

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE FIRST PRINTING OF
 Anna M. Cienciala, et al eds., *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment*
 (Yale University Press: New Haven, CT; London, 2007)

These corrections have been made in the second printing (2009), unless indicated otherwise.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Add/ Replace</i>	<i>Content/ Location</i>	<i>Corrections/Additions appear in bold type</i>
xi	Replace	Text 2nd full paragraph	For technical reasons, only one of these--the composite photograph of some Polish officers shot at from Starobelsk --was selected for inclusion in this volume.
xvii	Add	Text continued paragraph	Politics and lack of funding on the Russian side resulted in the publication of only one additional Russian volume, edited by the same chief editors who worked on the first Polish and Russian volumes and the later Polish volumes;
7	Add	Text continued paragraph	He became head of state as well as commander in chief of the Polish armed forces and cleared Warsaw of German troops on November 11, which later became Polish Independence Day.
29	Add	Text 2nd full paragraph	There were 200 airmen in the camp, including a woman pilot, Janina Lewandowska, who was taken prisoner in eastern Poland in September 1939 and seems to have been the only female prisoner of war in the three special camps.
35	Add	Text continued paragraph	They also sang patriotic songs, some of whose verses have survived.
65	Replace	Text	c) participants in fascist military and nationalistic organizations of former Poland (POV [P.O.W.--Polish Military Organization], PPS [Polish Socialist Party], Osadniki [Polish Military Settlers], Streltsy [Strzelec -Riflemen's Association], Legion Mladykh [Legion ...
101	Add	Text Doc 35	You may dispatch the officers [in] a <i>vagonzak</i> [prisoner railway car], which you are to request [from] the Kiev brigade of convoy troops.
105	Add	Title Marker	<u>Conclusion of Indictment</u> <u>In Investigation Case no. 649</u> <u>Indicting Olejnik, Stefan, son of Stefan</u>
110	Replace	Text Doc 41	3. I request your permission to draw up cases against the officers of KOP, workers in law courts and prosecutors' offices, landowners, activists in the POV [P.O.W.] and Strzelsy [Strzelec] parties, ²⁶⁸ officers of the 2nd Department of the former Polish General Staff, ²⁶⁹ [and] information officers (about 400 men) for examination by the OSO.
119	Replace	Text Footnote	* The phrase in italics was underlined by hand. Parts I-III of Beria's memorandum were used in Protocol no. 13 of the Politburo of the Central Committee as formulated in points I-III, which were evidently drawn up by Stalin's secretary;...

after page 120	Replace	Text Caption	French Vichy officers accompanied by a German officer at Katyn, spring 1943. The man second from the right, in the braided cap of an air force general, is Count Fernand de Brinon (1892-1947), then French ambassador to Berlin, who was visiting French volunteers fighting alongside the Germans in Russia.
after page 120	Replace	Text Caption	Soldiers from a company of the 4th Guards, Kantemirov Tank Division , Soviet Army, assigned to exhume the remains of Ostashkov prisoners from a burial pit at Mednoe, summer 1991.
134	Replace	Text continued paragraph	...ward Koze Gory in early March 1940 ; they carried prisoners with picks and spades, and local people said they were going to dig pits.
147	Replace	Text 2nd full paragraph	These qualifications were more than enough to have them shot, just as over one million Soviet citizens were shot between the late 1920s, when Stalin achieved total power in the USSR, and March 1953, when he died.
154	Replace	Text Introduction to Doc 53	Beria's Order no. 00350 did not refer to the Politburo decision of 5 March 1940 (doc. 47) or to Beria's personal supervision of its implementation--Merkulov, Maslennikov, and Chernyshov were ordered to report to him on its course--but it clearly concerned Polish POWs as well as all other Poles held in NKVD prisons in the western regions of the Soviet Belorussian and Ukrainian Republics.
