B. was arrested on February **4, 1938**.
149. *Polishchuk*, Lev. Ukrainian. Receipt from the Lypovets Raion administration on the payment of **597** rubles.
150. *Hoba*, Kseniia. Ukrainian. Residence: Kul'chynky, Antoniv Raion (now in Krasliliv Raion), Kamenets-Polil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Receipt for income tax payment for **1938**.

151. *Hoba*, Mykhailo. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Kul'chynky, Antoniny Raion (now in Krasiliv Raion), Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska, Oblast).
Receipts for income tax payments for the years 1925 to 1928; identification no. 434, issued in Dnipropetrovsk, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, indicating that H. had been employed at the Second Construction Office.
152. *Baznyk*, Volodymyr Dmytrovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Bar, Bar Raion.
Identification, dated September 2, 1934, from the sugar factory in Bar, indicating that B. was employed there; money pouch and receipt dated March 14, 1938.
153. *Kharchuk*, Ivan. Ukrainian, born 1902, bookkeeper. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Pass dated August 1, 1934; trade union membership book no. 0 293 324.
154. *Petrov*, Volodymyr. Ukrainian. Identification no. 812 (with photograph), indicating that P. was employed with the railroad management in Tornsk (RSFSR).
155. *Radets'kyi*, Ian Stanislovovych. Age 46, collective farm worker. Residence: Zavadivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his jacket and shirt.
156. *Shterenberg*, M.H. White-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Receipt no. 12 from the Union of the State Sugar Beet Administration; letter dated January 3, 1934 to the railroad stationmaster in Kalinovka requesting the supply of seven freight cars for transporting wood from the small railroad station of Karolina to Vinnytsia.
157. *Koval's'kyi*, Vasyli'. Ukrainian, born 1884, farmer. Residence: Pysarivka, Vinnytsia Raion.
Receipt no. 2375, dated November 20, 1931, from the Vinnytsia municipal economic administration.
158. *Radets'ka*, Ol'ha Havrylivna. Ukrainian. Residence: Mykhailyvtsi, Murovani Kurlyivtsi Raion.
Membership book no. 1191 of the Mykhailyvtsi Cooperative, indicating that R. had been removed as a member.
159. *Radets'kyi*, Oleksa. Ukrainian. Residence: Mykhailyvtsi, Murovani Kurilivtsi Raion.
Membership book of the Mykhailyvtsi Cooperative.
160. *Cherniavs'kyi*, Amvrosii Ivanovych. Born 1912 in Shiloutsy. Residence: Shilovtsi, Khotyn Raion, Chemivtsy Oblast.
Excerpt from a court judgment, dated August 8, 1940 and issued in Vinnytsia, of the military tribunal of Kiev Oblast, sentencing Ch. to death.
161. *Orlovs'kyi*, Anton Lukych. Ukrainian, born March 30, 1902 in Kupyn,¹⁷ white-collar worker at a machine-tractor station. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Documents and receipts with dates up to August 17, 1937; card regarding O.'s medical treatment.
162. *Sulkovs'kyi*, Vladyslav Ivanovych. Born 1874 in what became Krekhov Raion.¹⁸ Residence: Sokolovka, Kryzhopol' Raion.
Membership book no. 0 821 322 of the Anti-Aircraft Defense Organization; document, dated January 16, 1937, of the sugar beet factory in Sokolivka, indicating that Z. had been an engineer there since 1934.
163. *Lopatyns'kyi*, Mykhailo. Born 1906, collective farm worker.
Military passport, indicating the L. had been released from the army.

164. Suidzins'kyi, Oleksandr. Ukrainian, age 43, trade inspector. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested March 10, 1938. Pay book of the Red Army, issued December 1937 in Vinnytsia.
165. Horshkou, Volodyrnyr Hryhorovych. Bookkeeper. Residence: Frontovka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested April 16, 1938. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his jacket.
166. Tryfonov, Mykhailo. Residence: Starokonstantyniv, Starokonstantyniv Raion, Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Fragment of military passport, issued in Starokonstantyniv.
167. Klodnits'kyi, Sygizmund. Born 1904. Document, indicating that K. was to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the courts.
168. Vertyshko, Fa. Residence: Mohyliv-Podil'skyi (now in Mohiliv-Podil'skyi Raion). Cigarette holder with the engraving, "Prison October 14, 1937 Vertyshko Fa., M.P." (Mohyliv-Podil'skyi).
169. *Bodnavskii*, Iul'ko. Residence: Trostianets, Trostianets Raion. NKVD search warrant no. 137, dated November 2, 1937.
170. Myshchuk, Oleksa Iukhymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Lypovets Raion. NKVD search warrant, dated February 14, 1938, indicating that M. had been arrested.
171. Kulak, Lonhin Pavlovych. Ukrainian, shoemaker. Residence: Frankivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested April 16, 1938. His wife, Paraska, recognized his shirt.
172. Netrebchuk, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 53, teacher. Residence: Viknina, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested October 1938. His wife, Sofiia, recognized his trousers.
173. Kuachuk, Vikentii. Ukrainian, age 54, collective farm worker. Residence: Seferivka, Bar Raion. Arrested 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his underwear and jacket.
174. *Khomchak*, Stefan. Ukrainian, age 46, veterinarian on a collective farm. Residence: Seferivka, Bar Raion. Arrested February 1938. His wife, Antoshka, recognized his jacket.
175. Holouatiuk, Serhii Ivanovych. Ukrainian, coachman. Residence: Krushynivka, † Balta Raion, Moldavian ASSR (now in Odessa Oblast). Arrested April 5, 1938. His wife, Iukhtyna, recognized his shirt.
176. Usov, Mykola. Ukrainian, age 45, carpenter. Residence: Teofilivka, Dzhulynka Raion (now in Bershad' Raion). Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Ahafiia, recognized his jacket, bread bag, and underwear.
177. Antoniuk, Stefan. Pole, age 46, collective farm worker. Residence: Pol'ovi Berlintsii (renamed: Pol'ovi), Murovanye Kurilovtsy (now in Bar Raion). Arrested June 20, 1938. His wife, Ruzia, recognized his shirt, which she had made herself.
178. Andriieus'kyi, Frants. Ukrainian, age 50, guard. Residence: Salika, † Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested October 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket on the basis of its material and buttons as well as a handkerchief in a pocket of the body's clothing.
179. *Berft*. Age 56, collective farm worker. Residence: Chubarivka, † Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested 1938. His wife recognized the hand towel that she had made herself.

- 180.** *Hodlevs'kyi*, Anton. Ukrainian, age **56**, locomotive engineer. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested May **13, 1938**. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his shirt, which she had crocheted herself, and his wadded jacket.
- 181.** *Soloviev*, Andrii. Ukrainian, age **47**, white-collar worker. Residence: Sytkivtsi, Sytkivtsi Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested May **17, 1938**. His wife recognized his body as well as an embroidered hand towel with the monogram "A.S." on it.
- 182.** *Bilets'kyi*, Leonid. Ukrainian, age **35**, forest worker, former clergyman. Residence: Shyroka Hreblia, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested September **24, 1937**. His wife, Dariia, recognized his brown suit, which she had made herself.
- 183.** *Antoniak*, Hryhorii. Ukrainian, driver. Residence: Shyroka Hreblia, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested march **26, 1938**. His wife recognized his shirt on the basis of its embroidery and repairs.
- 184.** *Solomon*, Vasyl'. Ukrainian, born **1905**, clergyman. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested December **15, 1937**. His mother, Kateryna, recognized his underclothes, overcoat, hand towel, and handkerchief.
- 185.** *Mykhailovs'kyi*, Al'bin Ianovych. Ukrainian, age **38**, collective farm worker. Residence: Sokolivka, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested November **18, 1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
- 186.** *Domashevs'kyi*, Vladyslav. Born **1911** in Lisova Slobidka, collective farm worker. Residence: Lisova Slobidka, Ianushpol' Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested June **22, 1938**. His mother, Iuzefa, recognized his jacket.
- 187.** *Matsera*, Vasyl' Oleksovych. Ukrainian, born **1911**, collective farm worker. Residence: Potoky, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested April **27, 1938**. His mother Tetiana Zaika, recognized his overcoat.
- 188.** *Hrushkovs'kyi*, Petro Z. (S.). Ukrainian, age **63**, collective farm worker. Residence: Horodnytsia, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested October **1937**. His daughter, Halyna, recognized his cap.
- 189.** *Shevchuk*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 48, driver. Residence: Haisyn, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested December **13, 1935**. His wife, Olena, recognized his underwear.
- 190.** *Stemblovs'kyi*, Ivan. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Horodnytsia, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested December **16, 1937**. His wife, Frania, recognized his sport shirt.
- 191.** *Vavrons'kyi*, Hilarii. Pole, age **38**, laborer. Residence: Velyki Nizhortsi, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested May **9, 1938**. His wife, Klementyna, recognized his clothing.
- 192.** *Rybitys'kyi*, Feliks. Pole, age **38**, collective farm worker. Residence: Velyki Neshortsi, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested may **24, 1938**. His wife, Vitsentyna, recognized his underwear and jerkin.
- 193.** *Zalevs'kyi*, Tadeush. Pole, age **35**, collective farm worker. Residence: Konyshchiv, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested September **1938**. His wife, Hania, recognized his underwear.
- 194.** *Zhulins'kyi*, Andrii. Age **33**, blacksmith. Residence: Korolivka, Samhorodok Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion).
Arrested January **1, 1938**. His wife, Bronislava, recognized his trousers.

195. *Nahul*, Ilarion Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age **42**, teacher. Residence: Obidne, Voronovytsia Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested February **1, 1937**. His son, Volodymyr, recognized his undershirt, blouse, and overcoat.
196. *Medoushchuk*, Arsen. Ukrainian, age **48**, collective farm worker. Residence: Rososha, Lipovets Raion.
Arrested April **1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his blouse and trousers.
197. *Buleha*, Karpo Ivanovych. Ukrainian, born **1904** in Barky, † collective farm worker. Residence: Barky, † Murovani Kurylivtsia Raion.
Arrested September **1937**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his clothing.
198. *Stakhmych*, Fedir. Ukrainian, born **1905**, mason. Residence: Stodolky, Bar Raion (now in Horodok Raion), L'viv Oblast.
Arrested April **30, 1938**. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his bag.
199. *Hynnyk*, Artem N. Ukrainian, age **40**, collective farm worker. Residence: Verkhivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested April **17, 1937**. His wife, Anna, recognized his jacket on the basis of its repairs.
200. *Ianits'kyi*, Iosyf Lavrovych. Ukrainian, age **53**, collective farm worker. Residence: Supivka, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion (now in Bar Raion).
Arrested September **1, 1937**. His wife, Frania, recognized his undershirt.
201. *Pundyk*, Fedir Kindratovych. Ukrainian, age **29**, collective farm worker. Residence: Supivka, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion (now in Bar Raion).
Arrested August **1935**. His wife, Nastasiia, recognized his blanket.
202. *Pundyk*, Kindrat Maksymovych. Ukrainian, age **64**, collective farm worker. Residence: Supivka, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion (now in Bar Raion).
Arrested August **1937**. His wife, Uliana, recognized his undershirt.
203. *Shistka*, Mykolai. Ukrainian, age **32**, collective farm worker. Residence: Adam-pil', † Stavishchany Raion (now in Bilhory Raion), Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast).
Arrested February **28, 1938**. His wife, Oksana, recognized his trousers and overcoat.
204. *Stanisheus'kyi*, Adol'f. Pole, bookkeeper. Residence: Bratslav, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested December **1937**. His sister-in-law, Emilia Dobrzhans'ka, recognized his scarf.
205. *Kol'kous'kyi*, Iustyn. Collective farm worker. Residence: Klitynka, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested December **16, 1937**. His wife, Iuliia, recognized his fur coat.
206. *Sidlets'kyi*, Ivan Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, born **1896**, barber.
Arrested December **30, 1937**. His wife, Pelahiia, recognized his shirt.
207. *Krups'kyi*, Ivan Vasylovych. Ukrainian, age **52**, factory worker. Residence: Marksove, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested June **17, 1938**. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his jacket.
208. *Honchar*, Pavlo. Ukrainian, age **30**, collective farm worker. Residence: Stupievka. †
Arrested December **1937**. His wife, Nadiia, recognized his jacket and trousers.
209. *Olinek*, Dmytro. Ukrainian, born **1901**, municipal employee. Residence: Stodolky, Bar Raion (now in Horodok Raion), L'viv Oblast.
Arrested May **6, 1938**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his shirt.

210. *Hets'ko*, Andrii. Ukrainian, age 44, collective farm worker. Residence: Buhayivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested February 28, 1938. His daughter, Fania, recognized his jacket, underpants, and hand towel.
211. *Fediuk*, Petro. Ukrainian, age 49, collective farm worker. Residence: Pohorile (renamed: Druzhba), Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion. Arrested December 30, 1937. His wife, Hafiia, recognized his fur coat.
212. *Hamaniuk*, Ivan Fedorovych. Ukrainian, age 44, collective farm worker. Residence: Pohorile (renamed: Druzhba), Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion. Arrested February 7, 1938. His wife, Motryna, recognized his overcoat.
213. *Shatkivs'kyi*, Fadei. Ukrainian, bookkeeper. Residence: Novozhyvotiv, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his overcoat.
214. *Iavlets'kyi*, Tymofii. Ukrainian, born 1882. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested October 10, 1937. His wife, Adelia, recognized his handkerchief with monogram.
215. *Hodovanets'*, Isaak Kasianovych. Ukrainian, born 1886, laborer. Residence: Mykhailivtsi, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion. Arrested January 3, 1938. His wife, Hanna, recognized his shirt, overcoat, and top boots.
216. *Matyshko*, Hryhorii. Ukrainian, born 1896, collective farm worker. Residence: Verhievka (renamed: Kovalivka), Nemyriv Raion. Arrested March 30, 1938. His wife, Paraska, recognized his suit.
217. *Makhovs'ka*, Mykhailyna Ivanivna. Widow, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested May 6, 1938. Her daughter, Henryka, recognized her dress.
218. *Konopko*, Vatslav Karlovych. Age 35, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested May 21, 1938. His wife, Ianina, recognized his shirt.
219. *Fylypshyn*, Semen Vasyl'ovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Haivoron, Haivoron Raion, Odessa Oblast (now in Kirovhrad Oblast). Arrested January 27, 1938. His nephew, Vasyl' Vasiutyns'kyi, recognized his shut.
220. *Vitkovs'kyi*, Petro Ivanovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Horodnytsia Nemyriv Raion. Arrested December 16, 1937. His wife, Lutseniia, recognized his cap.
221. *Buravs'kyi*, Vasyl'. Ukrainian, age 39, bookkeeper. Residence: Korolivka, Samorodok Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion). Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Lidiia, recognized his cap.
222. *Shubovych*, Tryfon Nykyforovych. Ukrainian, fitter. Residence: Zavadiivka, Teplyk Raion. Arrested March 15, 1938. His wife recognized his shut.
223. *Shmutiak*, Frants. Ukrainian, age 32, carpenter. Residence: Supivka, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion (now in Bar Raion). Arrested December 1937. His wife, Antonina, recognized his blouse.
224. *Korniienko*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 47, collective farm worker. Residence: Kordyshivka, Koziatyn Raion. Arrested July 5, 1937. His daughter, Katia, recognized his underwear.

225. Domashevsk'kyi, Ivan Tytovych. Ukrainian, age 50, guard. Residence: Lisova Slobidka, Ianushpil Raion (now in Berdichev Raion), Zhytomer Oblast. Arrested August 9, 1937. His wife, Leonora, recognized his jacket.
226. Shyshnevs'kyi, Fylyp. Ukrainian, age 35, blacksmith. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested May 5, 1938. His wife, Ianina, recognized his shirt.
227. Zbozhyns'kyi, Mykola Fedorovych. Ukrainian, age 47, collective farm worker. Residence: Obidne, Voronevytsia Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). Arrested February 7, 1937. His wife Hania, recognized his blouse.
228. Nahaniuk, **Stepan**. Ukrainian, born 1906 in Terlyk (now in Monastyryshche Raion), collective farm worker. Residence: Naraivka, Monastyryshche Raion. Arrested Easter 1937. His wife, Paraska, recognized his jacket.
229. Styhorets'kyi, Mykolai Ivanovych. Ukrainian, born 1889. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested June 15, 1937. His wife, Anastasiia, recognized his jacket.
230. *Shesternia*, Vasyl'. Ukrainian, age 53, collective farm worker. Residence: Naraivka, Monastyryshche Raion. Arrested April 11, 1937. His wife, Palashka, recognized his trousers.
231. Buchkovs'kyi, Mykolai Stefanovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Krasnosilka, Dzhulynka Raion (now in Bershad' Raion). Arrested October 1937. His wife, Frantsiska, recognized his leather overcoat.
232. Huslikov, **Iakym**. Ukrainian, born 1898 in Rus'ka Chernyshivka, white-collar worker. Residence: Chernyshivka Rus'ka (renamed: Slobidka, now part of Bratslav), Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). Arrested late September 1937. His wife, Iaryna, recognized his jacket and bread bag.
233. Mykhal'chuk, **Zakhar** Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 37, teacher. Residence: Sosonka, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested July 5, 1937. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his swim trunks.
234. Orzhezhovsk'kyi, **Andrii** Kostiantynovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Ivanivtsi (renamed: Ivanovetske), Bar Raion. Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Olena, recognized his fur coat.
235. Krupko, Stefan Oleksandrovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Marksove, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). Arrested May 7, 1938. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his overcoat.
236. Vitkovsk'kyi, **Antonin**. Age 51, collective farm worker. Residence: Pyliava, + Vinnytsia Raion.¹⁹ Arrested April 21, 1938. His wife, Rozaliia, recognized his jacket.
237. Kiianovsk'kyi, Vitsentii Karpovych. Ukrainian, carpenter. Residence: Krushlyntsi (renamed: Malie Krushlyntsi), Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Frania, recognized his fur coat.
238. Bohins'kyi, Ivan. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Iavotyryka, + Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested September 1937. His wife Pavlyna, recognized his jacket.
240. Konoval'chuk, Semen Petrovych. Ukrainian, born 1902 in Sobolivka, collective farm worker. Residence: Telepen'ky, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested April 2, 1938. His wife, Liudvina, recognized his trousers and belt.
241. *Humeniuk*, Zotyky. Ukrainian, born 1886 in Basalychivka, collective farm worker. Residence: Baselychivka, Haisyn Raion. Arrested July 13, 1939. His wife, Kseniia, recognized his jacket.

242. *Zahorodnyi, Petro*. Ukrainian, age **41**, farmer. Residence: Sokolova, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested January **2, 1938**. His wife, Mariia, recognized his overcoat.
243. *Nadkernyshnyi, Lukash*. Ukrainian, age **40**, collective farm worker. Residence: Sokolova, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested December **17, 1937**. His wife, Mikhaska, recognized his jacket.
244. *Mykolaichuk, Iaha*. Ukrainian, age **50**, farmer. Residence: Sokolova, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested January **1, 1938**. Her daughter, Martsenka Pentsak, recognized her chemise.
245. *Mazur, Hnat*. Ukrainian, age **30**, collective farm worker. Residence: Konyshchiv, Murovani Kurylovtsi Raion.
Arrested April **28, 1938**. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his undershirt.
246. *Panadii, Konon Levkovych*. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Marksove, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested June **24, 1938**. His wife, Olena, and his daughter, Hanna, recognized his shut and shoes.
247. *Korniienko, Lena Seminivna*. Ukrainian, age **19**, white-collar worker on a collective farm. Residence: Kordyshivka, Koziatyn Raion.
Arrested autumn **1937**. Her mother, Kylyna, and her sister, Lena, recognized her body on the basis of the shawl, jacket, and chemise found on it, as well as the distinguishing characteristics of the incisors.
248. *Drageev, Dimitrii Torfymovich*.
Arrested August **26, 1938**. Prison bank savings account book.
249. *Aleksieiev, Oleksii L'vovych*. Ukrainian, age **35**, white-collar worker.
Arrested **1938**. NKVD receipt no. **17**, dated May **1, 1938**, on the confiscation of articles; indictment, dated August **1938**.
250. *Shevchenko, Hryhorii Fedorovych*. Ukrainian, born **1903** in Dmytrivka (now in Novo-Aidar Raion, Voroshylohrad Oblast), white-collar worker. Residence: Trostianets, Trostianets Raion.
Arrested May **29, 1938**. Saving account book no. **146**, issued April **24, 1938** in Vinnytsia; prison bank savings account book, dated September **25, 1938**; NKVD prison receipt no. **1026**, dated July **15, 1938** on the confiscation of articles; indictment, dated August **1938**.
251. *Cherniakov, Mykhailo Rakhilovych*.
Arrested May **29, 1938**. NKVD prison receipt, dated May **29, 1938**, on the confiscation of articles.
252. *Medyns'kyi, Tomash Lavrovych*. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Marksove, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemirov Raion).
Arrested December **20, 1937**. His wife, Petrunelia, recognized his shoes and bread bag.
253. *Solodov (Zolocov), Ivan Andriiovych*.
Arrested January **1938**. NKVD prison receipt.
254. *Horokhov, Oleksii Ivanovych*.
Arrested June **1938**. NKVD prison receipt no. **17**, dated June **9, 1938**.
255. *Kunians'kyi, Solomon Markovych*.
Arrested December **1937**. Prison bank savings account book; NKVD prison receipt, dated December **30, 1937**, on confiscated articles.

