

Development of Forensic Database Methods in Search of "the Disappeared":

The Case of Raoul Wallenberg

by

Marvin W. Makinen,^{1*} Ari D. Kaplan,² Nikolai V. Kostenko,^{3†} Susan E. Mesinai,⁴ Susanne Berger,⁵

Victor Io. Tumarkin,⁶ and Guy von Dardel⁷

¹Department of Biochemistry & Molecular Biology and the Committee on Human Rights, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637 USA; ²1122 North Clark Street, Apt. 3401, Chicago, IL 60610 USA;

³Memorial Society, Malii Karetnii Pereulok dom 12, 103051 Moscow, Russia; ⁴The ARK Project of Freedom Channel, 30 Stone Avenue, Somerville, MA 02143 USA; ⁵4793 Williamsburg Boulevard, Arlington VA 22207 USA; ⁶ProSoft-M, Co., Leningradskii Prospekt dom 57, pod'ezd 5A, 125057 Moscow, Russia; ⁷Rue A. Pasteur 6A, CH-1209 Pt. Saconnex, Switzerland.

*Address correspondence to this author: Department of Biochemistry & Molecular Biology, The University of Chicago, Cummings Life Science Center, 920 E. 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 USA; email: makinen@uchicago.edu.

†Present address: Moscow Helsinki Group, Bol'shoi Golovin Pereulok dom 22, stp. 1, 103045 Moscow, Russia.

ABSTRACT

Human rights investigations frequently focus on individuals who have "disappeared" after illegal detention or arrest. In the absence of a prisoner's remains or legitimate documentation of death, evidentiary statements may be the only means to establish the individual's fate. To evaluate such reports, we describe construction of a database from prison records to compute day-to-day cell occupancy over time. The methodology was applied to the alleged incarceration of Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison in the Soviet Union over the 1947 – 1972 period, contrary to official claims of his demise in 1947. We examine three eyewitness reports identifying a foreign prisoner either as (i) Wallenberg or (ii) Swedish in specific cell locations. In each case the database suggests that documents have been systematically removed to conceal identification of the incarcerated individuals. The results merit examination of all pertinent, classified records under the control of Russian authorities since in one instance Wallenberg was repeatedly identified from photographs not used in the Russian or international press.

1. Introduction

A common human rights problem affecting prisoners-of-war, civilians resisting repressive government regimes, journalists, and diplomatic or clerical personnel whose immunity according to international law has been violated, is their "disappearance" after arrest and illegal detention. In such cases authorities may deny that the missing individual fell under their jurisdiction. Should witnesses emerge among prisoners who claim to have seen the individual after the alleged death date, their evidentiary statements are denied or discounted as statements of "former criminals." If sufficient evidence is produced to counter the statements of authorities, they may imply that the individual is dead without providing legitimate evidence. International standards to establish death are based on the presence of remains that can be subjected to forensic medical analysis or documents that have been properly witnessed and registered with authorities. In the absence of legitimate documentation, the researcher or next-of-kin may have no other source of information to determine the fate of the individual except through eyewitness reports. There has been no method hitherto to assess the veracity of statements of witnesses who claim to have seen the individual after the alleged death date.

All of these circumstances apply to Raoul Wallenberg, who, arrested by SMERSH¹ as a 32-year old Swedish diplomat, is credited with having saved tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews in the closing months of World War II.²⁻⁷ Although the Soviet Foreign Ministry initially denied Wallenberg's incarceration on Soviet territory,⁸ it later claimed in 1957 that he died of a myocardial infarct in 1947 in Moscow, presumably in the Lyubianka Prison.⁹ No legitimate documentation of death has ever been provided.¹⁰⁻¹² Rather, there has been a large number of eyewitness reports of sightings of him after 1947 in Soviet prisons and labor camps, a large portion of which derive from former inmates of the Vladimir Prison located approximately 200 km east of Moscow.¹³ As independent consultants to the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg,⁴ we have analyzed prisoner registration cards of the Vladimir Prison and other archival documents to examine the consistency of these statements with cell occupancy of *Korpus 2* or Building 2, where he was reportedly held.

Our investigations involved (i) inspection of a variety of archival documents of the Soviet political prison system to which we had been given access¹⁴; (ii) selection and computer based imaging of registration cards from the *kartoteka*¹⁶ or registry of the Vladimir Prison for prisoners who had been incarcerated in *Korpus 2* over the 1947-1972 period¹⁷⁻¹⁹; (iii) individual and group interviews with present and retired personnel of prison administrative staff; and (iv) personal experiences of Makinen as a prisoner in the Vladimir Prison and in Soviet labor camps over the 1961-1963 period.²⁰⁻²² In this report we illustrate how analysis of cell occupancy provides an unbiased means to evaluate evidentiary statements and to identify time and locations in prisons where individuals may have been concealed. This approach, recreating cell occupancy by computer on a day-by-day basis over time, may help to target additional witnesses and to identify new sources of documentation of the individual's probable fate. The results may also uncover discrepancies in the statements of government officials and prison administrative staff that can be probed further.

2. The Only Previous Investigation of the Vladimir Prison

An important basis for our study grew out of earlier work of the Soviet-International Commission on the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg, an organization without government affiliation which in 1990 carried out the first investigation of archival materials of the Soviet political prison system.²³ This investigation was restricted largely to the identification of foreign prisoners or prisoners-of-war who had not been citizens of the Soviet Union prior to arrest and had been incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison. The registration cards of approximately 1100 individuals selected from the *kartoteka* of the prison were photographed and analyzed. A chronological listing of each cell occupied by the prisoner was written on the registration card. Knowledge of these listings provided the rationale for construction of the database in the present study.

The Soviet-International Commission uncovered the first evidence that in some instances prisoners in the Soviet Union were identified only by a number. Table 1 provides a list of numbered

prisoners found at that time. Not only was their identity not revealed to local prison staff, but apparently their records were transferred to Moscow.²⁴⁻²⁶ Most of the numbered prisoners could be identified because a new card containing 'standard' information was added to the *kartoteka* when the prisoner was allowed to resume use of his or her name, as shown in Fig. 1 for Boris Georgievich Menshagin, Prisoner No. 29, a witness to the Katyn Forest Massacre.^{27,28} From Table 1 it is also evident that some numbered cards were absent, indicating that they had been removed from the system. Russian government officials have made no statement concerning whether Table 1 represents all numbered prisoners in Vladimir, nor have they released their identities.

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

In cases of alleged absence of official documentation of a prisoner's incarceration, development of a method to evaluate evidentiary statements in an unbiased manner becomes an important forensic tool. This method can be then applied to statements made by individuals with administrative responsibility who claim that the prisoner was not present or may have died earlier (*cf.*, refs.11,12), and by inmates in the same penal institution who provide testimony of the prisoner's presence. Such reports need to be examined closely to rule out possible cases of mistaken identity, including, in this instance, other prisoners of Swedish or Nordic origin.²⁹

In our work one incident involving employees of the prison demanded a detailed analysis of the cell occupancy of *Korpus 2* of the Vladimir Prison. This building was known as the hospital or clinic for the prison, housing prisoners under medical treatment, and as a building where isolation of prisoners was especially effective. In December, 1993, while inspecting medical and other records of the prison, Makinen and Nikita V. Petrov, a senior researcher of the Memorial Society in Moscow, were introduced to a 70-year old employee of the prison, Varvara Ivanovna Larina, who had worked in *Korpus 2* since 1946.³⁰ During the interview Larina recalled a foreign prisoner of Western but non-German origin who

occupied a cell in solitary confinement on the third floor of *Korpus 2* opposite that of the prisoner "Osmak." She stated that the foreigner was in this cell when Osmak died.