186	Add	Text Introduction to Doc 72	They were buried secretly about 20 kilometers from Kalinin, near the village of Mednoe, where NKVD officers had their country cottages. It is possible, however, that some were shot at the edge of the burial pits (see introduction to Part II, Ostashkov).
219	Replace	Text 2nd full paragraph	There is an eyewitness account of how the Soviet note was presented to Romer. The Polish embassy counselor , Aleksander Mniszek, who accompanied him that day, recorded that Molotov's Secretariat had telephoned Romer at his Moscow hotel on 25 April at 11:30 p.m. to say that Molotov wished to see him, giving him the choice of midnight or a quarter-hour after midnight.
239	Add	Text 1st full paragraph	On 13 April 2003, the sixtieth anniversary of the German announcement on the Katyn graves, the documents collected by the Madden Committee were delivered to the Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa [Council for the Protection of the Memory of Combat and Martyrdom] by Allen Paul, the author of a valuable work about the families of three officers, victims of the massacres of spring 1940 . ⁹¹
245	Replace	Text 1st full paragraph	The cross was taken down by the authorities, as was the cross put up there in December 1981, but the Katyn Committee persisted in organizing ceremonies and speeches on key anniversaries: the German

			announcement of the Katyn massacre on 13 April 1943, the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland on 17 September 1939, and the prewar Independence Day, 11 November.
252	Move Footnote 119	End of 1st paragraph	The day after her return, however, the whole situation changed. ¹¹⁹
257	Replace	Title	The Katyn Question in Polish- Russian Relations since 1992
257	Replace	Text 1st full paragraph	The publication of the infamous Politburo decision of 5 March 1940 and the handing over of many other Russian documents were great steps toward dealing with the truth about Polish prisoners of war who fell into Soviet hands during World War II.
259	Replace	Text 1st full paragraph	Meanwhile, the Soviet--later Russian--Katyn investigation, begun by the Soviet Military Prosecutor's Office in 1990, dragged on for years. In September 2004 this office unofficially made it known that it had discontinued the investigation and that no one would be charged with the crime. Finally, on 11 March 2005, the head of the office, Aleksandr Savenkov, announced that the investigation was closed and no one would be condemned because all the accused were dead. He qualified Katyn as a "common murder" subject to the statute of limitations. This statement caused outrage in Poland. In January 2006 the senior Russian military prosecutor rejected a request for rehabilitation on political grounds , submitted years ago by the widow of an officer shot at Katyn, because documentation indicating the relevant paragraph of the Soviet Criminal Code had been destroyed. Thus he ignored the published Politburo decision of 5 March 1940, citing political reasons, and confirmed that the prisoner-of-war files had been destroyed in 1959 so they could not be produced as documents for rehabilitation.
263	Replace	Text continued paragraph	According to Polish estimates, about 113,000 Soviet prisoners of war were held in the Polish camps in fall 1920, and the deaths of several thousands of them cannot be treated as the equivalent of the Katyn massacres of 1940.
281	Move Footnote 181	Document Title	Polish-Soviet Agreement on Reestablishing Diplomatic Relations and Forming a Polish Army in the USSR 30 July 1941, London ¹⁸¹
281	Move Footnote 182	Document 2nd full paragraph	I. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes that the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 relative to territorial changes in Poland have lost their validity. ¹⁸²
322	Replace	Text 3rd full paragraph	Comparing the condition of the corpses in the graves on the territory of Kozy Gory with the condition of corpses in other places of burial in the city of Smolensk

			and its closest environs--in Gedeonovka, Magalenshchina, Riadovka , camp no. 126, Krasny Bor, etc
339	Replace	Footnote	* Text in margin: "To be returned within seven days to the CC CPSU (General Department, 1st Sector)."
344	Add	1st full paragraph	(Distributed to:) Coms. Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Kriuchkov, Boldin. Please communicate your opinion. M. Gorbachev
372	Add	Text Doc 105a	Polish text in Kazimierz Skarżyński, <i>Katyń</i> (2nd edition, Paris, 1990), pp. 11-19, translated by A. M. Cienciala; partial text, KDZA/84.