256. Berlav's'kyi, Lev Iakovlevych. Ukrainian, born 1901, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested February 3, 1938. NKVD prison receipt, dated 1937, on confiscated articles; prison bank savings account; indictment, dated 1938.
257. Romanenko, Andrii Hryhorovych. Ukrainian. Residence; Vinnytsia.
NKVD search warrant, indicating that R. was arrested in Vinnytsia on May 26, 1938.
258. Vodovyts'kyi, Tomash. Age 28, warehouse manager on a collective farm. Residence: Lisova Slobidka, Ianushpil Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion), Zhitomyr Oblast.
Arrested June 22, 1938. His wife, Karolina, recognized his blouse on the basis of a large monogram embroidered on it.
259. Verkhovskii, Aleksandr Vasil'evich. Born 1902 in Zaruchi (renamed: Bezhet'sk Raion, Kalinin Oblast, RSFSR), technician. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested August 10, 1938. Indictment, indicating that V. had been in the city jail of Vinnytsia.
260. *Hudyma*, Tymofii Maksymovich. Ukrainian. foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Vyshkivtsi, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested February 20, 1937. His wife, Frosyna, recognized his overcoat.
261. Panadii, Onys'ko . Ukrainian. Residence: Marksove, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested June 20, 1941. His mother recognized his fur coat.
262. Pantuiev, Borys. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
263. Starovin. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
264. Nechaev, Vladimir Nikolaevich. Born 1898 in Novhorod Huberniia.
Indictment, dated August 1938, indicating that N. had been in the city jail of Vinnytsia.
265. Oliinyk, Herasym Kost'ovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Kholodivka, Tyl'chyn Raion.
Arrested October 14, 1936. His sister, Mariia, recognized bread bag.
266. Dykyie. Ukrainian. White-collar worker.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
267. Pshuk, Mykola Petrovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Lozova, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1937. His wife, Malanka, recognized his shirt and trousers.
268. Koval's'kyi, Domenyk Iuz'kovych. Ukrainian, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Lozova, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1937. His daughter, Karolina, recognized his cap.
269. Bohuslavs'kyi.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
270. *Lín*, Nikolai Aleksandrovich. Age 36. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
271. *Vesenyev*.
Arrested July 25, 1938. Prison bank savings account book; indictment, dated August 1938.
272. *Severyn*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.

273. *Kondratiyev*, Hryhorii Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 38.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938; prison book savings account, dated September 25, 1938.
274. *Zubov*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
275. *Ural'tsov*, Nikolai Ivanovich. Age 35, white-collar worker. Residence: Tyvriv Raion.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
276. *Pshuk*, Anton Kazymyrovich. Ukrainian, foreman on a collective farm. Residence: Lozova, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1937. His wife recognized his jacket and cap.
277. *Herasymchuk*. Ukrainian. White-collar worker.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
278. *Paienko*, Karol. Age 50, laborer. Residence: Mikhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 15, 1937. His wife, Karol'ka, recognized his shut.
279. *Ladyka*, Hryhir. Ukrainian, age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Buhakiv, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Krasyna, recognized his undershirt, blouse, and cap.
280. *Malishevs'kyi*, Ivan. Age 36, collective farm worker. Residence: Buhakiv, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested December 12, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his winter jacket, trousers, and fur cap.
281. *Barabash*, Spyrydon. Ukrainian, age 50, collective farm worker. Residence: Buhakiv, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested December 12, 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his cap.
281. *Lukiianovych*, Ivan. Age 55, guard. Residence: Lozna, Ulanov Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested February 1938. His nephew Sherhii Malishevs'kyi, recognized his bread bag.
283. *Shafranetskyi*, Habro. Ukrainian, age 48, farmer. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 12, 1937. His wife, Luzhbita, recognized his winter overcoat.
284. *Paianok*, Ian. Age 33, collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested February 12, 1938. His mother, Pavlyna, recognized his trousers.
285. *Paianok*, Karlo. Age 55, collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested February 12, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
286. *Shafranetskyi*, Ian'ko. Age 45, collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his shut.
287. *Kviatkovs'kyi*, Florian. Age 45, locomotive engineer. Residence: Sharhorod, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested may 5, 1938. His daughter, Mariia Didyk, recognized his shirtwaist.
288. *Kostrets'kyi*, Teofil. Born 1913 in Lisova Slobodka, collective farm worker. Residence: Lisova Slobodka, Ianushpol' Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested November 28, 1937. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his trousers on the basis of its patches.

289. *Rudnits'kyi*, Iosafat. Age 56, collective farm worker. Residence: Lisova Slobodka, Ianushpol' Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested April 3, 1937. His daughter, Iuzefa, recognized a sack that he had taken with him at the time of his arrest.
290. *Chernysh*, Kyrylo Denysovych. Ukrainian, age 40, white-collar worker on a collective farm. Residence: Levkhy, † Dashiv Raion (Dashiv Raion was dissolved and divided between Haisin, Zhmerynka, and Il'intsy Raions; now Illintsi Raion).
Arrested March 15, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
291. *Telishevs'kyi*, Feliks Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, age 41, collective farm worker. Residence: Pohorile (now part of Kropyvna), Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmilnyk Raion).
Arrested August 9, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his shirt and shoes.
292. *Tomashevs'kyi*, Hryhorii Vasylovych. Born 1910 in Pogoreloe, collective farm worker. Residence: Pohorile (now part of Kropyvna), Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmilnyk Raion).
Arrested May 5, 1938. His sister, Mariia Telishevs'ka, recognized his linen summer overcoat and winter overcoat.
293. *Iavnych*, Vasyli'. Ukrainian, age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Voznivtsi, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested January 6, 1938. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his overcoat.
294. *Markevych*, Oleksandr. Ukrainian, born 1910 in Murafa (now in Sharhorod Raion), collective farm worker. Residence: Voznivtsy, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested January 6, 1938. His mother-in-law, Irena Shtepa, recognized his cap.
295. *Rutkovs'kyi*, Adol'f. Born 1911, blacksmith. Residence: Voznivtsy, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested May 17, 1938. His wife, Karolina, recognized his jacket and shirt.
296. *Pavliuk*, Stefan. Ukrainian, age 47, farmer. Residence: Voznivtsy, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested January 6, 1938. His wife, Antonia, recognized his overcoat.
297. *Studzins'kyi*, Oleksandr. Born 1908 in Ianushpol' (renamed: Ivanopol'; now in Chudniv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast), collective farm worker. Residence: Lisova Slobodka, Ianushpol' Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested August 1937. His wife, Rozaliia, recognized his summer blouse and wadded jacket.
298. *Kumans'kyi*, Franko. Ukrainian, born 1910 in Khutir Chemerys'kyi, farmer. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his overcoat, two of his shirts, and his cap.
299. *Kumans'kyi*, Petro. Ukrainian, born 1912 in Khutir Chemerys'kyi, farmer. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke.) Bar Raion.
Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife, Luzhlita, recognized his hand towel.
300. *Tsitsiurs'kyi*, Pavlo. Ukrainian, age 43. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 26, 1937. His wife, Rozaliia, recognized his wadded jacket.
301. *Boguts'kyi*, Ian Ivanovych. Age 48, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife, Petrunelia, recognized his wadded jacket.

302. *Tsetsiurs'kyi*, Petro. Ukrainian, age **45**, farmer. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December **26, 1937**. His wife, Franka, recognized his jacket.
303. *Skalets'kyi*, Iuz'ko. Born **1907** in Okladne (now in Bar Raion), collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivtsy, Bar Raion.
Arrested December **20, 1937**. His wife, Nastasiia, recognized a sack that she have given him at the time of his arrest to carry bread.
304. *Matkobozhyk*, **Andrii** Andriiovych. Ukrainian, born **1893**, laborer. Residence: Zahnitiv, Pischanka Raion (now in Kodyma Raion, Odessa Oblast).
Arrested December **17, 1937**. His wife, Sofiia, recognized his winter overcoat.
305. *Kovac'skyi*, Stanislav. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Rozhychna, Orativ Raion (now in Il'ntsy Raion).
Arrested September **25, 1937**. His wife, Aniela, recognized his trousers.
306. *Zelins'kyi* (Selins'kyi), Iosyp. Age **58**, farmer. Residence: Berdychiv, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested April **21, 1938**. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his jacket.
307. *Havryluk*, Oleksandr. Ukrainian, born **1906** in Ianivska Slobodka, laborer. Residence: Janivska Slobodka (renamed: Slobidka), Kalynivka Raion.
Arrested December **5, 1937**. His wife, Dariia, recognized his wadded vest.
308. *Samosenko*, Voitekh Iuzefovych. Age **32**, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested January 4, **1938**. His wife, Petrunelia, recognized his summer blouse.
309. *Kurmans'kyi*, Petro. Age **53**, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December **26, 1937**. His wife, Anna, recognized his trousers.
310. *Lekhov*, Semen Hnatovych. Ukrainian, born **1900** in Hatka, collective farm worker. Residence: Hatka (now part of Ulaniv), Ulanov Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested April **25, 1937**. His wife, Anna, recognized his overcoat.
311. *Pavluk*, Iosyf Iakubovych. Ukrainian, age **31**, collective farm worker. Residence: Tarasivka, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested December **22, 1937**. His wife, Polunka, recognized his jacket and cap.
312. *Resniuk*, Petro Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, age **35**, collective farm worker. Residence: Tarasivka, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested December **22, 1937**. His mother, Martselyna, recognized his undershirt and shirt.
313. *Buratevych*, Feliks Iakubovych. Ukrainian, age **46**, collective farm worker. Residence: Tarasivka, Stanislavchuk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested December **22, 1937**. His wife, Hania, recognized his wadded vest.
314. *Kuzmuk*, (Kuz'muk, Kusmuk), Mykhalko Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, age **19**, collective farm worker. Residence: Pahurtsi, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested April **25, 1937**. His mother, Varka, recognized his jacket on the basis of a cross sewn into the right breast side.
315. *Chernuka*, Khoma. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Ianivska Slobodka (renamed: Slobidka), Kalinovka Raion.
Arrested October **5, 1937**. His wife, Iuhyna, recognized his blouse.
316. *Semchuk*, Roman. Ukrainian, born **1899** in Petrashivka (there were at least three communities in Vinnytsia Raion alone at the time of his arrest with this name), white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested March **13, 1938**. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his winter overcoat.

317. *Bobyk*, Davyd Fedorovych. Ukrainian, age **18**, tailor. Residence: Lozna, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested December **25, 1939**. His sister-in-law, Kylyna, recognized his bread bag.
318. *Rochak*, Iosyf. Ukrainian, age **40**, farmer. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December **4, 1937**. His wife, Iuzefa, recognized his jacket and trousers.
319. *Zakharchuk*, Ivan Semenovych. Ukrainian, age **42**, farmer. Residence: Meleshkiv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested July **1937**. His wife, Irena, recognized his felt boots.
320. *Korman*, Mykola Frankovych. Ukrainian, factory worker. Residence: Snitkiv, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested December **1937**. His wife, Hanna, recognized his warm shirt and underpants.
321. *Verevluk*, Vasyl' Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age **55**, collective farm worker. Residence: Meleshkiv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested autumn **1937**. His wife, Parashka, recognized his trousers.
322. *Didushok*, Volodymyr Petrovych, Ukrainian, born **1908**, white-collar worker. Residence: Hanshchyna (now part of Voronovytsia), Voronovytsia Raion (now in Vinnytsia Raion).
Arrested May **4, 1938**. His wife, Ol'ha, recognized his trousers, blouse, and fur jacket.
323. *Bulaienko*, Andrii. Ukrainian, age **42**, collective farm worker. Residence: Komariv, Voronovytsia (now in Vinnytsia Raion).
Arrested March **3, 1937**. His wife, Maryna, recognized his jacket.
324. *Zakharchuk*, Konon Semenovych. Ukrainian, age **56**, laborer. Residence: Meleshkiv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested July **1937**. His wife, Zina, recognized his blouse.
325. *Arkaniuk*, Tymofii Spirydonovych. Ukrainian, age **38**, collective farm worker. Residence: Meleshkiv, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested autumn **1937**. His wife, Paraska, recognized his wadded jacket on the basis of its repairs and patterned buttons.
326. *Mel'nyk*, Ias'ko, Ukrainian, born **1900**, collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December **28, 1937**. His wife, Stanislava, recognized his wadded jacket.
327. *Chechel'nits'kyi*, Andrii. Age **45**, farmer. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested October **6, 1937**. His wife, Apolloniia, recognized his wadded vest.
328. *Habal*, Ian. Age **33**, collective farm worker. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December **27, 1937**. His wife, Iuzefa, recognized his jacket.
329. *Paionk*, Blazhko. Age **60**, farmer. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December **28, 1937**. His wife, Helena, recognized his trousers.
330. *Gusiev*, Moisei. Ukrainian, born September **4, 1887** in Cherkassy (now in Cherkassy Oblast), white-collar worker. Residence: Nova Hreblia, Turbiv Raion (now in Kalynivka Raion).
Arrested April **1938**. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his body on the basis of its artificial leg and the jacket found on it.

331. Zakhandedych, Florian Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age 42, laborer. Residence: Rozkoshi (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested September 7, 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his summer jacket and shirt.
332. *Smetana*, Voitekh. Ukrainian, age 36, coachman. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Vitsenta, recognized his shirt and trousers.
333. Ohorodnyk, Ian. Ukrainian, born 1900, white collar worker. Residence: Rozhoshi (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Mykhailyna, recognized his wadded jacket, trousers, and blouse.
334. *Smetana*, Valentyn. Ukrainian, age 48, wheelwright. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Mar'iana, recognized his shirt and patterned blouse.
335. *Blasyna*, Prokip. Ukrainian, age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Rozkoshi (part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his summer jacket.
336. *Andriets'* Karol. Ukrainian, age 53, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested November 22, 1937. His wife, Franka, recognized his shirt.
337. Oгородnyk, Vasyl'. Age 47, laborer. Residence: Rozkoshi (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 16, 1937. His wife, Anielka, recognized his jacket on the basis of its fur collar.
338. *Taran*, Iosyf. Ukrainian, age 55, collective farm worker. Residence: Rozkoshi (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested August 8, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his trousers and bread bag.
339. Pecheniuk, Maksymilian. Ukrainian, born 1892 in Rozkoski, farmer. Residence: Rozkoshi (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 15, 1937. His wife, Stefaniia, recognized his trousers.
340. Rozdoba, Iuz'ko. Ukrainian, age 38, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakiva, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested October 15, 1937. His wife, Ianina, recognized his wadded jacket.
341. *Chermenko*, Onys'ko. Ukrainian, age 50, collective farm worker. Residence: Dmytrenky, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested March 1937. His wife, Motrona, recognized his blouse.
342. Zaremba, Eduard. Ukrainian, born 1906 in Turbov (now in Lipovets' Raion), fitter. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 7, 1938. His wife, Halyna, recognized his overcoat on the basis of its fur borders and its buttons.
343. *Kardash*, Tomashko. Ukrainian, age 65, collective farm worker. Residence: Semenivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his wadded jacket on the basis of the blue patches sewn onto it.
344. Suvins'kyi, Ianko. Ukrainian, born 1901 in Semenivka, farmer. Residence: Semenivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1, 1937. His wife, Franka, recognized his trousers and leather portfolio.
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345. Horshchyns'kyi, Ian. Age 44, white-collar worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion. Arrested August 20, 1937. His wife, Anastasiia, recognized his blouse and sport jacket.
346. Voloshyns'kyi, Oleksii. Ukrainian, age 38, collective farm worker. Residence: Hraniv, Haisyn Raion. Arrested January 4, 1938. His wife, Nina, recognized his trousers.
347. Pecheniuk, Petro. Ukrainian, age 44, factory worker. Residence: Rozkoski (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 29, 1937. His wife, Iadviha, recognized his trousers and cap.
348. Zhoha, Mykolai. Ukrainian, age 22, collective farm worker. Residence: Verevchany, † Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 28, 1937. His mother, Pavlyna, and his sister, Agnesa, recognized his trousers and wadded overcoat.
349. Medynchak, Karlo. Ukrainian, age 45, lumberman. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 8, 1937. His son, Sygizmund, recognized his blouse.
350. Habal, Matii. Age 65, farmer. Residence: Travny (now part of Zhdanove), Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 1937. His wife, Karol'ka, recognized his jacket and cap.
351. Habal, Blazhko. Age 45, collective farm worker. Residence: Travny (now part of Zhdanove), Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 18, 1937. His wife, Karolina, recognized his overcoat.
352. Burkovs'kyi, Ian Ianovych. Age 54, collective farm worker. Residence: Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion. Arrested November 15, 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his trousers.
353. Drobnyi, Tymofii Iakovych. Ukrainian, age 53, carpenter. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested March 8, 1941. His wife, Dariia, recognized his overcoat.
354. *Slomins'kyi*, Petro. Age 49, railroad worker. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested March 18, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his bedsheet on the basis of its colorful stripes.
355. Malanchuk, Kyrylo. Ukrainian, age 48, collective farm worker. Residence: Iukhymivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 1937. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his jacket.
356. Tsbak, Iuz'ko. Ukrainian, born 1907 in Kozlivka. Residence: Kozlivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 1937. His wife, Mar'iana, recognized his wadded coat and patterned blouse.
357. Vitozych, Fedir. Ukrainian, age 50, unskilled laborer. Residence: Sabarivka, † Monastryshche Raion. (Now Ilintsy Raion.) Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Palazhka, recognized his fur coat.
358. Soiets'kyi, Ian. Ukrainian, age 50, white-collar worker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod. Arrested November 28, 1937. His wife, Rozaliia, recognized his linen overcoat.
359. Martyshyn, Bronislav. Ukrainian, age 45, collective farm worker. Residence: Kozlivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 1937. His wife, Hania, recognized his jacket and shirt.

360. *Suuins'kyi, Stepan*. Age 39, gardener. Residence: Semenivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 26, 1937. His wife, Ianina, recognized his overcoat and trousers.
361. *Habal, Amvrosii*. Age 55, laborer. Residence: Mikhailivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 26, 1937. His daughter, Hania Kardash, recognized his undershirt.
362. *Sviatyi, Harasym*. Ukrainian, age 47, factory worker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested April 11, 1938. His wife, Horpuna, recognized his overcoat.
363. *Shklarchuk, Franko*. Ukrainian, age 42, factory worker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 25, 1937. His wife, Filomena, recognized his overcoat.
364. *Suuins'kyi, Stakh*. Ukrainian, age 31, factory worker. Residence: Semenivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 1, 1937. His wife, Anielka, recognized his jacket.
365. *Kostyts'kyi, Blazhko*. Ukrainian, age 58, collective farm worker. Residence: Kryzhanivka, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested December 1, 1937. His daughter, Klementyna, recognized his fur coat.
366. *Kyshchuk, Iul'ko*. Ukrainian, born 1898 in Murafa, factory worker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested April 11, 1937. His wife, Tekla, recognized his trousers on the basis of a repaired pocket and his belt.
367. *Omelianovych, Vatslav Lukashovych*. Age 44, shoemaker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested September 8, 1937. His daughter, Anna, recognized his jacket and cap.
368. *Pihuts'kyi, Karpo Kindratovych*. Ukrainian, age 39, laborer. Residence: Semenivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested August 1935. His daughter, Hala, recognized his wadded jacket.
369. *Kedyk, Ivan*. Ukrainian, age 43, collective farm worker. Residence: Kozlivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested January 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket and embroidered blouse.
370. *Shkiuchuk, Benedykt*. Age 53, collective farm worker. Residence: Travnaia (now part of Zhdanov), Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 1937. His wife, Mar'iana, recognized his jacket and trousers on the basis of its repairs.
371. *Pakhotniuk, Ivan*. Age 55, collective farm worker. Residence: Ksendzivka, t Tul'chyn Raion.²⁰ Arrested December 4, 1937. His daughter, Petrun'ka, recognized his trousers.
372. *Zhoukeus'kyi, Frants Antonovych*. Ukrainian, coachman. Residence: Bratslav, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Iuzefa, recognized his jerkin.
373. *Sukhomud', Oleksa Ivanovych*. Ukrainian, age 46, white-collar worker. Residence: Khrinivka, Dashiv Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Arrested March 15, 1938. His son, Iurii, recognized his winter overcoat.
374. *Remish, Iukhym*. Ukrainian, age 48, laborer. Residence: Oleksandrivka, Stanislavchuk Raion — now in Zhmerynka Raion). Arrested January 17, 1937. His wife, Irena, recognized his underpants, trousers, and cap.