Because her duties included distribution of meals to prisoners in their cells, Larina remembered how the foreign prisoner complained about matters to authorities, including the food that she helped to distribute on a daily basis.³¹ She explained that the routine for distributing the food ladle by ladle from large kettles, starting with cells on the first floor, had the consequence that the soup was invariably cold by the time she reached the third floor. Because the foreign prisoner habitually complained about the cold soup to the head guard, he finally ordered Larina to serve the foreign prisoner first. Consequently for each meal she had to first walk up to the third floor, fetch the prisoner's plate and soup bowl, return to the first floor to place the prisoner's rations in the dishes, and then return them to the third floor. Thus, this routine multiplied over the days and weeks of the prisoner's incarceration on the third floor left an indelible memory of the prisoner in Larina's mind. Furthermore, the description of these circumstances to Makinen, having been incarcerated earlier in *Korpus 2*, signified that this was indeed an unusual prisoner kept under special conditions. Ordinary prisoners would have received a verbal reprimand in no uncertain terms from the guard for such complaints and would have been sent to a punishment cell if such behavior continued.

Although Larina stated in the interview that she did not know the prisoner's name or country of origin, of importance was that she identified the photograph in Fig. 2 as the prisoner. This photograph had been presented to her as part of a collection of approximately 15 photographs of individuals having different head shapes and facial features. Fig. 2 is a photograph of Raoul Wallenberg taken in Budapest. To our knowledge, this photograph had never been used in the press outside of Sweden. In two subsequent interviews conducted approximately 1 and 2 years later, Larina fully affirmed all of the details given earlier and, in addition, selected the photograph in Fig. 3 as also depicting the prisoner.³²

At a later time, Aleksandr Timofeyevich Kukin, a former head guard of *Korpus 2* in retirement, was interviewed by Makinen while he was convalescing from pneumonia and bronchitis in a local

hospital. He confirmed Larina's statements about the presence of the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement but stated to have no recollection of his name, country of origin, or reason for incarceration. He also confirmed that the photographs identified by Larina " . . . were not unlike the foreign prisoner."^{33,34}

Later inspection of the *kartoteka* revealed the registration cards of Kiril Ivanovich Osmak, one of which is illustrated in Fig. 4, indicating that he died of a cerebral hemorrhage on May 16, 1960. This finding, thus, amply confirmed the accuracy of Larina's recollection of circumstances surrounding the foreign prisoner.³⁵ The year 1960 is significantly later than 1947, the year of Wallenberg's alleged myocardial infarct.⁹

4. Construction of the Database for Prisoner Occupancy of Cells in *Korpus 2*

Access to the Vladimir *kartoteka* was later granted to conduct the analysis of cell occupancy of *Korpus 2* of the Vladimir Prison.³⁶ 11,021 prisoner registration cards belonging to 8,049 individuals were selected by examination on a card-by-card basis³⁷ according to two criteria : (i) the prisoner had been incarcerated for at least one day in *Korpus 2* from 1947 through 1972, or (ii) more than a week had elapsed between the entry date of the prisoner into the prison and the first date on which a cell was entered on the card, suggesting that the prisoner may have been held under special isolation conditions.³⁸ Accordingly, images of the front- and backsides of the cards were created in TIF format by computer-based scanning at a resolution of 300 dpi. The data, as illustrated in Fig. 5, were extracted by five individuals experienced in examination of handwritten Russian script. This information constituted the minimum needed to identify the prisoner, to return to the original registration card later if necessary, and to account for the entire incarceration of the prisoner in Vladimir, including periods in which the prisoner may have been transferred temporarily to a different prison and subsequently returned to Vladimir.³⁹

The database constructed from these cards consisted of 98,030 cell records for the 8,049 prisoners. One uncertainty in the data, deriving from the circumstance that occasionally cells were

entered on registration cards without a date, as seen for Cell 2-11 in Fig. 5, required special attention. Because the algorithm to calculate cell occupancy would have resulted in an artifactual indefinite period of time spent by the prisoner in a cell without a corresponding date and because we had no *a priori* knowledge about other occupants of the cell in question, we calculated cell occupancy in such instances in the following manner : the prisoner occupied the cell for the entire period between the two dates as well as the previous cell for the entire period between the two dates. Although this artificial condition was likely to underestimate instances of cells with no identifiable occupants, we reasoned that the probability of identifying potential witnesses through cellmate contacts would be increased.

Of the 8,049 prisoners listed in the database, only 22 had no final departure date entered on the backside of the card. We could discern no systematic basis for this omission other than accidental failure to enter the date at the time of departure of the prisoner. In no instance did this involve *Korpus 2* for the final cell occupied by the prisoner. There were 14 prisoners who had been incarcerated only in *Korpus 2*, and there were 19 prisoners who spent more than two years in a single cell in *Korpus 2* in the course of their imprisonment. Of the 134 deaths in *Korpus 2* over the 1947-1972 period, one occurred three weeks after Osmak's death but on the opposite end of the third floor. The next nearest death, on the second floor, was separated by more than a year and is unlikely to have been mistakenly confused by Larina with the death of Osmak. Through application of programs developed to verify self-consistency and chronological accuracy of the database (*cf.*, ref. 4c), we could find no indication that falsified cards had been added to the *kartoteka* prior to our analysis. The very fact that the statements of witnesses described below found support in our analysis indicates that such efforts were not made.

5. Examination of Eyewitness Statements Identifying Raoul Wallenberg in *Korpus 2*

The Eyewitness Account of Varvara Larina. The Soviet and Russian governments have denied that Raoul Wallenberg was incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison.^{3,8,9} Therefore, Larina's statements identifying Wallenberg from photographs, if accurate, can mean only that records have been removed to conceal his identity. Since her statements specify cell location and time, these circumstances should then result in

absence of identifiable occupants in at least one cell opposite the cell in which Osmak died. However, there were other reasons to anticipate that cells were likely to be uncovered as unoccupied: (i) cards may have been removed from the *kartoteka* to conceal the identity of other special prisoners, as evidenced by the missing cards of numbered prisoners listed in Table 1; and (ii) transfer of prisoners to other cells or buildings for renovations and repair. During the renovation period a cell would have no listed occupant.⁴⁰ Therefore, to remain as conservative as possible, we assumed that periods of significant 'zero' cell occupancy would have to be distinguishably different from normal activities in the prison, as assessed through the database, in order to suggest removal of registration cards from the *kartoteka* directed by authorities to conceal the identity of prisoners.

We first examined fluctuations in prisoner population to establish the distribution and length of time that cells were unoccupied in Korpus 2 over the 1947 – 1972 period. While *increases* in total prisoner population would tend to strengthen arguments based on identification of unoccupied cells, *decreases* in prisoner population due to construction and other administrative measures could lead to misleading conclusions. While the average number of identifiable prisoners occupying a cell remained constant at 2.0 ± 0.5 , Fig. 6 graphically illustrates variations in the total prisoner population on the third floor of *Korpus 2* over the 1947 – 1972 period. Calculations for Floors 1 and 2 showed similar fluctuations but not synchronized with those on the third floor. In the absence of more definitive information, we assumed, as the most reasonable explanation, that the prominent troughs in Fig. 6 likely corresponded to periods of reconstruction and renovation of cells with transfer of prisoners to other floors and buildings. Of significance in Fig. 6 is that no trough overlaps with the death of Osmak on May 16, 1960.

Fig. 7 provides a map of the third floor of *Korpus 2* illustrating the distribution of identifiable prisoners on the day of Osmak's demise. There are five cells that had no occupants on that day. The periods and number of consecutive days during which each was calculated as unoccupied are listed in Table 2. Because of their location across from Osmak's cell (2-49), Cell 2-44 or 2-46 most likely housed

the prisoner identified by Larina. As seen in Table 2, these two cells were without identifiable occupants for periods of 243 and 274 consecutive days, respectively.

