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## **THE ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS ON THE TERRITORY OF IZMAIL REGION IN 1944-1953**

*- Abstract -*

Based on the materials of archival and investigative cases, as well as a wide range of little-known or not involved in scientific circulation documents, the article reveals some aspects of the mechanism of political repressions in 1944-1953 in the Izmail region. The functioning of repressive state apparatus in the war and the first postwar years, the activity of the Soviet state security bodies on the organization and carrying out of reconnaissance-sabotage and counterintelligence work in the territory of the Izmail region in 1945-1953 were analyzed.

The development of the legal status, organizational structure and activities of the Soviet military counterintelligence bodies in the postwar period has been studied. It is established that during this period there were significant changes in their structure, powers and departmental subordination. The main powers of military counterintelligence bodies, which were concentrated in the areas of combating “anti-Soviet and hostile elements”, are analyzed.

It is established that these powers were exercised by the Soviet military counterintelligence bodies by repressive methods, in violation of the general principles of law, fundamental human and civil rights and freedoms..

*Keywords:* military counterintelligence bodies; Smersh bodies; martial law; national defense committee (NDC); NKVD; NKGB.

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### **Introduction**

The question of the impact of punitive and repressive measures on people's lives in the USSR has been silenced for many years in Soviet historical science. Persecution by the Soviet authorities and denial of access to archival sources made any research on the chosen issue impossible. It was only after the collapse of the

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Soviet Union, when access to archives was made available, that the study became available. The study of post-war life at the regional level allows us to analyze not only the peculiarities of the punitive and repressive system in a particular region, but with the help of the collected material to reproduce the general picture of life in post-war Ukraine.

As a large number of documentary sources of the Soviet period remains classified today, the chosen issues remain relevant and timely.

### Research Analyses

In recent years, many studies have appeared, which to a greater or less extent reveal the functioning of various structural units of the repressive-punitive and administrative Soviet bodies in Ukraine in the postwar period. It is necessary to note the works of M. Shityuk<sup>1</sup>, S. Vasylenko<sup>2</sup>, L. Tsyganenko<sup>3</sup>, V. Litvinenko<sup>4</sup>, A. Ugach<sup>5</sup>, A. Kokurin<sup>6</sup>, V. Okipnyuk<sup>7</sup>, T. Pershin<sup>8</sup>, D. Vedenev<sup>9</sup>, G. Savchin<sup>10</sup>, O. Bazhan<sup>11</sup>, O. Kalyuk<sup>12</sup>, E. Burov<sup>13</sup>, M. Mykhailutsa<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Shytiuk, M. (2001). Masovi represii na pivdni URSSR v 20-ti - na pochatku 50-kh rokiv. [Tekst] dys...d-ra ist. nauk: 07.00.01 Shytiuk M. M.; In-t istorii Ukrainy Nats. akad. nauk Ukrainy. K. 435 ark.

<sup>2</sup> Vasylenko, S. (2015). Povoienni represii proty selian Ukrainy (1944 – 1953). *Istorychnyi arkhiv*. Vyp. 15. P. 22-28. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Ians\\_2015\\_15\\_4](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Ians_2015_15_4)

<sup>3</sup> Tsyhanenko, L. (2019). Repressyy na zemliakh Yuzhnoi Bessarabyy (yiun 1940-yiun 1941 hodov). Dunărea-Nistru: Anuar Dunav-Dnestr: Hodyshnyk. Univ. de Stat Taraclia “Grigorii Ţamblac”; nauch. Kom. Maryia Paslar y dr.; redkol.: Vasyly Kondov y dr. Taraclia: S.n. Vol. 6. P. 104-112.; Tsyhanenko, L. (2018). Represovane dvorianstvo Odesy: 1919 rik (za materialamy “Odeskoho martyrolohu”) IV Mizhnarodnii naukovo-praktychnii konferentsii “Pivden Ukrainy u vitchyzniani ta yevropeiskii istorii”. Odesa 13-14.09.2018. Odesa, Ekolohiia. P. 85-90.

<sup>4</sup> Lytvynenko, V. (2014). Viddily viiskovoi tsenzury ta politychnoho kontroliu NKVD–NKHB SRSR u Chervonii armii ta Viiskovo-morskomu floti (kin. 1930-kh – berezen 1946 rr.). *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KHB*. 1. P. 96-343. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za\\_2014\\_1\\_6](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za_2014_1_6)

<sup>5</sup> Uhach, A (2013). Diialnist radianskoj kontrrozvidky pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny v istoriohrafii.. *Visnyk dniproperetrovskoho universytetu. seriia istoriia ta arkeolohiia*. 21.P. 180-186.

<sup>6</sup> Kokurny, A. (1997). NKVD-NKHB-SMERSH: struktura, funktsyy, kadry (1941–1943). *Svobodnaia misli*. 8. P. 118-128.

<sup>7</sup> Okipniuk, V (2018) Radianski orhany viiskovoi kontrrozvidky v Ukraini u period Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Istoryko-pravovy chasopys* 1 (11). P. 24-30.