- 375.** *Sharhalo*, Havrylo. Ukrainian, age **48**, collective farm worker. Residence: *Zaia-chivka* (now part of *Klekotyina*), *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested October **1937**. His wife, *Iavdokha*, recognized his wadded vest.
- 376.** *Tushevs'kyi*, *Andrii Al'binovych*. Ukrainian, age **49**, blacksmith. Residence: *Cher-nyshivka* (renamed: *Sloboda*, now part of *Bratslav*), *Bratslav Raion*²¹ (now part of *Nemyriv Raion*).
Arrested November **11, 1937**. His wife, *Frantsiska*, recognized his wadded jacket and overcoat.
- 377.** *Malakhovs'kyi*, *Bened' Stefanovych*. Ukrainian, age **40**, collective farm worker. Residence: *Chermyshivka* (renamed: *Sloboda*, now part of *Bratslav*), *Bratslav Raion*²² (now in *Nerniriv Raion*).
Arrested October **20, 1937**. His wife, *Iuzefa*, recognized his wadded jacket, overcoat, and cap.
- 378.** *Rolins'ka*, *Iadviha*. Age **27**, seamstress. Residence: *Vynnytsia*.
Arrested April **28, 1938**. Her mother, *Tsezaryia*, recognized her hand towel with monogram.
- 379.** *Kachkovs'kyi*, *Iurii*. Ukrainian, age **47**, white-collar worker. Residence: *Vynnytsia*.
Arrested July **25, 1938**. His wife, *Olena*, recognized his body on the basis of its dentures, as well as by his suit and boots.
- 380.** *Ostrov's'kyi*, *Anton Eduardovych*. Ukrainian, age **53**, gardener. Residence: *Hlukhiv* (probably refers to the location of this name in *Hlukhiv Raion*, *Sumy Oblast*).
Arrested January **17, 1937**. His wife, *Anna*, recognized his blouse, fur coat, cap, warm boots, one galosh, as well as his body on the basis of the underwear, shirt, trousers, tobacco tin, and handkerchief found with it.
- 381.** *Zablots'kyi*, *Afinohen*. Ukrainian, age **43**, white-collar worker. Residence: *Vynnytsia*.
Arrested September **1937**. His son, *Leonid*, recognized his laundry bag.
- 382.** *Besha*, *Iukhym*. Ukrainian, age **31**, collective farm worker. Residence: *Oleksandrovka*, *Stanislavchuk Raion* (now in *Zhmerynka Raion*).
Arrested May **17, 1938**. His wife, *Mariia*, recognized his wadded jacket on the basis of her own repair work.
- 383.** *Olich*, *Stepan*. Ukrainian, age **32**, farmer. Residence: *Plebanivka*,²³ *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested April **22, 1938**. His wife, *Mariia*, recognized his shirt on the basis of its embroidered collar.
- 384.** *Sambors'kyi* (*Zambors'kyi*), *Vavro*. Ukrainian, age **36**, farmer. Residence: *Plebanivka*,²⁴ *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested April **22, 1938**. His sister-in-law, *Mariia Olich*, recognized his overcoat.
- 385.** *Nimak*, *Antin*. Ukrainian, age **47**, collective farm worker. Residence: *Plebanivka*,²⁵ *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested December **22, 1937**. His wife, *Luzhbita*, recognized his wadded jacket.
- 386.** *Dozorets'*, *Nykodym*. Ukrainian, age **48**, farmer. Residence: *Roskosh* (now part of *Shostakivka*), *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested November **29, 1937**. His wife, *Mar'ian'ka*, recognized his trousers.
- 387.** *Dozorets'*, *Iuz'ko*. Ukrainian, age **52**, laborer. Residence: *Roskosh* (now part of *Shostakivka*), *Sharhorod Raion*.
Arrested November **21, 1937**. His wife, *Uliana*, recognized his cap.

388. *Dozorets', Vits'ko*. Ukrainian, age 30, laborer. Residence: Roskosh, (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Koliusia, recognized his shirt.
389. *Pecheniuk, Pavlo*. Ukrainian, age 38, collective farm worker. Residence: Roskosh (now part of Shostakivka), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 15, 1937. His wife, Tereshka, recognized his trousers.
390. *Vysots'kyi, Stanislav*. Ukrainian, age 42, collective farm worker. Residence: Dovzhok, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Adelia, recognized his trousers and shirt.
391. *Humennyi, Andrii*. Age 42, collective farm worker. Residence: Zaiachevka (now part of Klekotyna), Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested summer 1937. His wife, Franka, recognized wadded vest.
392. *Basystyi, Leontii*. Ukrainian, age 29, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Stas'ka, recognized his undershirt, blouse, trousers, and handkerchief.
393. *Kyshyn, Mar'ian*. Ukrainian, age 33, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 18, 1938. His wife, Mar'iana, recognized his wadded jacket and trousers.
394. *Kyshyn, Vasyi'*. Ukrainian, age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his blouse on the basis of its embroidery.
395. *Ohorodniuk, Karol Iakubovych*. Ukrainian, age 75. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested November 5, 1937. His daughter, Anna Shkvaruk, recognized his underpants.
396. *Mazur, Andrii Ferdinandovych*. Ukrainian, age 44, laborer. Residence: Andriivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Iuzefa, recognized his wadded jerkin.
397. *Zatserkiivnyi, Ivan*. Ukrainian, age 45, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested May 17, 1938. His wife, Luda, recognized his shirt.
398. *Hodlovs'kyi, Antin*. Ukrainian, age 36, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested May 17, 1938. His wife, Hanna, recognized his jacket and his toothbrush which was in a jacket pocket.
399. *Zavits'kyi (Savits'kyi), Iosyf*. Ukrainian, age 60, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his wadded jacket.
400. *Harbar, Ivan*. Ukrainian, age 39, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion)).
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his wadded jacket.
401. *Dumans'kyi, Petro*. Ukrainian, age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested February 25, 1938. His sister, Anna Harbar, recognized his overcoat made of canvas material.

402. *Zatserkivnyi*, Roman. Ukrainian, age 30, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested April 18, 1938. His wife, Hanna, recognized his blouse.
403. *Nimak*, Mykola. Ukrainian, age 42, collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,²⁶ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested April 22, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his blouse on the basis of its embroidered collar.
404. *Poperechnyi*, Dmytro. Ukrainian, age 44, farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,²⁷ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested August 15, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his wadded jacket on the basis of its sleeve lining and his shut on the basis of its repairs.
405. *Pidpoluk*, Iosyf. Ukrainian, age 55, collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,²⁸ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested April 22, 1938. His wife, Mar'iana, recognized his shut on the basis of its embroidered collar.
406. *Sheihits'*, Iosyf. Ukrainian, age 25, farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,²⁹ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1938. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his two trousers of home-made cloth, an overcoat, and one top boot.
407. *Sokolov*, Mykhailo. Ukrainian, age 31, laborer. Residence: Plebanivka,³⁰ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested November 30, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
408. *Diadiuk*, Mar'ian. Ukrainian, age 29, collective farm worker. Residence: Andreevka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 18, 1937. His sister, Mariia Sokolova, recognized his blouse on the basis of its embroidery.
409. *Kostiuk*, Nykyfor. Ukrainian, born 1908 in Stupnyk (now in Khmil'nyk Raion), collective farm worker. Residence: Berdychiv, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested April 25, 1937. His wife, Krasyna, recognized his jacket.
410. *Sol's'kyi*, Mykolai. Ukrainian, born 1874 in Murafa (now in Sharhorod Raion), machinist. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested December 27, 1937. His wife, Emiliia, recognized his shut.
411. *lakubchak*, Ian. Age 48, factory worker. Residence: Derebchyn, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Bunislava, recognized his wadded jacket and fur coat.
412. *Smychkovs'kyi*, Antin. Ukrainian, age 42, laborer. Residence: Derebchyn, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested November 12, 1937. His wife, Motrona, recognized his blouse.
413. *Berewvs'kyi*, Mykhailo. Age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Derebchyn, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1937. His mother, Ianishka, recognized his blouse on the basis of its embroidery.
414. *Mel'nyk*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 48, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested June 26, 1938. His daughter, Anna Moldovan, recognized his jacket.
415. *Koval'chuk*, Mykola. Ukrainian, age 53, collective farm worker. Residence: Movchany, Stanislavchyk Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
Arrested October 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his wadded jacket.

416. *Huts'*, Teodor Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 39, municipal employee. Residence: Velykyi Ostrizhok, Ulaniv Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion). Arrested September 27, 1937. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his trousers and bread bag with monogram.
417. *Lubchyns'kyi*, Ivan Andriiovych. Ukrainian, born September 17, 1885 in Shepiivka, collective farm worker. Residence: Shepiivka (now part of Pykiv, Kalynivka Raion). Arrested December 19, 1937. His wife, Stanislava, recognized his fur cap, which she had made herself.
418. *Vitkovs'kyi*, Markiiian Nykodymovych. Ukrainian, age 55, farmer. Residence: Vovchynets, Makhnivka Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion). Arrested October 1937. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his woolen overcoat.
419. *Hyzhyts'kyi*, Stanislav Frantsovych. Ukrainian, born August 12, 1906, construction worker. Residence: Huta-Lityns'ka (renamed: Malynivka), Lityn Raion. Arrested November 12, 1937. His mother, Tereziiia, recognized his trousers.
420. *Ivasenko*, Foma Feodosiiovych. Ukrainian, age 51, collective farm worker. Residence: Basalychivka, Haisyn Raion. Arrested May 16, 1940. His wife, Dariia, recognized his trousers.
421. *Kolisnychenko*, Tymofii Makarovych. Ukrainian, age 60, collective farm worker. Residence: Basalychivka, Haisyn Raion. Arrested November 1937. His daughter, Vira, recognized his wadded jacket.
422. *Zakharchuk*, Andrii. Ukrainian, age 23, factory worker. Residence: Medvezh'e Vushko, Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested October 14, 1937. His grandmother, Mariia Nemyshchak, recognized his blouse.
423. *Mudrak*, Iosyf Iosyfovych. Ukrainian, age 30, collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,³² Sharhorod Raion. Arrested July 3, 1938. His mother, Mariia, recognized his wadded jacket.
424. *Hancharuk*, Liudvig Vikentiovych. Ukrainian, born 1901, collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,³² Sharhorod Raion. Arrested April 23, 1938. His wife, Stefaniia, recognized his trousers.
425. *Okhota*, Sylvestr. Ukrainian, born 1907, collective farm worker. Residence: Shchuchyntsi, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested July 12, 1938. His wife, Irena, recognized his underwear.
426. *Nimak*, Stefan. Ukrainian, born 1897 in Plebanivka,³³ farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,³⁴ Sharhorod Raion. Arrested October 30, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his bread bag.
427. *Dun'skyi*, Ivan. Born 1908 in Plebanivka,³⁵ collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,³⁶ Sharhorod Raion. Arrested October 1937. His daughter, Todoshka, recognized his trousers.
428. *Bilotin*, Dem'ian. Ukrainian, age 60, farmer. Residence: Andriivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested December 4, 1937. His wife, Ieva, recognized his blouse.
429. *Smolavs'kyi*, Iuz'ko. Ukrainian, born in Plebanivka,³⁷ farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,³⁸ Sharhorod Raion. Arrested April 22, 1938. His wife, Ievka, recognized his underpants.
430. *Cherpatiuk*, Leon. Ukrainian, age 50, collective farm worker. Residence: Plebanivka,³⁹ Sharhorod Raion. Arrested April 22, 1938. His wife, Franka, recognized his cap.

431. *Salamon*, Petro. Ukrainian, born **1888** in Plebanivka,⁴⁰ farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,⁴¹ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested November **30, 1937**. His wife, Hanna, recognized his patterned glove.
432. *Slavins'kyi*, Kaspro. Ukrainian, born **1907** in Plebanivka," farmer. Residence: Plebanivka,⁴³ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested April **22, 1937**. His wife, levka, recognized his linen jacket.
433. *lushchyshyn*, Iuz'ko. Ukrainian, born **1980** in Plebanivka," shoemaker. Residence: Plebanivka,⁴⁵ Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested April **22, 1938**. His wife, Stanislava, recognized his underpants, pullover, and small bread sack.
434. *Baidarev*, Mykolai Illich.
Arrested **1938**. Receipt from the NKVD prison in Vinnytsia, dated June **9, 1938**.
435. *Polan*, Petro Onufriiovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Martynivka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested January **6, 1938**. Search warrant, dated January **6, 1938**; fragment of a curriculum vitae written by P.
436. *Kvasnezskaya*, Pavlina Iulianovna.
Arrested **1938**. Two purchasing books containing dates up to January **12, 1938** and K.'s signature.
437. *Fisher*, Ferdinand Ferdinandovych. Age 46, born in Krasilov (now in Krasyliv Raion, Khmel'nytska Oblast), white-collar worker. Residence: Nova Hrebliia, Turbiv Raion (now in Kalynivka Raion).
Arrested September **18, 1937**. His sister, Emiliia Urbanovych, recognized his tobacco tin with his name engraved on it.
438. *Sidlets'kyi*. Stanislav Mykhailovych. Residence: Popivtsi, Kopaihorod Raion (now in Bar Raion).
Arrested January **11, 1938**. NKVD search warrant, dated January **11, 1938**.
439. *Usov*, Hryhorii Fylypovych.
Arrested **1938**. Two receipts of the NKVD prison in Vinnytsia containing dates up to September **25, 1938**.
440. *Pyvniuk*, Fedir Matviiovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Stanislavchuk, Stanislavchuk, Raion (now in Zhmerynka Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that P. was arrested on July **25, 1938**.
441. *Zhuk*, Iakiv. Ukrainian, collective farm worker.
Report accepting worker at a collective farm, with Zh.'s signature on it.
442. *Zhuk*, Petro Illich. Ukrainian, age **42**, railroad worker.
Arrested **1937**. Receipts, certificates, military papers, proxies, telegrams, identifications of the Ukrainian railroad with dates up to late **1937** — all issued to Zh.
443. *Slovats'kyi*, Karlo Frantsovych. Driver. Residence: Torchyn, Ulanov Raion (now in Khmil'nyk Raion).
Arrested May **4, 1937**. Savings account book, indicating that S. was in the Vinnytsia city jail. His wife, Nina, recognized his blouse.
444. *Koval'chuk*, Trofym Trofymovych. Ukrainian.
Arrested May **17, 1938**. NKVD search warrant, dated April **17, 1938**.
445. *Rudyn*, Z. (S.) H.
Photographs and his letters.
446. *Kraika*, Trokhym. Ukrainian.
Money receipt and a notebook.

447. *Kucher*, Hryhorii Adol'fovych. Ukrainian.
Certificate of the commandant's office of the NKVD in Vinnytsia, dated June 5, 1938.
448. *Novikova*, Margaryta Ivanivna. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Letter to N.'s address from her daughter.
449. *Bakhtiarov*, Vasyl' Oleksandrovych.
Book on B.'s accounts found in a wooden case.
450. *Duhonos*, Hryhorii Fadeiovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Zhabokryshka, Obodevka Raion (now in Chechel'nyk Raion).
NKVD search warrant, indicating that D. was arrested on May 1, 1938.
451. *Oleinik*, Nykyta Lavrovych. Ukrainian.
Receipt of the NKVD in Tul'chyn, Tul'chyn Raion on the confiscation of money, dated May 7, 1938.
452. *Prokopchak*, F. Ukrainian.
Wallet; receipt of the NKVD prison on the confiscation of a sum of money.
453. *Vitkovs'kyi*, Ivan Afanosiiiovych. Ukrainian.
NKVD prison receipt, dated March 9, 1938, on the confiscation of money.
454. *Spivak*. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
455. *Rozdol'*. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
456. *Lahodyn*, Mykhailo A. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia Oblast.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
457. *Moshkov*. Residence: Vinnytsia Oblast.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
458. *Iurga*. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence; Vinnytsia Oblast.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
459. *Myslovs'kyi*, Mar'ian Petrovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Shura, Bratslav Raion (now in Nernirov Raion).
Arrested August 3, 1937. His wife recognized his shirt.
460. *Novak*. Residence: Vinnytsia Oblast.
Indictment, dated August 1938.
461. *Kosis*. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
462. *Korsuns'kyi*, (Korsun's'kyi). Ukrainian. Residence; Vinnytsia Oblast.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
463. *Mutyns'kyi*, Ukrainian, mechanic. Residence: Bar, Bar Raion.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
464. *Raihorods'kyi*. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence:
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
465. *Baikaluk*. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
466. *Batsutsa*. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
467. *Krychkovs'kyi*. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia Oblast.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.

468. *Nuroms'kyi*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
469. *Kudyn*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
470. *Lebedeu*. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
471. *Novhorodov*. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
472. *Malko*. Ukrainian, blacksmith.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
473. *Vol'fous'kyi*. Residence: Mohyliv-Podil'skyi (now in Mohyliv-Podil'skyi Raion).
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
474. *Zaitseu*, Dmytro. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Prison bank savings account book, dated August 25, 1938.
475. *Smikhoych*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated July 1938.
476. *Tarasou*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
477. *Chesanieu*. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated July 1938.
478. *Zatvornyyts'kyi*. Ukrainian
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
479. *Plasko*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
480. *Gylev*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
481. *Mel'nyk*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
482. *Hrushets'kyi*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
483. *Malyskin*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
484. *Kalinin*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
485. *Kavulovs'kyi*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
486. *Doroshenko*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
487. *Holturenko*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
488. *Severinov*.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
489. *Tovarovs'kyi*. Ukrainian.
Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
490. *Berbets'*. Pantaleimon Iakymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Demkovka, Trostianets Raion.
Search warrant, indicating that B. was arrested on march 28, 1938.

491. *Dovbnia*, Afanasii Sozontovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Khmil'nyk Raion. Search warrant, indicating that D. was arrested on December 5, 1937.
492. *Romanenko*. Ukrainian. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
493. *Kondratenko*. Ukrainian. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
494. *Katasanov*. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
495. *Sukyn*. Ukrainian. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
496. *Fogel'*, Fedir Iakovlevych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Brailiv, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested June 5, 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
497. *Opalko*. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Brailiv, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
498. *Panasiuk*. Laborer. Residence: Brailiv, Zhmerynka Raion. Arrested 1938. Indictment, dated August 1938.
499. *Oholenko*, Potap Kyrylovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Obidne, Voronovysia Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion). NKVD search warrant, indicating that O. was arrested on March 15, 1938.
500. *Romanov*. Ukrainian. Medical certificate on R.'s state of health.
501. *Kazmin*, T. Ukrainian. Photograph of K.
502. *Davydovna*, Sofiia. Residence: Vinnytsia. Postcard with D.'s address.
503. *Stratychuk*, Semen. Ukrainian, laborer at an alcoholic beverage trust. Residence: Vinnytsia. Two work contracts, dated October 14, 1937.
504. *Honcharuk*, D. Ukrainian, laborer. Work contract, dated October 5, 1932.
505. *Vashnevs'ka*, Mariia Vladyslavivna. Residence: Ol'hopil', Ol'hopil' Raion (now in Chechel'nyk Raion).
506. *Iedynach*, Ivan Samsonovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Markivtsi, Makhnivka Raion (now in Kozityn Raion). Contract on the delivery of milk from 1934 and a court summons from 1935.
507. *Stakhiv*, Mykhailo Prokopiiovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion. Membership identification of a cooperative.
508. *Syvak*. Ukrainian. Letter of S., indicating that he was arrested on November 10, 1938.
509. *Petrovs'kyi*, Ian. Age 56, collective farm worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemeris'ke), Bar Raion. Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife Mariia, recognized his jerkin.
510. *Mykhailychenko*. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia. Fragments of an envelope and letter.

511. *Vosniuk*, Vasyli' Tarasovych. Ukrainian, born May 22, 1912 in Piatnychany, white-collar worker. Residence; Piatnychany (now part of Vinnytsia), Vinnytsia Raion. Arrested 1939. Questionnaire filled out by V.
512. *Dorodniuk*, Mykolai Pavlovych. Ukrainian, born January 1, 1875, postal worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Curriculum vitae, passport, trade union identification, dated April 23, 1936.
513. *Revuts'kyi*, Zakhar Afanasiiovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Receipt of MTS central office in Khar'kov, Khar'kov Oblast, dated February 29, 1939 (*sic*).
514. *Kruchevs'kyi*, Vladyslav. Technician. Certificates of employment, dated 1912; membership identification, dated 1937, of a trade union.
515. *Zhmynko*. Ukrainian, technician. Order for fuel.
516. *Vakhovs'ka*, V. Residence: Nemyriv, Nemyriv Raion. Envelope with V.'s address on it.
517. *Sytko*, Mykhailo Zakharovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Receipts, school diplomas, trade union identifications, a photograph.
518. *Zalens'ka*, Mariia. Ukrainian, born 1911 in Monastyrshche (now in Monastyrshche Raion. Residence: Hnivan', Tyvriv Raion. Arrested February 27, 1938. Her mother and her sister, Nelli, recognized her body on the basis of an amputation of the right large toe, as well as by her jumper, woolen skirt, and underwear.
519. *Polans'kyi*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 44, laborer. Residence: Kalynivka Perva. Railroad Station, Kalynivka Raion. Arrested January 1, 1938. His wife, Emiliia, recognized his home-spun blanket.
520. *Iezhovs'kyi*, Leon Iosyfovych. Ukrainian, age 56, laborer. Residence: Turbiv, Turbiv Raion (now in Lypovets Raion). Arrested October 4, 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his overcoat.
521. *Syran*, Frants Kaitanovych. Residence: Sutysky, Tyvriv Raion. Arrested April 9, 1938. NKVD search warrant.
522. *Bodnar*. Ukrainian, born 1905, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested 1937. Trade union identification.
523. *Chyzh*, Oleksandr Mykolaiovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion. Envelope with address and postmark.
524. *Mel'nychuk*, B.I. Ukrainian, agricultural white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Receipt on a premium deposit; indictment, dated August 1938.
525. *Onufreichuk*, P.I. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Wage receipt.
526. *Lisniakivs'ka* (nee Blumkina), Lidiiia Mykhailivna. White-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Correspondence and school report.
527. *Borshch*, Hryhorii Mynovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Synel'nykiv, Synel'nykiv Raion, Dnipropetrovsk Raion. Album of records and certificates.