To assess the statistical significance of unoccupied cells of this duration, we ranked cells according to the number of consecutive days they were calculated as unoccupied. Of the 2,940 instances in which a cell in *Korpus 2* was without occupants over this 25-year period, fully one-half showed a lack of identifiable occupants for no more than seven consecutive days. Such brief absences are likely the result of ordinary prison activities. Only 34 instances involved cells with no identifiable occupants for 250-300 consecutive days or longer. Periods of 243 and 274 consecutive days must be considered unusual, therefore, because examination of the cell transfer data indicated continual changes in the distribution and pairing of prisoners in nearby cells over this time. Moreover, evaluation of the frequency with which prisoners were moved from cell to cell showed that individuals such as Menshagin, who was kept largely in solitary confinement for the first 7 years of his 25-year sentence, were transferred to a new cell every 200-300 days on average. On this basis we conclude that the absence of identifiable occupants in Cells 2-44 or 2-46 is probably not due to ordinary prison activities.⁴¹

Cells without identifiable occupants according to the *kartoteka* at the time of Osmak's death for 243 or more consecutive days do not refute *per se* the previous statements of the Soviet or Russian governments about Wallenberg.^{3,9} However, there is an unusual constellation of events associated with the findings in Fig. 7 that demand special explanation : (i) Larina repeatedly identified the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement through Figs. 2 and 3; these photographs are of Raoul Wallenberg; (ii) she associated his imprisonment as having occurred at the time of the death of the prisoner Osmak; analysis of the *kartoteka* showed two candidate cells without identifiable occupants on the day of Osmak's demise; and (iii) the number of consecutive days for which these cells were without identifiable occupants cannot be ascribed to normal prison activities; thus, we conclude that the identity of the occupants of these cells, one of which has been identified by a witness as Raoul Wallenberg from photographs not used outside of Sweden, is likely to have been concealed. It is the responsibility of the Russian government to

provide satisfactory explanation of the occupants of these cells since Larina repeatedly selected Wallenberg from photographs as the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement.

Analysis of the distribution of prisoners on the third floor of Korpus 2 after the demise of Osmak revealed further information about the trough in Fig. 6 for the July, 1960, – February, 1961, period that may be also relevant to the statements of Larina. The nadir of the trough corresponds to only three identifiable prisoners in solitary confinement: Sudoplatov in Cell 2-42, Menshagin in Cell 2-40, and Prishlyak in Cell 2-39, each of special political importance.⁴² On this basis, it is possible to conclude that renovation and construction work did not interfere with incarceration of prisoners under solitary confinement on the third floor, if that was the reason for emptying nearly all cells at this time.⁴³

The Eyewitness Account of Josif Terelya. Josif Mikhailovich Terelya described in personal interviews¹⁸ and later in publication¹⁹ an unusual incident involving a foreign prisoner on the second floor of *Korpus 2* whom he met through an accident of the guard on duty one evening in 1970. He stated that only afterwards did he associate this prisoner with the name of Raoul Wallenberg. Terelya had been transferred from the first floor of *Korpus 2* to the second floor on December 24, 1969, where he stayed in Cells 2-21 and 2-30 until October 16, 1970. One evening the guard on duty opened Cell 2-21 for Terelya and his cellmate to go to the toilet at the end of the corridor before a solitary, elderly prisoner had been able to return to his cell. Terelya tried to use this opportunity to speak to him, through which he realized that the prisoner was a foreigner. This incident alerted Terelya to the presence of an unusual prisoner on the second floor, and he was able to note later that the prisoner had been transferred from Cell 2-25 to a cell on the opposite side of the second floor. After the prisoner had left Cell 2-25, a small cupboard or *tumbuchka* had been transferred from Cell 2-25 into Terelya's cell, now 2-30, since his cell lacked one at the time. On the backside of the cupboard Terelya stated that he found written words, including *Raoul Wallenberg* and *Sweden*, leading him to believe that the prisoner was Wallenberg.^{18,19,44}

Fig. 8 illustrates the distribution of prisoners on the second floor of *Korpus 2* on February 1, 1970. At this time Terelya was still located in Cell 2-21, but Cells 2-25 and 2-33 are indicated as unoccupied. The analysis of cell occupancy at the time showed that Cell 2-25 was unoccupied for a period of only five consecutive days. Cell 2-33, however, remained unoccupied for a period of 117 consecutive days after Cell 2-25 regained identifiable occupants. These circumstances correspond precisely to Terelya's account¹⁸ of the foreign prisoner having been transferred from Cell 2-25 to a cell located on the opposite side of the second floor nearly adjacent to his. Analysis of the database showed that no other cell remained unoccupied for more than 3-5 consecutive days over this period. On this basis Terelya's report of a foreign prisoner in solitary confinement, first in Cell 2-25 and later in Cell 2-33, which remained unoccupied by calculation for 117 consecutive days, demands explanation and identification of the prisoner by Russian authorities, as in the case identified by Larina.⁴⁵

The Eyewitness Account of Zigurds Kruminsh. One additional incident, supported through analysis of the database, derives from personal experiences of Makinen during his imprisonment in *Korpus 2*. After the release of the U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers from the Soviet Union in February, 1962,⁴⁶ Makinen was transferred from Cell 2-33 to Cell 2-31, which at that time was still occupied by Powers' former cellmate Zigurds Kruminsh (*cf.*, Fig. 5). Makinen and Kruminsh occupied Cell 2-31 for approximately 10 months whereupon Kruminsh was pardoned by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. During their occupancy of Cell 2-31, Kruminsh stated to Makinen that he had earlier met a Swedish prisoner in the Vladimir Prison, who " . . . believed that he would be well rewarded and recognized for his work when he returned home." Kruminsh claimed not to know the individual's name and denied that he had ever occupied a cell with the Swedish prisoner. Nonetheless, when Makinen was transferred to labor camp in August, 1963, he learned from the prisoner Vasilii Fedorovich Vorobei-Vorobyov, who had earlier been in Vladimir (*cf.*, Cell 2-52 in Fig. 7), that it was common knowledge among prisoners that " . . . [Kruminsh] "sat" with all the foreign prisoners, . . . with Powers . . . and with the Swedish prisoner '*Van den Berg*' (*sic*)."

Kruminsh stated to Makinen that he had been held in solitary confinement initially after his arrival to the Vladimir Prison. Database analysis, however, revealed that Kruminsh spent not only the initial 4½-months in solitary confinement in *Korpus 2*, a not uncommon situation for political prisoners upon arrival, but he also spent the next nine months without an apparent cellmate. A period of over 13 consecutive months in solitary confinement would have been considered unusually harsh punishment. The database revealed, in addition, that Kruminsh also occupied cells for nearly 10 consecutive months with the notorious Grigorii Moiseyevich Mairanovsky. The latter had been in charge of a toxicology laboratory to develop poisons for use by agents in SMERSH and the Ministry of State Security. While Kruminsh, without revealing the name, had mentioned to Makinen that he had once shared a cell with ". . . a Jewish professor," uncovering Mairanovsky as the cellmate⁴⁷ indicates emphatically, together with Kruminsh's history of sharing cells with Powers and Makinen, that Kruminsh was selectively placed in cells with individuals for whom the authorities restricted contact with ordinary Soviet prisoners. It is likely that Kruminsh had to agree to secrecy on these matters to be considered favorably later for pardoning. Concealing the identity of these cellmates by removal of registration cards could have thus resulted in lengthy periods of "apparent" solitary confinement for Kruminsh beyond the initial 4½-month period. The fact that Kruminsh admitted to Makinen that he had met a Swedish prisoner and that the prisoner Vorobei-Vorobyov later informed Makinen that ". . . Kruminsh . . . sat with . . . the Swedish prisoner *Van den Berg (sic)*" suggests that Raoul Wallenberg was the prisoner.⁴⁸

