

## **Cell Occupancy Analysis of Korpus 2 of the Vladimir Prison**

An Examination of the Consistency of Eyewitness Sightings of Raoul Wallenberg  
with Prisoner Registration Cards from the Prison *Kartoteka*

Report Submitted to the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg

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### *Forward*

In the following report prepared on the basis of our analysis of prisoner registration cards in the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison No. 2, we have generally used the full name and year of birth at the first mention of any prisoner for full identification according to general Russian custom to facilitate follow-up investigations by others who may wish to carry this analysis further. Subsequent mention of the prisoner in the text is thereafter restricted generally to use only of the family name.

Because of the Russian and general European custom of naming dates in the form dd/mm/yy, we have kept that format essentially throughout the text to reduce possible errors in preparing the report from computer print-outs of tables and lists. When dates are occasionally indicated in the American style of mm/dd/yy because of the use of the (American) English version of WINDOWS, particularly in figures and diagrams, notice of the change is brought to the reader's attention in the figure legend.

The preparation of this final report, the construction of the database, and completion of the analysis of data requiring lengthy trips to Moscow and occasionally Vladimir were possible only because of the support that we have received at home from our families.

Marvin W. Makinen and Ari D. Kaplan

## A. Introduction and Background

### 1. *The First Investigation Ever of the Kartoteka of the Vladimir Prison No. 2 of the MVD*

As is well described in numerous books and newspaper articles throughout the world, there are a large number of eyewitness reports of sightings of Raoul Wallenberg in Soviet prisons and labor camps despite the Gromyko Memorandum issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in 1957 to the Royal Embassy of Sweden, alleging that Raoul Wallenberg died of a myocardial infarct in the Lubyanka Prison on July 17, 1947. A significant part of these reports came from former inmates of the prison located in the city of Vladimir, Russia, known as Vladimir Prison No. 2 under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), at that time in the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union. In efforts to obtain documentary evidence of the incarceration of Raoul Wallenberg in this prison or of Vilmos Langfelder, Raoul Wallenberg's assistant and chauffeur, who was arrested with him at the same time in Hungary, an investigation of documentary and archival records of the prison was carried out in late August and early September of 1990. This work was carried out by the Soviet-International Commission on the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg, a team of 10 individuals without direct government association organized by Professor Guy von Dardel, the maternal half-brother of Raoul Wallenberg.

Table 1 lists the members of the Commission. This work, as the first investigation of its kind in the Soviet Union involving non-Soviet participants as well as Soviet citizens, having no association with security organs of the Soviet government and including former political prisoners, was a pioneering event. In addition to investigation of the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison or registry file of prisoners incarcerated in Vladimir, the Commission was also given access to selected personal dossiers or personal files (*lichniye dela*) of former prisoners who had had direct association with Wallenberg or Langfelder in Moscow prisons. These files were preserved in the Main Government Archive under the Council of Ministers in Moscow, under the direction of Mr. Stefan Anatol'yevich Prokopenko. The Commission was granted access to archival materials through approval of the Soviet government, in particular, by Mr. Vadim Bakatin, head of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs. Minister Bakatin stated in his meeting with Professors von Dardel and Makinen, who together directed and coordinated the work, "To hinder the investigation of the case of Raoul Wallenberg is to stand on the wrong side of History." The entire *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison or collection of prisoner registration cards was examined in efforts to identify registration cards of Raoul Wallenberg or of Vilmos Langfelder. Although no card was found that explicitly contained the name of either individual, the group photographed the registration cards of approximately 1200 prisoners for later analysis. There were thirteen criteria according to which cards were selected for photographic duplication. The criteria are listed in Table 2 below for purposes of historical perspective.

It was evident from that early experience that lack of paper documentation could not be accepted as conclusive proof of a prisoner's absence from Vladimir: (i) Registration cards and other documentary files could have been systematically removed or destroyed earlier by Soviet authorities; (ii) Prisoners may have been registered under a pseudonym; (iii) Registration cards of up to 32 numbered prisoners, listed in Table 3, were found in the *kartoteka*. While some were identifiable because the prisoner's name had been written onto the card after the numb-

**Table 1:** Members of the Soviet-International Commission on the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg Who Investigated the *Kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison in August, 1990.

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Professor Guy von Dardel    | Swedish, organizer and maternal brother of Raoul Wallenberg.  |
| Dr. Vadim Birstein          | Russian, member of Memorial Society.  |
| Dr. Rolf Bjornerstedt       | Swedish, former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations.  |
| Dr. Mikhail Chlenov         | Russian, director of VAAD, an organization of Soviet Jews.  |
| Professor Irving Cotler     | Canadian, Professor of International Law at McGill University.  |
| Alexei Kartsev              | Russian, journalist and reporter for <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> ; author of first newspaper article about Raoul Wallenberg in the Soviet press in 1988.                                 |
| Dr. Kronid Lyubarski        | Russian, former Political Prisoner in Soviet labor camps and in Vladimir, and editor living in Munich, Germany.   |
| Professor Marvin W. Makinen | American, former prisoner in Vladimir and Soviet labor camps, November, 1961, - October, 1963; Professor and Chairman of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology at The University of Chicago. |
| Alexander Rodnyansky        | Film director and producer; directed first Soviet documentary film about Raoul Wallenberg, released in late 1990.   |
| Arsenii Roginski            | Russian, Senior Researcher, Memorial Society, and former political prisoner in Soviet labor camps.  |

**Table 2:** Criteria for Photographic Duplication of Prisoner Registration Cards from the Vladimir *kartoteka* in 1990.

1. Cards with names of Raoul Wallenberg or Vilmos Langfelder
2. Cards with first name of Raoul or Vilmos
3. Cards with year of birth listed as 1912
4. Cards of prisoners arrested in Budapest or elsewhere in Hungary
5. Cards of all identifiable foreigners
6. Cards of prisoners whose names contained the syllables *berg, val, lang, feld, or van den*
7. Cards of all prisoners who came from territories seized by the Soviet Union during World War II
8. Cards with no prisoner name
9. Cards of prisoners identified only by a number or letter of the alphabet
10. Cards of prisoners who were brought to the Vladimir Prison for the first time in the 1960s
11. Cards of any individual who was considered to have had some association with Raoul Wallenberg or Vilmos Langfelder either prior to arrest or in prison according to reports made to the Swedish Foreign Ministry
12. Cards of all individuals from Baltic states
13. Cards of prisoners with no cell occupancy data

ering system ceased to be applied for that prisoner, several were not. Also, registration cards for several numbered prisoners were missing. Furthermore, there was no reason to assume that the numbering of prisoners higher than 32 did not occur. (Through the copy in the Sakharov Museum in Moscow of the order directed to the warden of the Ivanovo Prison, we now know that the system of incarcerating a prisoner under a number rather than by his or her name was the result of a highly secret order of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) in 1947. The true identity of these prisoners was not to be revealed to local authorities and prison personnel.)

**Table 3:** List of Numbered Prisoners with Registration Cards in the Vladimir *Kartoteka* Found by the Soviet-International Commission in August, 1990.

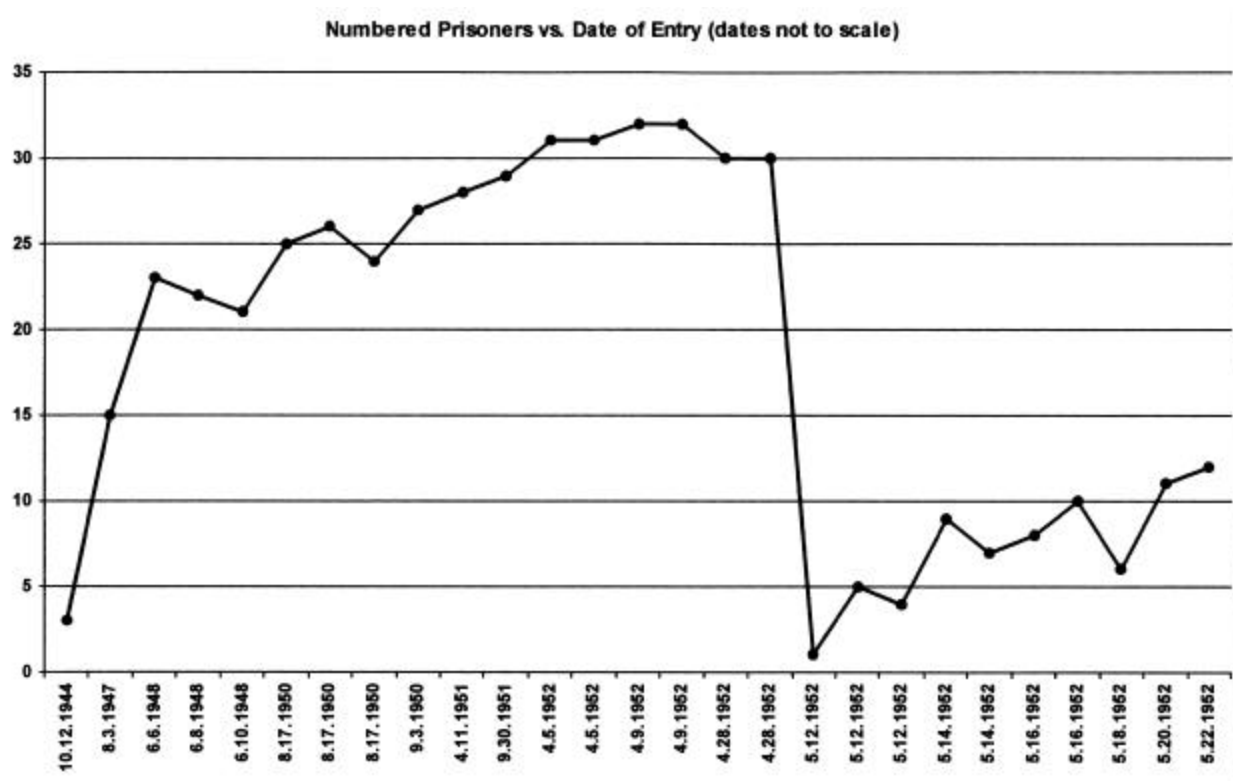
| Number | Name                | Gender | Year of Birth | Nationality | Date of Arrest | Length of Sentence |
|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1      | —                   | M      | 1909          | Hungarian   | 05/12/40       | 25 years           |
| 3      | —                   | M      | 1896          | Georgian    | 10/12/44       | 10 (+ 5)           |
| 4      | Merkis, H. A.       | M      | 1922          | Lithuanian  | 26/06/41       | 25                 |
| 5      | Urbshis, I. K.      | M      | 1896          | Lithuanian  | —              | 25                 |
| 6      | Urbshis, M. F.      | F      | 1895          | Lithuanian  | —              | 25                 |
| 7      | Munters, V. N.      | M      | 1898          | Latvian     | 28/03/41       | 25                 |
| 8      | Munters, N. A.      | F      | 1897          | Latvian     | 28/06/41       | 25                 |
| 9      | Balodis, I. P.      | M      | 1881          | Latvian     | 14/07/41       | 25                 |
| 10     | Balodis, E. Yu.     | F      | 1902          | Latvian     | 04/07/41       | 25                 |
| 11     | Laidoner, Io.       | M      | 1884          | Estonian    | 26/06/41       | 25                 |
| 12     | Laidoner, M.        | F      | 1888          | Estonian    | 26/06/41       | 25                 |
| 15     | Aladjani, P. S.     | M      | 1894          | Armenian    | 24/09/45       | 25                 |
| 21     | Molochnikov, N.V.   | M      | 1899          | Jewish      | 10/12/47       | 25                 |
| 22     | Allilyuyeva, Ye.    | F      | 1898          | Russian     | 10/10/47       | 10                 |
| 23     | Allilyuyeva, A.     | F      | 1896          | Russian     | 04/02/48       | 5 (+5)             |
| 24     | Klement, T.         | M      | 1920          | Hungarian   |                | 25                 |
| 25     | Pap, L. E.          | M      | 1919          | Hungarian   | 29/03/49       | 15                 |
| 26     | Schandel, K.        | M      | 1912          | Hungarian   | 14/01/45       | 25                 |
| 27     | Meyners, W. Io.     | M      | 1908          | German      |                | 25                 |
| 28     | Vadillo, M. E.      | M      | 1903          | Mexican     | 30/09/50       | 20                 |
| 29     | Menshagin, B. G.    | M      | 1902          | Russian     | 28/05/45       | 25                 |
| 30     | Stul'ginskis, S. A. | M      | 1885          | Latvian     |                | 25                 |
| 31     | Schilingas, S. A.   | M      | 1885          | Lithuanian  | 10/06/41       | 25                 |
| 32     | Tonkunas, Io. N.    | M      | 1894          | Latvian     |                | 25                 |

One of the expectations of the Commission was that Wallenberg and Langfelder were likely to have been numbered prisoners. We have never obtained direct confirmation of this status for them, but it must be considered likely in view of the prominence of individuals who were numbered prisoners in Vladimir. As will be pointed out later with respect to the case of Heinrich Hermann Grossheim-Krisko and Gustav Richter, it is probable that the Soviet authorities at the time considered Raoul Wallenberg as an "extremely important prisoner."

Figure 1 shows a graph of assigned ordinal number and date of entry for these individuals. The graph shows that the ordinal assignment of these prisoners appears to have been temporally coordinated and implies that these prisoners were processed through the same mechanism. We have not received information which sections of the Ministry of State Security or of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were responsible for the processing and numbering of prisoners. We shall discuss later evidence suggesting that Raoul Wallenberg was brought to the Vladimir Prison for the first time on July 25, 1947. If Raoul Wallenberg entered as a numbered prisoner in the Vladimir Prison, his number would have fallen into the range of 13-19 according to the graph in Figure 1 for entry on that date, and this is confirmed through the analysis and research of Susan Mesinai. It is, therefore, noteworthy that all of the registration cards in this range have been removed from the Vladimir *kartoteka* except for No. 15 which was Aladjani, Pietro Stefano (born 1894), an Armenian Roman Catholic priest with Italian citizenship.