528. *lasyns'kyi*, Frants. Age 43, farmer. Residence: Ivanovtsy, Bar Raion. Arrested September 24, 1937. His brother recognized his hand towel with monogram.
529. *Kroshko*, H.P. Ukrainian, born 1882, collective far worker. Arrested 1937. Membership identification.
530. *Holyk*, Khoma Radionovych. Ukrainian, born 1898. Membership identification of a trade union; NKVD prison receipt on confiscated articles.
531. *Sarol'chuk*, Em. Laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Wage receipts.
532. *Skrezheshevs'kyi*, Apollinariii. Book with S.'s signature.
533. *Podol'skyi*, I.H. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia. P.'s papers and notes.
534. *Savanov*, N. Residence: Vinnytsia. Membership identification.
535. *Savalov*, N.D. White-collar worker. Residence: Mohyliv-Podil'skyi (now in Mohyliv-Podil'skyi Raion). Membership identification.
536. *Bilkiv'skyi*, Borys Iosyfovych. Ukrainian, born December 20, 1900. Certificate of employment.
537. *Nosach*. White-collar worker. Residence: Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Postal identification.
538. *Chaikovs'kyi*, Petro. Born 1904, white-collar worker. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion. Arrested December 22, 1937. His wife, *Janina*, recognized his jacket.
539. *Pashkivs'kyi*, Iosyf Antonovych. White-collar worker. Residence: Zhytomyr, Zhytomyr Oblast. Factory identification.
540. *Pashkivs'kyi*, Roman Iosypovych. Fitter. Identifications and work contracts.
541. *Ben'kovs'kyi*, Ivan Iosypovych. White-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Identifications, letters, and accounts.
542. *Orlovs'kyi*, Luka Valer'ianovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Kupin. (There was a community with this name in Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast, since renamed Khmel'nytska Oblast, and one, since renamed Kupin, in Kharkiv Oblast). Certificate on his proletarian origins.
543. *Maruchek*, Tykhon Tykhonovycy. Born August 12, 1902 in Alekseevka (now in Bratskoe Raion, Mykolaiv Oblast). Employment identification.
544. *Lisniakivs'kyi*, M.H. White-collar worker. Residence; Vinnytsia. Arrested 1937. Papers and notes.
545. *Zulkovs'ka*, Filipina Apollinariivna. Residence: Vapniarka, Tomashpol' Raion. Postcard with address.
546. *Hospodar*, Iosyp Pavlovych. Vinnytsia, white-collar worker. Residence: Miliarivka (renamed: Hrelivka), Sharhorod Raion. Arrested January 14, 1938. His sister, *Mariia*, recognized his suit.

547. *Ben'kovs'ka*, Anna Fedorivna. Residence; Vinnytsia. Arrested 1937. Employment identification.
548. *Zhukovs'kyi*, Oleksandr. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Certificate on a journey to Berdychiv, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
549. *Shuman*, Helena. Album and notes.
550. *Vysots'kyi*, Stepan Lukych. Ukrainian. Residence: Dashev, Dashev Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion). Search warrant, indicating that V. was arrested on August 25, 1937.
551. *Radets'kyi*, Ian Stanislovovych. Age 46, collective farm worker. Residence: Zavadovka, Teplyk Raion. Arrested December 1937. His wife, Viktoriia, recognized his jacket and blouse.
552. *Malkeych*, Frantsiska. Residence: Odessa, Odessa Oblast. Postcard with address.
553. *Berezhets'ka*, Lidiia Frantsivna. Residence: Starokonstantyniv Raion, Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Pass.
554. *Khorobora*. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested 1937. Document on the receipt of articles.
555. *Sydarev*. Boot with S.'s name inscribed on its inside.
556. *Radets'*, Mykola. Ukrainian. Residence: Bar Raion. Red Cross membership identification; state bond.
557. *Naidorf*, I.S. Receipt from the state bank.
558. *Vorobiev*. White-collar worker. Construction drawings with V.'s signature on them.
559. *Khmelevs'kyi*, T.I. Residence: Proskurov (renamed: Khmel'nytskii), Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast). Envelope with address.
560. *Raiivs'kyi*, Serhii Nykyforovych. Ukrainian, born 1912. Arrested 1937. Membership identification of an association.
561. *Laskovs'kyi*, Iosyf Ferdinandovych. Arrested 1937. Note with address.
562. *Lazenko* (Lasenko), Semen. Age 50, bee-keeper. Residence: Koziatyn, Koziatyn Raion. Arrested March 1938. His daughter, Mariia, recognized his overcoat.
563. *Viknians'kyi*, Ivan. Ukrainian, age 47, farmer. Residence: Turbiv, Turbiv Raion (now in Iypovets Raion). Arrested January 1938. His wife, Tarasina, recognized his fur coat.
564. *Myshenko*, Borys Mykhailovych. Born May 2, 1884 in Peterhof (renamed: Petrodvoret) near St. Petersburg (renamed: Leningrad), white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested June 6, 1938. His wife, Oleksandra, recognized his trousers.
565. *Popyk*, Oleksandr Fedorovych. Ukrainian, age 41, farmer. Residence: Nemyriv, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested September 25, 1935. His daughter, Iryna, recognized his body as well as his underpants and handkerchief.

566. *Lynnyk*, Dmytro Samiilovych. Ukrainian, age 45, collective farm worker. Residence: Bursuky, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested January 13, 1938. His wife, Vas'ka, recognized his jacket.
567. *Verheluk*, Nykanor Iavdokymovych. Ukrainian, age 49, farmer. Residence: Pursuky, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested January 23, 1938. His wife, Horpuna, recognized his overcoat.
568. *Zales'kyi* (Sales'kyi), Bronislav. Age 44, collective farm worker. Residence: Iosypivka, Samhorod Raion (now in Koziatyn Raion).
Arrested September 8, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his wadded jacket.
569. *Mazur*, Iakiv. Ukrainian, age 51, farmer. Residence: Zhabokrych (now part of Torkiv), Shpykiv Raion (now in Tul'chyn Raion).
Arrested March 8, 1936. His daughter, Kseniia, recognized his underwear and blouse.
570. *Kviatkivs'kyi*, Vladyslav. Born April 20, 1892 in what is now Zhmerynka Raion, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested January 11, 1938. His wife, Stefaniia, recognized his winter overcoat.
571. *Korniichuk*, Pavlo Dmytrovich. Ukrainian, guard on a collective farm. Residence: Terlytsia, Monastyryshche Raion.
Arrested December 28, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his overcoat.
572. *Romishovs'kyi*, Feliks Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Varshytsia (now part of Kalynivka), Kalynivka Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1939. His mother Mariia, recognized his trousers.
573. *Masliukevych*, Volodymyr Tymofiiovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Varshytsia (now part of Kalynivka), Kalynivka Raion.
Arrested July 1938. His daughter, Olena Chevkovs'ka, recognized his jacket.
574. *Morozovs'kyi*, Roman Mykhailovych. Railroad worker. Residence: Varsh ts (now part of Kalynivka), Kalynivka Raion.
Arrested April 9, 1938. His wife, Varka, recognized his jacket.
575. *Tukalo*, Andrii Bonifatovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Kashperovka, Koziatyn Raion.
Arrested spring 1938. His wife recognized his winter cap.
576. *Brode*, Bronislav Iosypovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Haisyn, Haisyn Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife recognized his blouse.
577. *Klut*, Bunia. Railroad worker. Chubarivka, † Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested August 15, 1938. His father, Vil'hel'm, recognized his underpants with monogram.
578. *Ol'shevs'kyi*, Adol'f Viktorovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife recognized his cap.
579. *Tyshyns'kyi*, Hryhoryi Iukhymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Ialtushkov, Bar Raion.
Arrested December 31, 1937. His wife recognized his winter cap.
580. *Romanenko*, Volodymyr Kyrylovych. Ukrainian, age 38, collective farm worker. Residence: Zavadiivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested December 28, 1937. His wife, Paraska, recognized his trousers.
581. *Maievs'kyi*, Petro Ulianovych. Ukrainian, age 44, laborer. Residence: Zavadiivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Tetiana, recognized his wadded vest.
582. *Dets'*, Vasyliuk Iukhtymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Nemyriv, Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested March 9, 1938. His daughter, Anna Shrapko, recognized his jacket.

583. *Melnyk*, Feodosii. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Verkhivka, Bar Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his fur coat.
584. *Stepankeuych*, Petro Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 37, collective farm worker. Residence: Stasiuky, Bar Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1938. His wife, Iuzia, recognized his cap.
585. *Opols'kyi*, Martsin Iosyfovych. Age 24, laborer. Residence: Snytkiv, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested May 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his trousers.
586. *Shymans'kyi*, Petro Antonovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Posukhiv, Murovanie Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1938. His wife, Dariia, recognized his fur coat.
587. *Tsetsiurs'kyi*, Hryhorii Pavlovych. Ukrainian, age 54, collective farm worker. Residence: Stasiuky, Bar Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1938. His wife, Nataliia, recognized his winter cap.
588. *Sverchevs'kyi*, Iul'ko Adol'fovych. Ukrainian, age 28, collective farm worker. Residence: Stasiuki, Bar Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1938. His wife, Pavlyna, recognized his overcoat.
589. *Mykhailovs'kyi*, Iosyp Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, age 58, collective farm worker. Residence: Snytkiv, Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested August 1938. His daughter, Mariia, recognized his winter cap.
590. *Iaremenko*, Pavlo Ivanovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion.
Arrested January 20, 1937. His wife, Oleksandr, recognized his overcoat.
591. *Klots'*, Danylo Kaietanovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Tereshky, Bar Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife recognized his trousers.
592. *Novotarskyi*, Anton. Age 61, farmer. Residence: Iuzvyn (renamed: Nekrasove), Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested December 17, 1937. His son, Tadeusz, recognized his body on the basis of its shorter right leg and his trousers.
593. *Mahdych*, Ivan Ivanovych. Ukrainian, age 40, collective farm worker. Residence: Vakhnivka, Lypovets Raion.
Arrested March 24, 1937. His wife, Motria, recognized his body on the basis of its shorter and small left foot.
594. *Koval'chuk*, Viktor. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Sobivka, † Murovani Kurylivtsi Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his trousers.
595. *Bohots'kyi*, Anton. Ukrainian, born 1897 in Vinnytsia, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested February 20, 1938. His wife, Lidiia, recognized his overcoat and blouse.
596. *Demedenko*, Konon. Ukrainian, born 1901 in what is now Velyka Bushynka, collective farm worker. Residence: Bushynka (renamed: Velyka Bushynka), Nemyriv Raion.
Arrested autumn 1938. His brother, Bonifat, recognized his handkerchief with monogram and his bread bag with his name on it.
597. *Udovychenko*, Vasyl' Matviiovych. Ukrainian, born April 20, 1913 in Mykolaiv (now in Mykolaiv Oblast), collective farm worker. Residence: Melitopol', Melitopol' Raion, Zaporizhs'ka Oblast.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Halyna, recognized his shoe with notes.

598. *Lazor*, Feodosii Mytrofanovych. Ukrainian, age 46, guard. Residence: Slobodyshe, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested June 1937. His wife, *Uliana*, recognized his blouse, fur coat, and hand towel.
599. *Tykhonou*, Borys Dmytrovych. Residence: Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested October 28, 1937. Search warrant and list of confiscated articles.
600. *Emelianov*, Kost' Ivanovych.
Arrested 1937. NKVD prison bank savings account book.
601. *Didenko*, Maksym Kasianovych. Ukrainian.
Document with D.'s name on it.
602. *Andriievs'kyi*, Feliks Iosyfovych.
Prison receipt on confiscated articles.
603. *Baukh*, Adam Avgostovych, Residence: Tokariv, Baranivka Raion (now in Novohrad-Volynskii Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.⁴⁶
NKVD search warrant, indicating that B. was arrested on October 26, 1938.
604. *Feduk*, Mykolai Stepanovychy. Ukrainian. Residence: Tomashpil', Tomashil' Raion.
NKVD search warrant, indicating that F. was arrested on August 20, 1937.
605. *Pustovit*, Luka Vasylovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Sugaki, subordinate to the city of Mohyliv-Podil'skii (now in Mohyliv-Podil'skii Raion).
Arrested December 2, 1937. Search warrant.
606. *Nosalevs'ka*, Mariia R. Ukrainian.
Arrested July 20, 1937. NKVD receipt on the confiscation of articles and a prison bank savings account book.
607. *Vakoliuk*, Petro Ieliseiovych. Ukrainian, guard on a collective farm. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested February 1938. His wife, *Nataliia*, recognized his overcoat.
608. *Krylovs'kyi*, Kornylii Faustovych. Age 68, cook. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested February 26, 1938. His wife recognized his hand towel.
609. *Krenhel*, Boleslav Leonardovych. Age 58, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested August 26, 1937. His wife recognized his overcoat.
610. *Postolovs'kyi*, Anatolii Andriiovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested January 29, 1938. His wife, *Lidiia*, recognized his underwear.
611. *Bdzyra*, Ivan. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Shorohod Raion.
Arrested 1938. His wife, *Vitaliia*, recognized his clothing.
612. *Bilets'kyi*, Fedir Hryhorovych. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Frontivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'inty Raion).
Arrested December 26, 1937. His wife, *Iaryna*, recognized his shirt.
613. *Horpeniuk*, Leon Vasylovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Frontivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'inty Raion).
Arrested April 16, 1938. His wife, *Motria*, recognized his clothing.
614. *Hushevs'kyi*, Andrii. Ukrainian, blacksmith. Residence: Bratslav, Bratslav Raion (now in Nemyriv Raion).
Arrested November 11, 1937. His wife, *Frantsiska*, recognized his clothing.

615. *Danyiuk*, Trokhym Iosypovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Zarvantsi, Vinnytsia Raion.
Arrested October 24, 1937. His wife, *Motria*, recognized his underwear.
616. *Kryshna*, Pivus. Collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested 1938. His wife, Varvara, recognized his clothing.
617. *Kotsiuba*, Hryts' Iustymovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Frontivka, Orativ Raion (now in Il'intsy Raion).
Arrested April 5, 1938. His wife, Kseniia, recognized his shirt.
618. *Lukashevych*, Vatslav. Shoemaker. Residence: Murafa, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested September 8, 1937. His daughter, Hanna, recognized his trousers.
619. *Fedeniuk*, Khoma Karpovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Voitivtsi (renamed: Zhdanivka), Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested February 7, 1938. His wife, Kateryna, recognized his wadded jacket and overcoat.
620. *Tsabak*, Luka. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested 1937. His daughter, Susanna, recognized his jacket.
621. *Prolins'kyi*, Iosyf Ivanovych. Cook. Residence: Vinnytsia.
Arrested December 20, 1937. His wife, Ievheniia, recognized his overcoat, fur coat, and shirt.
622. *Stasyshyn*, Petro. Vinnytsia, farmer. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Ievdokiia, recognized his clothing.
623. *Popov*, Petro. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his overcoat.
624. *Pidhorodets'kyi*, Dem'ian Ignatovych. Residence: Pidlisnyi Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 23, 1937. His wife recognized his cap.
625. *Pidhorodets'kyi*, Fedir Dem'ianovycy. Age 17. Residence: Pidlisnyi Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion.
Arrested November 23, 1937. His mother recognized his cap.
626. *Novits'kyi*, Mykhailo Fedorovych. White-collar worker. Residence: Ialtushkiv, Bar Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his jacket.
627. *Solomon*, Voitekh. Farmer. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his underwear.
628. *lasinets'kyi*, Ivan Iosypovych. Ukrainian, factory worker. Residence: Lozova, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested January 5, 1937. His daughter Mariia, recognized his jacket.
629. *Zaika*, Arsen Stepanovych. Ukrainian, age 51, collective farm worker. Residence: Potoky, Zhmerynka Raion.
Arrested April 27, 1938. His wife, Tetiana, recognized his jacket.
630. *Kurmans'kyi*, P.M. Ukrainian. Residence: Stari Netchyntsi (now part of Netchyntsi), Zen'kiv Raion (now in Vin'kivtsi Raion), Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'nytska Oblast).
His girlfriend, A.F. Solets'ka recognized his underpants.
631. *Brovichenko*, Komii Tymyfiyovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Krushynivka, Bershad' Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Oksana, recognized his overcoat.

632. *Shevchuk*, Ivan Andriiovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Holod'ki, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested October 1, 1937. His wife, Tekla, recognized his shirt.
633. *Motyshyn*, Anton Pavlovych. Ukrainian, mason. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Martselyna, recognized his overcoat.
634. *Rozdoba*, Blazhko Kas'kovych. Ukrainian, factory worker. Residence: Shostikovka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his trousers and jacket.
635. *Kreshchn*, Andrii. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 18, 1938. His wife, Mariia, recognized his overcoat.
636. *Basyst*, Iosyp Leonidovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested May 24, 1938. His wife recognized his underpants.
637. *Didyk*, Petro Fedorovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Pasyanky, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his suit.
638. *Kondil*, Ivan Trokhymovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Pasyanky, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Liza, recognized his shirt.
639. *Sobus'*, Okhrim Iustynovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: shostakivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 25, 1937. His wife, Irena, recognized his wadded jacket.
640. *Krupko*, Ivan Korniovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Mykhailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his wadded jacket.
641. *Haniuk*, Iosyp Mykolaiovych. Residence: Mykailivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his hand towel.
642. *Nadybs'kyi*, Mykhailo Iankovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Okladne, Bar Raion.
Arrested December 18, 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his jacket.
643. *Bevsiuk*, Stepan Iosypovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Okladne, Bar Raion.
Arrested December 18, 1937. His wife, Hanna, recognized his jacket and cap.
644. *Vitkovs'kyi*, Leon Martynovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Okladne, Bar Raion.
Arrested April 20, 1938. His wife, Hanna, recognized his trousers and jacket.
645. *Bilokinnyi*, Stefan Domyenykovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Andriivka, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested December 15, 1937. His wife, Ieva, recognized his shirt.
646. *Kyyi*, Petro Iankovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Lozova, Sharhorod Raion.
Arrested April 24, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his jacket.
647. *Mezhivs'kyi*, Anton Pylypovych. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Ianushpol' (renamed: Ivanopol'), Ianushpol' Raion (now in Korosten' Raion), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested December 24, 1937. His wife, Aniela, recognized his shirt and bread bag.
648. *Siyk*, Frants Kostiantynovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Sutysky, Tryvriv Raion.
Search warrant, indicating that S. was arrested on May 3, 1935.