372	Add	Text Doc 105b	For this report, edited by Kazimierz Skarżyński, see his <i>Katyń</i> , pp. 39-48; the excerpts here-- beginning with April --were translated into English by A. M. Cienciala; <i>KD2/199</i> , Russian translation of the report published by Czesław Madajczyk, <i>Dramat Katyński</i> (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 150-159. This Polish text was first published in the weekly <i>Odrodzenie</i> [Rebirth], no. 7 (Warsaw, 1989); <i>KDZ4/34.</i>
372	Add	Text Doc 108	GARF, f. 7445, op. 2, d. 391, ll. 50-51, original; <i>KD2/223</i> ; KDZA/83.
373	Add	Text Doc 111	APRF, f. 3, op. 78, d. 1617. ll. 100-102, copy on Central Committee letterhead paper; <i>KD2/230</i> ; KDZA/99 ; the English version given here (with slight stylistic modifications by A. M. Cienciala) is from Materski, <i>KDG</i> , nos. 13, 14.
374	Add	Text Doc 115	The English translation given here (slightly modified by A. M. Cienciala) from Materski, <i>KDG</i> , no. 21; see also <i>KDZ4/116 (with facsimile).</i>
374	Add	Text Doc 116	APRF, f. 3, op. 113, d. 260, ll. 187-190, original; <i>KD2/234</i> ; <i>KDZ4/118 (facsimile of p. 1).</i>
374	Add	Text Doc 117	<i>KD2/235</i> , after <i>Izvestia</i> , no. 104, Moscow, 13 April 1990; KDZA/121, 123.
398	Replace	Text Lewandowska	Held in Ostashkov camp, then Kozelsk; executed at Katyn, 1940.
403	Add	Text Ponomarenko	After the fall of his patron, Malenkov, he was given several diplomatic assignments, 1956-1964.
419	Replace	Text Streltsy	[Polish: Strzelec --Związek Strzelecki--Riflemen's Association].
458	Replace	Text Note 96	Zygmunt Berling, <i>Wspomnienia</i> [Memoirs], vol. I: <i>Z Łagrów do Andersa</i> [From the Camps to Anders] (Warsaw, 1990), pp. 41-45.
459	Replace	Text Note 109	The new Soviet government's Declaration of the Rights of the Nations of Russia of 2 November (old Russian dating style; new style November 15) 1917 recognized the right of all nations conquered by tsarist Russia to self-determination and independence.
463	Replace	Text Note 149.	See docs. 29, 31, 33, 34.
464-465	Add	Text Note 165	According to Professor Wojciech Materski, a German-Soviet training center for security forces was

			established in Zakopane, Poland, in December 1939, see KDZ1/p. 18 , but no documents on this cooperation have been found to date, see Part II, p. 143 .
466	Add	Text Note 182	The protocol is also mentioned in the footnote; see KD1/52, p. 144; KDZ1/52, p. 163 .
468	Add	Text Note 204	For Swianiewicz's comments on Zarubin, see the introduction to Part I, p. 36 and note 98 .
469	Add	Text Note 216	This was Prince Jan Lubormirski (b. 1913), 2nd Lieutenant Infantry Reserve; he survived; see KD2/30; KDZ2/71, n. 2 .
470	Add	Text Note 230	On the likely reason for this permission, see the discussion about Litauer in the introduction to Part II, pp. 145-146 .
471	Replace	Text Note 235	In reality, much of the work was done by GULAG prisoners, as was the case with all major construction projects.
471	Add	Text Note 242	The 3,878 officers were taken prisoner in Lwów in September 1939; see doc. 21 and Appendix Table 2D .
471	Replace	Text Note 245	Compare this figure with the figures for the officer contingent in doc. 28.
471	Replace	Text Note 246	They were to help organize evidence gathering and ensure that a high level of information was obtained from the prisoners' questionnaire, KD1/151 and no. 1; KDZ1/151 and n. 1. There was no mention of preparing cases against the officer prisoners.