## 2. Research Conducted for the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg

Subsequent to the work carried out by the Soviet-International Commission on the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg, which as stated above had no official affiliation to either government, the Swedish-Soviet, and, thereafter, the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg were formed with representatives from the Swedish and Russian Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish and Russian Security Police (SAPO and FSB, respectively), the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Russian Ministry of Defense. After 1997 jurisdiction of prisons was transferred from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation to the Ministry of Justice. Consequently, a representative of the Ministry of Justice was appointed to the Swedish-



**Figure 1.** Graph of prisoner Number versus date of entry for numbered prisoners whose registration cards were found in the Vladimir *kartoteka* in 1990 by the Soviet-International Commission. The abscissa axis indicates the date of entry for each numbered prisoner. Note that the date is given as mm.dd.yyyy according to American convention. In all other parts of this report, dates are given in the form dd.mm.yyyy or dd.mm.yy according to European convention unless otherwise noted.

Russian Working Group. Through a special request of Professor Guy von Dardel, the founding member of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, Professor Makinen was appointed in 1992 as a permanent consultant with approval of both the Swedish and Russian governments. In view of Makinen's history as a former prisoner in the Soviet Union, this was an unusual request, and the special cooperation of the Russian government in this appointment is, therefore, to be acknowledged.

Within the Swedish-Russian Working Group, in addition to the assistance and efforts of Mr. Hans Magnusson, co-chair of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, who ensured the completion of this work, in particular the computer scanning and analysis of the prisoner registration cards presented in this report, we wish to specifically acknowledge the efforts of Mr. Sergei Konstantinovich Nikishkin of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in helping to carry out and organize the computer based scanning of the prisoner registration cards in the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison and of Mr. Kamil Shekyurovich Bakhtiyarov of the Ministry of Justice for ensuring continued preservation of the original scanned images of the cards, construction of the data base from the scanned cards, maintenance of the computers and associated equipment, and facilities for carrying out analysis of the database. Without this assistance and cooperation, this work would have not been possible.

*a. Historical Background for a Computer Based Analysis of the Vladimir kartoteka*

Over the 1993-1997 period, Professors von Dardel and Makinen undertook several trips to the Vladimir Prison No. 2 in the city of Vladimir to interview Dr. Elena Nikolaevna Butova, retired chief physician of the prison, and other prison personnel; and to re-examine documents in the *Spetzchast* and medical records in the hospital that were still intact in the prison storage rooms. In December, 1993, Professors von Dardel and Makinen were accompanied by Mr. Nikolai Vasilevich Petrov as an independent consultant and senior staff member of Memorial Society, Ms. Maria Vladimirovna Ruzayeva as translator for Professor von Dardel, and Mr. Sergei Michailovich Tarakanov, chief of the section on prisons in the Russian Federation within the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD). On that visit Lieutenant Yurii Miroshin, assistant director of the Vladimir Prison, volunteered the names of two long-term prison employees as being possibly of assistance in the search for evidence of the incarceration of Raoul Wallenberg in Vladimir. These individuals were : (1) Varvara Ivanovna Larina, an elderly, pensioned woman, who continued to work as an assistant in the clinic of the hospital building of the prison known as Korpus 2. (Larina worked in Korpus 2 since 1946 from the age of approximately 16); and (2) Alexandr Timofeyevich Kukin, a retired man who had served earlier as a guard and later head guard in the prison in the 1950s and 1960s. (Subsequently Susan Mesinai, who also worked as an independent consultant for the Swedish-Russian Working Group, established through her own research of prisoner files that Kukin was the head guard for Korpus 2.)

On that trip Varvara Larina was interviewed by Makinen and Petrov in the office of the chief physician of the prison, Dr. Lyudmila Ivanovna Polinina. The interview was conducted in Russian. Initially it was evident in the interview that Larina was unaccustomed to speaking about the prison with others unknown to her. Because Dr. Polinina periodically reassured her that she should provide answers to questions if she knew any information since Makinen and Petrov were members of an official international commission and were there through approval of the authorities, she gradually overcame her shyness and became more relaxed and less hesitant to answer questions. In this initial interview she was informed only that we were trying to trace the whereabouts of various foreign individuals thought to have been incarcerated in Vladimir at some time since the late 1940s. At no time was the name of Raoul Wallenberg ever mentioned in the interview. Also, she was not informed that Professor Makinen, who was conducting the interview, had been a prisoner in Korpus 2. In her answers Larina showed no knowledge of international news from radio, television, or newspapers.

In the beginning the discussion was directed to rather general topics: her work responsibilities (cleaning of cells and the clinic or surgery rooms, dispensing meals to prisoners, sterilizing surgical instruments, etc.) and any prisoners whom she might remember. (While she volunteered the names of Pavel Anatol'yevich Sudoplatov and Francis Gary Powers, she could not recall the name of Powers' cellmate, Zigurds-Dzidris Krumin'sh.) She stressed that she was not supposed to learn the names of prisoners, she had no contact with prisoners in the absence of a guard, and she had no knowledge about their backgrounds. She had worked throughout all of these years only in Korpus 2 and had not worked in other parts of the prison.

When asked if she could recall any unusual prisoners or prisoners who seemed to be there under special circumstances, she did recall a foreign prisoner who had been kept for a lengthy period of time in solitary confinement on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2. She described this prisoner as being thin, with narrow arms and hands,

without eyeglasses, having a balding head with dark hair, and about 1.7 meters in height. Interestingly, she stated definitely that he was not German but a Westerner. She could not recall clearly the exact period of time that this prisoner had been in Vladimir, but she first suggested possibly late-1940s or early 1950s. (She later added that it could have been late-1950s.) In a later interview she stated that she recalled that a prisoner by the name of Osmak (she was hesitant about the name, stating that she was not certain that this was the correct name) had died in a nearby cell while this foreigner was on the third floor in solitary confinement, as she recalled, in cell No. 49. She stated that she knew no further details about this prisoner, that she did not know whether he received mail or packages, and that she did not know his name or country of origin.

When asked why was she able to remember this one prisoner so clearly after seeing hundreds of prisoners over several decades, she answered unambiguously that he complained constantly about everything. For instance, she stated that if the soup was cold when it was delivered to him, he would complain to the head guard. This apparently happened on several occasions so that finally the head guard ordered Larina to serve the soup and meals to this prisoner first. Since the soup was dispensed bowl by bowl and cell by cell from a large kettle, starting on the first floor, then on the second floor, and finally on the third floor when the kettle was lightest of all (the soup having cooled off by this time), to serve this prisoner on the third floor first meant a significant change in her daily activities which apparently lasted for some time. This consequently provides a credible reason why she was able to remember this prisoner so vividly after so many years. In addition, it shows that this prisoner had to have been under special treatment, for a more ordinary prisoner or even a foreigner, complaining about cold soup, would have received a verbal bashing by the head guard in rather colorful language. A number of photographs of men of various ages and sizes, with eyeglasses and without, were presented to Larina, including a composite of photographs of about 15 individuals obtained from the Swedish Foreign Ministry that had been used earlier in interviewing repatriated prisoners-of-war. When asked whether any of the individuals in the photographs resembled or were this prisoner, she selected a photograph with a side profile of Raoul Wallenberg that had been taken in Budapest but had never been used in the international press and was rarely seen by others. This is shown in Figure 2. Although the composite from the Swedish Foreign Ministry had the well known photograph of Raoul Wallenberg as a student at the University of Michigan, as shown in Figure 3, she totally ignored that photograph. Professor Makinen has found that only individuals very familiar with the physical appearance of Raoul Wallenberg associate the side profile in Figure 2 with him.



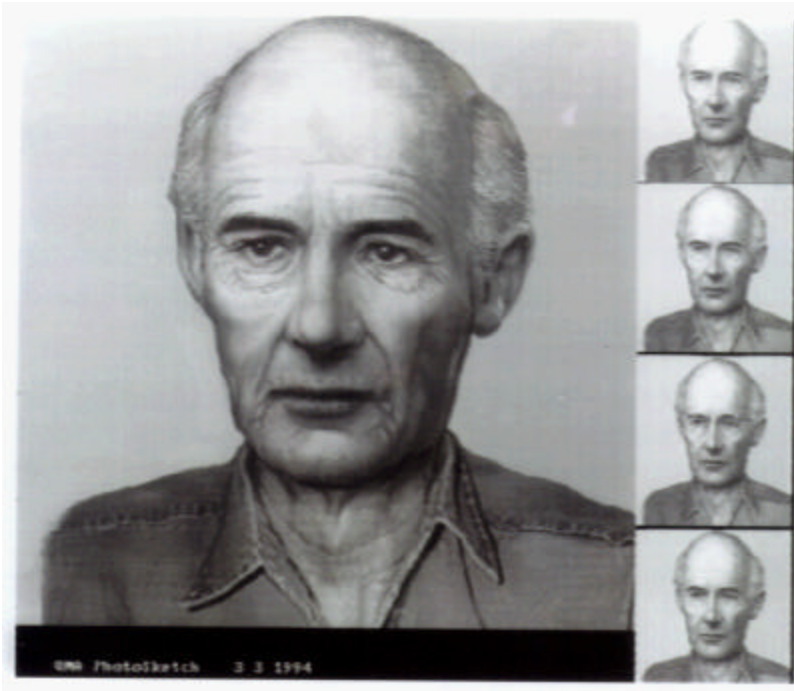
**Figure 2.** Side profile photograph of Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest identified by Varvara Larina as the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 at the time of the death of the prisoner Osmak.



**Figure 3.** Photograph of Raoul Wallenberg as a student at the University of Michigan commonly used in the international press but ignored by Varvara Larina as not recognizable.



Larina was interviewed by Professor Makinen on two additional occasions, approximately 12 and 24 months later, to verify whether she recalled the same details and whether she was able to recall additional information. These interviews were conducted in the office of the director of the prison with several individuals present in uniform and with Professor Makinen present. On these occasions the name of Raoul Wallenberg was also not mentioned. Larina on each occasion repeated essentially the same details and continued to select the same side-profile photograph, ignoring the photographs of others. On one occasion she was shown a series of photographs which were forensic, age progression likenesses of Raoul Wallenberg's facial features, that had been made by Horace Heafner, a forensic artist at the National Institute for Missing Children in Arlington, Virginia (These age progression drawings were based on a series of photographs of Raoul Wallenberg from early childhood to Budapest and a photograph of his mother according to standard forensic techniques.) Interestingly, Larina pointed to the photograph from this series that corresponded to Raoul Wallenberg at the approximate age of 40-50. The photograph that Larina selected is shown as Figure 4.



**Figure 4.** Forensic aged drawing of Raoul Wallenberg by Dr. Horace Heafner selected by Varvara Larina as corresponding to the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 at the time of Osmak's death. The aged progressions are shown as insets on the right.

This information was reported to the Working Group by Professor Makinen after each interview. Members of both the Swedish and Russian governments in the Working Group showed only disbelief that the information



**Figure 5.** Photograph of Varvara Ivanovna Larina in her home (reproduced from *U. S. News & World Report*, May 13, 1996).

provided by Larina was credible and showed no inclination to want to determine whether it was verifiable. For instance, a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Working Group, claimed to have consulted a professor of psychology at Moscow State University who assured him that it was impossible for anyone to recall an individual under such circumstances after 40 years. He also stated that among all of the millions of registered prisoners in the Soviet Union he was unable to find any with a name of Osmak or something similar and that there was none in the Vladimir *kartoteka*.

Because of the reluctance of the Working Group to pursue these leads further, Professor Makinen finally informed Victoria Pope, the former Moscow correspondent for *U. S. News & World Report*, about Larina. Pope herself visited Larina with Susan Mesinai, and interviewed her. Pope included the information in an article that appeared in the May 13, 1996, issue of the news magazine. Only from the interview with Pope did Larina learn of the name of Raoul Wallenberg for the first time. A copy of the photograph of Larina is provided as Figure 5 that ap-

peared in that article. After the meeting with Victoria Pope, Larina was not interviewed again by Makinen. (It is Makinen's understanding from Susan Mesinai, who interviewed Larina again, that the authorities tried to get Larina to recant her statements, but she refused and, therefore, had to leave her job at the prison.) Professor Makinen did once visit her in her apartment with Svetlana Zavrazhnova, an interpreter working with the group to photograph cards of the Vladimir Prison *kartoteka* in late February - early March, 1997 (described below). From that visit it was evident that Larina had neither a television through which she might have heard about Raoul Wallenberg nor newspapers and magazines with international or national news that would have been likely to have contained articles about him.

During the December, 1993, trip to Vladimir, Alexandr Timofeyevich Kukin was also interviewed through the assistance of Vitalii Eduardovich Gurinovitch, at that time a history teacher in Vladimir involved in organizing a museum about the history of the Vladimir Prison. Kukin was a patient at the time in a Vladimir hospital convalescing from severe bronchitis and pneumonia. Kukin confirmed that there had been a foreign individual in solitary confinement in Korpus 2 for a lengthy period of time but claimed not to be able to recall details about the individual's background. When shown photographs seen by Larina, he stated that the photographs selected by her were not unlike the foreign prisoner.

*b. Proposal for Computer Based Analysis of Prisoner Registration Cards*

Familiarity with the structure of the prisoner registration cards and the information that was written onto the card in the course of the prisoner's incarceration gained through the work of the Soviet-International Commission provided a basis for proposing how the statements of Larina could be tested. To illustrate this, Figures 6 and 7 show the front and back images of the prisoner registration cards of Boris Grigoriyevich Menshagin, an unwitting witness of the Katyn Forest Massacre, first as Prisoner No. 29, and later under his true identity after the practise of referring to him as a numbered prisoner ceased. At that time his card was rewritten. For Menshagin, as Prisoner No. 29 there is a chronological listing of each cell into which he was placed accompanied by the date on which the cell change occurred, as shown in Figure 6. When the card was rewritten later, full information was included, as shown in Figure 7. Also, on the backside of the card are listed the date of his first arrival and final departure from the Vladimir Prison. In the event that a prisoner was transferred to other locations, for instance, Moscow for additional interrogation, etc., the dates of departure from and return to Vladimir were noted on the back side. If the prisoner died while in prison, the date of death was recorded onto the card.

Thus, the complete chronological record of each cell occupied by the prisoner was contained on the registration card in the *kartoteka* even though the prisoner had been identified only by a number or perhaps even a pseudonym. From such cell occupancy data, the chronological history of each cell in the prison in principle could be reconstructed according to its occupants. By accounting for the occupancy of cells on the basis of prisoner registration cards available in the *kartoteka*, it would then be possible to identify cells that would appear as unoccupied or "empty." These cells were, thus, either truly empty or only apparently empty in the event that authorities had removed the documentary materials from the prison. Therefore, when correlated with independently gathered information from eyewitness reports, the cell occupancy data could be used to test the validity of the witness' statements. If the cell in question proved to have the usual complement of prisoners after analysis of the cell occupancy data, one would have to consider the statement as flawed. On the other hand, if the cell proved to be "empty," the analysis would be supportive of the witness' statements and would indicate that the conditions pertaining to the cell in question had been accurately described. In addition, there was other information such as year of birth, nationality, date of arrest and statute under which sentencing was carried out, and address or last known domicile at the time of arrest, through which prisoners in neighboring cells could be possibly traced as potential witnesses.