649. *Hadzikovs'kyi*, Karol Lavrentiyovych. Residence: Benedivka, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested November 3, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his undershirt, underpants, blouse and blanket.
650. *Khrostyts'kyi*, Iakiv Mykhailovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Slobodka⁴⁷ Ianushpil' Raion (since divided between Berdychiv and Chudniv Raions), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested November 17, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized two of his shirts.
651. *Krsovs'kyi*, Matii Iehorovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Slobodka,⁴⁸ Ianushpol' Raion (since divided between Berdychiv and Chudniv Raions), Zhytomyr Oblast.
Arrested July 11, 1938. His wife, Rafalya, recognized his cap.
652. *Budkevych*, Matii Iehorovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested October 30, 1937. His wife, Mariia, and his son, Leonid, recognized his cap and overcoat.
653. *Polishchuk*, Petro. Ukrainian, fitter. Residence: Sobolivka, Teplyk Raion.
Arrested January 2, 1938. His daughter recognized his blanket.
654. *Vilins'kyi*, Andrii Iosypovych. Ukrainian, laborer. Residence: Brailiv, Zhymerynka Raion.
Arrested September 14, 1937. His wife, Mariia, recognized his pillow case.
655. *lavors'kyi*, Fedir Pylypovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Kachanivka, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested November 10, 1937. His wife, Iavdokha, recognized his clothing.
656. *Luchyts'kyi*, Hryhor Onysymovich. Ukrainian, farmer. Residence: Kachanivka, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested April 6, 1938. His wife, Liuba, recognized his jacket.
657. *Oliinyk*, Kyrylo Kuz'movych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Kachanivka, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested January 15, 1938. His wife, Paraska, recognized his suit.
658. *Naichuk*, Nestor Ivanovych. Ukrainian, collective farm worker. Residence: Kachanivka, Khmil'nyk Raion.
Arrested April 6, 1937. Family members recognized his clothing.
659. *Babits'kyi*, Dmytro Havrylovych. Ukrainian, age 38. Residence: Haisyn, Haisyn Raion.
His wife, Mariia, recognized his trousers.
660. *Trukhanovych*, Apollon Aloisovych. Ukrainian, age 64, carpenter. Residence: Vynnytsia.
Arrested October 30, 1937. His wife, Olimpiia, recognized his shirt.
661. *Blazhko*, Ivan. Ukrainian.
Handkerchief with his name on it.
662. *Bohuts'kyi*, Iul'ko Ivanovych. Residence: Khutir Chemerys'kyi (renamed: Chemerys'ke), Bar Raion.
Arrested December 23, 1937. His wife, Anna, recognized his blanket.
663. *Diadiuk*, Z. (S.). Ukrainian.
Shirt with embroidered monogram.
664. *Zelins'kyi*, I. Ukrainian.
Underpants with embroidered monogram

665. *Khakhlovs'kyi*, Tomash Iuzefovych. White-collar worker. Residence: Vinnytsia. Search warrant, indicating that Kh. was arrested on September 7, 1937.
666. *Radzikhovs'kyi*, Feliks. Age 33. Residence: Vitava, Tyvriv Raion. His mother recognized his wadded jacket.
667. *Kholkovs'kyi*, Volodymyr Leontiiovych. Age 39, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested November 20, 1937. His wife, Bronislava, recognized his jacket and cap.
668. *Zhdanoych*, Bronislav Pavlovych. Age 47, laborer. Residence: Vinnytsia. Arrested August 1937. His sister-in-law, B.A. Kholkovs'ka, recognized his trousers.
669. *Kuz'mych*, Petro Petrovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Vinnytsia. NKVD search warrant, indicating that K. was arrested on February 9, 1938.
670. *Bilous*, Ihnatii Tropanovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Dzhulynka Raion (now divided between Bershad' and Teplyk Raions). Arrested February 4, 1938. NKVD search warrant.
671. *Iasynets'kyi*, Andrii Ivanovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Proskuriv (renamed: Khmel'ny tskii), Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed: Khmel'ny tska Oblast). Arrested August 15, 1937. NKVD search warrant.
672. *Kanevs'kyi*, Karlo Tymofiiovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Sosnivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested September 13, 1937. NKVD search warrant.
673. *Bednars'kyi*, Iul'ko Stanislavovych. Residence: Trostianets, Trostianets Raion. Arrested November 2, 1937. NKVD search warrant.
674. *Bevsiuk*, Spirydon Vlasovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Savintsi, Trostianets Raion. Arrested April 14, 1938. NKVD search warrant.
675. *Rzhedkevych*, Oleksii Oleksandrovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Pavlivka, Kalynivka Raion. Arrested May 30, 1937. NKVD search warrant.
676. *Hyhorovych*, Sofiia Seminivna. Ukrainian. Arrested 1937. Receipt from the Vinnytsia NKVD on the confiscation of articles.
677. *Salamon*, Florian Ivanovych. Ukrainian. Residence: Plebanivka, Sharhorod Raion. Arrested November 29, 1937. NKVD search warrant.
678. *Makareych*, Ia. I. Ukrainian, white-collar worker. Residence: Velyka Piatahorka, Berdychiv Raion, Zhytomyr Oblast. Arrested March 27, 1937. Petition of M. to the procuracy.
679. *Roi*, Klyn Oleskiiovych. Ukrainian, age 58, white-collar worker. Residence: Iazvynky, Nemyriv Raion. Arrested spring 1938. His mother-in-law, Z. (S.) Sharamko, recognized his fur jacket.

III. LEGAL REPORT

Report by Dr. Ziegler,
President of the Senate and Legal Expert

Appointed by the *Reich* Ministry of Justice

In the mass graves discovered at the gates of Vinnytsia in the Ukraine lie the bodies of thousands and thousands of Ukrainians, all with their hands tied behind their backs and shots in the back of the neck. How this mass butchery came about will never, of course, be known in detail. Nothing, however, has been left undone to shed as much light on the matter as possible. To start, an extensive police investigation, which even now is still under way, was launched. But in order to ensure that the facts be ascertained in as irreproachable way as possible, judicial inquiries were also carried out — a task with which I had been charged. By order of the Ministry of Justice, I questioned more than 50 of the most important witnesses — some in Vinnytsia itself, some in the surrounding villages. The impression that I gained was the most immediate one possible. I have no doubt whatsoever that the witnesses' testimonies are correct.

Those witnesses questioned by myself fell into two groups: 1) those who provided information of a general nature, particularly with regard to the time and extent of the arrests as well as to observations arising from suspicious occurrences; and 2) the family members of those arrested.

Numerous witnesses testified that from the middle of 1936 to the outset of the war, arrests had continually been taking place, which, in late 1937 and early 1938, began to assume particularly large dimensions. The police vans of the NKVD, the so-called "black ravens," were often seen in Vinnytsia. Yet even on the highways in the immediate and wider surroundings of Vinnytsia, trucks in which there were prisoners under guard by NKVD people were noted again and again. There was

hardly a family that had not been affected by the arrests. With few exceptions, nothing was ever heard again of those arrested. As witnesses furthermore testified, there was always the suspicion that some of the arrested victims had been shot and buried in the vicinity of Vinnytsia. But it was only in the spring of 1943 that these rumors gradually became the data that made closer inquiry possible. First, there were witnesses who alleged that there was a so-called NKVD cemetery in an orchard in Dolinki, a suburb of Vinnytsia, on the road to Lityn. Specifically, they testified in this connection as follows:

In the late 1937 or early 1938, a part of the Orchard that had been privately owned was confiscated and surrounded by a particularly well-sealed fence three meters high behind which stood NKVD guards. Trucks covered with tarpaulin were often seen driving onto the grounds at night from which heavy objects were unloaded. Otherwise, trucks loaded with loam were repeatedly driven from the grounds in the direction of Lityn. Several witnesses testified that they had occasionally observed trails of blood and perceived the stench of corpses near the fencing. One witness alleged that he had once climbed a tree near the fence from where he had noticed several open pits, some containing corpses. Another witness whose place of work was located near the Orchard and who customarily spent his lunch break there testified that, one day, he had looked through a hole in the fence and seen open pits as well as a pile of bodies near the fence that had already turned black. He was so shocked by this that he ran away and returned to work only by a circuitous route. Testimony was also given that two people who had attempted to look through the fence were arrested and have since been missing. One has also not heard from a youth again who had climbed over the fence to steal some fruit.

While a whole series of mass graves had already been discovered in the Orchard, witnesses were coming forth who had made observations of things arousing their suspicions with regard to the Cemetery located on the same road but somewhat closer to the city. These witnesses, of whom two had worked at the Pirogov Hospital very close to the Cemetery and the third had lived in the immediate vicinity, testified independently of one another that they had often noticed new pits at a spot in the Cemetery in early 1938 at which no burials normally took place. These pits were larger than conventional graves and were always filled up the next morning. Having become suspicious, as a result, they put themselves on guard and noted that covered trucks arrived at night from which objects were unloaded and thrown into the pits. One witness further pointed out that he had also once seen blood trails

in the freshly fallen snow and a rubber glove at the Cemetery. Finally, there were also witnesses who had made similar observations with regard to the public park across from the Cemetery on the other side of the highway. The inquiries, which were immediately launched, confirmed the statements of the witnesses. At all three locations discussed above, rectangular depressions in the earth were found. In the diggings that followed, first clothing and then bodies were encountered everywhere.

With regard to the witnesses of the second group, almost all of them were women who had lost their husbands. These women, after word of the discovery had spread, came here from outside Vinnytsia, sometimes from distances of up to 100 kilometers, to determine if their husbands were among the exhumed bodies. A whole number of them were indeed able to do so, even if it was only by means of those items in the graves that had once been in their or their husbands' possession. In two cases, the wives were also able to identify the corpses themselves on the basis of physical abnormalities. With the help of these witnesses and through documents, such as search warrants, containing the names of those who had been arrested, about 280 bodies, a statistic that is constantly increasing, have already been identified. The questionings of the individual witnesses have, in almost every case, produced the same picture:

One day, usually at a late hour, NKVD people appear at an apartment, conduct a search, and, apart from identification papers, usually confiscate quite irrelevant items that they apparently find incriminating. A search warrant, to be signed by those conducting the search and those who are the object of it is drawn up, a carbon copy of which is handed out to the latter. Then, the arrest is made. The victim is brought to an NKVD prison and, after a time, is taken from there to Vinnytsia, where he is either delivered to the NKVD prison there or the city jail. Wives are permitted to bring their husbands linen and clothing but are not allowed to speak to them. After a while, when they wish to bring clothes once again, they are informed that their husbands are no longer in Vinnytsia; that they had been banished to the Far North under strict isolation for ten years, without the right of correspondence. Since then, the women have been without any news of their husbands, knowing neither where they are nor whether they are even alive. According to the testimonies of the witnesses, no reasons whatsoever were given in most cases, or they were simply told that their husbands were "enemies of the people." As the women emphasized, these were, in this connection, almost entirely simple

peasants who had never been politically active. Only in a few cases was a reason for the arrest given, such as prohibited contact with foreigners. In order to arrive at such an accusation, it was quite enough to find foreign language books, including school books or letters from abroad, even if they were simply from relatives. Responsibility for allowing a horse to die was given in one case as grounds for arrest. Many clergymen were among those arrested. That was concluded, first, from the assumption of the witnesses who testified that in 1937/38 in Kalinovka, for example, a town near Vinnytsia to which clergymen from the area had been sent following their dismissal from priestly duties, no fewer than 24 priests were arrested, and further, from the discovery of numerous objects from church vestments in the graves. Apart from clergymen, furthermore, an especially large number of persons was arrested who even after the church ban remained faithful to their beliefs. Thus, various witnesses from Lozna, a small village in Vinnytsia Oblast, testified that men and women from there and other towns had organized themselves into a community of "True Greek Orthodox Peasants of the Archangel Michael." The members of this community, who had worn a cross on the breast and had come together to have the Bible read to them, had always been persecuted; in 1937, about 20 of them, four of whom were women, were arrested in Lozna alone. Nothing was ever heard from them again. Two of them are not among the disinterred bodies identified by family members. . .[a.s.] According to the eyewitness testimonies above, it can be assumed that the shootings had already taken place in the prisons and that the bodies were transported from there to the mass graves in trucks. This is also suggested by the fact that several articles of clothing, which had apparently been taken from the victims in prison and buried together with them, were found in the pits on top of the bodies. The shootings were carried out with small-caliber weapons so that, according to the forensic medical findings, three or four shots were usually required to bring about death. In one case, sand was even found in the trachea, indicating that the wounded victim had been thrown into the pit alive.

In conclusion, the results of my investigation can be briefly summarized as follows:

From 1936 to the outbreak of the war, especially during late 1937 and early 1938, numerous Ukrainians in and around Vinnytsia were arrested and have since disappeared. Nearly 2,000 bodies have been recovered thus far. In accordance with the number of pits already ascertained but not yet opened, we can expect, in making a careful estimate, all together at least 10,000. The victims stemmed almost en-

tirely from the working and peasant classes and were mostly aged about 40 or 50. There were no valid grounds for arrest present; rather, these were measures of pure terrorism that could only have had the purpose of intimidating the population and making them submissive.

Vinnitsia, the Ukraine

July 18, 1943

(signed) Ziegler

President of the Senate

Protocols of the Investigation

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnitsia
July 3, 1943

Called in for questioning by the undersigned, appeared

Opanas Skrepka,

market assessor, who presented the same evidence as that during the police questioning on June 3, 1943. The protocol recorded at the time was read to him in Russian, to which he declared: My earlier testimony is correct; I repeat it today. Only in one point I was apparently misunderstood. Only once did I climb the tree to look over the fence. That was in the spring of 1938. I had already observed up to then during the night that trucks covered with tarpaulin had been driving onto the grounds. Having become curious, as a result, I then climbed the tree one day. Even after the fencing in of a part of the fruit plantation, I continued to work as a guard because the large part of the plantation was not fenced in. The truck traffic lasted from 1938 to the arrival of the German troops. Usually two or three trucks came in per night, then there was a pause for a few nights, and then came two or three trucks once again. I observed blood trails several times. Even before I made the observations from the tree, I had assumed that bodies were being transported by the trucks. You see, I had often detected a strong body stench in the days after the arrival of the trucks. Then, from the tree, I also saw open pits with bodies in them. They were apparently not full enough so that they were still waiting to be covered up.

One day, two people who were walking towards the center of town stopped at the fence and tried to look through it. They were thereupon seized by the guard, and no one has seen anything of them since.

The fence, which was built around one part of the fruit plantation, remained standing until the arrival of German troops. The fenced-in area of the grounds was used by a cavalry formation. The horses that were standing there at the acacia and spruce saplings planted over the pits by the NKVD. As the cavalry departed, it took a part of the fence as firewood with it. The rest was used up by the adjacent residents for the same purpose.

After the arrival of the German troops, the population pointed out to the Polish-speaking soldiers that there apparently were mass graves at the Orchard. Yet it seems that they were not properly understood. Anyway, nothing happened.

After the arrival of the German troops, I had, at the mayor's suggestion, some of the pits at the railroad station near the city jail dug up. Here, there were three pits, the existence of which I had already known. In one pit, we found 60 civilians, each five or six of whom had been bound together with wire. There were civilians in the second pit as well, who were identified, based on their clothing and the passports found on them, as Bucovinians. . . [a.s.]

Read in Russian, approved, affirmed by statutory declaration, and signed:

	Skrepka	
	Witness dismissed	
(signed) Ziegler	(signed) Neidhardt	(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Muller
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

Called in for questioning by the undersigned, appeared
Iurii Klvmenko of Boblov, Nemirov Raion, Vinnytsia Obiast
who declared:

I am 59 years old and was once a kulak in Boblov. In 1934, I was dispossessed and exiled to Siberia for three years. The sentence was lifted on appeal because it had turned out that I had not had as much land as was first assumed.

Whereas my family remained in Boblov, I left for Vinnytsia, where I worked as a guard in the Pirogov Hospital, because I did not have enough to live on. The hospital stands next to the main cemetery of Vinnytsia. My guard room looked out onto the churchyard. From there, I observed in the fall of 1937 or in 1938 that there were diggings at the cemetery every day and that trucks arrived at night. Because that appeared suspicious to me, I made more exact observations through a slit in the fence several times and thus ascertained the following:

There were pits of about two square meters, the depth of which I was not able to determine. The trucks, covered with tarpaulin, brought objects having no motion, which were thrown into the pits. I could not see what they were, as I had to be very careful because of the danger of being discovered. When I went to market the next day, the pits had already been refilled. That lasted about two months. During that time, pits were dug up to about two or three times a week, and the trucks came just as often, too. Even then, I assumed that these were bodies from the NKVD prisons. The trucks did not come, say, from the hospital but from the city.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed;

(signed) Klymenko, Iurii

Witness dismissed

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) von Bahder

Protocol Transcript

Present:
President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Lozna
July 4, 1943

Called in for questioning, appeared

Lutsia Sydoruk of Lozna.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My brother, Mykhailo, born 1906, of Ukrainian nationality, road worker, was arrested in 1939 for reasons of his religion, because he was a member of the community of "True Greek Orthodox Peasants." He had already been arrested twice before for the same reason. He went to Ulanov, and from there to Vinnytsia. I brought him his clothes there twice a week. When I wanted to do this a third time, I was told that only some of them would be taken. Since then, I have heard nothing more of my brother. Mrs. Kylyna Bobyk recognized the body of my brother, her nephew, at the scene of the crime on the basis of his clothing. A mistake is out of the question. The body has already been buried.

Read in Russian, approved, affirmed by statutory declaration, and signed:

(signed) Sydoruk
For the accuracy of the transcript:
Ziegler.

Transcript certified:
(signature)
Stenotypist (seal)

Zhitomir
July 10, 1943

Transcript

Present:
President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Egon v. Bahder as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 4, 1943

Called for questioning, appeared

Marta Ukrainets' of Lozna.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My husband, Petro, of Ukrainian nationality, born 1890, laborer, was arrested in 1933 and sentenced to exile for ten years. He was pardoned after three years and returned home. At Easter 1937, he was arrested again and taken to Ulanov. I saw him there and brought him clothes and food as well. Later, he went to Vinnytsia, where relatives of ours visited him. After a while, we were told that he had been exiled.

My husband was arrested because he was a member of the community of "True Greek Orthodox Peasants of the Archangel Michael." This was a union of those who, despite the church ban, remained faithful to their beliefs. They often came together in the apartment of a member. There, some of those who could read, read from the Bible. My husband was one of those able to read. I cannot say how many members the community had altogether. It was, however, quite large and extended to other villages as well.

Altogether 18 or 20 members of the community, including four women, were arrested in Lozna. My brother, Dorokhtei Sydoruk, and his wife, Man'ka, among others, were also arrested. Neither from my husband, nor from my brother and his wife have we ever heard anything again. Relatives of ours have searched through the things found at the diggings in Vimytsia but could not find anything that belonged to them.

During the search of our home following the arrest, my husband's papers were taken, as well as an overcoat and religious books.

Read in Russian, approved, and affirmed by statutory declaration, and signed.

For the accuracy of the transcript:

(signed) Ziegler

Certified:

Auch

Administrative Employee

(seal)

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:

Ievdokiia Solomon of 8 **Sadkovskii** Street, Vinnytsia,
who declared:

My husband, Stanislav S., of Ukrainian nationality and German descent, a shoemaker by trade, worked in the shoe factory in Vimytsia. He was arrested on November 19, 1937, at one o'clock in the morning, without any reason given. A search of our home was conducted and a search warrant drawn up. My husband was then taken to the NKVD prison. Because I was bedridden, I was only able to inquire into my husband's whereabouts ten days later. I learned that he was in the city jail. He remained there about seven weeks, during which I brought him a few clothing items. Then I was told that he had been sent away. I turned to the procuracy and learned that my husband had been exiled for political reasons to the North for ten years in the strictest isolation, without the right of correspondence.

At the scene of the murders, I recognized my husband's special work jacket without any doubt, on the basis of a glue spot. I also found his fur cap, which I recognized on the basis of the shoe laces that I, myself, had sewn on. The search warrant is in my possession.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Ziegler

Witness dismissed

(signed) Neidhardt

(signed) von Bahder

Present:
 President of the Senate Ziegler
 as Examining Magistrate
 Administrative Employee Neidhardt
 as Recording Clerk
 Egon von Bahder
 as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
 July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:
Nastasiia Kozak⁹⁹ of 14 Iampol' Street, Staryi Gorod, Vinnytsia,
 who declared:

My husband, Vasyi' K., of Ukrainian nationality, bookkeeper at the "Vinenergo" in Vinnytsia, born 1890, was arrested at home on the night of October 26, 1937. A search of our home was conducted at the same time. My husband was subsequently taken to the NKVD prison in Vinnytsia, from which, however, he was transferred forthwith to the city jail. There he remained eight months. During that time, I brought him a few items of clothing. I soon heard from the jail director, however, that I should not bring anything anymore because my husband was no longer there and that I was running the risk of ending in jail myself. After about two months, I heard from a neighbor whose husband was also in jail — in fact, in the same cell as my husband — that my husband was still there. I thereupon brought food and clothing once again, which was also accepted; I was even allowed to see him again. Altogether, I saw and spoke with my husband three times after his arrest. When we saw each other again, my husband told me that, among others, an Anastasiia Golovinskaia, born Chetverik, now residing in the old part of town (Staryi Gorod), formerly of Petrov Street, had denounced him and others. Furthermore, a certain Tiutiunik, former director of the housing office, is said to have led many people to their graves — that is, he denounced them to the NKVD. This Tiutiunik was deported from Vinnytsia by the German authorities, though I recently encountered him on my way to the site of the murders. He was on a bicycle.

I recognized my husband at the site of the murders without any doubt, as he was an invalid and only had a right arm stump. My husband's arrest took place on the basis of the accusation that he was maintaining relations with our neighboring priest, although this was not at all the case. My husband was sentenced to ten years exile in the Far North, with no right of correspondence and in strict isolation.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Ziegler	Witness dismissed: (signed) Neidhardt	(signed) von Bahder
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Present:
 President of the Senate Ziegler
 as Examining Magistrate
 Administrative Employee Neidhardt
 as Recording Clerk
 Egon von Bahder
 as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
 July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:
Mariia Mykhailovs'ka of Sokolovka, Ulanov Raion, Vinnytsia Oblast,
 who declared:

My husband, Al'bin Mykhailovs'kyi, born 1900, was arrested on November 18, 1937 while at work on the threshing-floor at the collective farm. A search of our apartment

took place afterwards, during which a photograph of my husband was taken. He was taken to the NKVD prison in Ulanov, where he remained four days. I saw him there several times through the fence when prisoners were allowed to walk, but I could not speak to him. He was taken to Bordechi, where I brought him clothing several times. When I was there again on February 2, 1938, I was told that my husband had been sent away. I never heard anything from him again. At the site of the murders in Vinnytsia, I found my husband's jacket, which I recognized without a doubt as his own, on the basis of the striped satin lining in it. The reason given for the arrest was that he was an enemy of the people, although he had never been politically active in any way. He was probably denounced by someone, though I am unable to say by whom.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

Mykhailovs'ka, Mariia

Witness dismissed:

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) Neidhardt

(signed) von Bahder

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:

Mariia Patsaniv'ska of Sokolovka, Ulanov Raion,

who declared:

My husband, Stefan, 45 years old, collective farmer by occupation, was arrested at twelve o'clock midnight on January 1, 1938. At the same time, his papers, a jacket, and 209 rubles were confiscated. My husband was taken to the NKVD prison in Ulanov, where my son brought him some clothes. After two weeks, he was taken from Ulanov, but I was not able to find out where he had been transferred to. I could not find him either in Bondichi or in Vinnytsia. I have not heard anything from him since his arrest. The reason given for his arrest was that he was an enemy of the people. My son was then for the time being not drafted into the Red Army.