6. Conclusions

In this investigation we have constructed a database from prisoner registration cards of the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison, well known for the isolation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, to calculate the occupancy of cells in *Korpus 2* on a day-by-day basis from 1947 through 1972. After computer-assisted verification of the chronological accuracy of the information, we analyzed fluctuations in the prisoner population of *Korpus 2* and established boundaries for determining when absence of

identifiable cell occupants constituted unusual conditions and could be considered as instances in which authorities had likely removed records to conceal the identities of special prisoners. We analyzed three reports from the 1956 – 1970 period about a foreign prisoner who *(i)* had been identified either as Raoul Wallenberg (in one case directly from photographs) or *(ii)* had been called Swedish. In each case analysis of the database suggested that documents had been systematically removed to conceal the identity of the individual. In addition, although not described in this communication, analysis of the database to assess the veracity of other reports¹³ about Wallenberg's incarceration in the Vladimir Prison showed that in the main the time, cell location, and prisoner names mentioned were similarly corroborated.^{4c}

The results of this database analysis bring compelling doubt to the credibility of all statements made by the Soviet or Russian governments regarding Raoul Wallenberg. Since the official claim is that Wallenberg died in 1947,^{3,9} until the Russian government is willing to convincingly demonstrate that the lack of identifiable cell occupants described in this study does not involve Raoul Wallenberg and until it is willing to provide documentation of Wallenberg's death beyond a reasonable doubt, the minimum legal standard in a court of law, it is unwarranted to come to any conclusion about his fate.⁴⁹

References and Notes:

1. The acronym *SMERSH* is derived from the Russian words *smert shpionam* meaning *death to spies*. *SMERSH* was designed as an instrument of political repression as well as to combat desertion, espionage, and sabotage in the operational area of the Red Army abroad [*cf.*, R. Stephan. *J. Contemp. Hist.* **22**, 586-613 (1987).]
2. "Raoul Wallenberg: Report of the Swedish-Russian Working Group," Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden (2000). For copies contact <http://www.fritzes.se> or order.fritzes@liber.se. Also, *cf.*, the website of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, <http://www.foreign.ministry.se>.
3. "Report on the Activities of the Russian-Swedish Working Group on Clarification of the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg (1991-2000)," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, CIS.
4. Reports submitted to the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the Fate of Raoul Wallenberg: (a) S. E. Mesinai. "Liquidatsia: The Question of Raoul Wallenberg's Death or Disappearance in 1947," Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, December 6, 2000. (b) S. Berger. "Swedish Aspects of the Raoul Wallenberg Case," Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, January 9, 2001. (c) M. W. Makinen, A. D. Kaplan. "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*," Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, December 15, 2000. (d) Copies of the reports cited as refs. 3a-3c will be supplied upon written request to the respective authors.
5. Refs. 2 – 4 have been reviewed by A. Knight: "The Truth about Wallenberg." *New York Review of Books*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 14, pp. 47-50 (2001).

6. Soviet Deputy Minister of Defense Nikolai Bulganin dispatched an order to the Commanding Officer of the Second Ukrainian Front of the Soviet Army in Hungary on January 17, 1945, "to take all necessary measures" to arrest Wallenberg and transport him to Moscow.^{2,3} No indication for the reason of arrest has been produced; however, a copy of the telegram was forwarded to Viktor S. Abakumov, the head of SMERSH¹ and of the Soviet Ministry of State Security. Although not mentioned in the order for arrest, Wallenberg's Hungarian assistant and chauffeur, Vilmos Langfelder, was also arrested and transported to Moscow. No explanation for his subsequent imprisonment or legitimate documentation of his death have ever been provided by Soviet or Russian authorities.

7. In 1957 the Swedish Foreign Ministry issued the so-called "White Book" printed in the Swedish language, *Raoul Wallenberg: Dokumentsamling Jämte Kommentarer Rörande Hans Fångenskap i Sovjetunionen* (publisher C. E. Fritzes, Stockholm, Sweden), which contained a summary of the official inquiries made to the Soviets by the Swedish government about Raoul Wallenberg. The publication contained a collection of evidentiary statements by repatriated prisoners-of-war in which they described how they communicated with each other and with Wallenberg in the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow by tapping messages through cell walls. At that time these statements covering the 1945-1947 period constituted the only evidence that Raoul Wallenberg had been imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

8. In the first official statement of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning Raoul Wallenberg, Andrei Ya. Vishinsky, in a memorandum to the Swedish ambassador on August 18, 1947, denied that Raoul Wallenberg had ever been on Soviet territory. Documents uncovered by the Swedish-Russian Working Group, however, showed that Vishinsky had full knowledge of Wallenberg's imprisonment at the time.^{2,3} Because the Soviet government did not sway from Vishinsky's statement for the next 10 years, it is considered that it felt pressured by the weight of the evidentiary statements of repatriated

prisoners-of-war⁷ to acknowledge in 1957 that Raoul Wallenberg had been incarcerated in the Soviet Union.⁹

9. Wallenberg's alleged death was reported for the first time to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow on February 6, 1957. The communiqué made reference to a hand written report stated to have been found " . . . among the archival documents of the medical clinic of the Lubyanka Prison" prepared by the chief physician A. L. Smoltsov to the head of the Ministry of State Security, and discovered only after "a page-by-page search of documents of all relevant prisons . . ." as " . . . possibly relevant to the case of Raoul Wallenberg." Smoltsov addressed the report to V. S. Abakumov (rather than to the head of the prison, as would have been normally done according to prison protocol), stating, " . . . the prisoner Walenberg (*sic*) known to you died in the night of July 17, 1947, apparently as a result of a myocardial infarct." In the margin of the Smoltsov document is a handwritten statement separate from the body of the report, "I have personally informed the Minister. The order was given to have the body cremated without autopsy." According to an inquiry to the director of the Donskii Crematorium, the only functioning crematorium in Moscow in 1947, the names of Wallenberg or Langfelder are not found in the registry for that year.^{2,3} A copy of the Smoltsov Report was not requested by the Swedish government at the time.

10. According to Soviet law in 1947, the death of a prisoner was documented with signatures from three individuals: the physician carrying out the autopsy, the local physician attending the prison clinic, and the medical examiner of the city or *oblast'*. Through examination of personal dossiers of several foreign prisoners who died while incarcerated in the Soviet Union in the 1940's and 1950's, we have observed that this protocol was followed even in instances in which the Soviet government did not maintain diplomatic relations with the country in which the prisoner held citizenship. Invariably all documents referring to autopsies were included in the personal dossier of the prisoner. Since the Soviet and the Russian governments have claimed that the personal dossier of Raoul Wallenberg does not exist,³ the contention

that the report of Smoltsov was found in the archival materials of the prison clinic⁹ must be considered either false or a major deviation from prison protocol at that time.

11. The most recent example of unverified and conflicting statements by an official of the Russian government is that of academician Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, Chairman of the Committee on Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression under the President of the Russian Federation, who claimed that he had been informed in 1989 through a personal conversation with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, then head of the Committee on State Security (KGB), that Wallenberg had been executed by shooting.¹² Yakovlev made no mention of this information until June 4, 1998, while at a lunch with Mr. Sven Hirdman, the Swedish Ambassador to Russia.¹³

12. (a) P. Lannin, "Soviets Shot War Hero Wallenberg." *The Guardian*, London, England, November 28, 2000. (b) Interfax News Service (www.interfax.ru), "Interfax obtains new information about Wallenberg's fate." Moscow. December 6, 2000.

13. A total of over 25,000 pages of government documents including diplomatic reports and evidentiary statements by repatriated prisoners, former Soviet prisoners, and others are available for review in the Wallenberg collection of the archives of the Swedish Foreign Ministry in Stockholm. They cover a period starting with Wallenberg's incarceration in Moscow in the mid-1940's up to and into the 1980's. Approximately "half a meter" of documents remain classified for which no precise page number is available.

14. Despite requests to examine the personal dossiers of A. V. Abakumov, G. M. Mairanovsky, A. L. Smoltsov, and P. A. Sudoplatov, direct access to them even for the Russians members of the Working Group was not permitted by the Procurator of the Russian government. The Working Group was

informed only that in these dossiers nothing was found of relevance to the case of Raoul Wallenberg.^{2,3} The importance of Abakumov and Smoltsov to the arrest and incarceration of Raoul Wallenberg has already been mentioned. The possible importance of Mairanovsky and Sudoplatov is discussed later. Furthermore, Sudoplatov briefly discusses the Wallenberg case in his autobiography¹⁵ although he had earlier denied having any knowledge of the case during an interview by three Russian members of the Working Group.