Proceeding on the basis of this experience, Professor Makinen outlined a plan to the Working Group by which the statements of Larina could be tested and by which it would be possible to verify whether a cell on the third floor of Korpus 2 may have held a prisoner in lengthy solitary confinement:

(i) Select for photographic duplication registration cards of only those prisoners who were placed into cells in Korpus 2 during incarceration in the Vladimir Prison between the years of 1947 and 1972. These years correspond, respectively, to the alleged death of Raoul Wallenberg in the Lubyanka Prison according to the Gromyko Memorandum and the last eyewitness account of Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison, in this case given by Iosif Mikhailovich Terelya which will be discussed later;

|   |                    |        |                |
|---|--------------------|--------|----------------|
| 1. Фам.   | W29 I Чехословакия | Орган  | Кем арестован  |
| 2. Имя  | Меншлагин          |        | без сокращений |
| 3. Отч.   | Борис Георгиевич   | Отдел  |                |
| 4. Год рожд.  | 1902               | №№ дел |                |
| 5. Место рожд.  |                    | Сл.    | 333            |
| 6. Адрес  |                    | Арх.   | 20 30/08 11    |
| 7. Проф. (спец.)  |                    | Сл.    | 2-7 4/28 51    |
| 8. Место работы, должн.                                     |                    | Арх.   |                |
| 9. Парт.  |                    | Дата   | форм.          |
| 10. Нап.  | русский            |        |                |
| 11. Гражд.  | СССР               |        |                |
| 12. Арестован «...»   | 19... г.           |        |                |
| 13. Характер преступления                                   |                    |        |                |
| 14. Ст.ст. УК   | 19/4-43            |        |                |
| 15. Карточка заполнена                                      |                    |        |                |
| указать: фамилия, имя, отчество, КПП, дата, место, название |                    |        |                |
| Фамилия составил карточку                                   |                    |        |                |

**Figure 6.** Front (top) and back (lower) sides of the registration card of Boris Menshagin as Prisoner No. 29 in the Vladimir kartoteka. On the original card it is possible to see that the **name of the prisoner** was written at a later time because of different colored ink. The **cell occupancy information** is seen on the right side of the front of the card under the **Case No. (No. No. Ääë)**. On the back side of the card only the **length of sentence** (25 years) and the **beginning of the sentence** (04/02/50) are written. (This was later changed to start as of the date of initial detention, May 28, 1945.) The cards of Menshagin were originally photographed in August, 1990, by the Soviet - International Commission.

|                  |            |             |    |     |
|------------------|------------|-------------|----|-----|
| Кем осужден      |            |             |    |     |
| Когда            | ст.ст. УК  | срок        | 25 | лет |
| Начало срока     | 4/11-50 г. | конец срока |    |     |
| Форма № 1. Т. В. |            |             |    |     |

(ii) Reconstruct by computer search algorithms the chronological history of the occupants of each cell in Korpus 2 from the cell occupancy data contained in the cards;

(iii) Identify prisoners who died in Korpus 2, particularly in the vicinity of cell 2-49;

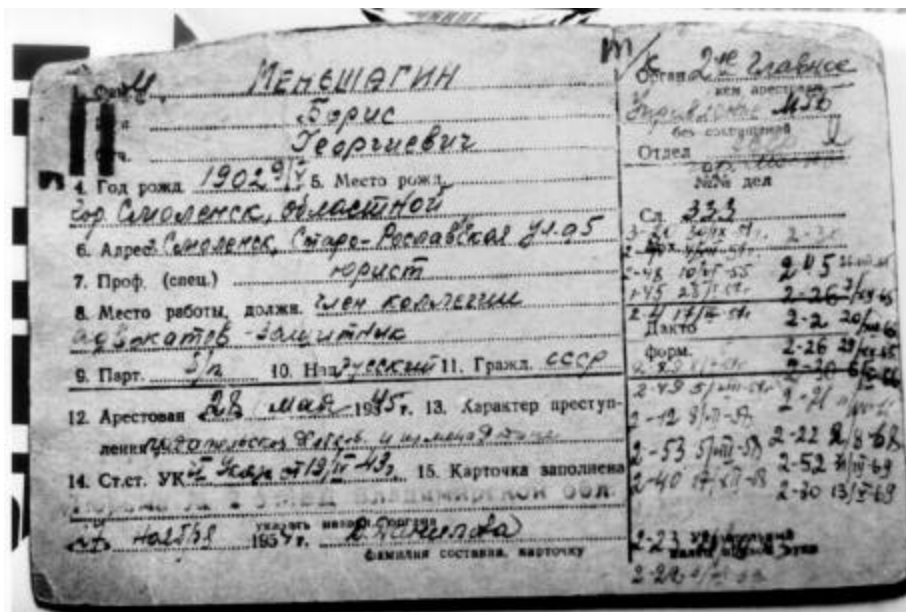
(iv) Determine whether any cells on the third floor showed no occupants at the time of death of a prisoner according to the cell occupancy data from prisoner registration cards;

(v) Identify the prisoner whose family name was Osmak or some variation thereof;

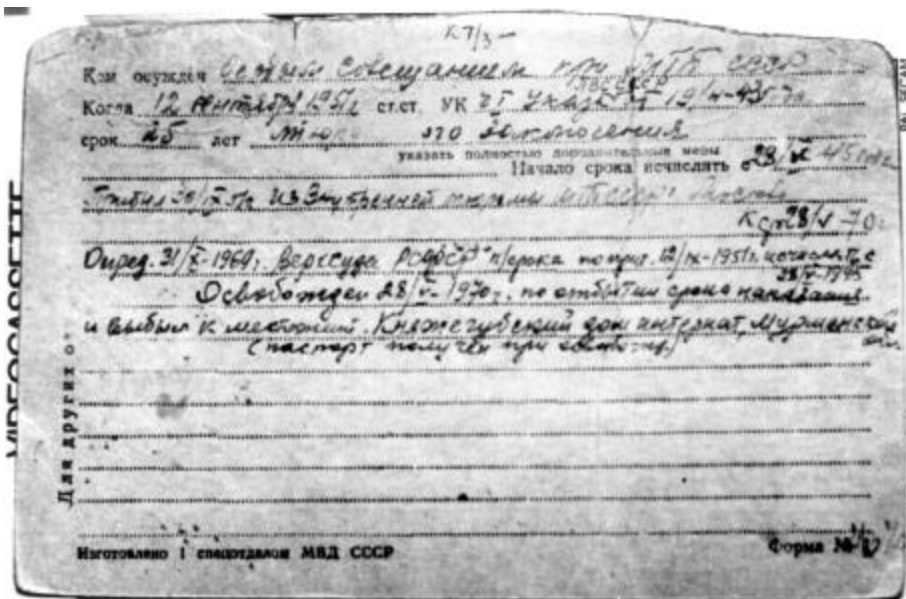
(vi) Determine when the prisoner Osmak died on the third floor of Korpus 2; and

(vii) Identify prisoners who were held in nearby cells at the time of death of Osmak and who as potential witnesses could provide further information from their knowledge about special or foreign prisoners held at that time in Korpus 2 or in the Vladimir Prison, in general.

In late February, 1997, Professor Makinen traveled to the Vladimir Prison with a team of assistants to select and photograph registration cards of prisoners according to the plan outlined above for analysis. The Swedish Embassy had received previously information from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the request of the Swedish government to allow Professor Makinen to carry out this analysis for the Working Group had been approved in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which at that time still had jurisdiction over all prisons in the Russian Federation. The members of the group accompanying Professor Makinen were Professor von Dardel; Susan Mesinai, director of the ARK Project and at that time *ad hoc* consultant to the Working Group; Mssrs. Nikolai Kostenko, Gennadii Kuzovkin, and Alexandr Popoyan, all members of Memorial Society; and Svetlana Zavrazhnova, translator. The group was accompanied by Mr. Martin Hallqvist, Ambassador-at-Large for the Swedish Foreign Ministry and former member of the Working Group. Professor Makinen had estimated that selection and photography of the cards would require approximately one full week, and the group arrived equipped with photographic equipment, computer scanning equipment, and sufficient photographic film for the work.



**Figure 7.** Front (top) and back (lower) sides of the registration card of Boris Menshagin in which full information is entered including the **statute** under which he was sentenced by Special Tribunal. The **cell occupancy information** is seen on the right hand part of the front side of the card. The **Case No. 333 (No. No. 333)** is unchanged from that in Figure 6. The **date of arrest**, May 28, 1945, is given on the front side in the lower left-hand quadrant. On the back side the **length of the sentence** has not been changed from 25 years as written in Figure 6, but the **beginning of the sentence** has been changed to 28/05/45. Menshagin was released on May 28, 1970, and was exiled to the city of Murmansk where he subsequently died, never to have regained contact with his wife and daughter again.





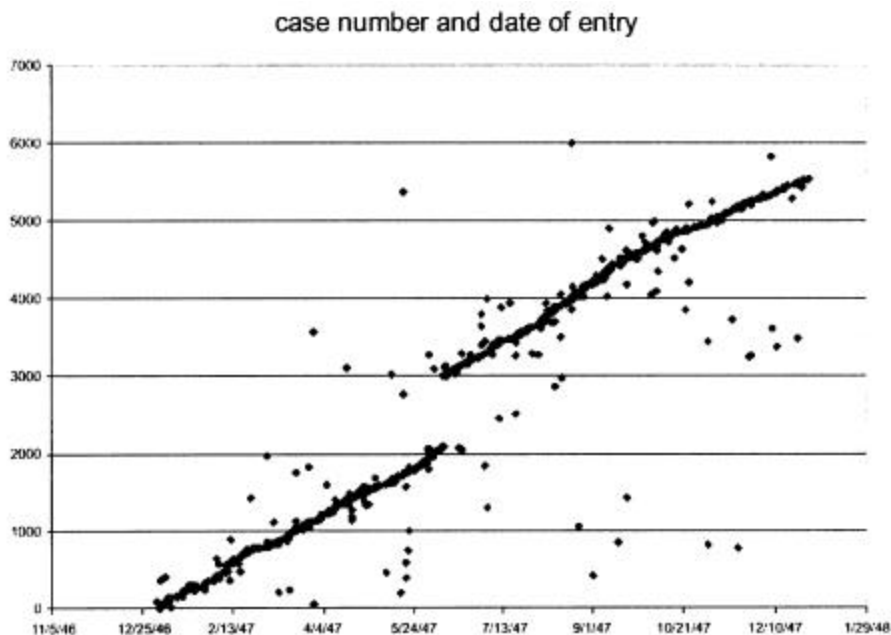


February, 1997.) Finding the card and verifying that he had died while occupying a cell on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 was of considerable importance because it gave proof of the general accuracy of the information provided earlier by Varvara Larina and indicated that analysis of the cell occupancy data was imperative.

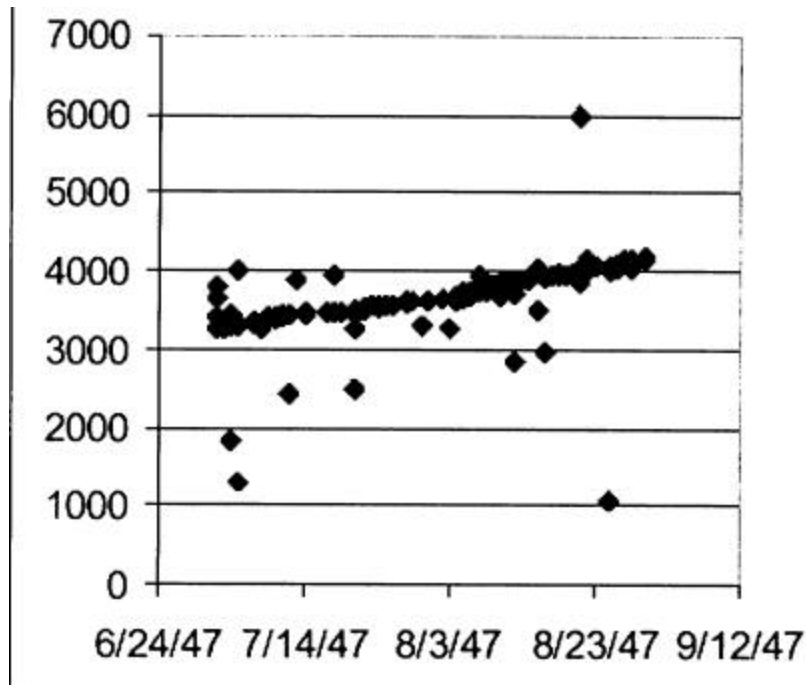
The second result was achieved by Susan Mesinai. Through Lieutenant Yurii Miroshin, assistant director of the prison, she requested access to registry journals for transport of prisoners into and out of the Vladimir Prison for the years 1947, 1952, and 1954. (Susan Mesinai had studied the Vladimir cards photographed in 1990, noting patterns of categories of prisoners according to transfer to psychiatric hospitals, deaths, invalid homes, etc., and the years 1947, 1952, and 1954 corresponded to periods which through her assessment of relevant documents and eyewitness reports from the Swedish Foreign Ministry were most likely to involve transfer of Wallenberg into and out of the Vladimir Prison.) Miroshin stated that the records for 1952 and 1954 had been destroyed but he was unable to confirm whether or not the registry for 1947 was available. Mesinai therefore requested permission to compile a list of date of entry of each prisoner into the prison and Case No. (*No. No. Ääë*) written on the registration card for these years. This involved no personal information that could be used to identify prisoners. She had the supposition that the Case No. might be assigned on a chronological or sequential basis although we had not been able to establish its importance through earlier discussions with prison officials or members of Memorial Society.

The idea behind this compilation came from the report in Swiss intelligence files by Jakob Höchli, a former member of the German army, upon repatriation. He stated that he had learned from other prisoners in Korpus 3 that the prisoner Vitalii Shulgin, a well known Russian writer and former contemporary of Lenin, was transported from Moscow to Vladimir in July of 1947 in the same transport as Raoul Wallenberg. Susan Mesinai proposed that it might be possible to zero in on the Case No. assigned to Raoul Wallenberg if he indeed was brought to the Vladimir Prison in 1947 with Shulgin. Since we had photographed the card of Vitalii Shulgin in 1990, we knew the precise day of his entering the Vladimir Prison (July 25, 1947) as well as the Case No. recorded on his card (3569). The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 9. Although we estimated at the time that only about 30% of the relevant data had been extracted from the *kartoteka*, we found a card belonging to a prisoner entering on the last day of December, 1947, setting the outer limit of the graph. An expanded view of the graph around the date of Shulgin's entry into the Vladimir Prison is shown in Figure 10.