473	Add	Text Note 258	The goal may have been to encourage Sikorski to recognize the Soviet annexation of the former eastern Poland in exchange for releasing the Polish POWs (see discussion at end of introduction to Part II, 145-146).
473	Replace	Text Note 267	The P.O.W. and Strzelec were not political parties but associations; see Glossary.
475	Add	Text Note 288	Stalin probably knew at this time that the Finnish government was ready for peace negotiations; see the introduction to Part II, p. 144 .
484	Add	Text Note 60	The documentation on Troika decisions is unavailable to this day, but death sentences might have been approved in a wholesale manner on the basis of Article 58, Paragraph 13, of the Soviet Criminal Code, as in the case of policeman Olejnik (doc. 38). For other charges, see Part III, p. 207 .
485	Replace	Text Note 62	KD2/11; KDZ2/24 ; Natalia S. Lebedeva and Wojciech Materski et al., ed.,
487	Add	Text Note 84	Her remains were not found in the Katyn exhumations of April-June 1943.
488	Add	Text Note 104.	Petitions of this kind were generally rejected (see doc. 23), but these were granted, for they were on the death lists from Starobelsk...
490	Replace	Text Note 119	This is more than the total cited in another report, probably filed earlier, which gave the number of cases

			completed as 14,846 and another document, giving 14,904;
491	Add	Text Note 128	Krzyżanowski (preceding paragraph) may be Edmund, not Edward; see <i>KDZ2/196</i> , notes; <i>KD2/81</i>, notes.
492	Delete	Text Note 148	Delete first sentence of note.
495	Delete	Text Note 14	Delete last sentence of note (move to note 15).
495	Add	Text Note 15	On the Litauer report of November 1939, see pp. 145-146 above.
495	Replace	Text Note 17	Sikorski planned to pay another visit to Moscow to talk with Stalin, but died in a plane crash off Gibraltar on 4 July 1943.
498	Add	Text Note 37	See <i>KDZA/10</i>. For the cipher telegram from...
501	Add	Text Note 65	...and <i>Nuremberg War Crimes Trial Online</i> (Aristarchus Knowledge Industries, Seattle, WA); <i>KDZA/85</i>.
501	Replace	Text Note 68	On this work, see Part II, note 5; also Zawodny, <i>Death in the Forest</i>, p. xiv.
504	Replace	Text Note 91	Allen Paul, <i>Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Seeds of Polish Resurrection</i> (Annapolis, Md., 1996).
506	Add	Text Note 113	...see the Russian text in Yasnova, <i>Katynskaia Drama</i> , pp. 179-201; see also note 346 below.
508	Replace	Text Note 127	A. M. Cienciala would like to thank Professor Materski for making a copy of the letter available to her, and Dr. Daria Nałęcz, former director, Head Office of State Archives in Poland, for permission to cite it.
508	Replace	Text Note 128	Celestine Bohlen, "Russian Files Show Stalin Ordered Massacre of 20,000 Poles in 1940," <i>New York Times</i> , 15 October 1992 , pp. A 5-6.
509	Replace/ Add	Text Note 132	For the statement by Aleksandr Savenkov, 11 March 2005, on closing the Katyn investigation, see <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> , 11 March 2005; <i>KDZA/p. 33</i> . For comments on the Russian senior prosecutor's statement of 18 January 2006 , see <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> , 3 March 2006; <i>Nowy Dziennik</i> , 4-5 March 2006.
509	Add	Text Note 133	For the report of the Russian Commission of Experts, 2 August 1993, see <i>Katynskii Sindrom</i> , pp. 446-494 (Russian text); Jazborowska, Jabłokow, and Zoria, <i>Katyń: Zbrodnia Chroniona</i> , pp. 358-422 (Polish text); also <i>KDZA/135</i>.