<sup>8</sup> Pershyna T. (2010) Realii voiennoi povsiakdennosti v Ukraini, 1943–1945 rr. (deiaki aspekty problemy) *Storinky voiennoi istorii Ukrainy*. 13. P. 202-215.

<sup>9</sup> Viedenieiev, D. (2014). Rozvidualno-dyversivna ta kontrrozvidualna diialnist orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky za liniieiu frontu v 1941–1945 rr. (za dokumentamy NKVS–NKDB

However, despite the enormous historiographical achievements in the study of the history of the activity of the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies in Ukraine, there is still no general comprehensive work that would cover the existence of Soviet special bodies, their number in southern Ukraine in 1945-1953. This is especially true of the history of the implementation of the Soviet rule in some regions and in particular in the Izmail region. The work of researchers in this direction continues, and provides deeper and more thorough factual and generalizing materials.

The source base for the article was the materials of archival and investigative cases of T.A. Nikolenko, M.M. Mazokha, M.M. Zholya. and M.P. Zholya, stored in the Archives of the USSU in Odessa region, as well as materials of the municipal institution "Izmail Archive" and the Sectoral State Archives of the SSU. The article used documents from the scientific-documentary serial publication "Rehabilitated by history. Odessa region".

The purpose of this article is to study the peculiarities of the activities of the Soviet administrative and punitive-repressive bodies in the Izmail region in 1944-1953 in relation to the local population in order to establish the Soviet political system. The main tasks of the work are to study the legal and organizational-structural basis of the activities and functioning of the NKVD in this area and during the period under study.

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Ukrainskoi RSR.) *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KHB.* 2. P. 291-352. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za\\_2014\\_2\\_12](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za_2014_2_12)

<sup>10</sup> Savchyn, H. (2016). *Systema vykonannia pokaran u zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy v period 1944–1953 rr.*: monohrafiia. Lviv: LvDUVS. 200 s.

<sup>11</sup> Bazhan, O. (2011). Represyivna diialnist orhaniv VUNK–DPU–NKVS–KDB na Kyivshchyni u 1919–1980-ti rr. *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB.* 1. P.156-234. URL [http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu\\_2011\\_1\\_156](http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu_2011_1_156)

<sup>12</sup> Kaliuk, O. (2006). *Viiiska NKVS(MVS) v Ukraini(1939-1953 rr.): istoryko-pravovyi aspekt.* [Tekst] dys... kand. yuryd. nauk: 12.00.01 Kaliuk O. M.; Kyivskyi natsionalnyi un-t vnutrishnikh sprav. K.182 ark.

<sup>13</sup> Burova, Ye. *ODUVS formuvannia i stanovlennia orhaniv NKVS v pivdennii chastyni Bessarabii pislia yii vkhodzhenntia do skladu URSR (serpen 1940 – liutyi 1941 rr.).* URL [http://app.nuoua.od.ua/archive/41\\_2011/42.pdf](http://app.nuoua.od.ua/archive/41_2011/42.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> Mykhailutsa, M. (2004). *Zdiisnennia orhanamy DPU-NKVS Ukrainy represii proty pravoslavnoi tserkvy na Odeshchyni (1930-1940-vi rr.).* *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB.* 22. P. 429-450. URL [http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu\\_2004\\_22\\_1\\_429](http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu_2004_22_1_429)

### **Statement of the basic material**

After the restoration of Soviet power in 1944, the second wave of Sovietization of the region began in southern Bessarabia.

In accordance with the resolution of the SNC of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) of August 21, 1943 “On urgent measures to rebuild the economy in areas liberated from German occupation” in a short time began to establish a Soviet-style political system, which included ideological education of a Soviet man and his “cleansing” of the ideas of collaborationism and the desire to return Romanian power in the region. The authorities declared ruthless struggle against counter-revolutionary elements, spies and saboteurs of capitalist countries. In this context, the “millstone of political repression” caught individual peasants, owners of industrial and commercial enterprises. One of the bodies entrusted with the function of “cleansing” was “SMERSH”.

The counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” was established to implement the resolution of the SNC from 19.04.1943 by the order of the NKVD from 15.05.1943 № 00856 “On the organization of counterintelligence departments” SMERSH “in the NKVD troops”, according to which the 6th Department of special departments of the NKVD was reorganized into the counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” (from the abbreviation “Death to spies!”). They relied primarily on SMESH the fight against espionage, sabotage, terrorism and subversive activities of foreign intelligence in units and institutions of the NKVD, anti-Soviet elements that penetrated them, with betrayal and betrayal of the homeland. This order approved the Regulations on the counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” and its local bodies. According to it, the SMERSH bodies had the right to conduct intelligence work, to arrest NKVD servicemen and related civilians suspected of criminal activity<sup>15</sup>.

The post-war process of establishing the Soviet model in the liberated territories primarily involved the restoration of the punitive and repressive system, which included state security agencies, internal affairs, courts and prosecutors' offices of general jurisdiction, military tribunals and extrajudicial structures (special meetings). Their vertical and horizontal structure was almost completely duplicated in all regions of the USSR.