There are several features of the plots in Figures 9 and 10 that require discussion. Firstly, while scatter in the plotted data is apparent, this arises through the difficulties attendant with reading entries of arrival dates and Case Nos. in the registration cards written by hand with different styles of writing, aged documents with fading ink, and probably occasional, incorrectly entered dates or Case Nos. Secondly, there is a clear discontinuity accounting for approximately 1,000 prisoners in the latter part of May, 1947. This discontinuity may be due to the circumstance that large numbers of prisoners-of-war were brought to the Vladimir Prison but then distributed further into labor camps within the Vladimir Oblast' and no longer detained at the Prison. As stated earlier, we also know that this discontinuity coincides with a secret order from the Ministry of State Security for prisoners of special prominence to be identified by numbers and for maintaining their incarceration as a high priority secret, as verified by a copy of a document observed in the Sakharov Museum in Moscow. Therefore, it is conceivable that some num-



**FIGURE 9.** Plot of Case No. (*No. No. del*) on the vertical axis *versus* the date of entry into the Vladimir Prison on the horizontal axis for the year 1947 for prisoners with registration cards in the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir *Spetzchast'*. The date of entry on the horizontal axis is given as mm/dd/yy according to American custom, in contrast to the listing of dates as dd/mm/yy in general in other parts of this report



**FIGURE 10.** Expanded plot of Case No. (*No. No. del*) versus date of entry from data in Figure 9 for the month of July, 1947. It is seen that there are no entries for several dates surrounding the date of entry of the prisoner Shulgin on July 25, 1947.

bered prisoners may be also included within the discontinuity. Figure 1 implies that the numbered prisoners having entered the Vladimir Prison had reached only about No. 20 at this time. (Details about these aspects are discussed in the report "Strict Isolation and Numbering of Prisoners" by Susan Mesinai.) Thirdly, there is a clear, monotonic increase in Case No. (*No. No. Del*) entered on the registration card and the date of entry of prisoners. (Inspection of Case Nos. for prisoners showed later that in general a prisoner always kept the same Case No. despite multiple entries and departures unless the prisoner returned under a new sentence.) In other words, the Case No. of a prisoner entering for the first time in 1947 can be predicted with some certainty, given the initial date of entry.

The Case No. on Shulgin's registration card was 3569. Shulgin's personal dossier, examined by Susan Mesinai in the FSB archives in Moscow, states that he was allowed to walk into the prison from the street from a van and that he was accompanied by Kutepov, Pavel Aleksandrovich (born 1925) and Volkov, Konstantin (born ?). Volkov is not in the database presumably because he was never in Korpus 2. The registration card of Kutepov was written on 26/07/47. The Case No. on Kutepov's card is 3570, falling precisely into the 3400-3700 range, right after Shulgin's, and Kutepov's card was filled out one day after Shulgin's, supporting the correlation. Inspection of the cards of other prisoners entering between the dates of 20/07/47 and 30/07/47 showed, furthermore, the following:

| <u>Date of entry or filling out of card</u> | <u>Prisoner name &amp; year of birth</u> | <u>Case No. (<i>No. No. Ääë</i>)</u> |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| 21/07/47                                    | Bogomolova, E. A. (1922)                 | 3486                                 |
| 21/07/47                                    | Tyutin, N. V. (1912)                     | 3498                                 |
| 22/07/47                                    | Kulyarkina, A. K. (1893)                 | 3515                                 |
| 23/07/47                                    | Kuz'min, Yu. A. (1928)                   | 3558                                 |
| 24/07/47                                    | Dryagunova, A. I. (1922)                 | 3565                                 |
| 25/07/47                                    | Badmayev, B. (1901)                      | 3568                                 |
| 25/07/47                                    | Shulgin, V. V. (1878)                    | 3569                                 |
| 26/07/47                                    | Kutepov, P. A. (1925)                    | 3570                                 |
| 28/07/47                                    | Dmitriyev, A. K. (1900)                  | 3585                                 |
| 28/07/47                                    | Poplanov, B. A. (1918)                   | 3597                                 |
| 28/07/47                                    | Skuyin'sh, A. Yu. (1900)                 | 3614                                 |

The individuals listed above from the database are prisoners who spent at least one day in Korpus 2 during their incarceration in the Vladimir Prison over the 1947 – 1972 period, as explained below, while the data in Figures 9 and 10 refer to all prisoners entering for the first time in 1947. This difference accounts for the lack of a continuous

unit by unit incremental change in the Case No. with date of entry in the above table, as, for instance, seen with Badmayev, Shulgin, and Kutepov. Also, we had not had sufficient time to collect all of the Case No. data for 1947.

As seen in the graph in Figure 10, there are several absences around the date of entry of Shulgin and Kutepov on July 25, 1947. There are correlations within the database indicating the arrival of other prisoners who had to have been processed at about the same time as Shulgin but are not accounted for through the cards available to us in the *kartoteka*. For instance, cell 2-2, located in an isolated corner of Korpus 2, becomes 'empty' on 24/07/47, and does not acquire occupants with registration cards in the *kartoteka* until 01/06/48 for a total of 313 days. Also, cell 2-3 becomes 'empty' on 28/07/47 and remains empty until 02/05/48 for a total of 281 days, and cell 2-10 becomes 'empty' on 21/07/47 until 17/01/48 for a total of 180 days. The observation of three cells becoming ostensibly empty at this time correlated with missing Case Nos. in Figure 10 implies a close connection between the two. These circumstances, thus, speak for isolation of newly arrived prisoners for a lengthy period of time at the time of Shulgin's arrival rather than simple relocation of prisoners within Korpus 2. Examination of the data in Figures 9 and 10 showed, furthermore, that while at least one, and sometimes up to 4 to 6 registration cards were prepared for each day of that week for prisoners entering for the first time, there is no card entered on 27/07/47 or 29/07/47 which correspond to a Sunday and Tuesday, respectively, for that week. Thus, the lack of a Case No. assigned on a given date does not necessarily indicate a holiday. On this basis, the statements of Shulgin's, as reported through Höchli, coupled with the opening of cells 2-2, 2-3, and 2-10 closely coincident with the time of Shulgin's arrival indicate that these cells were occupied by individuals whose registration cards have been removed from the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison. Examination of other data extracted from prisoner registration cards provides further support for this conclusion.

On the basis of Figure 10, it can be deduced that the missing Case Nos. fall within the range of 3400 – 3700. In the event that Raoul Wallenberg was transported to the Vladimir Prison for the first time with Shulgin, as reported, we can conclude that his Case No. would have fallen into this range. We believe that the Case No. probably corresponds to the line in the registry journal of incoming prisoners for the year in which the name of the prisoner was entered. Although we have requested access to such registry journals, none has been given heretofore, and no clear answer has been given whether they have been destroyed or not.

## **B. Construction of the Database for Analysis of Cell Occupancy in Korpus II**

### *1. Stipulations of the Russian Government*

Through subsequent discussions of the Swedish Embassy with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the participation of Professor Makinen, the conditions under which Professor Makinen would be allowed to conduct an analysis of the Vladimir *kartoteka* were established. The main conditions for photography or other forms of duplication, examination, and analysis of prisoner registration cards in the Vladimir *kartoteka* were set forth through the November, 1997, session of the Swedish-Russian Working Group. The conditions were the following:

(1) copies of the cards (except for those that had been already previously photographed) were not to be taken out of the Russian Federation and were to remain under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (this had to be amended to the Ministry of Justice which was assigned jurisdiction of prisons and correctional institutions at a later date);

(2) the names of prisoners with no direct relationship to the case of Raoul Wallenberg and other means of personal identification were not to be made public; and

(3) all precautions were to be undertaken for safeguarding the confidentiality of sources of information and the privacy of prisoners and their immediate families, in particular those prisoners who had no direct association with the case of Raoul Wallenberg.

In addition, it was anticipated that after computer-based analysis of data assembled from the prisoner registration cards into a suitable database was completed, a report would be made to the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the results of the analysis. (An interim report of a preliminary nature was submitted to Hans Magnusson, co-chairman of the Swedish-Russian Working Group on July 14, 2000, by special request.) Copies of the original scanned images of the registration cards were to remain under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the



Russian Federation. The archival material was subsequently transferred to the control of the Ministry of Justice when jurisdiction of prisons was later assigned to that part of the government and is being kept for further analysis.

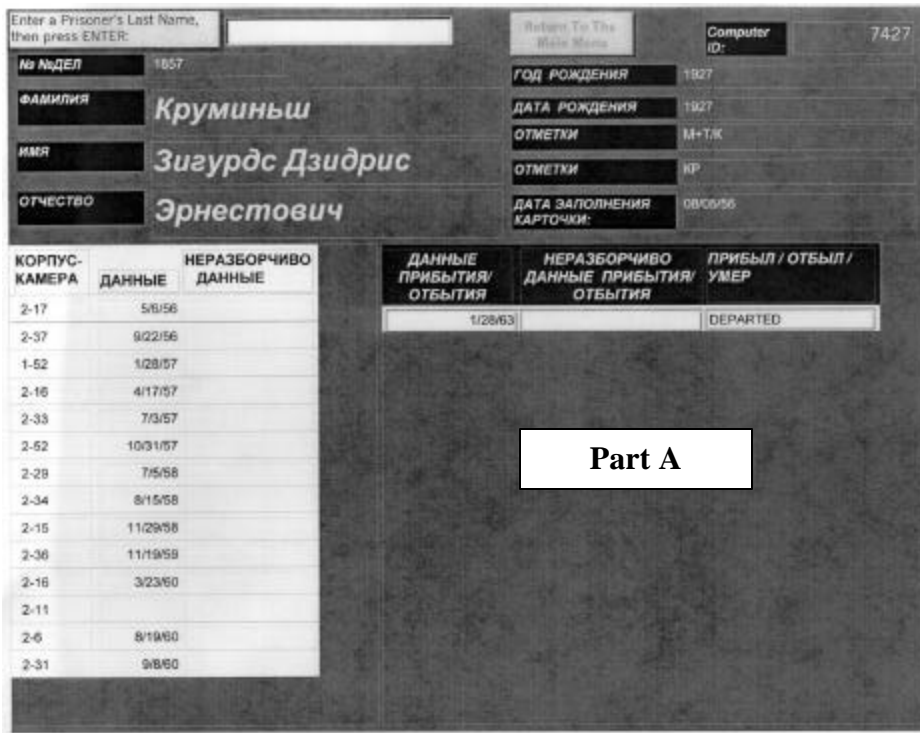
## 2. *Work Conditions and Procedures for Construction of the Database*

In the latter part of March, 1998, a team headed by Professor Makinen spent 4 days at the Vladimir Prison for selection and computer-controlled scanning of prisoner registration cards. The rest of the group consisted of Dr. Viktor Tumarkin together with a technical assistant from ProSoft, AG, which had been contracted by the Swedish Embassy for making digital images of the registration cards; Mssrs. Kostenko, Kuzovkin, and Popoyan of Memorial Society, who had accompanied him to the Vladimir Prison in February, 1997; Mr. Leonid Ragosin, a translator hired by the Swedish Embassy; and Mr. Ari Kaplan of Chicago, Illinois, who had started to work as a database consultant with Professor Makinen to develop software for analysis of cell occupancy data. The cards selected in February, 1997, had not been maintained in their rotated configuration and all prisoner registration cards in the *kartoteka* had to be reexamined. Consequently the first requirement was to reselect cards for computerized scanning. The only criteria for selection of cards were: (1) prisoners who had spent one or more days in Korpus 2 during their incarceration in the prison between January 1, 1947, and December 31, 1972 and (2) prisoners who had a notable absence of cell occupancy information between the date of entry into the prison and the first written cell occupied, indicating that they may have been held under special isolation conditions.

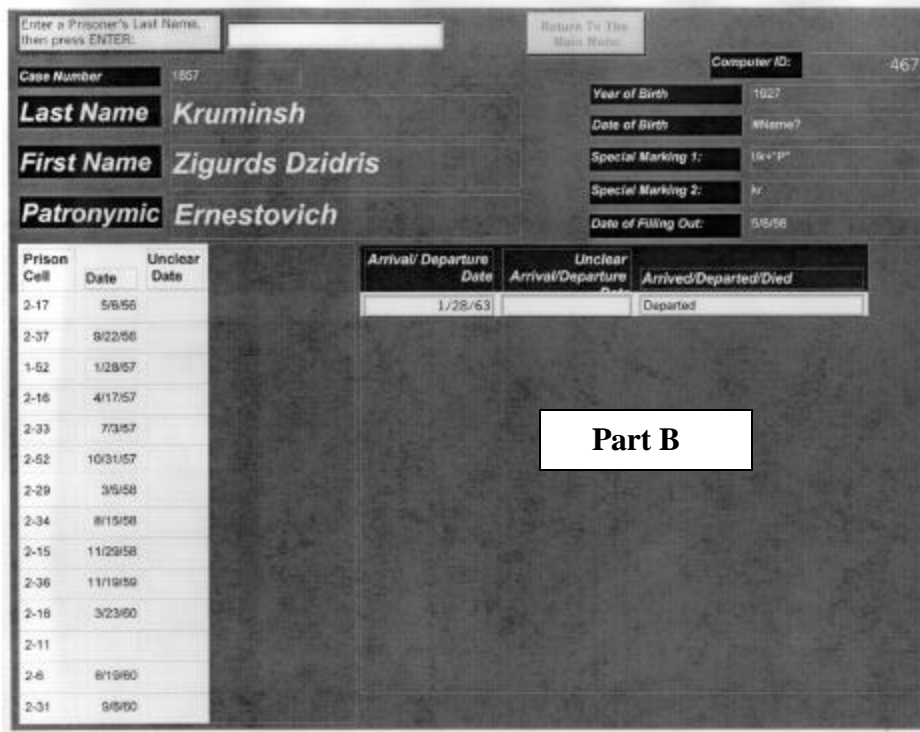
The cards were scanned under computer control using the specialized equipment supplied by ProSoft. AG, for historically important documents, and images of each registration card were constructed in TIFF format at a resolution of 600 dpi. Images of the front and back sides were made of over 11,000 cards belonging to 8,049 individuals. (From our estimate in August, 1990, that the Vladimir *kartoteka* contains a total of upwards of 80,000 prisoner registration cards, often with more than one card per prisoner incarceration period; the 11,000 cards selected represent only approximately one-seventh of all of the prisoners who have been incarcerated in the Vladimir Prisoner. Since the estimate of the total number of prisoners includes a sizeable number of prisoners prior to 1947 and after 1972, numbers which are not known to us, we cannot evaluate what fraction of total prisoners is represented by the database over the 1947-1972 time period.) Subsequently under Dr. Tumarkin's direction, the images of the scanned cards were read by a staff of 5 individuals from ProSoft experienced in translation of historical documents into computer file format. This part of the work was carried out under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow. An example of the data fields created from the registration card for each prisoner is shown in Figure 11. Figure 11 presents the data fields in two parts: in Russian with Cyrillic lettering (Part A) and in English with Roman lettering (Part B). The data contain the minimum information to identify the prisoner and to reconstruct the chronological course of cell occupancy by the prisoner during imprisonment, including periods of time in which the prisoner may have been transferred to interrogation prisons or other similar institutions and returned to the Vladimir Prison.