15. P. A. Sudoplatov, J. L. Schechter, L. P. Schechter. *Special Tasks*, Little, Brown, & Co., Boston, 1994, pp. 509.

16. *Kartoteka* is the general term applied to the registry of the prison, appearing physically very similar to a card catalog system of a library. Upon initial arrival a registration card is entered into the *kartoteka* for each prisoner containing personal information, *e.g.*, name, date of birth, domicile, occupation, date of arrest, date of sentencing, length of sentence, government organ by which the prisoner was sentenced, etc. The importance of the registration cards to our investigation was that they contained a chronological listing of each cell occupied by the prisoner. Examples are given in the text.

17. The earliest that Wallenberg is likely to have been brought to the Vladimir Prison is 1947 (*cf.*, ref. 4c), and the latest eyewitness report was provided by Josif Mikhailovich Terelya, who had been incarcerated in Vladimir over the 1969-1972 period.^{18,19}

18. Interviews in Terelya's home in Canada were conducted by Makinen on November 28, 1987, in Russian, and on October 14, 1989, with the assistance of an interpreter of the Ukrainian language.

19. Jo. M. Terelya, M. H. Brown. *Josyp Terelya: Witness to Apparitions and Persecution in the USSR*, Faith Publishing Company, Milford, Ohio, 1991, pp.324.

20. On July 27, 1961, Makinen was arrested in the city of Kiev and sentenced for espionage by a closed military tribunal to 8 years loss of freedom, 2 years in prison and 6 years in labor camp, beginning from the date of detention.²¹ The prison portion of the sentence was carried out in the Vladimir Prison while the labor camp portion began after transfer to the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in the village of Leplei (region of Pot'ma). On October 14, 1963, Makinen and Rev. Walter J. Ciszek, S. J., an American Jesuit priest, who had been imprisoned and exiled in the Soviet Union for 25 years,²² were traded out of the Soviet Union.

21. *New York Times*, "US tourist M.W. Makinen, student at Berlin Free University, held for espionage," September 5, 1961, page 1 [column 6].

22. W. J. Ciszek, S. J., D. L. Flaherty, S. J. *With God in Russia*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964, pp. 302.

23. The members of the Commission, the countries in which they held citizenship, and their professions at the time were as follows: *Professor (Emeritus) Guy von Dardel*, Ph. D., Sweden, physicist, maternal half-brother of Raoul Wallenberg, member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and organizer of the Commission; *Vadim Birstein*, Ph. D., USSR, geneticist, former dissident, member, Memorial Society, Moscow; *Rolf Bjornerstedt*, Ph. D., Sweden, physicist, (retired) Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations; *Mikhail Chlenov*, Ph. D., USSR, historian and ethnologist, Soviet Academy of Sciences, Co-president of the Confederation of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the USSR. (VAAD); *Irwin Cotler*, J. D., Canada, Professor of International Law, McGill University; *Alexei Kartsev*, USSR, journalist, author of first Soviet newspaper article about Raoul Wallenberg in *Komsomol'skaya Pravda*,

Moscow; *Kronid Lyubarski*, Ph. D., USSR, editor, former political prisoner in the Soviet Union living in exile in Munich, Germany, deceased; *Marvin W. Makinen*, M. D., D. Phil., USA, biophysicist, Professor and Chairman of Biochemistry & Molecular Biology, The University of Chicago, former political prisoner in the Soviet Union; *Alexandr Rodnyansky*, USSR, cinematographer, producer of first Soviet documentary film about Raoul Wallenberg; *Arsenii Roginski*, USSR, senior scientific researcher, Memorial Society, Moscow, former political prisoner in the Soviet Union.

24. In 1990 Birstein, Kartsev, Lyubarskii, and Roginskii, as members of the Soviet-International Commission, interviewed the late Dr. Elena Nikolaevna Butova, retired chief physician of the Vladimir Prison. When they inquired about numbered prisoners, having already discovered such registration cards, she admitted that there were such prisoners and that they were forbidden to inform her of their names when she saw them for medical reasons. She stated that they were required to refer to themselves as Prisoner (*Zaklyuchyonii*) No. *X*, where *X* was the number assigned to the prisoner.

25. In examination of the case of Prisoner No. 15 (*cf.*, Table 1), Mesinai found an order to the head of the Vladimir Prison in the personal dossier of P. S. Aladjani from the head of the Prison Department of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs stating: "Prisoner Aladjani . . . [is] to be transferred into a solitary cell and kept under 'Number 15.' All registration records . . . [are] to be removed from the *kartotekas* of the Prison . . . and sent to the Prison Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR. The personal dossier of the above mentioned prisoner should be kept by you personally" On the backside of this document was written, "Before being placed into a cell for solitary confinement, [the prisoner] . . . was warned that in contact with everyone except the head [of the prison] he should be referred to as 'Prisoner No. 15'." ²⁶

26. S. E. Mesinai. "Numbered and Isolated Prisoners," Report Submitted to the Swedish-Russian Working Group, August 4, 2000. This report is available through the Wallenberg collection in the archives of the Swedish Foreign Ministry.¹³

27. A description of Menshagin's imprisonment in Moscow and in Vladimir, including his designation as Prisoner No. 29, is given in his autobiography, *Vospominaniya*, YMCA Press, Paris, 1988, written in exile in the city of Murmansk after his release in 1970.

28. (a) G. Kaiser, A. L.Szczesniak. *Katyn: Der Massenmord an polnischen Offizieren*, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin, 1991, pp. 336. (b) V. Abarinov. *The Murderers of Katyn*, Hippocrene Books, New York, 1993, pp. 396. (c) D. Remnick. *Lenin's Tomb: Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, Chap. 1, "The Forest Coup," pp. 3-9, Random House, New York, 1993.

29. In an early session of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, Vladimir Prokhorovich Galitzkii, J. D., reported for the Russian government that over 100 Swedish citizens had been imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

30. This visit was permitted under official accompaniment by Mr. Sergei Mikhailovich Tarakanov, Director of Prisons in the Russian Federation under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. After 1997 jurisdiction of prisons in the Russian Federation was transferred to the Ministry of Justice.

31. Only because the interview was conducted in the office and presence of the chief physician of the prison medical staff, Dr. Lyudmila Ivanovna Polinina, who continually reassured Larina that she should inform the interviewers what she could remember, do we consider that Larina was so forthcoming at the time. Earlier citizens of the former Soviet Union would have been forbidden to reveal this kind of information to others outside of the political prison system.

32. The photograph in Fig. 3 belonged to a series of forensic, age-progression likenesses of Raoul Wallenberg. Of interest is that Larina selected only this photograph which represented Raoul Wallenberg at an age of 50 years old corresponding to his age at the time of Osmak's death. She paid no attention to the passport photograph of Raoul Wallenberg or to photographs that corresponded to Wallenberg at age 70. Her cursory examination of the other age-progression likenesses suggested that she did not realize that they were of the same individual.

33. Because there was no initiative at the time on the part of the Working Group to follow up on the report about Larina and Kukin, Makinen released the information to journalists.³⁴

34. C. Fenyvesi, V. Pope. "The Angel Was a Spy," *U. S. News & World Report* **120**, Issue 19, pp. 46-57, Washington, D. C., May 13, 1996.

35. Osmak's cards were uncovered in the Vladimir *kartoteka* by Makinen and Kostenko in February, 1997. Although reports of Larina's and Kukin's interviews had been presented immediately to the Working Group after December, 1993, the Russian representative from the Ministry of Internal Affairs claimed until 1997 that no records of a prisoner by name of Osmak could be found ". . . in any part of the Russian Federation." We have inspected the personal dossier of Osmak in which the autopsy finding of cerebral hemorrhage was documented.