In fact, along with the liberation of territories from Nazi troops, the implementation of programs to Sovietize the regions was carried. Therefore, the

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<sup>15</sup> Materialy Derzhavnoho arkhivu MVS Ukrainy. F.45. Op.1. Spr. No.110 “Prykazы NKVD SSSR za 1943 hod s No.0033 po No.001854”, koleksiia dokumentiv.

activities of law enforcement agencies - the KGB (MGB) and the NKVD (MIA), developed in the direction of strengthening operational and investigative, investigative and counterintelligence functions, which aimed not only to get rid of enemies and opponents of the Soviet power, but also to provide support and effective local government party apparatus. In particular, the order of the NKVD of the USSR of April 4, 1944 “On the announcement of the staff of the NKVD Vinnytsia, Volyn, Drohobych, Zhytomyr, Izmail, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odessa, Rivne, Stanislav, Ternopil, Chernihiv and Chernivtsi oblasts” the staff list and structure of oblast administrations were established<sup>16</sup>.

The Izmail archive contains materials that testify to the activities of law enforcement agencies in the city of Izmail in the first postwar years. Thus, on August 29, 1944, by the decision of the Izmail City Committee, premises at 19 Dmytrivska Street were leased for the North Black Sea Water Department of the KGB.<sup>17</sup>

On September 2, 1944, the deputy head of the UNKGB in the Izmail region, Colonel of State Security Pavlov, appealed to the chairman of the Izmail city council, Comrade Dyachin, with a request to assign a house on Kotovskaya Street to the following numbers.: 39,41,43,45,46<sup>18</sup>.

By decision №10 of the Izmail City Executive Committee, dated September 4, 1944, the UNKVD transferred the premises at 109 Suvorova Avenue to house the prison<sup>19</sup>. On September 12, 1944, the Izmail City Executive Committee assigned premises to the UNKVD on the following streets: Bolgradskaya, №35-37 (37 rooms) and №33 (5 rooms); Bolgradska – corner of Eminescu № 35-37 (9 rooms); Krasivaya №24 (6 rooms)<sup>20</sup>. All this indicates that, first, even at the regional level, the NKVD had a considerable influence on local authorities and could in fact dictate its terms to it; secondly, despite the post-war devastation and the need for premises for schools, kindergartens, industrial offices and shops – the best houses in the city were given to the punitive authorities of the Soviet government. Here we do not even mention the allocation of housing for the heads of punitive and repressive

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<sup>16</sup> TsDAHOU Spr. 1370 (Materialy, dokumen-ty y stenohramy 1-ho Vseukraynskoho soveshcha-nyia zamestytelei nachalnykov UNKVD po kad-ram oblastei Ukrainy, 23-26 yiunia 1944 h.). 187 ark.

<sup>17</sup> KU Izmailskyi arkhiv. F. R-788. Op. 1. Spr. 1. Ark. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Ark. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Ark. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Ark. 24.

bodies, who took away their best houses, arguing their seizures of other people's property by the fictitious claim that the former owners fled to Romania.

During 1941-1944, NKVD and SMERSH special forces accumulated a considerable amount of information about the mood of the local population. Being in the occupied territories during the war became an indisputable factor of "unreliability", and work with the occupiers in various institutions, organizations, enterprises – a pretext for accusations of "anti-Soviet agitation", "treason", "espionage" and "aiding". For many years, this mark fell on millions of Soviet people, and the count of being in the occupied territories, which appeared in various personnel questionnaires, meant the actual destruction of a career and even a person's life.

In the arsenal of the punitive authorities there were many levers, one of the strongest was the Criminal Code, under the articles of which it was possible to "fit" virtually any case. Immediately after August 1944, arrests and persecutions began under repressive articles of the Criminal Code. One of the most common accusations was "anti-Soviet agitation" (Articles 54-10 of the Criminal Code).

Consider a specific example. In Izmail, in June 1947, there lived Mykola Mykolayovych Mazokha, 33, an employee of the City Fire Brigade (hereinafter CFB). He was arrested by the counterintelligence department of the Izmail Region Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on June 6, 1947. The reason for his arrest was a denunciation of Mykola Mazokha, in which he was accused of anti-Soviet remarks.

The Resolution on the Initiation of a Criminal Case states that M.M. Mazokha, among his colleagues, expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet government and criticized some of its measures, spread lies about the Soviet Union and agitated against the collective farm system. Thus, on December 5, 1946, on the day of Stalin's constitution in the premises of the CFB M.M. Mazokha stated: "They say that all Soviet people have the right to work and rest and self-education according to the constitution – this is not true, the constitution provides the right only to work, and nothing more; work, work and have nothing"<sup>21</sup>.

In January 1947, M.M. Mazokha expressed his opinion on the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR: "There is no benefit for the people from the elections, we will still elect deputies for our own misfortune." The statements of the detainee in March-April 1947 seemed burdensome from the point of view of the investigation: "Under Soviet rule, you work, work and have nothing, but if you earn,

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<sup>21</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 24189-p, Ark. 4.

you'll still be taken away, it was good under the Romanians that all you earn is all yours"<sup>22</sup>.