Mr. Kaplan and Professor Makinen began the analysis of the database in August, 1998, and completed the work in six separate trips to Moscow, each lasting 10-14 days, the last trip having taken place in October, 2000. The initial emphasis of the work was centered on verifying the historical accuracy of all entered data and correcting mistakes in data transfer by comparison of the computer file image such as that in Figure 11 with the TIFF image of the registration card to resolve inconsistencies and discrepancies in the data. In this part of the work, Mr. Nikolai Kostenko provided valuable assistance. It was possible to devote only the last two work sessions in Moscow completely to data analysis, such were the demands of data verification and correction of errors. A list of programs developed by Mr. Kaplan for verifying the accuracy and self-consistency of the entered data is given in Appendix I. A list of programs for analysis of cell occupancy data is given in Appendix II. The data analysis was carried out with the use of two Hewlett-Packard 4510 Notebook laptop computers operating under Microsoft Windows and Office. All programs written by Mr. Kaplan for data verification and analysis employed ACCESS within the Microsoft Office system.

The database constructed from these cards contained 8,049 names of prisoners and 98,030 cell records. The chronology of all cell changes was checked for all prisoners, and corrected where necessary by comparison to the scanned image of the card to verify its accuracy. There were no cell records in the database without assignment to an identifiable prisoner, and upon completion of data verification there were no cell records that had not been entered in correct chronological order. The only uncertainty in the data analysis derives from the circumstance, as illustrated in Figure 11, that occasionally cell numbers were entered on a card of a given prisoner without a date.



**Figure 11.** Copy of the computer file image of the prisoner registration card of Zigurds Dzidris Ernestovich Kruminsh from the Vladimir *kartoteka*, illustrating the data fields extracted from each registration card to construct the database for cell occupancy analysis. The upper image (Part A) shows the Russian file with Cyrillic lettering while the lower image (Part B) shows the corresponding data fields in English translation with Roman lettering. It is also seen that cell 2-11 is not associated with a date. This situation was frequently found on registration cards, and the manner in which this situation was treated is described in the text. Kruminsh was the cellmate of Francis Gary Powers and Marvin W. Makinen, and was reported to have been the cellmate of a Swedish prisoner by name of "Van den Berg."



While we presumed that this indicated that the prisoner was placed temporarily in that cell for perhaps a day prior to being transferred to the next cell associated with a date, in the absence of definitive information, we assumed maximum occupancy of the cell in question to ensure that possible important prisoner pairings in cells were not missed. That is, we assumed in the calculations that the prisoner occupied the cell in question for the entire period between the two dates as well as the previous cell for the entire period between the two dates. This assumption tends to underestimate instances of 'empty' cells with no identifiable occupants. This led to several instances of filling of cells in Korpus 2 with four or more prisoners for short periods of time and occasional, artifactual pairing of

male and female prisoners into the same cell. Each such questionable situation was then examined by resort to the TIFF images of the cards of the concerned prisoners, on which basis the inconsistency was resolved.

Of the more than 8,000 prisoners in the database, only 22 had no final departure date entered on the back side of the card. We could discern no systematic basis for this omission except for probable accidental failure to enter the date at the time of departure of the prisoner. In no instance did this affect a cell in Korpus 2 as the final cell occupied by the prisoner. There were 14 prisoners who had been incarcerated only in Korpus 2, and there were 21 prisoners who spent more than two years in a single cell in Korpus 2 in the course of their imprisonment. Also, over the 1947-1972 period there was a total of 157 prisoner deaths, of which 134 occurred in Korpus 2, reflecting the circumstance that Korpus 2 was used not only for isolation of important prisoners but also as a hospital for medical treatment and that many of these prisoners must have been debilitated and in poor physical condition at the time of transfer to Korpus 2 for medical treatment. The age of prisoners at the time of death varied from 19 to 82.

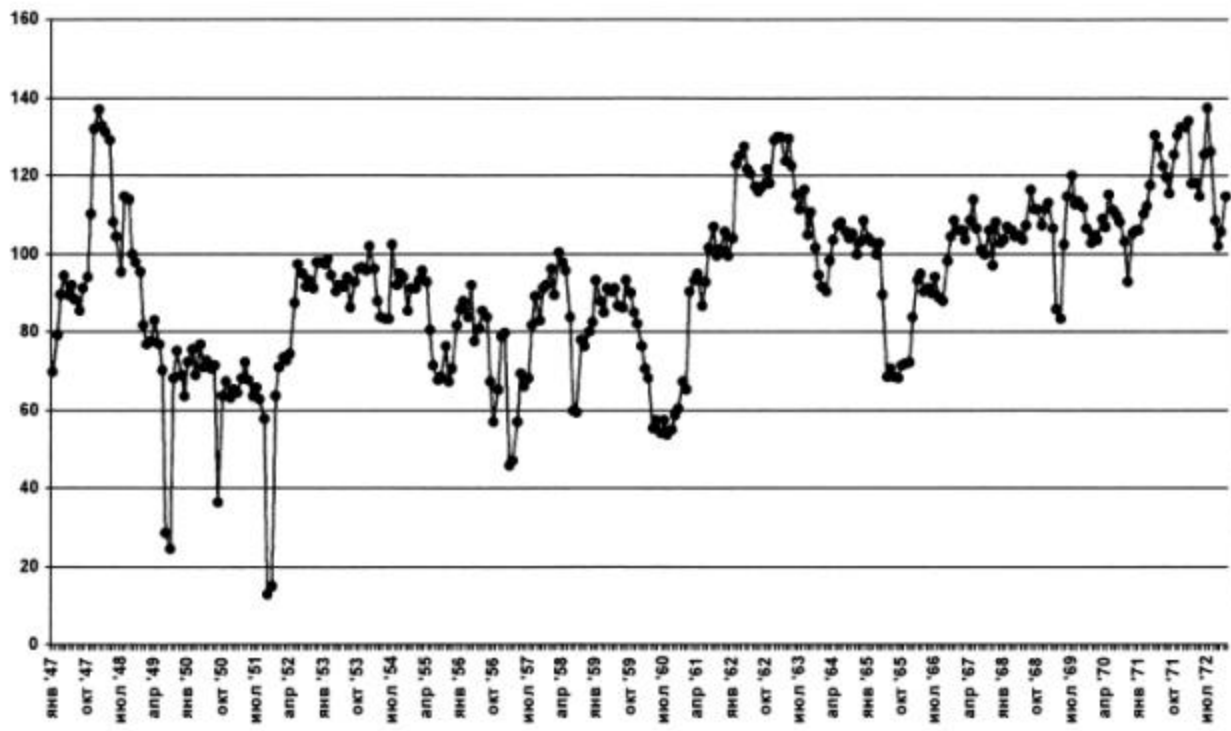
### C. Limitations in the Analysis of the Occupancy of Cells in Korpus 2 of the Vladimir Prison

#### 1. Prisoner Population Statistics of Korpus 2

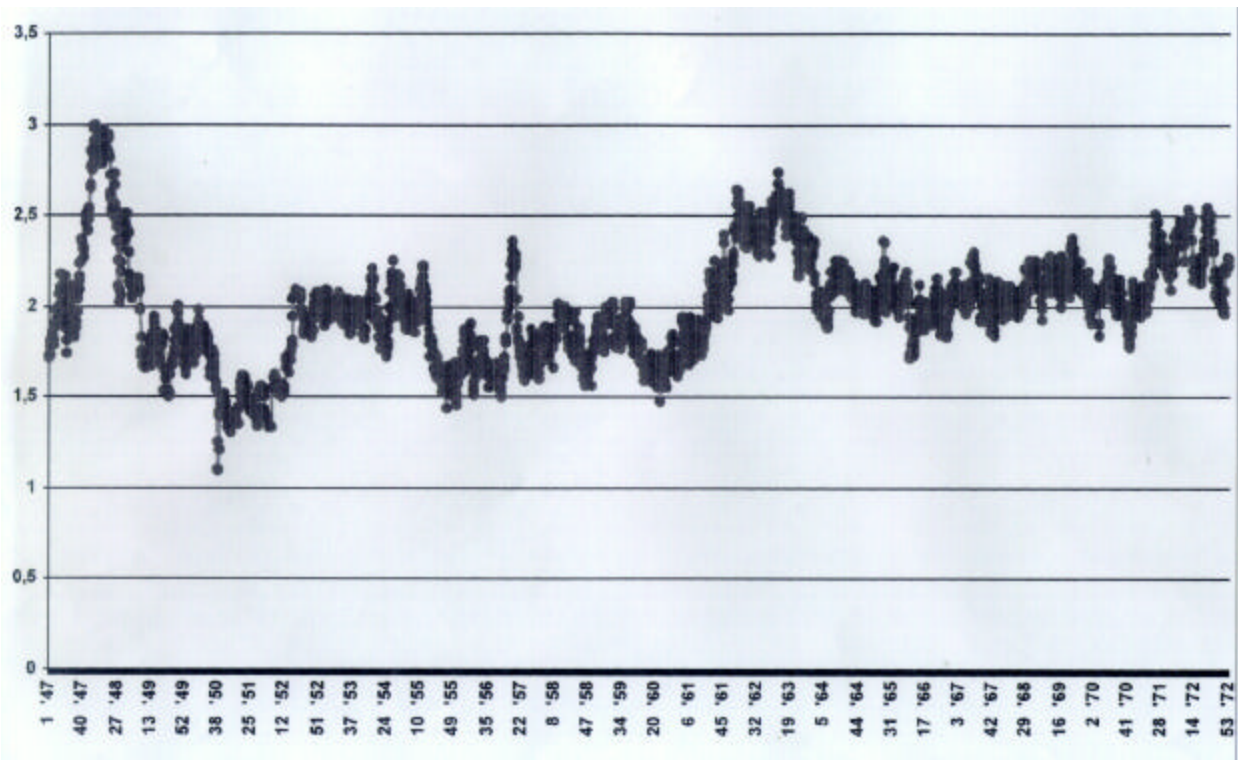
In this investigation we have been greatly concerned about conditions such as construction and renovation requiring transfer of prisoners from floor to floor and from korpus to korpus that would result in unoccupied cells. For instance, in the reports provided by several repatriated German prisoners-of-war in the Wallenberg Files in the archives of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, statements indicate that cell changes of prisoners were frequently made with transfer to other korpuses because of construction and repair of cells. These conditions are also reflected in the book published by Sudoplatov, Pavel Anatol'yevich (born 1907) *Special Tasks* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1994), in which he describes his imprisonment in Vladimir. He states that the three main buildings of the prison were enlarged after 1950 to accommodate up to 800 prisoners in all. Since no definitive answer was given to our inquiry to Vladimir prison authorities in 1998 about records of reconstruction and repair of cells, we have analyzed the distribution of identifiable prisoners, *i.e.*, prisoners with registration cards in the *kartoteka*, over the 1947 – 1972 period to examine the extent of fluctuations in prisoner population in Korpus 2. While *increases* in total prisoner population would serve only to strengthen arguments based on identification of unoccupied cells when correlated with eyewitness statements, *decreases* in prisoner population due to renovations, etc., could lead to false conclusions about the distribution of unoccupied cells if the boundary conditions are not established. Our analysis, however, necessarily pertains to those cells in Korpus 2 that have at least one occupant since we have no way of determining whether all cells were uniformly affected. Some exceptions to this situation will be discussed later.

Figure 12 illustrates the fluctuations in total prisoner population of Korpus 2 over the 1947 – 1972 period. It is of interest to note further the results in Figure 13 which show fluctuations in the average number of prisoners per occupied cell over the same period. Despite the fluctuations in total prisoner population, it is seen in Figure 13 that the average remained relatively constant at  $2.0 \pm 0.5$  prisoners per occupied cell per week in Korpus 2 over the 1947-1972 period. In addition to fluctuations, the graph in Figure 12 shows a gradual rise in the total prisoner population over the 1947 – 1972 period. With an average occupancy of  $2.0 \pm 0.5$  prisoners per cell, this can have happened only through increasing the total number of cells. It is, therefore, likely that the prominent troughs in total prisoner population over the March, 1949, – May, 1952, and October, 1959, - January, 1962, periods correspond to reconstruction and renovation of cells. It is also probable that the sharp dips in prisoner population over the October, 1956, - June, 1957, period similarly correspond to reconstruction and renovation. We shall later point out that the transfer of two specific prisoners separately but simultaneously from Korpus 2 to Korpus 1 within this time frame provides some support for this assumption.