511	Replace	Text Note 143	See doc. 84.
513	Replace	Text Note 165	The number 18,297 is probably an accounting error; the correct number was higher. Some of these men had been interned in Lithuania and Latvia (see note 166 below). On 12 October 1940, Soprunenko reported a total of 24,804 Polish military POWs, of whom 19,098 were rank-and-file troops--see <i>KDZ3/57</i> --so the total

			given by Beria on 2 November was 6,507 less than Soprunenko's figure.
513	Add	Text Note 174	For General Ludvik Svoboda, Czechoslovak president, 1968-1975 , see note 172.
514	Add	Text Note 181	This was signed due to Sikorski's compromise formula between the original Polish demand for Soviet recognition of the prewar Polish-Soviet frontier and the Soviet stand on an "ethnic Poland" -- that is, recognition of the Soviet annexation of the former eastern Poland.
514	Add	Text Note 182	This was also an oblique reference to the British note to the Polish government of 30 July 1941, with an assurance of the nonrecognition of territorial changes in Poland since August 1939.
516	Replace	Text Note 198	These were the prisoners from the three special camps murdered by the NKVD in spring 1940. According to Beria's resolution to shoot them, approved by the Politburo on 5 March 1940, they totaled 14,736 (doc. 47), but according to Aleksandr Shelepin's note to Khrushchev of 3 March 1959, they totaled 14,552 (doc. 110). The UPV report of 3 December 1941, part 5, gives the lowest number of victims. The number generally accepted by historians is 14,552.
516	Add/ Replace	Text Note 201	The printed version gives 1,834; <i>KD2/175</i> , p. 425, n. a; "illegible" in <i>KDZ2/217</i> , p. 495 .
518	Add	Text Note 217	...see also the book by the head of civilian resistance and the last government delegate in Poland, Stefan Korboński: <i>The Polish Underground State: A Guide to the Underground, 1939-1945</i> , trans. Marta Erdman (New York, 1978).
518	Replace	Text Note 218	Poles were deported to forced labor in Germany. Poles had worked in Westphalia and the Ruhr since the second half of the nineteenth century. A doctor in the resistance in German Poland produced typhoid bacteria, but it is not known whether this led to any epidemic outbreaks in Germany.
518	Replace	Text Note 223	The other areas of concentration were in nearby Tatishchev and Totskoe.
521	Replace	Text Note 253	Most of the Kozelsk officers were transported in prison railway cars through Smolensk to Gnezdovo between early April and mid-May 1940, but some may have been shot in Smolensk.
522	Replace	Text Note 261	The German occupation of Poland was much more brutal than that of western Europe .
523	Add	Text Note 264	Excerpts from the report by Skarżyński on his visit to Katyn, written in June 1943 and sent to the Polish government-in-exile, London, as well as the report of the PRC Technical Commission, written in June 1943, appeared in Polish émigré publications from 1948 onward, in the Polish underground press in 1988, and officially in the paper <i>Odrodzenie</i> [Rebirth], no. 7, 18

			February 1989 (KDZ4/34); excerpts of the PRC report appear in Russian translation in <i>KD2/199</i> .
523	Add	Text Note 272	The road runs between Vitebsk and Smolensk (see Maps and Aerial Photographs, map 5, pp. 430-431).
524	Add	Text Note 279	...For the IRC communiqué of 23 April 1943 on the Polish and German requests for an investigation and its replies, see <i>DPSR</i> , vol. I, no. 311 (in French); also KDZ4/10 .
524	Add	Text Note 281	The names of the six officers in this delegation are listed in Skarżyński, <i>Katyń</i> , pp. 39-40; see also Madajczyk, <i>Dramat Katyński</i> , p. 150; <i>KD2/199</i> (names, p. 480); KDZ4/34 .