The interrogation report of June 9, 1947, clearly traces the efforts of the investigative bodies to prove Mykola Mazokha's commitment to the Romanian authorities. According to him, the protocol states that in 1930-1932 he worked for hire in the city of Izmail. In 1932 he left for Romania, and in 1936 he was drafted into the Romanian army. He served as a private in the artillery of Galati. In October 1937, M. Mazokha was demobilized and he moved to the city of Ploiesti. In the summer of 1941 he returned to Izmail, got a job in the UNKVD as a locksmith, then was mobilized into the Red Army. He served in the 278th Regiment in the 9th Machine Gun Company. During the retreat of Soviet troops to Odessa, near the town of Bilyaivka, along with most of the officers and soldiers, he was taken prisoner by the Germans. The prisoners, including Mykola Mazokha, were kept in a camp in Chisinau. In November 1941, by order of the Romanian government, all prisoners of the camps of Bessarabian origin were released. M. Mazokha returned to Izmail and continued to work as a locksmith in the workshop. Several times, he was summoned for questioning by a Romanian security guard, during which he was threatened with execution for service in the Soviet army<sup>23</sup>.

The content of the protocol leaves no doubt that the convicted Mazokha did not maintain contact with the Romanians. All claims against him were unfounded.

The search report also recorded the seizure of only a few personal documents - a passport, a temporary ID instead of a military ID and a registration certificate of a private workshop.<sup>24</sup> Witnesses were then interrogated. All of them, as one, confirmed that M.M. Mazokha systematically carried out counter-revolutionary agitation, which consisted of hostile protests against Soviet rule and party activities<sup>25</sup>.

The military tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Odessa region of the CFB fighter M.M. Mazokha was accused of committing crimes under Article 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced to 6 years in a labor camp with defeat in civil rights for 3 years and confiscation of property<sup>26</sup>. It should be noted that his guilt MM Mazokha did not admit, during the trial he repeatedly repeated that he did not conduct any counter-revolutionary agitation against the Soviet government.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Ark. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. Ark. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Ark. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Ark. 61.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Ark. 75.

In 1990, the prosecutor of the Odessa region VV Datsyuk appealed to the presidium of the Odessa regional court with a request to terminate the case and revoke the verdict of the Military Tribunal of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Odessa region from July 23, 1947 against MM Mazokha on the basis of Art. 6. paragraph 2 of the CPC of the USSR<sup>27</sup>. The protest of the prosecutor was satisfied by the presidium of the Odessa regional court, the case against MM Mazokha. was closed, the verdict of the Military Tribunal of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Odessa region was revoked on the basis of Art. 6. paragraph 2 of the CPC of the USSR<sup>28</sup>.

On March 1, 1990, Mykola Mykolayovych was rehabilitated for lack of corpus delicti. The distance of almost 50 years delays the indictment of a crime and the reversal of a sentence for an uncommitted crime. All his life a man had to live with the stigma of “enemy of the people”.

The next fairly common article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was 54-1a, “Betrayal of the Motherland”.

Among the residents of the Izmail region repressed in the mid-1940s are representatives of all professions, nationalities, social and age groups. Representatives of the intelligentsia who criticized the Soviet government during the Romanian period, guerrillas and underground fighters who fought and risked their lives to restore it, ordinary people loyal to any government – everyone could be widely accused of anti-Soviet activities, betrayal, aiding and abetting; prosecuted as a criminal, undergo a lengthy investigation, interrogation, imprisonment, camp.

Numerous private entrepreneurs (restaurateurs, shopkeepers, tailors, hairdressers, cooks, owners of cafes, workshops, etc.) were repressed as “helpers of the enemy”, who were forced to sign a cooperation agreement with the authorities during the war.

Mykola Mykolayovych Zholya became a victim of punitive and repressive measures in 1944<sup>29</sup>. According to archival documents M.M. Zholya was born in 1920 in the city of Izmail, graduated from 7th grade, by origin – Moldavian, non-party, profession – hairdresser. At the time of his arrest, he held the position of Deputy Chief of Staff in the NKVD City Fire Brigade. According to the Resolution of the counterintelligence department of the UNKVD “SMERSH” in the Izmail region on the election of a measure of restraint Mykola Mykolayovych was accused of committing crimes under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. Ark. 85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Ark 86.

<sup>29</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 236641, Ark. 2.



SSR<sup>30</sup>. The arrest warrant of November 7, 1944 states the reason for the arrest, namely living in the territory temporarily occupied by the German-Romanian invaders in the city of Izmail, contributed to the establishment of the German-Romanian regime, namely voluntarily surrendering to the Germans, he arrived on the territory at that time occupied by the German-Romanian troops, immediately went to work for the enemy and, together with the police, actively pursued patriots of the Soviet homeland. With weapons in his hands, he participated in raids around the city of Izmail and, with the aim of gaining full confidence from the German-Romanian authorities, filed a petition to classify him with people who had “Regina Ednika” (as it is indicated in the documents) (ethnic roman), thereby embarking on the road of treason of the Soviet homeland<sup>31</sup>.