I could not find any of my husband's clothing at the scene of the murders. Nevertheless, I assume that he, too, was shot like the others.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

Witness dismissed:

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) Neidhardt

(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:

Anna Osachuk of Petrikovtsy, Ulanov Raion,

who declared:

My husband, Stefan O., born 1913, collective farmer by occupation, was arrested in our apartment on April 19, 1938 on the grounds that he was an enemy of the people. He was taken to the NKVD prison in Ulanov and then to Vinnytsia a few days later. There, I was able to take him some clothes once. When I returned to Vinnytsia about a month later, I was told that he had been sent to the Far North. I have since heard nothing from my husband.

I have been to the scene of the murders but could not find anything that I could identify as my husband's property.

My eldest brother, Iozef, was arrested on the same day as my husband and was first sent to Ulanov and then to Vinnytsia. He, too, was a collective farmer and avoided politics completely. We have not heard anything from him either. He was probably shot just like my husband.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Anna Osachuk

Witness dismissed:

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) Neidhardt

(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

Vinnytsia

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

July 2, 1943

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:

Mrs. Zavareva of 25 Bohdan Khmel'nitskii Street, Vinnytsia,

who declared:

My husband, Zavarev, Ivanovich, of Russian nationality, 72 years old, former colonel in the Tsarist army, was a lecturer in ballistics at the local university. On March 16, 1938, he was called in to the militia, allegedly to compare some inventories there, and never came back. Only after ten days, I learned after considerable effort that my husband had been taken to the city jail. I brought him clothes there on several occasions. When I went there once again on May 3, 1938, I was told that my husband had been sent to the Far North. Since then, I have not heard anything from him. Upon later inquiry, I was told that my husband had died of a heart attack on April 17, 1938. The reason given for his arrest was counter-revolutionary activity. The real reason was probably the fact that he had been an officer in the Tsarist army. Furthermore, my husband had participated in a correspondence course in German at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages, even though he had a complete command of both German and French. When I later made still more inquiries, I was informed that his banishment could have also been an error; there's nothing more to it.

I have not been able to find anything that had belonged to my husband. My daughter, however, continues to look there every day.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Mrs. Zavareva

Witness dismissed

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) Neidhardt

(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk
Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 2, 1943

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:
Mariia Zorina of Podorozhnaia,

who declared:

My husband, Iakov Zorin, 39 years old, born in Latvia, factory worker by occupation, was arrested on December 14, 1937 and taken to the NKVD prison in Ulanov. I once brought him clothing there. After three days, he was transferred to Vinnytsia. When I tried to have some clothes given to him there, I was told that he could not be found. But then I received a letter from my husband from the prison and went back with the letter. I was then told to get permission from the NKVD in Ulanov to bring clothing to my husband. When I returned to Vinnytsia on March 28, 1938, I received the information that my husband had been sent to the Far North. I sent a petition of NKVD chief Beria, upon which I was told through the NKVD that my husband had been exiled for ten years to a far-off camp in strict isolation, and without the right of correspondence.

During the search of our home, which took place at the time of the arrest, letters that my husband had received from Latvia were confiscated, and he was accused of conducting illegal foreign correspondence. In answer to my later inquiries into the reasons for his arrest, I was informed that my husband knew the reasons very well, but that they were none of my business.

I have not yet found anything at the site of the murders that belongs to my husband, but I want to continue searching.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
(signed) Mariia Zorina, Ulanov

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Ziegler (signed) Neidhardt (signed) von Bahder

Transcript of the Protocol

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk
Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 2, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Tamara **Borysivna Vansets'ka** of 20 Moravskaia Street, Vinnytsia,
who declared:

My husband, Borys Dzevanets'kyi, born February 2, 1902, of Ukrainian nationality, was arrested on March 9, 1938. He was the head bookkeeper at the State Bank of Vinnytsia. No reason was given for his arrest. Only about a half year later, I was told at the NKVD that he had been sentenced according to Paragraph 54, **Sub-paragraphs**

2, 10, and 11. On March 22, 1938, after I had made inquiries about him, I was told that he had been sent away.

When I heard about the excavation conducted here, I went to the place of the murders and recognized there on a body stockings, underpants, trousers, and shoes that undoubtedly belonged to my husband. Furthermore, I also found a slipper of my husband's in the same pit in which his body lay. There can be no question of an error.

My father, Borys Vansets'kyi, of Ukrainian nationality, was arrested at the same time as my husband. On March 22, 1938. In his case, too, I was told that he had been exiled. I have not found any of his clothes at the site of the murders.

I still use my maiden name because I had received a new (internal) passport shortly before my wedding and could receive another one only after five years.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

	Witness dismissed:	
(signed) Ziegler	(signed) Neidhardt	(signed) von Bahder

Transcript of the Protocol

Present:

Vinnytsia

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

July 2, 1943

Administrative Employee Neidhardt
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Voluntarily appearing before the undersigned:

Anna Pavliuk of Petrikovtsy, Ulanov Raion,

who declared:

My husband, Hryhoryi P., of Ukrainian nationality, born 1906, collective farmer by occupation, was arrested at work at his thresher on April 14, 1938 and taken to the NKVD in Ulanov. Only his papers were taken during the search of our home, which was conducted at the same time. A little later, my husband's clothes and underclothes were also taken. My husband was transferred immediately from Ulanov to Vinnytsia. I once brought him some clothes there. When I later wanted to do this again, I was told that he was no longer there, that he had been sent away. The reason given was that he was an enemy of the people. Since then, I have heard nothing from my husband. I cannot make any inquiries at the scene of the murders because my shaken nerves would not take it.

My brother, Andrii Andrusiuk, was arrested in 1937. I once received news from him from the city of Termez in Termez Oblast. A second brother, Ostap, was arrested at the same time as my husband. His son, who is here, will provide information about him. A third brother, Trokhym, was also arrested at the same time as my husband and did share his fate. All three of my brothers were of Ukrainian nationality and collective farmers by occupation.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

	Witness dismissed:	
(signed) Ziegler	(signed) Neidhardt	(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Olena Severyna of 21 Moravskaia Street, Vinnytsia.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My father Oleksandr Severyn, born 1893, of Ukrainian nationality and German descent, had worked since 1933 as a bookkeeper on a crop plantation of the sugar industry. He was arrested by the NKVD on November 5, 1937 on the grounds that he was an enemy of the people. He was taken to the NKVD prison in Vinnytsia, where he remained until February 5, 1938. I did not see him during that time. Later, after his transfer to the city jail, underclothes and clothes were accepted for him. I did not get a receipt for them. On February 26, 1938, I was told that he had been exiled for ten or fifteen years in strict isolation to a distant camp in the Far North. During the arrest at two o'clock in the morning, an inventory of our property was taken. Our entire movable and non-movable property was confiscated on February 23, 1938. On February 25, 1938, we sent 150 rubles through the post office to my father at his prison address. On February 26, 1938, when, as I have already said, I was told that he had been exiled on February 25, 1938, the story was that he had properly received my money, which, however, was not at all possible.

In 1940, a man came to us who had allegedly been with my father at a concentration camp. When we showed him a group photograph and asked him to point out our father, he looked at the picture very carefully and then indeed pointed to our father. This man inquired about our family in detailed fashion and calmed us; he, too, had served five years, he said, and had just returned. Besides us, he also visited several other families. He was no doubt an NKVD man who was checking the moods of the families.

My father must indeed have been among those shot. You see, we found among the things excavated here two shirts, a hand towel — all with an embroidery, some of which I had sewn myself — as well as a cloak with his name embroidered in it. There is no doubt that this belonged to my father. At the crop plantation, a certain Vladimir Rushiskii worked as chief of the special department and at the same time as a secret agent of the NKVD. This Rushiskii signed the search warrant and is still in Vinnytsia today as chief of the repair section of the Electricity Department. He was a Party member but was then demonstratively expelled so as to exonerate him in the eyes of the populace. The prison cashier, Nikitin, who accepted the money, is also in the vicinity of Vinnytsia. I do not know, however, where he is exactly. A certain Vasyli' Demidenko, who worked with my father at the seed plantation, provided the NKVD with incriminating material against my father. He is still in the same position and job today.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) O. Severyna

For the accuracy of the transcript:

(signed) Ziegler

Transcript

Present:
President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnitsia
July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Olena Ol'khovs'ka of 27 Ivan Mazepa Street, Vinnitsia.

She was questioned, as the attached shorthand notes show.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My husband, Petro Ol'khovs'kyi, 26 years old, was arrested in our apartment in Vinnitsia in November 1937.⁵⁰ He was of Ukrainian nationality and a bakery worker. On the day of his arrest, a search of our apartment was conducted, during which his papers were taken. The next few days, I went to the NKVD prison but was not allowed in. A week later, I went to the city jail, where my husband had been taken in the meantime, but I was not permitted in there either. Only a month later was I successful in getting an overcoat and felt boots to my husband. I did not see him myself. I was then told that he had been exiled to the Far North for ten years, without the right of correspondence.

When the excavations here began, I was at the finds every day, and soon I recognized a black jacket, stockings, two pairs of trousers, and a shirt on a body as the property of my husband. I stood there as they were being taken out. Furthermore, I also recognized the body itself as that of my husband on the basis of the crookedness of his right small finger. A mistake is out of the question.

The reason given for the arrest was that my husband was an enemy of the people. In fact, he had never been active politically. He was probably denounced by a washer woman at the bakery as well as by Jews who worked there.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

X X X

For the accuracy of the transcript:

(signed) Ziegler

Transcript of the Protocol

Present:
President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate
Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnitsia
July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Dariia Bilets'ka of Shirokaia Greblia, Vinnitsia Raion.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the stenographic notes:

My husband, Leonid Bilets'kyi, a priest by occupation, 35 years old, was arrested at home on the night of September 24, 1937. At the same time, all priestly garments, books, baptismal instruments, and identification papers were confiscated. He attended the seminary in Volhynia and, until 1935, was a priest in Piliava, a village in Vinnitsia Raion. In 1935, the church in Piliava was closed, upon which we moved to my home town, Shirokaia Greblia. There my husband was engaged in forestry work. When he was arrested, he was told, "You dog, you have lived long enough!" No particular

reason was given. My husband was first taken to the militia, where I often saw him through the fence but was not permitted to speak to him. After 14 days, my husband was transferred to the NKVD prison in Vinnytsia. When I wanted to take a few things to him, only the handkerchiefs and a hand towel were accepted. When I returned a month later, I was told that he was no longer there but had been exiled. I thereupon submitted a petition to Moscow and received the news from the NKVD about a half-year later that my husband had been exiled to the Far North for ten years, without the right of correspondence.

I read about the excavations here in the newspaper and have come here to look for my husband's clothing. I found a brown suit that I recognized without a doubt as my husband's property, as I had made it for him myself. I even have patches from this material at home.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
(signed) Bilets'ka, Daria

For the accuracy of the transcript:
(signed) Ziegler

Transcript of the Protocol

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Mariia Andriievs'ka of Salika, Ulanov Raion.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My husband, Frants Andriievs'kyi, of Ukrainian nationality, about 50 years old, who worked as a guard of a garden at a collective farm, was arrested in October 1937 at night while on the job. The next day, a search was conducted during which my husband's papers, as well as a suit and overcoat, were taken. No reason was given for the arrest. I also did not ask for one. The arrest was made by the NKVD in Ulanov. My husband was taken by car to Ulanov. I brought him food and clothing there. I also saw my husband there. Once, when I returned, he was no longer there, and I could also not get any information where he was.

Since then, I have not heard anything from my husband. When I learned of the diggings in Vinnytsia, I came here and even found a jacket of my husband's. I recognized it by the three broad laces on the breast side that I had sewn on myself. I also recognized the material and buttons. No mistake is possible, especially since I also found a handkerchief with his name on it in the pocket. Eight other men were arrested at the same time as my husband.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
(signed) Andriievs'ka

For the accuracy of the transcript:
(signed) Ziegler

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Kateryna Hodlevs'ka of Zhmerinka.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

I have come here with Mrs. Berft to make inquiries. Among the excavated things, I have found a crocheted shirt and a wadded jacket with a fur collar, which I can identify with certainty as my husband's property.

My husband was born in 1898⁵¹ and was of Ukrainian nationality. He was a locomotive engineer by occupation. He was arrested in Zhmerinka on May 13, 1938. He was called in by the NKVD by means of a note, and he never came back. Our home was searched the next day though nothing was confiscated. The reason given for the arrest was that my husband was allegedly an enemy of the people. In fact, he was never involved in politics in any way. He even received a prize of 1,500 rubles three months before his arrest because he always kept his locomotive in good condition. After two weeks, my husband was taken from Zhmerinka to Vinnytsia. I went to Vinnytsia every two weeks to bring him things, but I was never allowed to speak to my husband. When I was in Vinnytsia once again, I was told that my husband had been transferred to Kiev. When I inquired there, I was told that he had never been there; he had been exiled to the North, without the right of correspondence.

Shortly before May 1, 1938, 60 men, all of whom worked for the railroad, were arrested in Zhmerinka at the same time and taken away. There were men from age 35 to 58. Most of them were about 40.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Hodlevs'ka

For the accuracy of the Transcript:
(signed) Ziegler

Certified:
Administrative Employee

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Mrs. Antoniak of Shirokaia Greblia, Vinnytsia Raion.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

My home village is about 60 kilometers from Vinnytsia. My husband, Hryhoryi A., of Ukrainian nationality, was arrested on March 26, 1938. He was a driver at a machine-tractor station. He was arrested during work in the field and taken immediately to the jail of the village militia. Afterwards, our home was searched, during which only my husband's papers were taken. The reason given for his arrest, in answer to my question, was that my brothers, named Zavits'kyi,⁵² of the same village, had corre-

sponded with foreigners. They had already been arrested in November 1937. They were exiled, and I have even gotten news from them — from Mongolia. My husband was in the militia jail for half a month. Then he went to the city jail in Vinnytsia. While he was being held by the militia, I often saw him through the garden fence. I was not allowed to speak to him. I was also not allowed to give him anything. When I went to see him after his transfer to the city jail in Vinnytsia to make inquiries, I was told to come back in ten days. When I returned, I was told that my husband had been exiled. Two years after I had submitted a petition, I was told that my husband had been sent to the Far North, without the right of correspondence.

We once had five hectars of land. In 1931, we were forcibly transferred to the collective farm.

I learned of the excavations through the newspaper and came here to look for my husband's clothing. I even found his shirt, which I recognized without question on the basis of the embroidery, patches, and cigarette burns as having belonged to my husband.

I do not know the true reason for my husband's arrest. He was never active politically. Read in Russian, approved, and signed:

(signed) Antoniak

For the accuracy of the transcript:

(signed) Ziegler

Certified:

Administrative Employee

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
July 1, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:

Mrs. Berft of Zhmerinka.

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes.

Transcript of the shorthand notes:

I was born in Koneberg (Volhynia) on November 11, 1888 and now live in Chubarovka. I learned of the excavations through the newspapers and have come here to make inquiries. Among the excavated things, I have recognized, without question, a hand towel that I, myself, had made.

My husband was a forestry worker and collective farm worker and was born in 1882. We are both of German nationality and were born in Koneberg. In 1938, he was arrested together with eleven other men of German nationality in Chubarovka after two other German men had already been taken away. The village is located nine kilometers from Zhmerinka. The arrested men were taken to the prison in Zhmerinka and three days later to Vinnytsia. We brought them underclothes and clothes. When the 14 of us once again arrived in Vinnytsia on September 12, 1938 to visit our husbands, we were told that they had been exiled to the Far North, without the right of correspondence. The arrests were made on the grounds that the men were enemies of the people. Besides my husband, the five Marquardt brothers, furthermore, a certain Leske, a certain Hermann Wagner, my husband's brother's son, Gustav Berft, and five members of the Klut family were arrested.

I should like to add the following: Two men, who were also arrested, but released again have told us that they had been tortured so as to make them talk. They were supposed to incriminate themselves. When they did not do that, nails were forced under their fingernails. Their fingers were squeezed in the doorway. Then, one of them indeed confessed that he had wanted to blow up a bridge, which, however, was not the case. Then he was released.

Read, approved, and signed:

(signed) Berft

For the accuracy of the transcript:

(signed) Ziegler

Certified:

Administrative Employee

Transcript

Present:

Vinnytsia

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

July 1, 1943

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Appearing before the undersigned:

Mrs. Solovieva of Sitkovtsy

She was questioned as shown in the attached shorthand notes. Transcript of the shorthand notes:

I am 52 years old, reside in Sitkovtsy, Vinnytsia Oblast, and am the mother of four children, one of whom is only six years old.

My husband, Andrii Soloviev, was arrested at his place of work, a branch of the State Bank in Sitkovtsy, which he directed, on April 17, 1938.⁵³ He was 47 years old and of Ukrainian nationality. Until 1935, he pursued his own profession of teaching, but he had to give it up because of a throat ailment. His arrest took place at 12:30 p.m., and at 2 p.m., he had already been taken by train to Vinnytsia, where he was delivered to the NKVD prison. When I went to Vinnytsia on the third day of his arrest, I was told at the NKVD prison that he had been transferred to the city jail. My inquiries there were also without success. I was told later that he had been exiled on May 5, 1938 to the Far North for ten years, without the right of correspondence. Since then, I have had no news of him.

In the Ukrainian newspaper in Vinnytsia, an embroidered hand towel found at the excavations was described as having the number 47 and the monogram "A.S." on it. I thereupon came here. I have not seen the hand towel as yet. But with that description, I recognize it without question as my husband's property.

In Sitkovtsy, there was a ...[a.s.] prosecutor, named Feld, who lived in our house as a subtenant and who wanted to take possession of the house. About eight days before my husband's arrest, the prosecutor wanted to borrow 2,000 rubles from my husband so that he could send his wife to a health resort. My husband refused. I assume that the prosecutor had caused my husband's arrest.

My husband had never been politically active in any way. Right after his arrest, our apartment was searched. A hunting rifle was confiscated in the process. Furthermore, silver that I was saving for my teeth as well as a small cross were taken.

The whole village was astonished at the arrest of my husband. Two years after his arrest, I received an order from the NKVD to turn in all my husband's clothing because he was an enemy of the people.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
(signed) Solovieva
For the accuracy of the transcript:
(signed) Ziegler

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia
June 29, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:
Petro Kuz'mych of 18 Petro Mohyla Street, Vinnytsia,

who declared:

I am 77 years old and used to be a kulak in Britskoe, Lipovets Raion. I was then dispossessed, and I moved with my family to Vinnytsia, where I live today. My son, born in 1894, attended the art school in Kiev and received instruction as a painter. He lived with us in Vinnytsia and earned his living as a poster artist.

On February 8, 1938, our home was searched, during which two English and two French books, as well as a passport of my son were confiscated. A search warrant was filled out, from which I was given a carbon copy. I present it to you now but request its return (see the attached translation). My son was arrested at the same time and taken to the city jail. As a fellow prisoner of his, who was later released, told me, my son had often been taken into the NKVD building at night and was mistreated there so as to force him to talk. His finger is said to have been squeezed in the doorway. He is also said to have been hit in the chin with a heavy iron so that his teeth were loosened. To the questioned of what he was supposed to say, he was told, according to his fellow prisoner, what he knows and what he does not know. I cannot give you the name of this fellow prisoner. I wanted to bring some clothes to the prison for my son; but he allegedly did not accept them; he supposedly explained that he did not need them. I was not permitted to give him any food. After about three months, I was told that my son would be exiled when the prison transports left. In the period afterwards, I went to the train station several times whenever prisoner transports were departing, but I could never find my son. When I later inquired at the city jail once again, I was told that he had been exiled to the Far North for ten years, without the right of correspondence. My wife died five months later from worrying about our son's disappearance.

I have not found anything among the excavated things that I could identify as my son's property. Nevertheless, I assume that he was murdered just like the others who were arrested.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
X X X
Witness dismissed:

(signed) Ziegler

(signed) von Bahder

Transcript

Present:

President of the Senate Ziegler
as Examining Magistrate

Willems
as Recording Clerk

Egon von Bahder
as Interpreter

Vinnytsia

June 28, 1943

Appearing before the undersigned:
Ol'ha Serhiivna Bilets'ka,

who declared:

I was born in the village of Babchintsy, Iampol' Raion on April 12, 1895 as the daughter of the priest, Serhii Liashchenko, and lived there until I was seven. We then moved to Kamenets-Podo'skii and from there to Vinnytsia in 1927. In 1927, I married my first husband, Dmytro Miskevych, and lived with him until 1937. In December 1937, my husband was arrested by the NKVD and, after a few days, was exiled to an unknown destination with the comment: "without the right of correspondence and in strict isolation in the North of the country." And my residence permit for Vinnytsia was taken away. I went to Siberia, near Sverdlovsk, where a cousin of mine, like my husband, was also living in exile. During my time of work in the restaurant of an aluminum factory there, I met my second husband. Because the NKVD had indicated at the time of my departure from Vinnytsia that I need not have any hope of seeing my first husband again, I married my second husband, Bilets'kyi, and returned to Vinnytsia. The NKVD gave me to understand that because I was now married to another man, I would receive a residence permit, first for one month, then for two months, and so on. In 1939, we moved from Bratslav, which is about 60 kilometers from Vinnytsia, to Trans-Dniestria, where we now live. About a week ago, I learned that human corpses had been found in Vinnytsia of those who, just like my first husband, had supposedly been exiled to Siberia. Because I assumed that my husband had also perhaps been shot at the time, I came here to make inquiries on the spot. Indeed, I then found among the excavated things a sheepskin coat, which I can positively identify as my first husband's. I recognized it so exactly because it was repaired with parts of a lambskin jacket of mine.