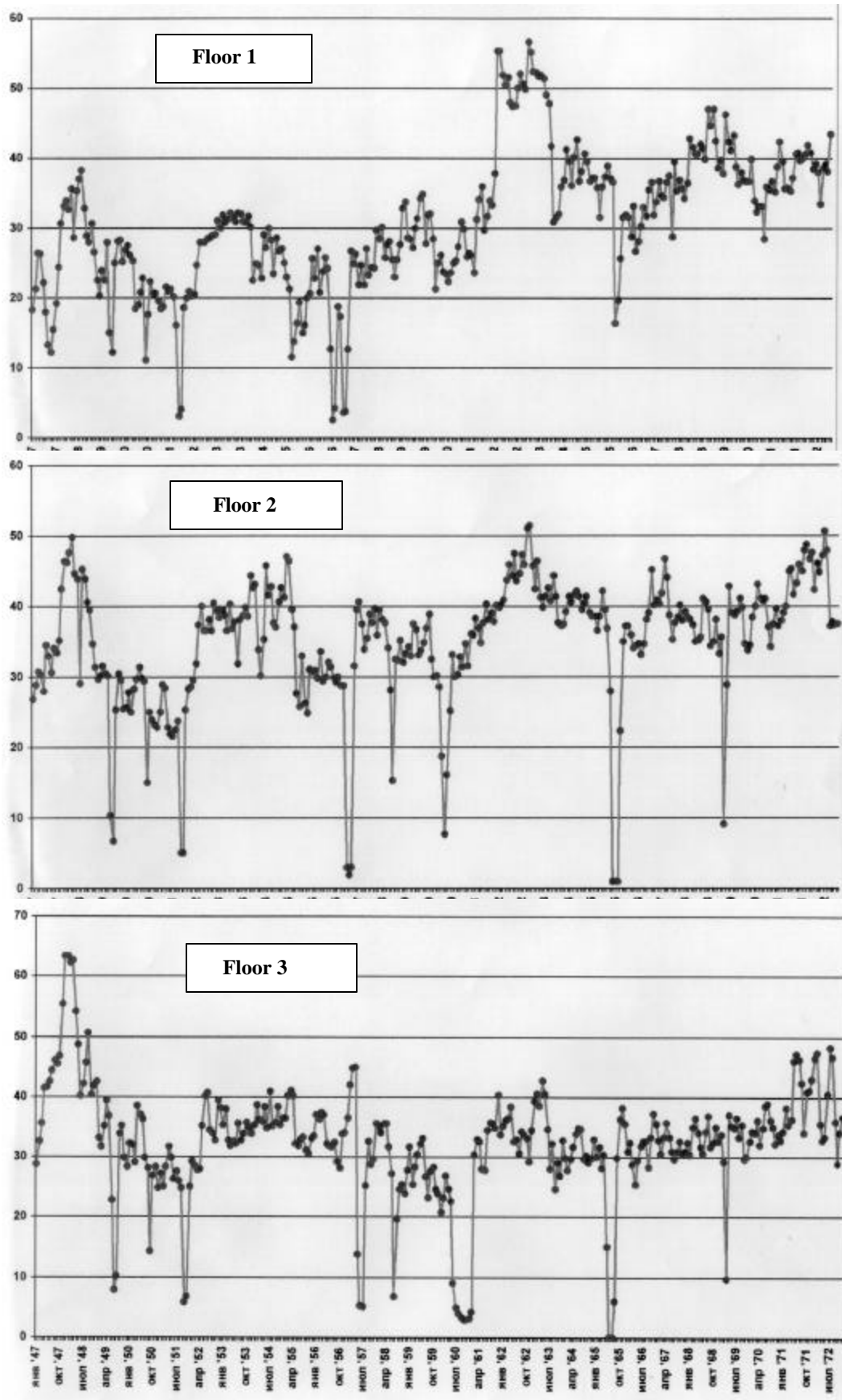
We have not had adequate opportunity to complete programs to evaluate prisoner population statistics according to the number of prisoners entering and departing from the Vladimir Prison on a weekly or monthly basis. Our expectation is that the fluctuations observed in Figure 12 do not reflect parallel changes in total prisoner population for all 4 buildings in which prisoners were held, but rather simply indicate that the sharp fluctuations in the number of prisoners on a given floor were accompanied by transfer of prisoners to other floors and buildings. Furthermore, the gradual, steady rise in total prisoner population of Korpus 2 suggests that the total number of prisoners housed in all 4 korpuses of the Vladimir Prison must have increased in a parallel manner over the 1947 – 1972 period.



**Figure 12.** Graphical illustration of variations in the total prisoner population of all cells with identifiable occupants in Korpus 2 (according to the *kartoteka*) on a monthly basis from 01/01/47 to 31/12/72.



**Figure 13.** Graphical illustration of the average number of prisoners per cell in Korpus 2 over the 01/01/47 to 31/12/72 period. The average number of prisoners per occupied cell is  $2.0 \pm 0.5$ .



**Figure 14.** Graphical illustration of total daily prisoner population averaged per month for each floor of Korpus 2 from 01/01/47 to 31/12/72.

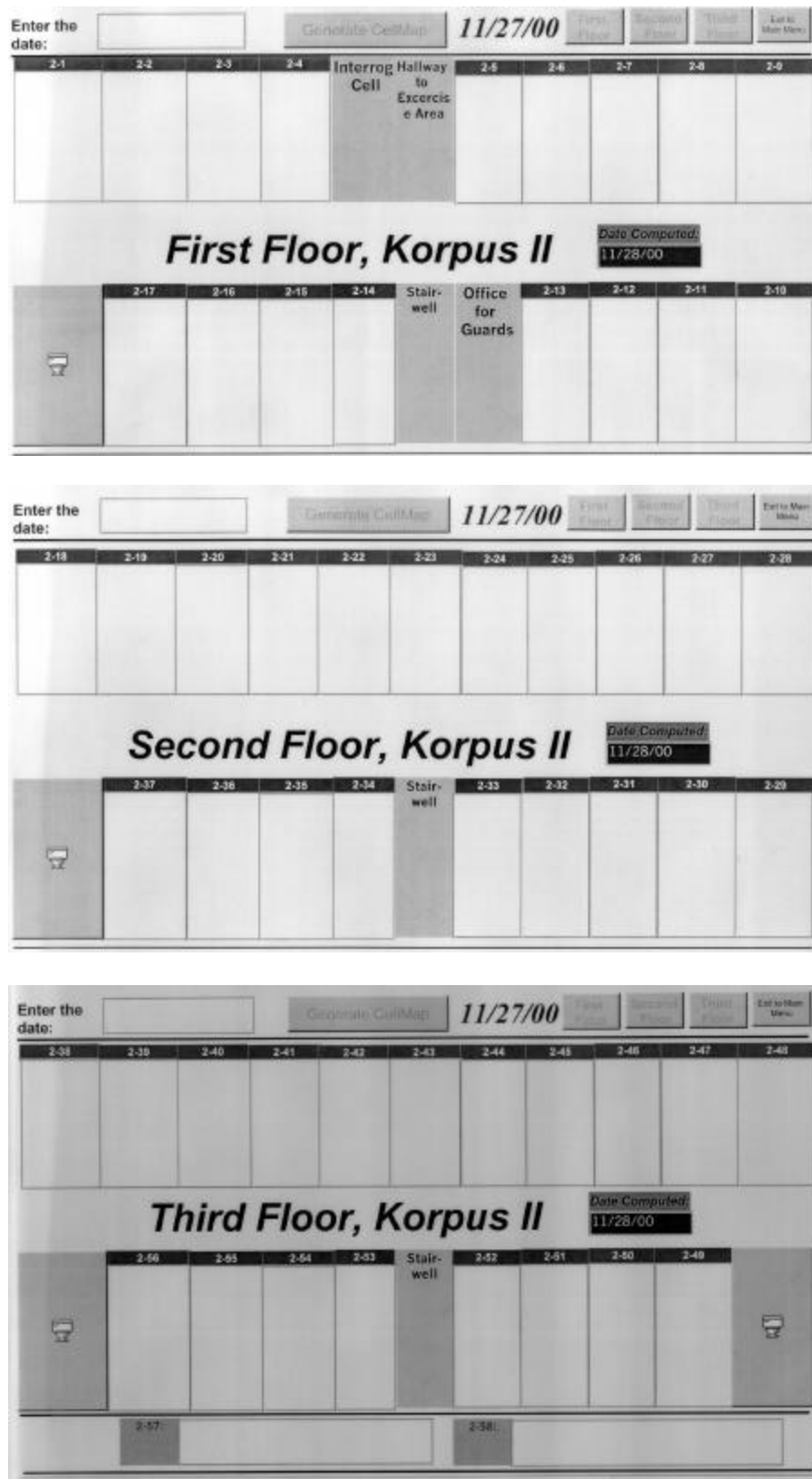
In Figure 14 fluctuations in total prisoner population are analyzed with respect to the population of each floor. The graphs in Figure 14 show that the total number of prisoners on each floor of Korpus 2 undergoes sharp fluctuations over the January, 1949 - December, 1951 period and over the February, 1957 - July, 1957 period, uniformly affecting each floor. While the fluctuations over the 1949 - 1951 period probably correspond in part to the frequent cell and korpus changes mentioned by repatriated prisoners-of-war, it should be noted that no floor from January, 1949, to July, 1957, exhibits a complete absence of identifiable prisoners. A complete absence of prisoners is observed only in the middle of 1965 for the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 which precedes a near complete absence on the 2nd floor of 2 days. The precise time limits on the 3rd floor for the complete absence of identifiable prisoners were found to be 28/05/65 to 03/07/65. The only period of complete absence of identifiable prisoners on the 2nd floor was found to be from 05/10/65 to 07/10/65. No period of time was found over which there was ever a complete absence of identifiable prisoners on the 1st floor. We can consequently safely assume that no floor underwent renovations or changes, excepting these relatively brief periods for the 2nd and 3rd floors, which were incompatible with occupancy of some cells by prisoners. This is an important deduction, as will be seen later, since we would not expect that Raoul Wallenberg as a prisoner in Vladimir would have been casually shifted to different floors and korpuses as frequently as other, more ordinary prisoners.

## *2. Constraints in the Assignment of Occupied Cells and Cell Numbers*

Because of construction changes, it must be expected that the numbering of cells in Korpus 2 may have changed at least once over the 1947-1972 period. This circumstance brings into question whether the analysis is accurate when cellmates and prisoners in neighboring cells are evaluated since the assignment of cell numbers may be incorrect for the given period in question with respect to the physical location of the cell. Since we have not been able to obtain information from the Vladimir Prison authorities about changes in cell construction and repair which would affect the total number of cells on each floor as well as their numbering, we have chosen as a basic model for cell numbering on each floor of Korpus 2 that experienced by Professor Makinen from late November, 1961, to late July, 1963. This pattern is illustrated below in Figure 15.

As seen in Figure 15, a cell is identified as an interrogation room on the 1st floor of Korpus 2, reflecting the experience of Professor Makinen. If the use of this cell was converted for incarceration of prisoners, this change would have the effect of shifting the numbering and, therefore, relative location of cells from  $n$  to  $(n + 1)$  for cells 2-5 and higher. This change does not affect the pairing of prisoners in cells and the assessment of cellmates since we must presume that the cell occupancy information written on registration cards for two or more prisoners overlapping in time applies to both. The change in cell numbering would affect the evaluation of neighboring prisoners on each side of a cell in question for cells that are located in the corners of the building. Except for the assessment of whether a prisoner was held in cell 2-5 (in general considered a cell for effective isolation of a prisoner because of its location adjacent to the corridor), there is no other example in the data analysis where evaluation of neighboring cellmates was assessed to be consequential and possibly erroneous. Assignment of the cell number 2-5 localizes the cell to one or the other side of the corridor leading to the walking courts. In both instances communication through wall tapings was essentially impossible and ineffective because no prisoner was ever brought through the corridor to or from the walking courts without being led by a guard who would have prevented wall tapping.

The unusual architectural feature on the 3rd floor is that there are two WCs. The one on the left-hand end of the floor lies exactly above the corresponding WCs on the 2nd and 1st floors. These WCs, therefore, were most likely constructed into the building at the same time. The one at the right-hand end of the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 lies above cell 2-29 and has no counterpart on the floors below. (At the time of Professor Makinen's incarceration in cell 2-49 in November-December of 1961, this WC had a toilet of the usual bowl type rather than the ones in the other WCs which were essentially an open drain that was flushed; one cellmate of Makinen's stated that the bowl toilet was for sick prisoner-patients who did not have the physical strength for squatting and that such patients under medical treatment were generally confined to cells on the 3rd floor.) Since there was no comparable WC on the floors below, it is probable that this toilet was installed at a later time, removing one cell for incarceration of prisoners and displacing cell 2-49 from the corner. As seen in Figure 15, the cell numbering in Korpus 2 indicates that the highest numbered cell is 2-56 on the 3rd floor according to the illustrated floor plan. Nonetheless, space has been provided in the cell map to indicate occupancy of cells 2-57 and 2-58 by prisoners. We believe, as explained below, that cell 2-57 ceased to exist after May, 1957, perhaps due to addition of the toilet on the 3rd floor. For reasons explained below, we believe that cell 2-58 was in a different location.



**Figure 15.** Cellmaps of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd floors of Korpus 2 in the Vladimir Prison. The maps are drawn to illustrate only the relative position of each cell and the numbering system of cells used in this analysis. The cells are not drawn to scale and the space or corridor between each top and bottom row of cells on each floor was considerably wider than in the drawing. The actual dimensions of cells were approximately 8 ft. x 12 ft. and the corridor space between the upper and lower row of cells illustrated for each floor measured approximately 20 ft in width. The date is given in the window as mm/dd/yy.

### 3. Cells with the Longest Unoccupied Periods

The data from the *kartoteka* provide proof that cells numbering up to 63 were in use in Korpus 2. Since the total number of cells according to the illustrated floor plan can accommodate only 57 cells at most (prior to construction of the second WC on the 3rd floor), this circumstance suggests that cells with numbers higher than 58 were located on the 4th floor of Korpus 2. While we have knowledge through the experience of Professor Makinen as a prisoner that a surgical operating room, medical clinic, dentist's chair and clinic, and medical X-ray, *i. e.*, fluoroscopy, facilities were located on the 4th floor of Korpus 2, the data in Table 4 indicate that prisoner cells may have been located also on the 4th floor. This location would have provided a means for especially effective isolation of prisoners. Detailed comparison of the data for each cell in Table 4 indicates not only the time when the total number of cells was reduced from 57 to 56 but also that higher numbered cells were occasionally occupied by identifiable prisoners.

In Table 4 it is seen that cell 2-57 has identifiable occupants from 03/12/51 to 08/05/57 and that the cell is unoccupied thereafter up to the end of 1972, from which point occupancy analysis is not continued further in this report. We, therefore, suggest by comparison to the data for cell 2-58 that the date 08/05/57 for cell 2-57 possibly corresponds to construction of the second WC on the 3rd floor, decreasing the total number of cells from 57 to 56, and that cell 2-58 was not located on the 3rd floor. The reason for assigning cell 2-58 to a different location is because it had identifiable occupants for two different periods, *i. e.*, from 28/06/48 to 06/01/50 and from 11/06/70 to 09/07/70, which do not coincide with the period of uninterrupted zero occupancy of cell 2-57 from 08/05/57 to 31/12/72. The geographical distribution of cells and numbering system would require that these two cells be adjacent to each other if they were located on the 3rd floor. Because of the numbering order of cells, discontinuation of cell 2-57 would have had to be simultaneous with cell 2-58 if the two cells were adjacent.