It should be noted that during a search of the house of MM Zholya no physical evidence was found<sup>32</sup>. Two weeks before the arrest warrant, all acquaintances and colleagues of Mykola Mykolayovych, members of his family, were invited for questioning. Interrogation records contain incriminating materials and statements<sup>33</sup>. One can only guess under what pressure or even torture these statements and testimonies appeared.

In particular, his colleague Dmytro Yakymovych Kolesnikov revealed the details of M. Zholya's activity known to him. He said that between 1941 and 1944, prisoner Zholya became a Romanian citizen and changed his name to Jolescu. He was also accepted into the ranks of INCOOP (National Cooperation Institution) for his special achievements before the Romanian authorities.

On November 23, 1944, an indictment was signed. M. Zholya signed the document, but again the question arises under what circumstances it was done.

During the interrogation on November 23, 1944, Mykola Mykolayovych Zholya pleaded not guilty. The case file shows that under pressure from investigators, he was forced to GIVE TESTIMONY of how he received the status of “Regina Ednika / Volksdeutsche (origine etnică)”<sup>34</sup>. It was revealed that it was Mykola Mykolayovych’s father, Mykolay Petrovich Zholya, who had written a petition to the Romanian government to obtain Romanian citizenship and to classify himself and his family members as “ethnic Romanians” in the region. The petition was granted. According to M.M. Zholya, the protocol states that the assignment of the status of “ethnic Romanian” allowed MP Zholya to get permission to open a

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Ark. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. Ark. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Ark. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Ark. 16.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Ark. 32.

shoe repair shop. Also during the interrogation M.M. Zholya said that in early 1944 he was mobilized in the Romanian army, served in the city of Izmail, was involved in patrolling the city. His responsibilities included checking available documents with the military, as well as detaining people who did not have a special pass.

*The information provided to the investigating authorities during the interrogation on November 23 by Mykola Mykolayovych became a verdict for his family. The next day, on November 24, Mykola Petrovich was detained. According to the Resolution on indictment, he was charged with Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR<sup>35</sup>. Like his son, he was accused of promoting the German-Romanian regime, renouncing Soviet citizenship, and accepting Romanian citizenship, thus betraying his homeland.*

On December 1, 1944, the first interrogation of Mykola Petrovich Zholya took place. He did not admit his guilt. Obtaining the status of “ethnic Romanian” was explained by the need for the Romanian authorities to allow the development of their own workshop.

During one of the interrogations, on December 12, 1944, answering the investigator's questions, he openly said that his family received food stamps, and that he was also a member of the state commission for the qualification examinations of artisans. These facts usually testified against him. During further interrogations, the investigator was interested in questions about the receipt of documents by Zholya's family for evacuation to Romania, when the Red Army approached Izmail. However, according to the protocols, Mykola Petrovich did not have such information.

On December 15, 1944, a resolution was issued, signed by the assistant to the operative officer of the UNKVD “Smersh” Idomenko on the termination of the investigation. Then we provide the text of the document:

“Extract from the minutes of the 33rd Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR dated September 8, 1945:

Listened to:

Case № 249 / UNKVD of the Izmail region on charges:

Zholya Mykola Mykolayovych, born in 1920, Izmail, Moldovan, citizen of the USSR, non-party, worked in the city fire brigade of the NKVD in Izmail. During the German occupation he took German citizenship (“Volksdeutsche”). Accused under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

*Approved:*

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Ark. 32.

*Zholya Mykola Mykolayovych to be sent to the Montenegrin special correctional labor camp for 5 years for treason. The term is counted from November 9, 1944*<sup>36</sup>.

Listened to: case № 249 / UNKVD of Izmail region on charges:

Zholya Mykola Petrovich, born in 1895, village Bart of the Izmail region, a Moldovian, a citizen of the USSR, non-party, worked as a disinfectant of the city sanitary-epidemiological station in the city of Izmail. During the German occupation he took German citizenship ("Volksdeutsche"). Accused under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

*Approved:*

*Zholya Mykola Petrovich for treason to send to the Montenegrin special correctional labor camp, for a period of 5 years. The term is counted from November 24, 1944*<sup>37</sup>.

What is surprising in these decisions. "Treason" – one of the most severe articles of the Criminal Code, the sentence of which usually ended in execution, here we see a fairly loyal sentence – only 5 years. This may be evidence that the investigators themselves understood the baselessness of their allegations.

On June 6, 1945, Ivan Ivanovich Vizenkov complained to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs about the review of the case of Zholya's family. The document stated that after the conviction of M.M. Zholya and M.P. Zholya all members of the family, including M.P. Zholya's daughter, who was the applicant's wife - Zholya Oleksandra Mykolayivna, born in 1923. were exiled to the Suzdal district, Novosibirsk region in a special settlement.

According to the Resolution of November 18, 1946, the complaint of I.I. Vizenkov was rejected, and the question of his wife, exiled as a family member of a traitor, was transferred to Department "A" of the USSR State Security Committee<sup>38</sup>.