36. Through negotiations between representatives of the Swedish Embassy in Moscow and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Federated Security Services (formerly the KGB, *i. e.*, Committee on State Security) to define conditions under which analysis of cell occupancy could be carried out, the following stipulations were made: (i) the analysis was to be carried out in the Russian Federation; and (ii) the original data, TIFF images of the registration cards created for the analysis, and the database could not be removed from Russia.

37. We estimated by measurement of the thickness of 50 cards and the length of stacked cards in each drawer of the *kartoteka* that there were 80,000 – 100,000 cards in total. Since some cards had been duplicated without removal of the original and often prisoners had several cards because of either multiple sentences or the need to use additional cards for listing of cells occupied, we cannot estimate the total number of individuals that these cards represented. Prisoner registration cards were selected primarily on the basis of occupancy of a cell in *Korpus 2* over the 1947 – 1972 period. Not all individuals imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison occupied cells in *Korpus 2* during their incarceration.

38. Our analysis suggested that there were cells in *Korpus 2*, presumably on the fourth floor, which otherwise was known to house only medical clinical facilities, that may have been used as special isolation cells for some prisoners whose registration cards had been removed from or never entered into the *kartoteka* (*cf.*, ref. 4c). This deduction was made because at various intervals prisoners identified through registration cards did occupy these cells for short periods of time leaving large gaps in the occupancy history of the cells. The cells could not be assigned to floors 1-3 of *Korpus 2* according to the floor plan descriptive of *Korpus 2* at the time of Makinen's incarceration.^{20,21}

39. Cell transfer data and dates of departure from and arrival in the prison on each card or date of death were entered independently by two different individuals during data extraction. Initially the two data files were compared by computer, and, if discrepancies were identified, each questionable situation was resolved by resorting to the TIFF images of the registration cards. Thirty-five additional computer programs were written to examine the database further to identify and correct chronological and other forms of discrepancies and inconsistencies in the data (*cf.*, ref. 4c). The database was analyzed through use of two Hewlett-Packard 4510 Notebook laptop computers operating under Microsoft Windows. All programs for data analysis and verification employed Microsoft Access.

40. (a) A number of reports by repatriated prisoners-of-war describe frequent changes to other cells and buildings because of renovation and repair.¹³ Although we inquired about documentation of cell renovations, prison authorities stated that there were no records of changes due to reconstruction of cells.

41. Although Cells 2-44 and 2-46 appear as the most likely candidates to have held the foreign prisoner described by Larina, it is possible that the identity of prisoners in the other cells listed in Table 2 was also being concealed.

42. Sudoplatov, the prisoner in Cell 2-42, organized the assassination of Trotsky (*cf.*, ref.15); Menshagin, in Cell 2-40, was a witness to Katyn^{27,28} and Evgenii Stepanovich Prishlyak, in Cell 2-39, was known as the most important, anti-Soviet Ukrainian dissident.

43. The more dramatic interpretation, that cells on the third floor were emptied, except for those of Menshagin, Prishlyak, and Sudoplatov, to ensure no communication of other nearby prisoners with the individuals in Cell 2-44 or 2-46, cannot be totally dismissed. Wallenberg was described by prisoners in the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow in the 1945-1947 years as an 'ardent knocker,' meaning that he energetically communicated by tapping messages through cell walls to others in neighboring cells (*cf.*, ref. 7). It should be noted that Cells 2-44 or 2-46 would be separated from occupied cells by an empty cell, thwarting such communication. If Larina's identification of Wallenberg is accurate, the authorities would have been certain to exercise utmost care that his presence in the prison in 1960 could not be readily determined by other prisoners.

44. In 1990 von Dardel and Makinen as members of the Soviet-International Commission,²³ requested to inspect *tumbuchkas* in the prison. We were told that all cell furniture had been replaced with metal beds,

etc., permanently fastened into the walls and floors of cells, making them essentially indestructible. The wooden *tumbuchkas* no longer existed.

45. In the presence of Mr. Lage Olson, a member of the Swedish Foreign Ministry participating in the work of the Swedish-Russian Working Group,² Makinen by telephone interviewed Janis Rozkalns, a Latvian citizen living at the time in Münster, Germany, who was incarcerated in a labor camp in Perm with Terelya. Rozkalns had learned similar details from Terelya describing the foreign prisoner. It is noteworthy that this information was related to Rozkalns by Terelya after incarceration in the Vladimir Prison and prior to Terelya's forced exile from the Soviet Union. Prior to the telephone interview, Rozkalns had provided evidentiary statements about this information to the Swedish Foreign Ministry.¹³

46. F. G. Powers, C. Gentry. *Operation Overflight*, Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, New York, 1970, pp. 375.

47. Mairanovsky had an academic title as head of the toxicology laboratory at the Bach Institute of Biochemistry in Moscow. For a description of Mairanovsky's human rights atrocities and criminal activities on behalf of the Soviet state, see V. J. Birstein, *The Perversion of Knowledge : The True Story of Soviet Science*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 2001, pp.492.

48. Kruminsh died in 1984 in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Russian authorities have stated that his personal dossier has been destroyed according to Soviet law, and it is claimed that documents surrounding the basis for his pardon by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet do not exist. Because Kruminsh was the only cellmate of Francis Gary Powers in the Vladimir Prison,⁴⁶ as was confirmed through the database, and was also placed with other special prisoners, such as Mairanovsky and Makinen, we do not lend credibility to these statements.

49. We wish to acknowledge valuable assistance and discussions with Gennadii V. Kuzovkin of the Memorial Society in Moscow in the course of this investigation. Our access to the Vladimir *kartoteka* for database analysis was achieved through the efforts of Mssrs. Hans Magnusson of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Konstantin Sergeyeovich Nikishkin of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Kamil Bachtiorov of the Russian Ministry of Justice. We thank Drs. J. Bhabha, J. Craig, R. Kirschner, and F. Orosz for a critical reading of the manuscript. Over the 1990-1997 period, travel costs of Makinen were supported by the Raoul Wallenberg Committee of the United States and in part by the Raoul Wallenberg Committee of Chicago. The costs for construction and analysis of the database were subsidized through the Swedish Foreign Ministry. More recent work at The University of Chicago has been supported by numerous private gifts and the Harry and Jeannette Weinberg Foundation. We also acknowledge support and use of facilities at The University of Chicago in the course of this work.

Table 1. List of Numbered Prisoners with Registration Cards in the Vladimir *Kartoteka* Discovered by the Soviet-International Commission in August, 1990.

Number	Name	Gender	Year of Birth	Nationality	Date of Arrest ^a	Length of Sentence
1	—	M	1909	Hungarian	05/12/40	25 years
2	<i>Card not present; individual remains unidentified according to name, year of birth, and nationality or citizenship</i>					
3	—	M	1896	Georgian	10/12/4	10 (+ 5)
4	Merkis, H. A.	M	1922	Lithuanian	26/06/41	25
5	Urbshis, I. K.	M	1896	Lithuanian	— ^b	25
6	Urbshis, M. F.	F	1895	Lithuanian	— ^b	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
13 – 14	<i>Cards not present; individuals remain unidentified according to name, year of birth, and nationality or citizenship.</i>					
15	Aladjani, P. S.	M	1894	Armenian	24/09/45	25
16 – 20	<i>Cards not present; individuals remain unidentified according to name, year of birth, and nationality or citizenship.</i>					
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	— ^b	25

(Table 1, continued):

25	Pap, L. E.	M	1919	Hungarian	29/03/49	15
26	Schandel, K.	M	1912	Hungarian	14/01/45	25
27	Meyners, W. J.	M	1908	German	— ^b	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	— ^b	25
31	Schilingas, S. A.	M	1885	Lithuanian	10/06/41	25
32	Tonkunas, Io. N.	M	1894	Latvian	— ^b	25

^aDates are given as dd/mm/yy according to Russian and general European convention to facilitate presentation of prison documents as in Fig.1.