I was not present at my first husband's arrest. We lived at the time in an extended settlement of Kalinovka," and my husband worked as a forester near Vinnytsia, although he was a clergyman by occupation. One evening in December 1937, when we were at home, my husband was called to the Soviet of the Settlement. When, after a long while, he did not return, I went there and heard that he had already been taken to the Soviet in Kalinovka. I visited him there every day. When I went there on the fourth day, he had supposedly been taken to Vinnytsia. I also saw then how he was put in a car and driven away. The next evening, I went to Vinnytsia. There, I heard that my husband was already there, but not the rosters, so that I could not get any information. I should come back in two days. When I returned, I was told to come back the next morning. When I came again, I was told that my husband was no longer there, and I was read a long list of exiles who, like him, had already been transferred. In answer to my question why he had been arrested, I was told that he was an agitator and an enemy of the people.

My husband attended a theological seminary and was ordained as a full priest. He was able to pursue his profession as a priest until August 1937. Then he was forbidden to do so. Eight other clergymen in Kalinovka were arrested with him, and in the next

half-year, another sixteen. That there were so many clergymen in Kalinovka of all places can be explained by the fact that it was reputed to be a location for undesirable elements. For that reason, a particularly large number of clergymen who were no longer permitted to practice their profession had gone there to live from manual labor. From the roster of those allegedly transported to Siberia, I still remember two names — namely, those of the clergymen Myslibors'kyi and Radzievs'kyi. Altogether eleven persons from my own family and my husband's were arrested at about the same time. There were four priests among them. They did not, however, live in this area, but elsewhere, as far south as Khar'kov.

Read in Russian, approved, and signed:
Serhiivna Bilets'ka

Transcript

Vinnytsia
June 25, 1943

Appearing at the body finds: Mariia Mykhailivna Korsyk, Pole, age 30, mother of a daughter, age five, collective farm worker, residing in Semki, Khmel'nik Raion, Vinnytsia Oblast, who testifies as follows:

I learned of the body finds in Vinnytsia and came here by train to look among the recovered bodies for my husband, Lonko Korsyk, worker in a sugar factory, age 30, who was arrested by the NKVD of Khmel'nik in December 1937 and never returned. I have not found my husband, but I have found his overcoat among the excavated clothing articles. I am not mistaken that the overcoat genuinely belonged to him, and I recognize a few repair spots on it.

When I inquired into the whereabouts of my husband at the NKVD in Vinnytsia in January 1938, the chief told me that I did not know the man, that my husband had been exiled to Siberia for twelve years, and that I should remarry. But I did not remarry and hoped that my husband would come back again. Now I am convinced that he was shot by the NKVD. I cannot say why my husband was arrested and who had denounced him to the NKVD. I never found out.

Read, approved, signed:
(signed) Korsyk

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Ziegler

Interpreter
(signed) v. Bahder

Vinnytsia
June 25, 1943

Appearing at the grave site: Tekla Ivanivna Ivaniuk, Ukrainian, collective farm worker, age 51, three children, residing in Glukhovtsy, Makhnovka Raion, Vinnytsia Oblast, who testifies as follows:

I learned of the body finds in Vinnytsia and came there today to inquire about my husband, Danylo Ivaniuk, farm laborer, age 48,⁵⁵ formerly residing in Glukhovtsy, who was arrested by the Makhnovka NKVD on February 27, 1937.

I have not found his body, but I have found his overcoat. I am not mistaken regarding this article of clothing. I am now convinced that my husband was killed by the NKVD.

The reason for his arrest was that he refused the demand of his village elder, Kyrylo Kuziuk, to join the Communist Party. I have not seen my husband since his arrest. When I inquired after my husband at the NKVD in Vinnytsia, I was told that he had been exiled to Siberia for ten years. On this occasion, I was advised to remarry.

The one who denounced my husband to the NKVD, a certain Arsenii Humaniuk, had fled. His brother, Pavlo, who was also present at the arrest, works in Makhnovka but lives in Glukhovtsy. I have told the whole truth.

Read, approved, signed:
(signed) Ivaniuk

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Ziegler

Interpreter:
(signed) v. Bahder

Vinnytsia
June 25, 1943

Appearing at the body finds: **Sofiiia Pavlivna Podhorodets'ka**, Pole, farm laborer, age 67, residing in Semki, Khmel'nik Raion, Vinnytsia Oblast, who testifies as follows:

I learned of the body finds and came here yesterday to look for my son, Al'bin Podhorodets'kyi, unskilled laborer, age 30,⁵⁶ who was taken from Khmel'nik by the Communist, Anton Marinkevich, and a militiaman whom I did not know, on Christmas 1937 and has not returned since.

Among the excavated clothing articles, I found my son's overcoat.⁵⁷ I know the coat exactly, and there is not doubt that it truly belonged to my son, because I recognize the patches and yarn where I had mended it. I brought the coat to my son at the prison in Khmel'nik, where he was an NKVD prisoner. I do not know why my son was arrested. I was not able to speak to him.

From 1932 to 1935, he was also a prisoner of the GPU. The reason for his arrest then was his Polish descent and his refusal, as the son of a kulak, to join the collective farm system.

The one who denounced my son, Marinkevich, today is still in the village but does not work. He was known as an NKVD stooge and activist.

Read, approved, signed:
(signed) Podhorodets'ka

Witness dismissed:
(signed) Ziegler

Interpreter:
(signed) v. Bahder

Notes

Code: * — Notes belonging to the manuscript itself

1. The date of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.
2. People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs — i.e. the Soviet internal security forces.
3. State Political Administration: the name of the Soviet internal security forces before they were named NKVD.
- *4. The passage primarily refers to K. Renner, "Zahne" (Teeth), in F.v. Neureiter, F. Pietrusky, and Ed. Schutt, eds., *Handwörterbuch der gerichtlichen Medizin und naturwissenschaftlichen Kriminalistik* (Berlin: Springer, 1940), pp. 940-952.
5. The passage refers to those who were a part of the alleged local German "Fifth Column" in Bydgoszcz that perished in the fight against the Polish Army on Sept. 3-4, 1939, just a few days after the start of Hitler's invasion of Poland. Some 20,000 Poles were killed by the Germans in reprisal during the following month. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (2 vols.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), II, p. 447. Nazi propagandists subsequently attempted to exploit this incident to justify the invasion.
- *6. J. Panning, "Bromberger Blutsonntag," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für die gesamte gerichtliche Medizin*, XXXIV (1940), 7.
- *7. See the detailed examination report by University Lecturer Dr. Camerer, Part I, Section B, 2.
- *8. The passage refers to a study by M. Orfile and O. Leseur, *Handbuch zum Gebrauche der gerichtlichen Ausgrabungen*, trans. from the French by E. Guntz (Leipzig: Barth, 1832-33).
- *9. *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn* (Berlin: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., F. Eher, Nachf., 1943), p. 51.
10. Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
11. German transliteration of the Cyrillic languages is rather imprecise. The present text is also inconsistent. The mason's name could also have been Maslov.
12. The German text incorrectly translates "Dorozhnyi Otdel" as "Hydraulic Engineering Department" and "TAGS" as "Road Construction Department."
13. Although the original Russian names for these departments is not provided here, the German text uses the same incorrect translation. See Note 12.
14. S.S.S.R. — "Smert' Stalina — Spasenie Rossii."
15. Unless otherwise indicated, all locations listed here are in Vinnytsia Oblast.
16. The most recent place name changes or shifts of administrative jurisdiction are shown in parentheses. Place names that could not be identified in reference works or on maps have been marked by cross (t).
17. At the time of his arrest, there was a Kupin in Kamenets-Podil'ska Oblast (renamed Khmel'nytska Oblasts) and in Khar'kiv Oblast.
18. At the time of his arrest, there was a Krekhiv Raion in L'viv Oblast and in Drohobych Oblast.
19. There is a Piliava in Tyvrov Raion, very close to the border of Vinnytsia Raion.
20. Once there was a Ksendzivka near Bratslav, Bratslav Raion. It used to border on Tul'chin Raion but was later incorporated into Nemiriv Raion.
21. According to the text, this place was located in Tul'chin Raion. In a number of instances, the authors appear to have confused Tul'chin Raion with Bratslav Raion. It was not possible to locate Chernyshivka in Tul'chin Raion in the earlier period.
22. *Ibid.*
23. The text refers to the community of Klebanivka (spelled with a "K") However, no reference work or map of the area suggests a town of that name. Yet, there was and still is a Plebanivka (spelled with "P") in Sharhorod Raion. The German document shows the correct spelling in entry #677, which supports the assumption that a spelling error occurred in a number of German recordings in reference to that place.

24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*

46. There was also a Tokarivka (renamed Pershotravensk) in Baranivka Raion.

47. At the time of his arrest, there was a Lesovaia Slobodka in Ianushpol' Raion (now in Berdychiv Raion) and also a Polevaia Slobodka (now in Chudniv Raion), both located in Zhytomyr Oblast.

48. *Ibid.*

49. An alternate transliteration is "Kosak."

50. According to the list of identified victims of the previous section (No. 18), Ol'khovs'kyi was 30 years old and arrested in December 1937. He should have been 26 years old at the time of his arrest.

51. According to the list of identified victims of the previous section (No. 180), Hodlevs'kyi was 56 years old.

52. Alternate transliteration: Savits'kyi.

53. According to the list of identified victims (No. 181), he was arrested on May 17, 1938.

54. According to the list of identified victims (No. 141), Miskevych resided in Bratslav at the time of his arrest.

55. According to the list of identified victims (No. 133), Ivaniuk was 45 years old.

56. According to the list of identified victims (No. 140), Podhorodets'kyj was 36 years old.

57. According to the list of identified victims (No. 140), it had not been his mother but his wife, Sofiia, who recognized his coat (not his overcoat).

ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Editor's note: The illustration numbers used in this appendix do not follow the same sequence as those listed in the original German documentation, for the reproductions from that source could only be used selectively. However, the arrangement of the maps still follows the general sequence in which the various exhumation sites are discussed in the source.

Sources used:

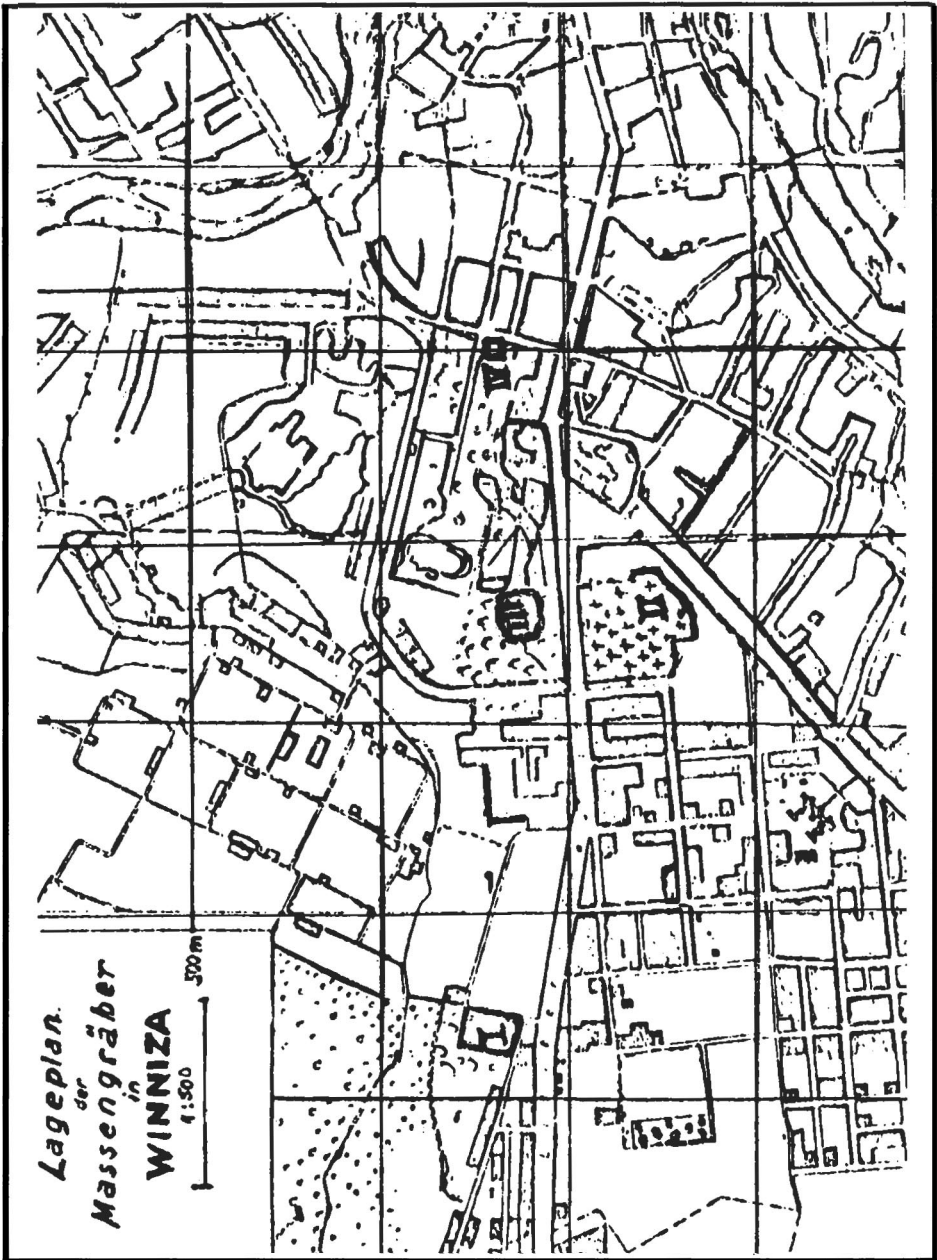
Illustrations #1-8; 10; 12-21: *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Winniza*. Berlin: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., 1944. (Illus. 1-5 were partially re-traced.)

Illustrations #9 and 11: U.S. Congressional Hearings. *The Crimes of Krushchev*, Part 2. September 9-11, 1959. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959, pp. 25 and 28.

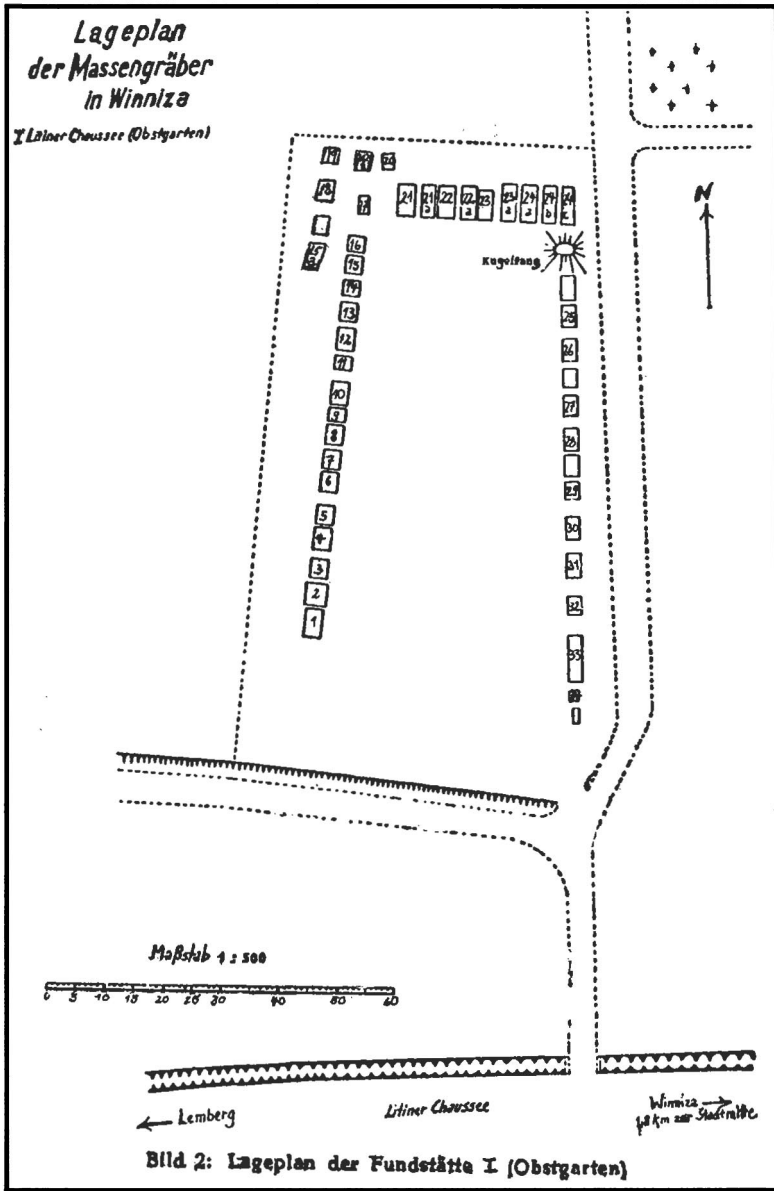
Illustration #22: *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*, Vol. 111, Book of Testimonies. Toronto, 1953, p. 425.

Illustration #23: UHA Archives.

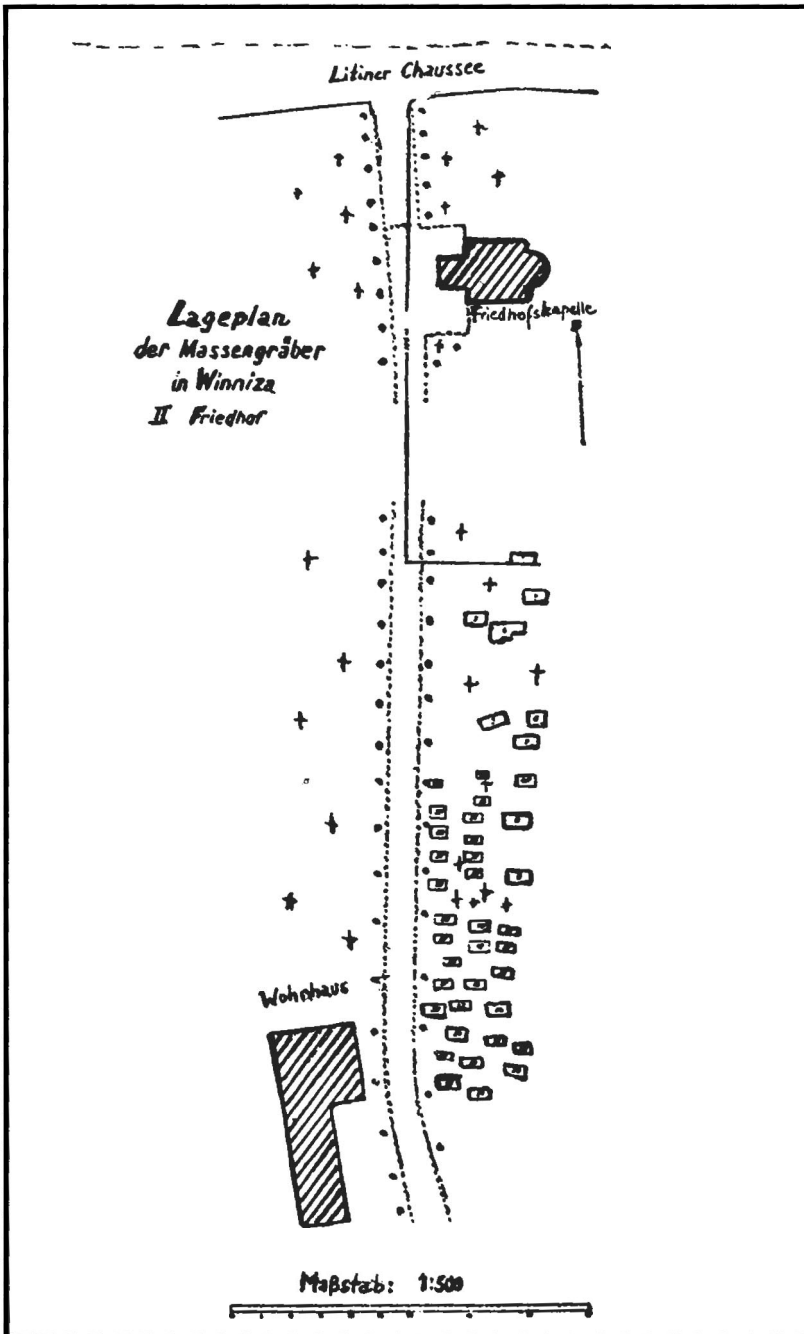
1. General Map of Vinnytsia
2. Site I: Location of Mass Graves in the Orchard
3. Site II: Map of Cemetery Containing Mass Graves
4. Site III: Map of Public Park
5. Site III: Layout of Mass Graves in the Public Park
6. Rope Used to Bind Victim's Hands
7. Members of the European Forensic Medicine Commission
8. Garage in the Courtyard of NKVD Building in Vinnytsia
9. Open Mass Graves in the Pear Orchard
10. Bodies Recovered from Mass Graves in Orchard
11. Search for Family Members among Exhumed Bodies
12. Bullets Used to Kill Victims
13. Clothing of Victims
14. Church Seals Found in Graves
15. Letter of Procuracy of the USSR in Moscow Regarding a Victim
16. Autopsy of an Exhumed Body
17. Mass Conducted at Grave Sites
18. Exhumed Bodies at the Public Park
19. Laundry Bag of Murdered Victims
20. Signatures of Members of the International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners
21. Signatures of the Commission of Representatives of the German University Professors Specializing in Forensic Medicine
22. Bishops Witnessing Opening of Mass Graves, 1943
23. One of the Funeral Scenes in Vinnytsia.