On August 7, 1946, Major Sedelnikov, Chief of the OCD Regional Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Izmail Region, examined the case file №0455225 and the complaint of citizen Ivan Ivanovich Vizenkov, a relative of the convicts M.M. Zholya and M.P. Zholya, found that according to the 2nd department of the UMSS of the Izmail region Zholya Olexandra Mykolayvna, in 1941 was not evacuated to the rear of the USSR and remained in the city of Izmail. She was repeatedly summoned to the Romanian police, where she compiled lists of trophy and Jewish property. Also O.M. Zholya had information that there

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. Ark. 69.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Ark. 68.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. Ark. 70.

was an underground youth organization in the city of Izmail. In the summer of 1942, all members of the organization were arrested, including Alexandra Nikolaevna. However, after some time, the Romanian police released her. According to the case file, it was Oleksandra Zholya who was suspected of betraying and “merging” information with the Romanian police. In such circumstances, the 2nd department of the Department of the Ministry of State Security of the Izmail region complained to I.I. Vezenkova was repeatedly denied the return of his wife from exile<sup>39</sup>.

*June 15, 1957 on the basis of an application for rehabilitation of Mykolai Petrovich Zholya, the documents of the archival-investigative case № 4952-I on charges of MM Zholya. M.P. Zholya under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR were reviewed by the assistant prosecutor in the Odessa region on supervision of investigation in state security bodies, the lawyer of the second class Goncharenko. After analyzing the case, he concluded that the statement of MP Zholya on rehabilitation must be rejected. The archival-investigative case № 4952-I was transferred to Accounting and Archival Department of KGB in Odesa region*<sup>40</sup>. November 30, 1989, according to the Resolution of the Prosecutor's Office of Odessa region in accordance with Article I of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from 16.01.1989 M.M. Zholya. M.P. Zholya were rehabilitated.

To date, there is no information about the Zholya family.

The article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR 54-6 “Espionage” closes the three most common accusations.

Analyzing the information obtained and the course of events that took place in the Izmail region in 1941-1944, the staff of the punitive and repressive bodies reported to the top party leadership about the manifestations of collaborationism in the region.

In 1945, Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko came into the field of view of the punitive authorities<sup>41</sup>. The woman was born in 1916 in the town of Nova Kiliya, Izmail region, in the family of peasants Choban Andriy Fedorovich and Martha Artemivna Nikolenko. Tamara Andreevna had two brothers – Fedor and Ivan and 3 sisters – Natalia, Matrona, Zina. She graduated from 4th grade, majoring in tailoring.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. Ark. 75.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. Ark. 76.

<sup>41</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 24074-p, Ar. 1.

According to Tamara Andreevna, her autobiography was recorded in the interrogation report of May 24, 1945.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the investigation learned that in 1939 T.A. Nikolenko went to Romania to the city of Brailov, where she got a job as a housekeeper in the house of the director of the grain procurement point Rosenberg. In 1940 she married Radu Korcmaru, a Romanian citizen. In November, the young people divorced. Until 1944, Tamara Andreevna worked in the house of George Daneru. In April 1944 she came to her parents in Kiliya. July 15, 1944, returned to the city of Brailov. After the events of August 1944, she got a job as a translator of the Romanian language at the Military Command of the Soviet Troops (the village of Bordei Veke, Braille County). In November 1944 she returned to her hometown.

The interrogation report also contains information about T.A. Nikolenko's relatives. Brothers Fedor and Ivan served in the Red Army, sisters Zina and Matriona lived permanently in the city of Nova Kiliya, housewives. In 1941, Natalia Nikolenko moved to Odessa with her husband, a Red Army officer. After the Romanian occupation of the city, the sister was arrested by Romanian police and transported to New Kiliya. After some time she was released, but was summoned for questioning several more times. According to her mother, physical violence was used during interrogations against Natalia Andriyivna. In March 1945 she died<sup>43</sup>.

It is not known under what circumstances, but according to the same protocol, Tamara Andreevna admitted that she was an agent of the Romanian military intelligence.<sup>44</sup> She was recruited on June 8-10, 1944 in the town of Nova Kiliya by Karakostya Peter, a locotent: "In April 1944, from the city of Brailov, I came to visit my parents in the city of New Kiliya while living in my father's apartment, they called me to the police where the locotent Karakostya suggested I collaborate i.e. to help Romanian military intelligence identify Communists, partisans and others who are hostile to the Romanian authorities, at the same time stated that if I refuse to work, they will take not only strict measures against me but also my relatives, including the execution, to which I agreed and signed a subscription». The investigation found that T.A. Nikolenko worked under the pseudonym "Nineta Tomescu", password "Question: You wear a ring with a diamond stone. Answer: No, it is not golden."<sup>45</sup>. All the information she found and recorded was to be passed on to a resident of the Romanian counterintelligence, Hryhoriy Gavzar (43, Czechoslovak, Piatra Neamt). In addition to G. Gavzar, the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. Ark. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. Ark. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Ark. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. Ark. 15.

detainee said the names of two other Romanian counterintelligence agents who had moved to Novaya Kiliya in the early 1940s were recorded: Pancu Nelu (Mykola), 42, Romanian (Galati) and Petro Gavrilovich Tarnapop. 30-35 years old, Moldovan.