^bDate of arrest was not indicated on the registration card.

Table 2. List of cells with no identifiable occupants on the third floor of *Korpus 2* on May 16, 1960, the day of Osmak's death.

Cell	period unoccupied ^a	number of consecutive days
2-38	10/02/59 – 05/02/61	717
2-41	30/04/60 – 05/02/61	281
2-44	29/04/60 – 28/12/60	243
2-46	07/05/60 – 05/02/61	274
2-53	11/05/60 – 05/02/61	270

^aDates are indicated as dd/mm/yy.

Legends to Figures

Fig. 1. Comparison of prisoner registration cards of Boris G. Menshagin in the Vladimir *kartoteka*. *Left:* Front side of the registration card for Prisoner No. 29. On the original card it was possible to see that the name of the prisoner was written at a later time than *No. 29* 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. or *No. No. Дел* where the number 333 is written. On the backside of the card (not shown) only the length of sentence (25 years) and the beginning of the sentence (04/02/50) were written. *Right:* Front side of the registration card of Boris G. 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. Дел*) is unchanged from that on the left. 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 remained the same, but the beginning of the sentence had been changed to 28/05/45, corresponding to the date of arrest rather than the date of sentencing. (This was the only change made in Menshagin's sentence in response to his written request for pardon.) Also, Menshagin had been transferred for brief periods of time to Moscow and returned to Vladimir. The dates of departure and arrival were noted on the backside of this card. 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. The cards of Menshagin were originally photographed in August, 1990, by the Soviet - International Commission.²³ As seen in this card, dates are written according to Russian and general European convention as dd/mm/yy. This system is followed throughout the text to facilitate discussion and comparisons.

Fig. 2. Photograph of Raoul Wallenberg identified by Varvara Larina as the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement on the third floor of *Korpus 2* at the time of the death of the prisoner Osmak.

Fig. 3. Forensic aged drawing of Raoul Wallenberg selected by Varvara Larina as corresponding to the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement on the third floor of *Korpus 2* at the time of Osmak's death. This photograph belonged to a series of forensic, age-progression likenesses of Raoul Wallenberg prepared by Mr. Horace J. Heafner, an age-progression specialist and forensic artist at the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 699 Prince Street, Alexandria, VA 22314.

Fig. 4. Front (*left*) and back (*right*) sides of one of the four registration cards of Kiril Ivanovich Osmak (born 1890) in the Vladimir *kartoteka*, beginning with the date 18/02/55 until his death. As in Fig. 1 for Menshagin, the front side has personal information and cell occupancy data. On the backside it is written that Osmak was sentenced to 25 years by Special Tribunal. In the central part of the backside, it is seen that previously written text had been erased and the words in Russian are written: *16th of May, 1960, died*. The cause of death is stated on the card as cerebral hemorrhage.

Fig. 5. 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. It is also seen that Cell 2-11 is not associated with a date. This situation was found occasionally on other registration cards, and the manner in which this situation was treated during analysis of the database is described in the text.

Fig. 6. Graphical illustration of total daily prisoner population averaged per month for the third floor of *Korpus 2* from 01/01/47 to 31/12/72. Although sharp decreases in prisoner population are seen to occur during the periods April – November, 1949, and May – September, 1957, only the July, 1960, – February, 1961, period is discussed in detail because of its relevance to the statements of Larina. The ordinate axis indicates total number of prisoners on the third floor while the abscissa is scaled according to time ranging from 01/01/47 to 12/31/72. Months are written in Cyrillic.

Fig. 7 Cell map of the third floor of *Korpus 2* showing identifiable occupants of cells on May 16, 1960, the day of Osmak's death. Osmak is shown as occupying Cell 2-49. The (–) sign adjacent to a prisoner's name indicates that the person departed from that cell on the date for which the map was calculated, for instance, as seen for the occupants of cell 2-47. (For Cell 2-49 the (–) sign does not appear immediately adjacent to Osmak's name because of formatting.) A (+) sign indicates that the prisoner was brought to the cell on that day. The prisoners in Cell 2-43 had multiple computer files with partially overlapping chronological data. It should be noted that the prisoner Vorobyov-Vorobei is indicated as an occupant of Cell 2-52, who is also discussed in the text.

Fig. 8. Cell map of the second floor of *Korpus 2* on 01/02/70 just prior to transfer of the prisoner Jo. M. Terelya to cell 2-30. Cell 2-25 is empty while Terelya is still located in cell 2-21. Terelya's statement that he was later transferred to a cell on the same side of the second floor as Cell 2-33 (refs.18,19) is in accord with the database.^{4c}

1. Фам. <u>Меншиагин</u>	Орган <u>без арестов</u>
2. Имя <u>Борис</u>	или арестован
3. Отч. <u>Георгиевич</u>	или арестован
4. Год рож. <u>1902</u> 5. Место рож.	Отдел <u>№10 дел</u>
6. Адрес	Сл. <u>333</u>
7. Проф. (спец.)	Арх. <u>20 09/05 П</u>
8. Место работы, должн.	Сл. <u>2-7 4/12 51</u>
9. Парт. 10. Нац. <u>русск</u> 11. Гражд. <u>СССР</u>	Арх.
12. Арестован <u>19/4-43</u> 13. Характер преступлени	Лакто
14. Ст.ст. УК <u>19/4-43</u> 15. Карточка заполнена	Сл.

1. Фам. <u>Меншиагин</u>	Орган <u>без арестов</u>
2. Имя <u>Борис</u>	или арестован
3. Отч. <u>Георгиевич</u>	или арестован
4. Год рож. <u>1902</u> 5. Место рож.	Отдел <u>№10 дел</u>
6. Адрес <u>Симленск, Владимирской ул. 05</u>	Сл. <u>333</u>
7. Проф. (спец.) <u>юрист</u>	Арх. <u>20 09/05 П</u>
8. Место работы, должн. <u>Секретарь-записочник</u>	Сл. <u>2-7 4/12 51</u>
9. Парт. <u>22</u> 10. Нац. <u>русский</u> 11. Гражд. <u>СССР</u>	Арх.
12. Арестован <u>28 мая 1945</u> 13. Характер преступлени	Лакто
14. Ст.ст. УК <u>19/4-43</u> 15. Карточка заполнена	Сл.

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

1. Фам. <u>Ковалев</u>	Орган <u>без арестов</u>
2. Имя <u>Иван</u>	или арестован
3. Отч. <u>Иванович</u>	или арестован
4. Год рож. <u>1920</u> 5. Место рож. <u>С. Мичурин</u>	Отдел <u>№10 дел 1007</u>
6. Адрес <u>г. Ленинград</u>	Сл. <u>333</u>
7. Проф. (спец.) <u>инженер</u>	Арх. <u>20 09/05 П</u>
8. Место работы, должн. <u>инженер-проектировщик</u>	Сл. <u>2-7 4/12 51</u>
9. Парт. <u>22</u> 10. Нац. <u>русский</u> 11. Гражд. <u>СССР</u>	Арх.
12. Арестован <u>18-12</u> 13. Характер преступлени	Лакто
14. Ст.ст. УК <u>19/4-43</u> 15. Карточка заполнена	Сл.

Кр	Орган <u>без арестов</u>
Ковалев <u>Иван Иванович</u>	или арестован
Рож. <u>1920</u>	или арестован
Сл. <u>333</u>	или арестован
Арх. <u>20 09/05 П</u>	или арестован
Сл. <u>2-7 4/12 51</u>	или арестован
Арх.	или арестован
Лакто	или арестован
Сл.	или арестован
16. М.О.З. <u>1960г. УИРО</u>	или арестован
17. <u>Прогноз смерти - кров. излияние в мозг. Смерть</u>	или арестован
18. <u>Зарегистрирован в Восточном отделе милиции. О.С.С.С.С.С.</u>	или арестован
19. <u>100 лет со дня рождения А.С. Пушкина - 100 лет со дня рождения В.И. Ленина - 100 лет со дня рождения К.Д. Ушинского - 100 лет со дня рождения С.М. Ковалев</u>	или арестован
20. <u>100 лет со дня рождения А.С. Пушкина - 100 лет со дня рождения В.И. Ленина - 100 лет со дня рождения К.Д. Ушинского - 100 лет со дня рождения С.М. Ковалев</u>	или арестован

Fig. 4

Enter a Prisoner's Last Name, then press ENTER. Return To The Main Menu

Case Number: 1857 Computer ID: 467

Last Name Kruminsh

First Name Zigurds Dzidris

Patronymic Ernestovich

Year of Birth: 1927

Date of Birth: #Name?