Although we have restricted our analysis in this report only to the 01/01/47 – 31/12/72 period, as explained in the Introduction, the complete database extracted from the registration cards extends beyond these limits in both directions. On this basis cells such as 2-60 and 2-62 are included in the database, although they are indicated as of zero occupancy over the entire 1947-1972 period, because identifiable prisoners were occupants of these cells before 1947. Thus, we can safely assume that cells with these numbers did exist. We see no basis to assume that the extensive periods of zero occupancy indicate that use of the cells was discontinued. We have observed from the database that clusters of cells on the 2nd and 3rd floors simultaneously acquire zero occupancy corresponding to the sharp fluctuations in prisoner population shown in Figures 12 and 14. Therefore, we believe that similar coordinated

**Table 4:** Comparison of longest periods of zero occupancy of cells in Korpus 2.

| Cell | Period of Time      | Number of days that cell was unoccupied |
|------|---------------------|---|
| 2-57 | 06/01/50 – 03/12/51 | 696                                     |
|      | 08/05/57 – 31/12/72 | 5716                                    |
| 2-58 | 31/12/46 – 28/06/48 | 545                                     |
|      | 06/01/50 – 11/06/70 | 7461                                    |
|      | 09/07/70 – 31/12/72 | 906                                     |
| 2-59 | 31/12/46 – 28/10/47 | 301                                     |
|      | 30/10/47 – 03/05/48 | 186                                     |
|      | 26/09/48 – 28/08/49 | 336                                     |
|      | 06/01/50 – 14/08/67 | 6429                                    |
|      | 02/09/67 – 31/12/72 | 1947                                    |
| 2-60 | 31/12/46 – 31/12/72 | 9497                                    |
| 2-61 | 31/12/46 – 28/08/49 | 971                                     |
|      | 06/01/50 – 31/12/72 | 8395                                    |
| 2-62 | 31/12/46 – 31/12/72 | 9497                                    |
| 2-63 | 31/12/46 – 19/08/49 | 962                                     |
|      | 28/12/49 – 31/12/72 | 8404                                    |



clusters of zero occupancy would be observed for cells 2-58 through 2-63 if use of two or more cells was discontinued through construction or other changes. We note that cell 2-59, presumably adjacent to or near cell 2-58, had occupants before 01/01/47, from 03/05/48 to 26/09/48, from 28/08/49 to 06/01/50, and from 14/8/67 to at least 02/09/67. Furthermore, both cells 2-61 and 2-63 had identifiable occupants for brief periods from 1947 to 1972 while cells 2-60 and 2-62 had none. The configuration of alternate cells with uninterrupted zero occupancy in between cells with occupants, a method well known to have been employed in Soviet prisons for isolation of prisoners, suggests that cells 2-59, 2-61, and 2-63 housed prisoners under strict isolation over extended periods of time. Since we have no information regarding the dimensions and locations of cells 2-58 through 2-63, other than that they were likely not accommodated within the first three floors of Korpus 2, it is possible that these cells were especially constructed for strict isolation of prisoners and may have provided special facilities that were not available to more ordinary prisoners.

#### **D. Analysis of the Occupancy of Cells in Korpus 2**

##### *1. Identifying the Earliest Sources of Information about Raoul Wallenberg*

Our analysis of cell occupancy data for Korpus 2 is necessarily guided by reports and evidentiary statements that have been collected by Susan Mesinai and Susanne Berger in foreign intelligence archives such as that of the CIA and the National Archives in Washington, D. C., in the course of this investigation or have been assembled from the Wallenberg Files of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Stockholm. According to the Wallenberg Files, the earliest traces of discussions among prisoners about the presence of Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison are attributable to two prisoners, Shulgin, Vitalii Vital'yevich (born 1878), a well known Russian writer and early revolutionary with Lenin, and Gogiberidze, Semyon Levanovich (born 1900), a Georgian nationalist kidnapped in Paris, France, and forcibly brought to the Soviet Union. We examine the chronological history of cellmates and cell neighbors of each to show the chain of rumors and information that may have passed from prisoner to prisoner beginning with Shulgin and Gogiberidze. In addition, we examine the circumstances surrounding the imprisonment of Henry Tomsen, alias Grossheim-Krisko, Hermann Heinrich (born 1907), in Korpus 2, who under the guise of a Norwegian national worked in the Swedish Legation in Budapest as a contemporary of Raoul Wallenberg, was arrested in Budapest in 1945, and incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison. We also examine, to the extent allowed by the database, whether other Swedish prisoners could have been mistaken for Raoul Wallenberg.

##### *a. Vitalii Vital'yevich Shulgin*

**One report about Raoul Wallenberg having been brought to the the Vladimir Prison in the late 1940's centers on the prisoner Shulgin, Vitalii Vital'yevich (born 1878), which we have reviewed in part above. According to the statements of Höchli-Wihlman, Jakob-Otto (born 1921), a Swiss citizen, who shared a cell in Korpus 3 with other prisoners, Shulgin had stated that he had been transported to the Vladimir Prison with Raoul Wallenberg in July of 1947 and that both he and Wallenberg were placed into Korpus 2 because of poor health. Reportedly Shulgin had also stated that he had shared a cell in the Lubyanka Prison with Wallenberg and that Wallenberg died in Korpus 2 in 1948.**

**Sanitzer, Johann (born 1904), with Austrian citizenship, trained in intelligence and investigative methods and arrested after the end of World War II, reported that in the early part of his imprisonment he had shared a cell in Korpus 3 with other prisoners during which time through a discussion he learned about Raoul Wallenberg having been brought to the Vladimir Prison. Sanitzer stated that he made efforts through communications with prisoners in other cells and in the walking courts to determine whether Wallenberg was being held specifically in Korpus 3 but could find no evidence for the presence of Wallenberg in Korpus 3.**

As described in the Introduction, the card of Shulgin shows that he entered the Vladimir Prison on 25/07/47, and he departed on 22/09/56. In contrast to many other prisoners, Shulgin was entirely confined to the Vladimir Prison for this period without having been relocated for short periods of time for further interrogations, *etc.* in Moscow. Except for an initial period of approximately two months in cell 3-75 in solitary confinement, he was transferred to cell 2-51 from 01/09/47 to 31/12/47 which he shared at different periods with Dil'man, Viktor Viktorovich (born 1907) and Kislitzin, Ivan Yakovlevich (born 1904). Höchli had also stated that Shulgin was in Korpus 2 at the time when he left the Vladimir Prison on 21/10/55. This also coincides with the card of Shulgin showing that he occupied cell 2-51 from 13/10/55 to 22/09/56. Thus, the data in Shulgin's card are in agreement with the report of Höchli.

Examination of the list of cellmates of Shulgin showed that after Korpus 2 he shared cells with the following individuals (among others) for the first time:

|           |                     |                                |                            |
|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Cell 3-7  | 17/11/48 – 26/02/49 | Shulgin                        |                            |
|           | 05/05/48 – 28/12/48 | Bastamov, V. V (born 1906)     |                            |
|           | 05/05/48 – 21/03/49 | Paltzo, R. (born 1904)         |                            |
|           | 05/05/48 – 21/03/49 | Rehekampf, G. (born 1903)      |                            |
|           | 17/11/48 – 26/02/49 | Schellhorn, F. G. (born 1888)  |                            |
|           | 31/01/49 – 15/07/49 | Vogt, G. (born 1914)           |                            |
| Cell 3-63 | 27/03/49 – 31/10/49 | Shulgin                        |                            |
|           | 28/03/49 – 31/05/49 | Pushkaryov, K. N. (born 1897)  |                            |
|           | 28/03/49 – 31/10/49 | Nakamura, K. (born 1890)       |                            |
| Cell 3-39 | 12/09/50 – 18/11/50 | Shulgin                        |                            |
|           | 12/10/50 – 13/01/51 | Starke, G. (born 1896)         |                            |
| Cell 3-65 | 18/11/50 – 02/02/52 | Shulgin                        |                            |
|           | 12/09/50 – 12/12/50 | Gogiberidze, S. L. (born 1900) |                            |
|           | 03/01/51 – 26/05/51 | Sanitzer, J. (born 1904)       |                            |
|           | 03/01/51 – 26/01/52 | Pataridze, L. E. (born 1902)   |                            |
| and       | Cell 3-65           | 22/03/52 – 17/06/52            | Shulgin                    |
|           |                     | 24/11/50 – 17/06/52            | Hinckeldey, H. (born 1914) |
|           |                     | 15/05/52 – 17/06/52            | Kumish, W. (born 1915).    |

When considering the earliest possible source of information about Raoul Wallenberg being imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison, it is necessary to examine whether cellmates of Shulgin may have had contact with Wallenberg or Vilmos Langfelder in Moscow before transfer to the Vladimir Prison. That is, we must also consider the possibility that Shulgin had received information about Raoul Wallenberg from prisoners who had been earlier in the Butirka or Lefortovo Prisons in Moscow. Of the largely foreign cellmates of Shulgin listed above, all were reported to have talked about Raoul Wallenberg to other prisoners in the Vladimir Prison. While Rehekampf had shared cells earlier with prisoners in the Lefortovo Prison who had had direct knocking contact with Raoul Wallenberg, he himself did not. Only Starke, who had been with Pelkonen, Eero Danil'yevich (born 1922) earlier in the Butirka Prison in Moscow from January – April, 1946, after the latter had been a cellmate of Vilmos Langfelder; and Hinckeldey, who had had knocking contact with Raoul Wallenberg in the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow; had direct knowledge of the imprisonment of Raoul Wallenberg in the Soviet Union. Thus, one can conclude that there was adequate opportunity for discussions about Raoul Wallenberg through Shulgin before he shared cells with prisoners who earlier had had direct contact with Raoul Wallenberg himself or with Vilmos Langfelder.

Later during his incarceration, Shulgin did share cells with several individuals who had had either direct or indirect knowledge about Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder from Moscow. Among these individuals were Josef-Manfred Böhm (born 1911), Fritz Hammerschmidt (born 1893), Erich Hansen (born 1889), Karl Spalke (born 1891), Ernst Krenner (born 1895), Ernst Keitel (born 1915), and Lucien Gouaze (born 1913). However, these individuals are unlikely to have been the first source of information to Shulgin about Raoul Wallenberg because they shared cells with him much later. In particular, Gouaze who knew of Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest did not have direct contact with Shulgin until May-July of 1955.

Moreover, while Sanitzer had had direct contact with Shulgin, Höchli had not. Analysis of the cellmates of Höchli shows the following:

|           |                     |                     |           |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Cell 3-71 | 03/09/54 – 27/09/55 | Höchli              |           |
|           | 31/12/53 – 27/09/55 | Pataridze           |           |
|           | 03/04/54 – 11/05/55 | Schellhorn          |           |
| and       | Cell 3-64           | 27/09/55 – 21/10/55 | Höchli    |
|           |                     | 27/09/55 – 28/10/55 | Pataridze |

Thus, although Höchli spent a relatively short period of time in the Vladimir Prison (03/09/54 – 21/10/55), all in Korpus 3, he had had direct contact with two prisoners who had previously shared cells with Shulgin. The period above during which Pataridze and Shulgin shared cell 3-65 with others is the only period during which they were cellmates.

It is important to note from the list of Shulgin's cellmates above, that Semyon Levanovich Gogiberidze shared a cell with Shulgin as noted above. This was their only direct contact as cellmates. Several repatriated prisoners who had shared cells with Gogiberidze in the mid-1950s stated that he had earlier learned from a Russian prisoner that Raoul Wallenberg was being held in Korpus 2. Shulgin is consequently a possible source of this information to Gogiberidze. More will be discussed with respect to Gogiberidze below. It would be important to have further documentation about Shulgin's incarceration in the Lubyanka Prison because of the information that it might provide about Raoul Wallenberg. However, despite requests we have received essentially no information concerning conditions under which prisoners were kept in the Lubyanka Prison. Although Shulgin reportedly stated that Wallenberg had died in 1948, this may simply represent the limit of his knowledge in view of later sightings of Wallenberg that are discussed below. The three cells that became empty in Korpus 2 at the time of his arrival remained empty into 1948, but this is not compatible only with demise of a prisoner. It is also compatible with removal of the prisoner either to another cell or to another prison.

b. Semyon Levanovich Gogiberidze

**Gogiberidze was a well known prisoner in Vladimir, having served two sentences there. There was consistently one description of him from other prisoners, and that was that he was a kind and good person. Invariably repatriated prisoners described him as a trustworthy person. Makinen himself remembers Gogiberidze, having met him once in the bath, and Kruminsh, Zigurds-Dzidris (born 1927), Makinen's second cellmate, spoke about him in kind terms. Since Gogiberidze figures prominently in evidentiary statements of a large number of former repatriated prisoners-of-war, due both to the nature of the man and the fact that he was imprisoned in Vladimir twice, it is important to establish the possible initial source of his knowledge of Raoul Wallenberg and to determine whether it came from Russian sources, or whether it was obtained through sharing cells with any of the foreigners who had acquired knowledge of Raoul Wallenberg in Moscow.**

The most detailed accounts about Gogiberidze's statements about a Swedish prisoner in Korpus 2 were given by Mulle, Horst Teodor (born 1917). He stated that at the time of Erlander's visit to the Soviet Union in 1956 Gogiberidze brought up the issue of Raoul Wallenberg after reading the article in *Pravda* about the visit. Not only was a joint Soviet-Swedish communiqué after Erlander's visit published on April 3, 1956, on the front page of *Pravda* that was read in full on Soviet radio, but there was also a full paragraph written about Raoul Wallenberg. It would have been hardly possible for prisoners not to know about this communiqué since copies of *Pravda* were disseminated to prisoners on a daily basis and passed by the guards from cell to cell (having checked that messages were not written onto the paper. The prison was well equipped outside with public address systems through which Radio Moscow programs were broadcast. Also, in Korpus 2, at least in Makinen's time and presumably in other korpuses, each cell was equipped with a small receiver for Radio Moscow and for political lectures and announcements from the prison administration. At about the time of the communiqué, the following prisoners shared cell 3-64 with Gogiberidze:

|           |                     |                               |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Cell 3-64 | 12/03/56 – 03/08/56 | Gogiberidze                   |
|           | 12/03/56 – 03/08/56 | Pataridze                     |
|           | 28/03/56 – 03/08/56 | Laube, K. (born 1923)         |
|           | 28/03/56 – 02/06/56 | Mermelstein, I. (born 1921)   |
|           | 28/03/56 – 03/08/56 | Mulle, H. T.                  |
|           | 28/04/56 – 03/08/56 | Spiess, J. (born 1920)        |
|           | 21/05/56 – 03/08/56 | Bikovskii, T. K. (born 1928)  |
|           | 18/06/56 – 14/09/56 | Vorobyov, Yu. G. (born 1920)  |
|           | 18/06/56 – 13/11/56 | Kuznnetzov, A. S. (born 1936) |
|           | 18/06/56 – 13/11/56 | Plekhanov, V. G. (born 1930)  |
|           | 21/06/56 – 03/08/56 | Brügger, E. (born 1903).      |