On May 25, 1945, the SMERSH department of the Odessa military district signed a Resolution on her arrest: "I am a detective of the 2-branch of the SMERSH Odessa military district senior lieutenant Shulga having examined the materials on the criminal activity of Tamara Andreyevna Nikolenko, born in 1916, a native and resident of New Kiliya, Izmail Oblast, 49, Portovaya Street, n/p, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, housewife, not convicted FOUND: Tamara Andreyevna Nikolenko, living in the territory occupied by the Romanian troops in the city of New Kiliya, Izmail Region, on June 8-10, 1944, the locotent agent of the Romanian military intelligence Karakostya recruited her as an agent of the same intelligence under the nickname Nineta Tomescu and was left in the rear of the Red Army with intelligence, and therefore, based on the foregoing RESOLVED: Nikolenko Tamara Andreevna, living in the city of Nova Kiliya number 49 Portovaya Street to subject to arrest and search"<sup>46</sup>.

On June 5, 1945, Colonel Stroilov, Deputy Chief of the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the Odessa military district, approved the Resolution on the Prosecution of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. In the text of the Resolution, Major Sklar, an investigator of the SMERSH Odessa military district, said that the prosecution had found much unequivocal evidence confirming T.A. Nikolenko's involvement in the Romanian intelligence as a secret resident under the pseudonym Nineta Tomescu, number T-599. The report further states that the detainee did admit her guilt, but claimed that she had not provided any information to the Romanian authorities.

The interrogation report of June 25, 1945, referred to agents of the Romanian intelligence agencies, in particular the locotent of Karakostya, who had been recruited by T.A. Nikolenko. According to Tamara Andreevna, the investigation learned that Karakostya served in the 10th Artillery Division, parts of which were stationed in the Romanian city of Galati.

*On June 26, 1945, Colonel Stroilov approved a new Resolution on re-indictment. Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was changed to Article 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. On the same day, on the basis of the testimony of the arrested woman, the Resolution on the allocation of investigative materials against agents of the Romanian intelligence agencies:*

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. Ark. 3.

*Karakostya Petro, Govzer Hryhoriy, Panchu Mykola and Tarnopop Petro was approved.*<sup>47</sup>

Due to the fact that in 1944 the Soviet power was established on the territory of the region, their further fate is unknown. The second paragraph of the resolution stated that the materials of the investigation into Karakostia, Govzer, Panchu and Tarnopop should be separated into a separate proceeding and sent through the reporting department of the Counterintelligence Department “SMERSH” of the Odessa military district for announcement in the All-Soviet wanted list.

*The indictment was approved on June 27, 1945.*<sup>48</sup> The descriptive part of the document indicated the circumstances of the case and information about the testimony of T.A. Nikolenko and the results of their verification. The operative part summarizes the essence of the accusation brought by the convict with the indication of the chosen measure of punishment provided by Article 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Considering that the practical activities of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko were also not proved by the absence of any physical evidence, and the contact persons could not be found in the investigation № 546 it was decided to send for consideration a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR. At the time of sentencing T.A. Nikolenko was under arrest in prison №1 of the NKVD in Odessa.

On June 29, 1945, by decision of a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR, the term of imprisonment was changed from 10 years to 7 years. The convict was serving her sentence in the Lake Camp of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR in Taishet, Irkutsk region.

On September 10, 1946, to the materials of the case №546 / counterintelligence department “SMERSH” Odessa military district on the accusation of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko was added “Information on a resident of the Romanian intelligence” criminal intelligence investigator 1 – from. MDB MRSR – sub-Lieutenant Frumer, also a registration card in Romanian, fingerprints of hers, photographs of Romanian intelligence indicating the specific place and time of TA Nikolenko's meeting with Romanian agents. According to the MGB of the MSSR, Tamara Nikolenko was recruited by ST Martinescu, whose signature is on the convict's account card.

According to the order № 00279/00108/72 SS from 1948 “On the organization of special camps and prisons of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the detention of particularly dangerous state criminals and the direction of the latter after

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid. Ark. 47.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. Ark. 49.

serving their sentences for deportation to settlements under the supervision of the MGB”, in the period from March to April In 1952 the issue of staging T.M. Nikolenko in exile to a settlement in Krasnoyarsk<sup>49</sup>. According to the case file, the convict arrived in the Krasnoyarsk Territory on May 29, 1952.<sup>50</sup>

It should be noted that this order obliged to allocate political prisoners to a special group with isolation in special camps with strict regime and a ban on returning home after serving their sentences, leaving them in exile near the camps where they were serving their sentences, so Tamara Nikolenko’s fate is not known to us. The search for relatives in the town of Kiliya ended in failure.

March 19, 1990 according to the Resolution of the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Odessa Military District in accordance with Article I of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of January 16, 1989 T.M. Nikolenko was rehabilitated.