Special Marking 1: 1/k+P

Special Marking 2: kr

Date of Filing Out: 5/8/56

Prison Cell	Date	Unclear Date	Arrival/Departure Date	Unclear Arrival/Departure Date	Arrived/Departed/Died
2-17	5/6/56		1/28/63		Departed
2-37	9/22/56				
1-52	1/28/57				
2-16	4/17/57				
2-33	7/3/57				
2-52	10/31/57				
2-29	3/5/58				
2-34	8/15/58				
2-15	11/29/58				
2-36	11/19/59				
2-16	3/23/60				
2-11					
2-6	8/19/60				
2-31	9/8/60				

Fig 5

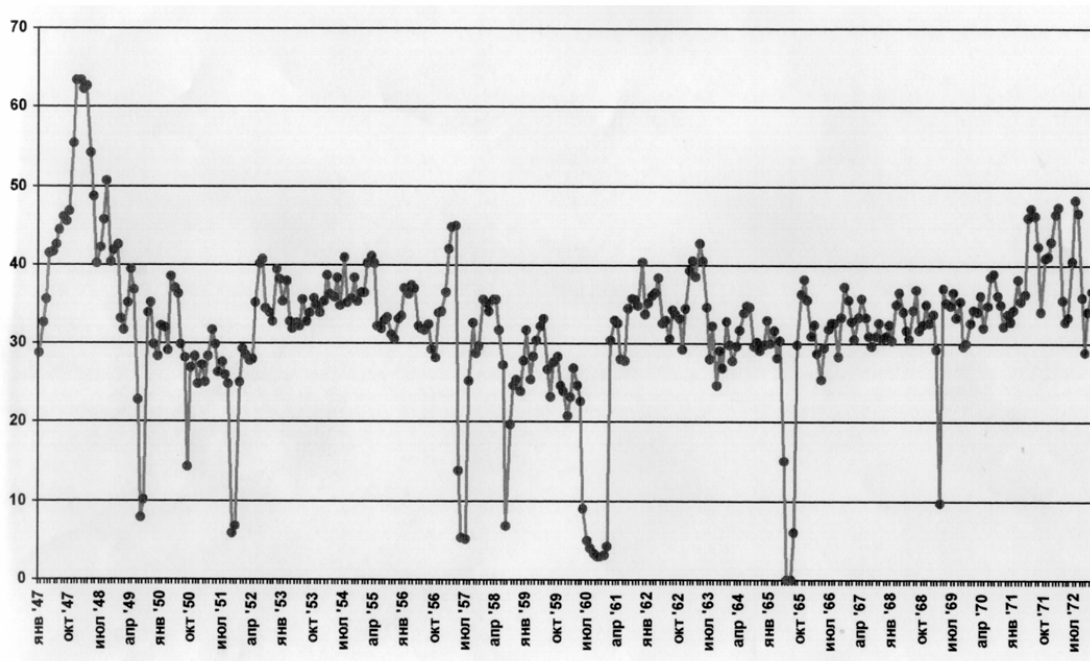


Fig 6

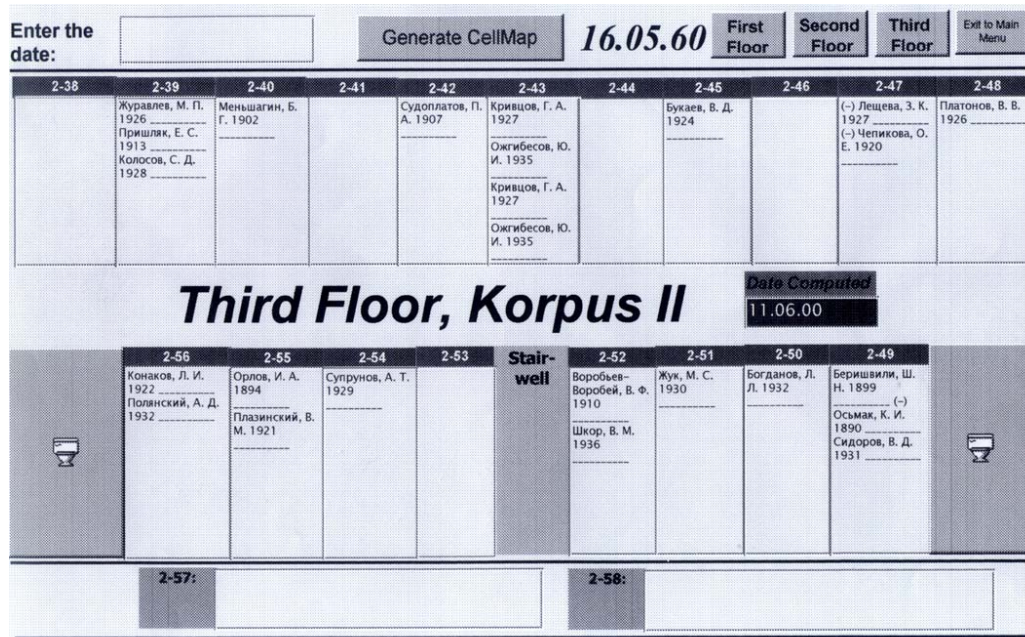


Fig. 7

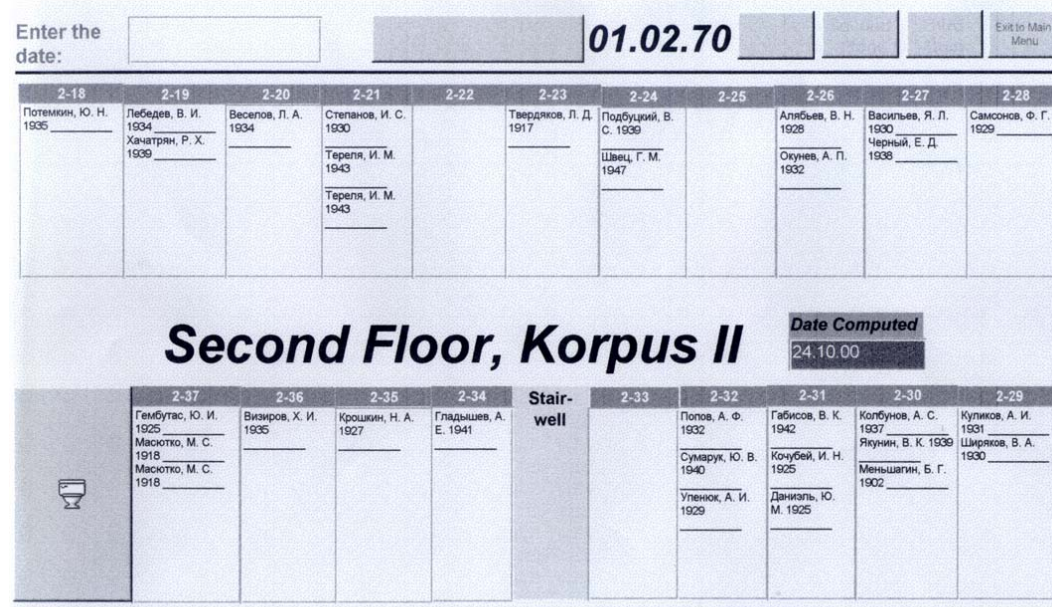


Fig. 8