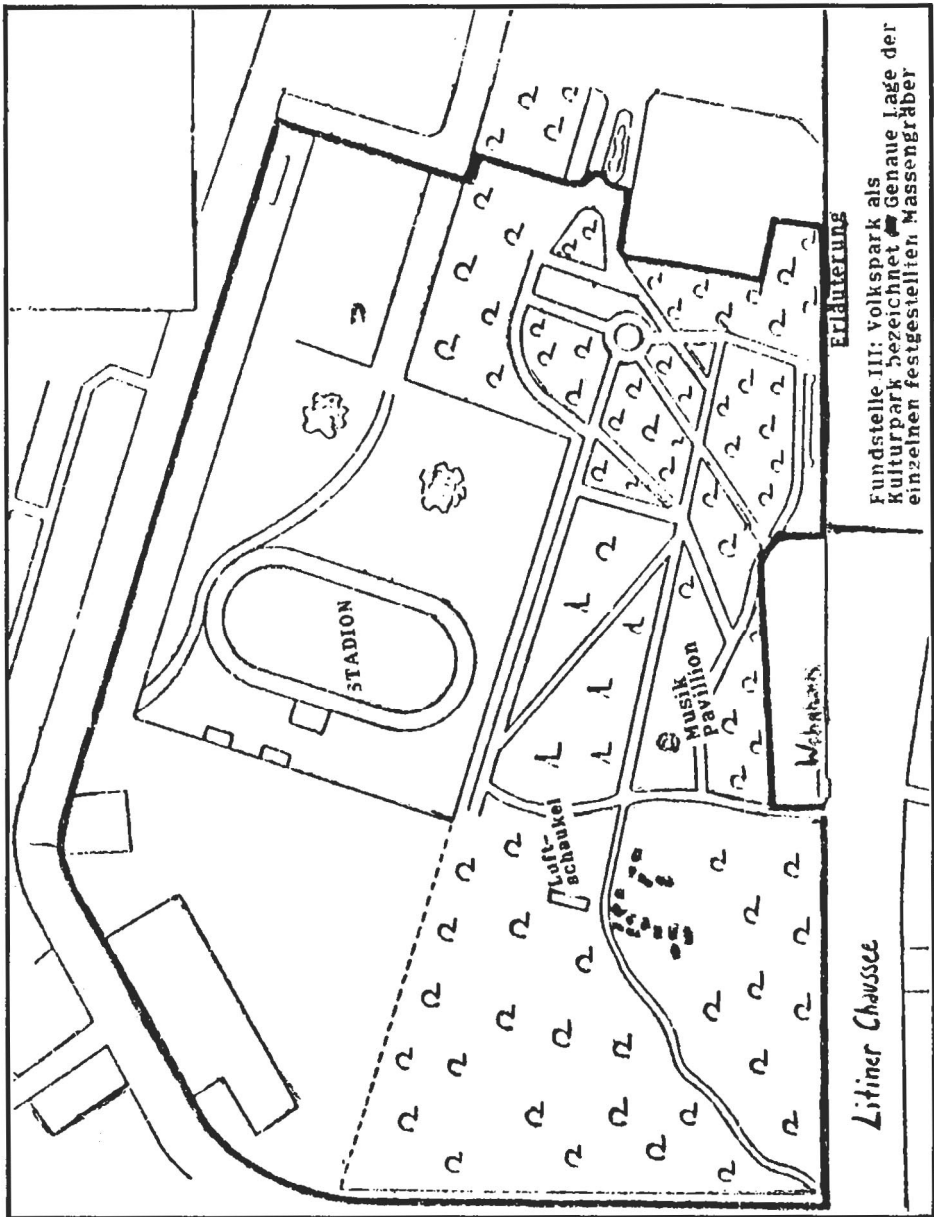
1. General map of Vinnitsia indicating the location of the sites in which the mass graves were found. Key: I — Orchard (near Lityn Highway); II — Cemetery; III — Public Park (Gorky Park); IV — NKVD Building and Prison.







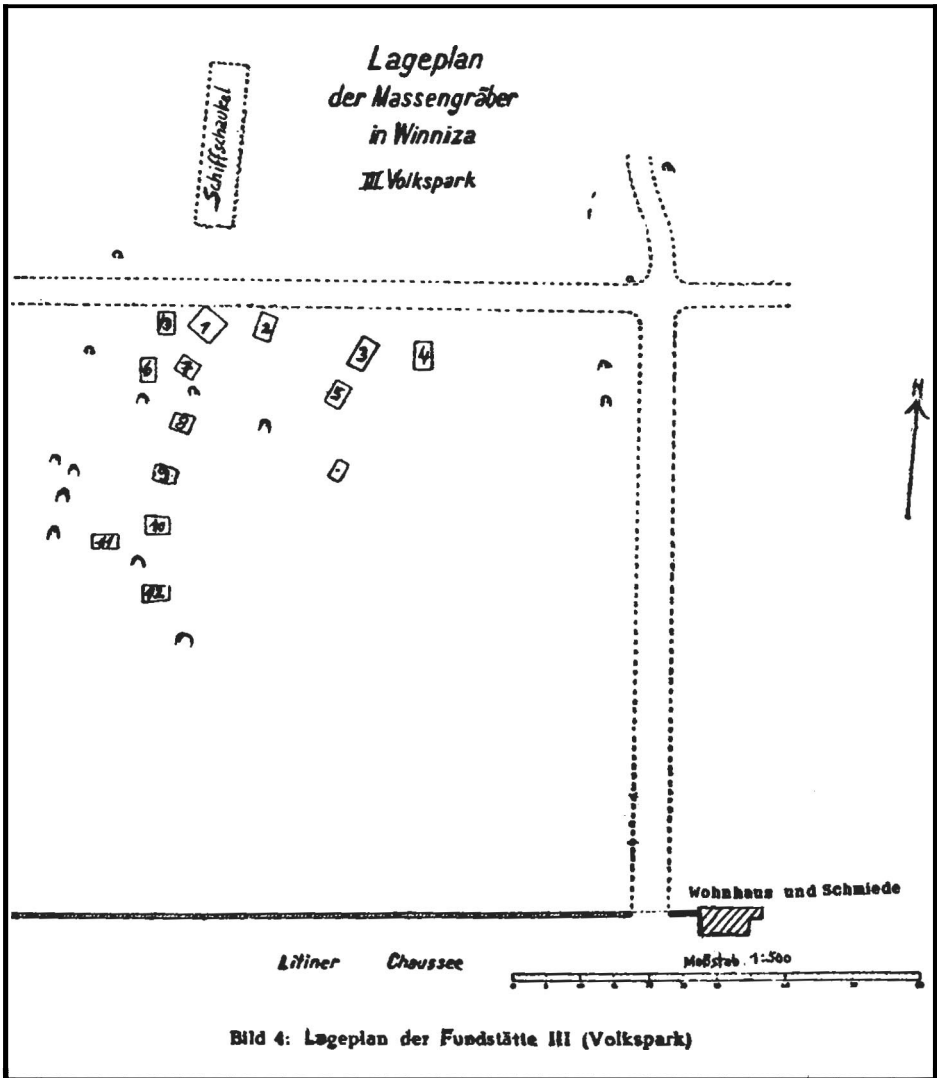
2. Site I — Location of mass graves containing victims in the Orchard. The rectangular shapes with numbers represent mass graves. (Pit No. 15a contained only documents, letters, and arrest warrants; Pit No. 18 contained only shoes; Pit No. 20 contained only clothes and underwear.) The rectangular shapes without numbers represent pits that had been partially excavated, yet in which neither bodies nor clothes were found. The symbol: ☀, labelled *Kugelfang* (target butt), consisted of a big pile of dirt (about 2 m in height). Scale: 1:500.



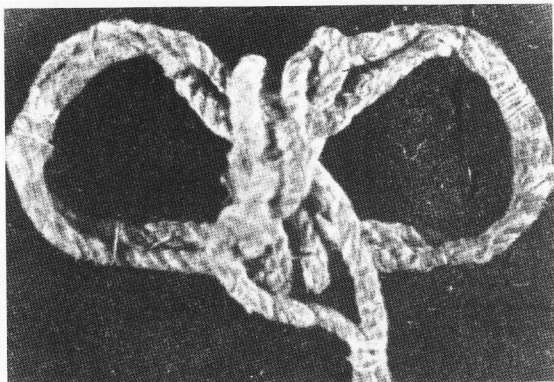
3. Site II — Map of cemetery containing mass graves. At lower left is an apartment house ("Wohnhaus") and at upper right there is a chapel ("Friedhofskapelle"). Scale 1:500.



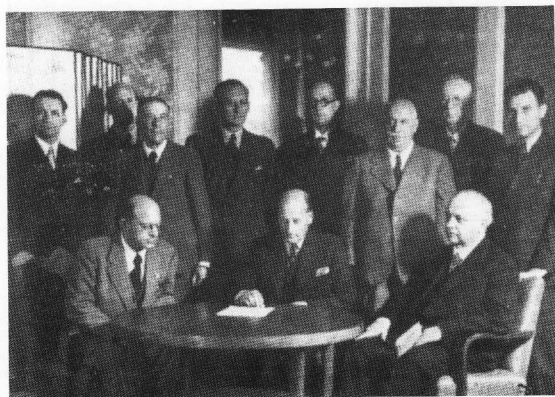
4. Site III — Map of the Public Park (also called Park of Culture and Rest or Gorky Park) where thirteen mass graves were found containing 1,383 corpses. Key:— location of the various identified mass graves;  ("Stadion") stadium;  ("Luftschaukel") swing set (left of center);  ("Musik Pavillion") music pavilion (lower center);  ("Wohnhaus") apartment house (bottom center); Lityn Highway ("Litiner Chaussee," bottom left).



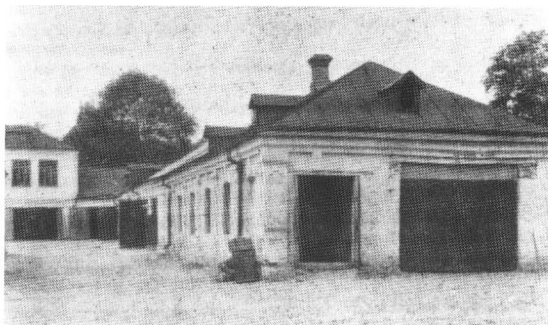
5. Site III — Layout of the individual mass graves at the Public Park. At the top right is the *Schiffschaukel* (swing-boat, another word used for *Luftschaukel* or swing set.) The apartment house *Wohnhaus* and force (*Schmiede*) is at the lower left and Lityn Highway (*Litiner Chaussee*) is at the bottom center. Scale 1:500.



6. Rope with which a victim's hands were bound behind his back prior to the execution.



7. Members of the European Forensic Medicine Commission.



8. Garage in the courtyard of the NKVD office building in Vinnytsia. While the motors of stand-by trucks were running, the prisoners were shot with small-caliber bullets and then taken away to the burial sites.



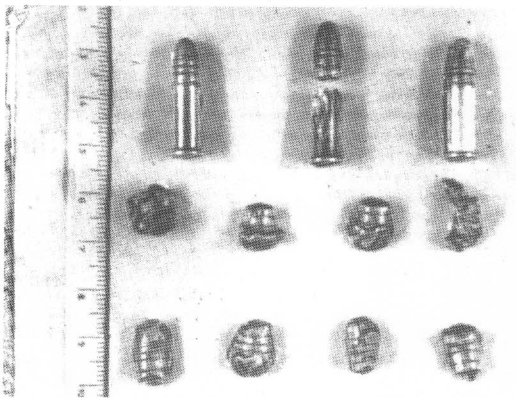
9. The Pear Orchard. Rows of open mass graves on the left side of the grounds (seen from the entrance).



10. Ukrainian workers engaged in the recovery of bodies of a mass grave in the Pear Orchard.



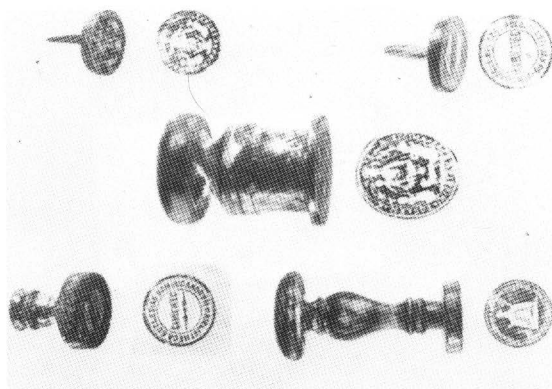
11. Ukrainian men and women searching among the exhumed bodies for family members who had been arrested by the NKVD and vanished without a trace.



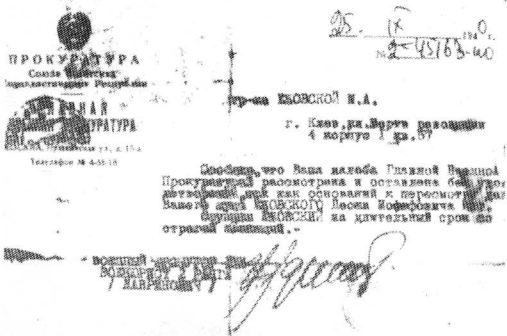
12. A few of the unjacketed small-caliber bullets found in the graves, as well as some deformed projectiles of the same caliber found in the skulls of victims. (Scale above: centimeters and millimeters)



13. Clothing of the exhumed victims exhibited for the sake of identification.



14. Five church stamps (seals) found in the mass graves in the vicinity of some clergymen who had been killed.



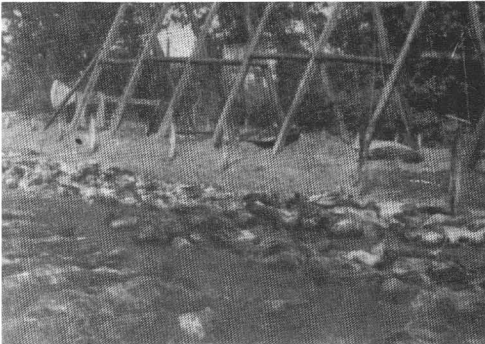
15. Letter of Procuracy of the USSR in Moscow in response to the petition submitted by the wife of the Ukrainian worker Leon Iezhov's'kyi of Turbov. Iezhov's'kyi had been arrested on October 4, 1937 by the NKVD without an indication of a reason. His wife recognized her murdered husband on the basis of his overcoat.



16. The Russian professor Dr. Malinin from Krasnodar and the Ukrainian university lecturer Dr. Doroshenko of Vinnytsia perform an autopsy on a body. The two physicians conducted inquests on the first 228 bodies at the onset of the exhumations.



17. Bishops and Ukrainian priests conduct a mass at the new grave sites. A commission of foreign church dignitaries from Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Sweden was also present.



18. Exhumed bodies at the Public Park all of which indicated the same findings of shots in the back of the neck or head, comminuted skull fractures, and hands tied behind the backs.



19. Laundry bag of the murdered Ukrainian employee Afinothen Zablots'kyi of Murafa, Shahorod Raion, recognized by his son. Zablots'kyi had been arrested by the NKVD in September 1937 without a stated charge.

[Signature]
(Dr. Soenen)

[Signature]
Dr. Michailov

[Signature]
(Dr. Pesonen)

[Signature]
(Dr. Duvoir)

[Signature]
(Dr. Cazzaniga)

[Signature]
(Dr. Jurak)

[Signature]
(Dr. ter Poorten)

[Signature]
(Dr. Birkle)

[Signature]
(Dr. Häggqvist)

[Signature]
(Dr. Krsek)

[Signature]
(Dr. Orsós)

20. Signatures of the members of the International Commission of Foreign Medical Examiners.

Schrader

(Dr. Schrader)

Förster

(Dr. Förster)

Hallermann

(Dr. Hallermann)

Heuser

(Dr. Heuser)

Jungmichel

(Dr. Jungmichel)

Neureiter

(Dr. von Neureiter)

Panning

(Dr. Panning)

Raestrup

(Dr. Raestrup)

Schneider

(Dr. Schneider)

Timm

(Dr. Timm)

Walcher

(Dr. Walcher)

Weyrich

(Dr. Weyrich)

Wiethold

(Dr. Wiethold)

Wagner

(Dr. Wagner)

21. Signatures of the Commission of Representatives of German University Professors specializing in forensic medicine.



22. Bishop Yevlohiy and Archbishop Hryhoriy witnessing the opening of the mass graves in Vinnytsia in 1943.



23. One of the funeral scenes at the new grave sites in Vinnytsia.

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EDITOR'S FINAL NOTE

In June and July of this year, another long-standing taboo was partially removed in connection with the mass graves in Vinnytsia. Two Kiev based and Party controlled dailies, *Silski Visty* (June 4, 1989) a newspaper primarily directed toward the rural population of Ukraine, and *Radianska Ukraina* (July 1, 1989), an organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, brought their revelations about the mass executions in Vinnytsia during the late thirties. Upon interviewing three representatives of the Vinnytsia KGB Office and going through their archives, the respective correspondents came up with the same conclusion that almost 10,000 victims reburied in the summer of 1943 under the Nazi occupation had not been killed by the Fascists but by the NKVD, of which the KGB is one of the successors. While both correspondents admitted that they wrote on the basis of some incomplete findings, the selected evidence printed verifies many previous findings included in this anthology, *The Tragedy of Vinnytsia*.

A disturbing reality which emerges from these articles concerns the disclosure that the Soviet authorities have continued to disinform the people on the mass murder in Vinnytsia, even now when Stalinism has been officially condemned. Both articles admit that the local government of Vinnytsia is not very motivated to pursue the mystery of Vinnytsia's mass graves. Even though a commission was created to inquire into this case, it had at its disposal only some completely inadequate resources to pursue this task.

On the whole, it appears that the Communist Party of Ukraine tries to be flexible. In principle, it stands for a rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism, but it took them four years since the initiation of "glasnost" before it began to utter a word on this case. It favors a speedy investigation of the unlawful executions and concealed burials, but so far, it did nothing to establish the whereabouts of the remnants of the victims and to shed some light on the role which the Party played in these tragic events.

Undoubtedly, the missing links of the Vinnytsia case are likely to emerge if "glasnost" continues, but to an increasing degree this is more likely to happen as a result of pressures from the grass roots of society than by an initiative of the establishment.

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Indexer's Note

The index is composed of personal names as they appear in all sections of this book, with the exception of the list of victims in Part Four, "Criminal Investigation Report." Names with variant transliterations are indexed under the form most commonly used, with other forms listed and cross references provided (e.g. Sybirsky is the main entry, cross referenced from Sibirsky and Sibirski). Titles (Mr., Dr.) are used to distinguish between names when first names are now known. A small case *n* after an arabic or roman number denotes a personal name used in a reference note, for example "175*n*."

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<i>Page</i>	<i>Printed</i>	<i>Should read</i>
xvii, line 7	2)...(s.f.) - antisemetic	2)...(a.s.) - antisemetic
xvii, line 8	3)...(s.f.) - factual errors	Delete entire line
36, line 27	pp. v-vi	pp. xvii-xviii
81, line 5	<i>OfficerWorkers</i>	<i>office Workers</i>
91, line 15	consult pp. i-v	consult pp. xv-xviii
91, line 22	in the "Appendix"	in the "Illustrations"
243, line 3	force (<i>Schmiede</i>)	forge (<i>Schmiede</i>)
261, line 7	now known	not known

"The time has finally come when everyone should also know about the terrible tragedy which happened in Vinnytsia. For too long it has been official Soviet policy to keep the truth about the mass graves in Vinnytsia buried under denials and fabrications. In keeping with the spirit of the new openness, the brutal truth about Vinnytsia must finally be unearthed."

— *Lubomyr R. Wynar*

(from the *Preface*)

About the Editor

Ihor Kamenetsky is Professor of Comparative Government and International Relations at Central Michigan University, where he has taught since 1957. His areas of specialization include Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. as well as International Development.

Among his major publications are *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956); *Secret Nazi Plans for Eastern Europe* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962); *Nationalism and Human Rights: Processes of Modernization in the U.S.S.R.* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1978)