These examples show that in 1944-1953, “cleansing” among the local population, during which innocent people suffered, was considered a guarantee of stability of the system. After the Red Army liberated the territory of Ukraine from Nazism, the NKVD began searching for “traitors” and “collaborators” among the civilian population that was under occupation during the war. At the same time, the broad powers of the state security agencies allowed them to arrest “suspects” purely for their own reasons, to seek confessions and denunciations, and to sentence them to eviction or execution. The persecution of collaborators lasted for decades. The official basis for this repression was the “cleansing” of society from “anti-Soviet elements”.

Thus, in August 1944, 454 people were arrested for “cooperation with the occupiers”, “anti-Soviet agitation”, and “espionage”. According to generalized digital data on the KGB of the USSR in 1945, 338 people were arrested in the Izmail region, the main charges being treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers and participation in anti-Soviet organizations. Among those arrested were 80 Ukrainians, 71 Russians, 72 Moldovians and Romanians (including 4 Romanian nationals); 198 collective farmers, 184 employees, 218 declassified. Cases of 493 people were considered by courts and a special meeting of the USSR KGB, 4 of them were shot, 204 were sent to forced labor, and 266 were imprisoned in prisons and camps.<sup>51</sup>. Many of them were elderly and never returned from prison .

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Ark. 54.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Ark. 58.

<sup>51</sup> Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU). – F. 42. - Spr.57. Akr. 3, 32-34, 50-52.



According to the actual information on the results of operational and investigative work of the bodies of the State Security Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, as of January 1, 1946, 68 people remained under investigation, 299 people were arrested and arrived from other bodies during the year; among the arrested city dwellers – 32, peasants – 178 Moldovians and Romanians – 64, Ukrainians – 49, Russians – 43. Judicial and extrajudicial bodies made decisions on 246 people (21 of them for hard labor, 213 imprisoned in prisons and camps) <sup>52</sup>.

In 1948, 269 people were prosecuted by the Department of the Ministry of State Security's operative-investigative bodies in the Izmail region (183 of them were arrested in 1948); the main charges are treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers (68) and the anti-Soviet element; among those arrested were 56 Ukrainians, 38 Russians, and 40 Moldovians; 53 collective farmers and like-minded peasants, 50 people of the non-labor element; 13 repatriates and prisoners of war<sup>53</sup>.

In 1949, 263 people were prosecuted (190 of them were arrested in 1949), including treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers and anti-Soviet agitation. According to statistics and a review of the operational and investigative work of the UMDB in the Izmail region, 240 people were prosecuted. In all, 167 people were arrested in 1951<sup>54</sup>. including religious and other anti-Soviet elements, anti-Soviet agitation, treason, and aiding and abetting the German occupiers <sup>55</sup>, in 1952, 54 people were detained by the UMDB in the Izmail region <sup>56</sup>.

Most of these people have not yet been rehabilitated, they continue to be considered “traitors”, their cases have not been reviewed and terminated, much of these cases remain in the main archive fund of the USSU in Odessa region and are still not available to researchers. The number of these cases is also “secret”.

An important trend in the development of the Soviet political system after the death of J.V. Stalin became a struggle for power among the top party and state leadership of the country. Everyone around him was involved in state terror, and the urgent need to distance oneself from this legacy, to destroy evidence of one's non-involvement, and to use facts that would compromise political rivals, determined special attention to repression and rehabilitation. Already on March 13, 1953, an order was issued “On the review of the most dubious in terms of legality of

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid. Spr. 62. T.1. Ark. 21, 22, 33, 34.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Spr. 69. T.1. Ark. 3, 79-84.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. Spr.75. T.1. Ark. 1, 157-162.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. Spr. 78 .Ark. 4, 78-83.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. Spr. 84. Ark. 3, 25, 26, 38, 39.

investigative cases.” On March 27, the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On Amnesty” was adopted.

On September 1, 1953, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR abolished one of the most important extrajudicial punitive bodies of the Stalin era, a special meeting at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR.

The process of correcting violent policies began in the second half of the 1950s. At the end of the twentieth century, the state began to review the fate of victims of repression, as evidenced by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On additional measures to restore justice to victims of repression that took place in the 30's, 40's and early 50's”. From 16.01.1989, Decree of the President of the USSR “On the Restoration of the Rights of All Victims of Political Repression of the 20-50s” of 13.08.1990, the Law of Ukraine “On Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression in Ukraine” of 17.04.1991. The convicted winners were waiting for the truth. Many of them have not waited up for it, finding their last refuge in the harsh northern land.

### **Conclusions**

During 1944-1953, the Soviet government created a powerful punitive and repressive apparatus, which made it possible to complete the process of Sovietization of the region, interrupted by the Second World War, in a short time. At the same time, post-war punitive and repressive policies as a technology for establishing Soviet power caused many human tragedies: the loss of relatives, the forcible severance of family ties, the destruction of established lifestyles, the destruction of spiritual shrines and values, and so on. The mechanism of mass violence against people has consistently and brutally limited and suppressed any manifestations of the national identity of Ukrainians, imposing coercion, terror and repression. However, neither repression, nor deportations, nor the power of ideological convictions, the communist totalitarian system was able to eradicate the understanding of the high level of the Ukrainian people's ability to unite for the struggle for independence and unity of Ukraine.

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