The cell occupancy data thus fully confirm Mulle's account of sharing a cell with Gogiberidze at the time; he also stated to Swedish officials that they could confirm the account through Mermelstein, a Czech prisoner. We see that Mermelstein was also present. It could be argued that the subject of Raoul Wallenberg may have been raised by others in the cell at the time of the communiqué and that Mulle may have focused only on Gogiberidze. Certainly, Pataridze had had contact previously with Shulgin, and Brügger was also aware of who Raoul Wallenberg was. Although Brügger was not in cell 3-64 at the time of the communiqué, discussions may have arisen later in his presence. (More will be discussed with respect to Brügger later.) However, Mulle's report is supported by statements of Rehekampf, Günther (born 1903). Rehekampf shared cell 3-65, as noted below, and cell 3-75 for 6 months (31/12/53 – 16/06/55) with Gogiberidze earlier and had stated that Gogiberidze had talked to him in the early 1950s about Raoul Wallenberg being imprisoned in Vladimir. It is, furthermore, of interest to note that there are also reports in the Wallenberg Files in the Swedish Foreign Ministry that Gogiberidze caused such a commotion in the prison at the time of the communiqué because he knew that the Swedish prisoner Wallenberg was being held in Korpus 2 that he was sent to a punishment cell. In December, 1997, Professor Makinen and Susan Mesinai examined the personal dossier of Gogiberidze in the archives of the FSB in Moscow. Twenty-seven pages are absent from his personal dossier some of which correspond to this period.

Both Mulle and Rehekampf reported to the Swedish Foreign Ministry that Gogiberidze had learned from a Russian prisoner about the presence of Raoul Wallenberg in Korpus 2 although they were both somewhat unclear about the time, either late 1940s or early 1950s. Moreover, Gogiberidze had once informed Mulle that a political officer had told him, "Den Wallenberg können Sie lange suchen," implying that he was well hidden in the prison. According to these accounts Gogiberidze acquired knowledge of Raoul Wallenberg's presence through some earlier source. While we cannot specify with certainty the precise source of this information, two Russian prisoners, in addition to Shulgin as noted earlier, are possible candidates according to their cell histories.

Since Shulgin, as outlined earlier, reportedly stated that he was brought to Vladimir on the same transport with Raoul Wallenberg, it is quite conceivable that Kutepov, who entered the prison with Shulgin from the same transport, was likely to have also known about Raoul Wallenberg. It is thus of interest to note that Kutepov, shortly after his arrival, shared a cell for over a year with Gogiberidze. (Prior to Gogiberidze, Kutepov shared cells with several prisoners, none of which were foreign prisoners who had had wall tapping contact with Raoul Wallenberg or Vilmos Langenfelder in Moscow.) The cell occupancy data show (among others):

|           |           |   |  |
|-----------|-----------|---|--|
|           | Cell 3-43 | 17/12/47 – 22/03/49<br>26/07/47 – 23/03/49  | Gogiberidze<br>Kutepov   |
| and later | Cell 3-65 | 22/03/49 – 23/04/50<br>21/03/49 – 31/10/49<br>21/03/49 – 31/10/49<br>23/03/49 – 31/10/49<br>23/03/49 – 26/05/49<br>23/03/49 – 31/10/49<br>10/08/49 – 31/10/49 | Gogiberidze<br>Rehekampf<br>Paltzo<br>Kursonov, B. N. (born 1899)<br>Kutepov<br>Hinckeldey<br>Hammerschmidt, F. (born 1893). |

Thus, if Kutepov was the original source of the information about Raoul Wallenberg, Rehekampf was ideally positioned to have learned about this since he shared cell 3-65 with both after Gogiberidze's and Kutepov's transfer from cell 3-43. In addition, it is important to note that Hinckeldey, who had had knocking contact with Raoul Wallenberg earlier in the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow, also occupied that cell with them. Any mention of a Swedish prisoner by Kutepov would have led immediately to a discussion because of Hinckeldey's experience.

It is unlikely that Gogiberidze learned of Raoul Wallenberg while in Korpus 2. Gogiberidze's first time in Korpus 2 was in cell 2-44 (11/03/53 – 26/03/53) during which time the neighboring cells on each side were occupied by identifiable prisoners. For this period of two weeks, however, he has no identifiable cellmate. There is no indication from reports of others that Gogiberidze ever spoke about sharing a cell with Raoul Wallenberg.

From the above list of prisoners in cell 3-65, there is, however, one additional possible source of information about a Swedish prisoner in Korpus 2, namely Kursonov, Boris Nikolaiyevich. During the first 11 weeks of his imprisonment in the Vladimir Prison (19/03/48 – 08/06/48), Kursonov was in solitary confinement in cell 2-7. The interesting aspect of this period of solitary confinement is that Kursonov was adjacent to cell 2-8, for which occupancy is not defined, that is, there are no listed occupants according to the *kartoteka*. Cell 2-8 is

calculated as "unoccupied" from 21/05/48 – 28/06/48, a period of 38 days. Since Raoul Wallenberg was known in the Lefortovo Prison as an "ardent knocker," knocking contact may have been established with Kursonov during this time. However, for a new prisoner initially in solitary confinement, as was Kursanov, it is also possible that he had not learned the system for wall tapping. Subsequently, Kursonov shared cells as follows prior to sharing cell 3-65 with Gogiberidze as listed above:

|           |                     |                               |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Cell 3-39 | 29/06/48 – 23/03/49 | Kursonov                      |
|           | 14/09/48 – 01/02/49 | Vorwerk, J. (born 1902)       |
|           | 14/09/48 – 01/02/49 | Hinckeldey                    |
|           | 06/07/48 – 31/03/49 | Berishvili, S. N. (born 1899) |

It would be expected that he would have learned more about the "Swedish prisoner" from Hinckeldey and Vorwerk, the latter having been in the Lefortovo Prison where he had learned about Raoul Wallenberg as a cellmate of Willi Rödel in that prison.

c. Hermann Heinrich Grossheim-Krisko *alias* Henry Tomsen

Grossheim-Krisko (born 1907), a Russian German from the region of Rostov-on-Don, had worked in the Swedish Legation in Budapest in the 1940s under the alias of Henry Tomsen with a Norwegian passport. He was a contemporary of Raoul Wallenberg, and was arrested in Budapest and brought to Moscow. His sentence was distinguished by the added document signed by Boris Soloyov, a senior interrogator in the 3rd Directorate of the MGB, that he was to be kept under strict isolation because "he had been associated with a very important prisoner." This document was found in his personal dossier by the Soviet-International Commission in 1990. (A similar document was found at that time also in the personal dossier of Richter, Gustav (born 1912), who had been Raoul Wallenberg's first cellmate in the Lubyanka Prison in Moscow, providing the basis to assume that the important prisoner in common between the two was Raoul Wallenberg.) Grossheim arrived at the Vladimir Prison on 16/02/52, spent one day in solitary in cell 3-56, and was then transferred to cell 2-19 which he occupied until 19/06/53 until he was repatriated. His only cellmate was Sokach, Janosh (born 1902), a Hungarian, who arrived directly in cell 2-19 on 21/04/52 and departed on 17/06/53. They had also been cellmates in Moscow.

Since Grossheim had worked in the Swedish Legation in Budapest and was known to have communicated with other prisoners through wall tapping, we must explore the possibility that prisoners who had communicated with Grossheim may have later mistaken him for Raoul Wallenberg upon hearing other prisoners speak about Wallenberg as a Swedish prisoner or a prisoner who had worked in the Swedish Legation in Budapest. Since cell 2-18, a corner cell on one side of Grossheim and Sokach, was occupied over the 04/12/51 – 23/06/53 period by Klement, Tibor (born 1920), a Hungarian in solitary confinement as Prisoner No. 24 (*cf.*, Table 3), wall tapping communications with Grossheim-Krisko that could have been transmitted further could have occurred only through cell 2-20 at the time. One such important communication was reported by Turin, Ivan-Karl Yakovlevich (born 1900) who shared cell 2-20 with Uibel, Adam (born 1917). Both had shared cell 3-52 (with others) prior to relocation to cell 2-20. The data in the *kartoteka* show:

|           |                     |                            |
|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Cell 2-19 | 17/03/52 – 19/06/53 | Grossheim                  |
|           | 21/04/52 – 17/06/53 | Sokach                     |
| Cell 2-20 | 07/03/53 – 20/03/53 | Turin                      |
|           | 07/03/53 – 20/03/53 | Uibel                      |
| Cell 2-21 | 04/12/51 – 27/07/54 | Krafft, Ernst (born 1885)  |
|           | 21/04/52 – 06/04/54 | Stahel, Reiner (born 1892) |

Turin's report states that he and Uibel were returned to Korpus 3 when the guard caught them having wall tapping communication with cell 2-19. Turin also reported that through the wall tapping he learned that the prisoner in 2-19 was Henry Tomsen (Grossheim-Krisko revealed to his Soviet interrogators only later that the name Tomsen was an alias) and that he stated that he had worked in the Swedish Legation in Budapest. Since Turin stated clearly that he had learned that the prisoner's name was Tomsen, we must assume that he reported the same information to his cellmates later when they were transferred back to Korpus 3. The *kartoteka* shows that they shared cell 3-63 upon their return from cell 2-20 with the following:

|           |                     |                                     |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Cell 3-63 | 20/03/53 – 02/04/53 | Turin                               |
|           | 20/03/53 – 14/09/53 | Uibel                               |
|           | 18/06/52 – 01/12/53 | Supprian, Karl (born 1902)          |
|           | 15/09/52 – 02/12/53 | Adelman, Rudiger (born 1893)        |
|           | 15/09/52 – 15/05/53 | Osmak, Kirill Ivanovich (born 1890) |
|           | 17/09/52 – 07/12/53 | Sanitzer                            |
|           | 19/01/53 – 11/05/53 | von Hanstein, Wolfram (born 1899)   |
|           | 15/09/52 – 19/06/53 | Hellmundt, Gustav (born 1907)       |
|           | 15/09/52 – 01/12/53 | Kernes, J. Ya. (born 1890)          |

Of these prisoners, Sanitzer had earlier shared a cell in Vladimir with Shulgin and Pataridze, as discussed above, and Supprian had had frequent wall tapping communications earlier with Willi Rödel and Raoul Wallenberg in the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow. We must assume that Turin and Uibel spoke specifically about Tomsen although it is quite probable that Raoul Wallenberg was also discussed in cell 3-63. From the report of Turin we must also assume that Grossheim gave his name as Tomsen clearly to others although he is likely to have added that he worked at the Swedish Legation in Budapest.

While not an early witness about Raoul Wallenberg in Vladimir, the report of Schögggl, Otto (born 1917), an Austrian, is nonetheless puzzling since he stated that he had been placed by accident in the cell of a Swede in Korpus 3 who was very ill and that the guard removed him the next day when they realized the mistake. Schögggl stated that he was placed into this cell after surgical treatment. It is difficult to evaluate this report since we have no information about the extent of medical facilities in Korpus 3, and analysis of cell occupancy of Korpus 3 through this database is limited. While there are many contradictions in Schögggl's statements, it is of some interest to point out that he was once placed into the cell adjacent to Grossheim, but that these conditions are not to be confused with his report of a 'Swede'. According to the cell occupancy data on his registration card, this was the only cell in Korpus 2 that he occupied during his incarceration in Vladimir. We point out simply that this situation could not have corresponded to Schögggl's statements. The data show:

|           |                     |                           |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Cell 2-20 | 31/01/53 – 06/03/53 | Schögggl                  |
|           | 11/02/53 – 27/02/53 | Wolfin, I. M. (born 1913) |

overlapping entirely with Grossheim and Sokach in cell 2-19 and Krafft and Stahel in 2-21. From the *kartoteka* data Schögggl was without a cellmate 31/01/53 – 11/02/53 and from 27/02/53 – 06/03/53. Grossheim reported that he was never ill in Vladimir. Wolfin was an instructor of the Swedish language in the GRU, had worked in the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm in 1944-1945, and also spoke fluent German. Although we have no information about the health of Wolfin at this time, the length of time together with Schögggl does not agree with Schögggl's statement about the 'Swede'. Since Schögggl had stated that he had had surgery in Vladimir, medical records in Moscow could be checked to confirm this about him, providing more credence to his accounts. It may have occurred that the surgery that Schögggl had was very minor and did not require post-operative care in Korpus 2.

In conclusion we have no reason to believe that the presence of Grossheim in Korpus 2 led to false rumors about Raoul Wallenberg. Firstly, at least according to the report of Turin, Grossheim communicated his name to others as Tomsen, and secondly, as already discussed above, several prisoners such as Hinckeldey had had contact with Raoul Wallenberg or Vilmos Langfelder in Moscow and had been in the Vladimir Prison since the late 1940s, prior to Grossheim's arrival. Thus, the strength of the reports that Gogiberidze had knowledge of Raoul Wallenberg's presence in Korpus 2 through a Russian prisoner from the late 1940s, his early association with Kutepov and Shulgin, and the general confirmation of cell occupants and conditions through the data in the *kartoteka* argue more directly for Raoul Wallenberg's presence in Korpus 2 at that time.

#### d. Swedish Speaking Prisoners

We have only very limited information about other Swedish speaking prisoners known to have been incarcerated in Vladimir because the Swedish Foreign Ministry has never released full information about all Swedish citizens who have been imprisoned in the Soviet Union. Also, we must conclude that information in the *kartoteka* is absent on some Swedish citizens although through reports we know them to have been in the Vladimir Prison.