525	Replace	Text Note 285	The list of corpse numbers is not reproduced in any sources . The PRC Technical Commission reported that its members were present when lists of items were made for numbers 03901 to 04243, but Germans took some items away and the PRC commissioners did not know if they were returned. The identification of corpse numbers 1 to 112 and 01 to 0420 was made by the Germans before the arrival of the PRC Commission; see Skarżyński, <i>Katyń</i> , p. 44; <i>Hearings</i> , part 3, p. 408 (English text). After the liberation of Smolensk by the Red Army, most of the bodies were removed by the NKVD in the period September 1943-January 1944, prior to the arrival of the Burdenko Commission (see the introduction to Part III). The PRC cemetery plan of 1943 is not reproduced in the Skarżyński book, but is included in the Wodziński report. However, even the written description differs greatly from a view of the cemetery as it existed in 1998 (KDZ2, third unnumbered sketch map after p. 515).
526	Replace	Text Note 298	...For a photograph of Dr. Orsos, see the photo gallery after page 120 .
529	Replace	Text Note 329	...Of the 7,305 Poles shot in the western USSR in spring 1940, those shot in Ukraine numbered 3,435, of whom 2,000 have been identified; see Gajowniczek, <i>Ukraiński Ślad Katynia</i> . (Those shot in Belarus are assumed to total 3,865 of the 7,305 shot in the western USSR). The total as verified by Polish scholars is 21,763, slightly lower than the Shelepin total, although the latter is generally accepted. There is no documentation so far on those shot in what is today western Belarus.
529	Add	Text Note 330	...See Biographical Sketches, A. S. Kuznetsov .
529	Add	Source Note 333	...On the destruction of all the documents, see <i>KD2/227</i> , n. 2; for Wojcieck Materski on the possible survival of the Troika protocols, see <i>KDZ2/Aneks I/11</i> , n. 2; KDZ4/93 .

530	Delete	Text Note 344	The PRC report of June 1943 (doc. 105b) was published in the Polish periodical <i>Odrodzenie</i> [Rebirth] on 16 February 1989 and in the highly respected weekly <i>Polityka</i> two days later.
530	Add	Source Note 346	...For the Polish historians' critique of the Burdenko Commission report and an account of their work on the joint commission, see Maciszewski, <i>Zbrodnia Katyńska</i> and KDZ4/104 ; Yasnova, <i>Katynskaia Drama</i> , pp. 179-201 (Russian trans.).
533	Replace/ Add	Text Note 381	Gorbachev might have had in mind Soviet counterclaims to possible Polish claims for compensation. Materski believes that his instruction encouraged Russian historians to find Polish "crimes" to balance Katyn. Whatever the case may be, a series of articles and a book were published in 1994 claiming that tens of thousands in the Soviet military, taken prisoner in 1920, had suffered a "Polish Katyn." Despite Polish rebuttals, this charge has continued to be made occasionally in Soviet media, including other publications, ever since; see KDZ4/126, n. 2.
533	Add	Text Note 388	Yeltsin paid a state visit to Poland in August 1993. At this time, he laid a wreath at the Katyn monument in the military sector of Old Powązki Cemetery, Warsaw, and asked for forgiveness.
534	Add	Source Note 534	...see also Jaźborowska, Jabłokow, and Zoria, <i>Katyń: Zbrodnia Chroniona</i> , chaps. 4, 5, and Aneks, pp. 358-422; also KDZ4/135.
536	Replace	Text Note 411	The Polish war cemeteries at Narvik, Norway, and Tobruk, North Africa, hold the bodies of Polish military personnel who died in those battles.
xii	Proposed Addendum to Preface	Text	I wish to express my regret that I could not add to the preface my high regard for the outstanding monograph by Professor George Sanford, Bristol University, England, titled: <i>Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, Justice and Memory</i> (Routledge: London and New York, 2005). Sanford's work is based on the same documents and thus complements the book I coedited with Natalia S. Lebedeva and Wojciech Materski. It is a worthy successor to Janusz Zawodny's pioneer study, <i>Death in the Forest: The Story of the Katyn Forest Massacre</i> (Notre Dame, IN, 1962).