

## **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 Björnerstedt	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.

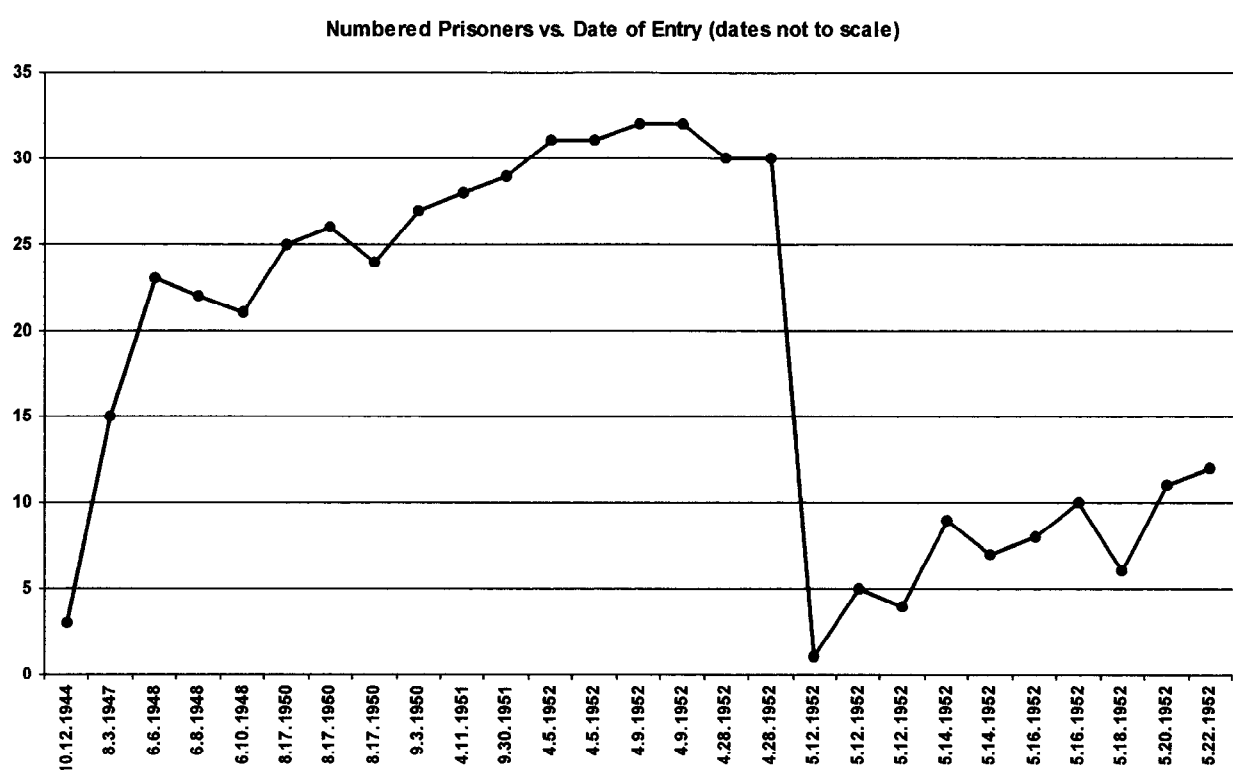
Number	Name	Gender	Year of Birth	Nationality	Date of Arrest	Length of Sentence
1	—	M	1909	Hungarian	05/12/40	25 years
3	—	M	1896	Georgian	10/12/44	10 (+ 5)
4	Merkis, H. A.	M	1922	Lithuanian	26/06/41	25
5	Urbshis, I. K.	M	1896	Lithuanian	—	25
6	Urbshis, M. F.	F	1895	Lithuanian	—	25
7	Munters, V. N.	M	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 into 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 Yuri 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.



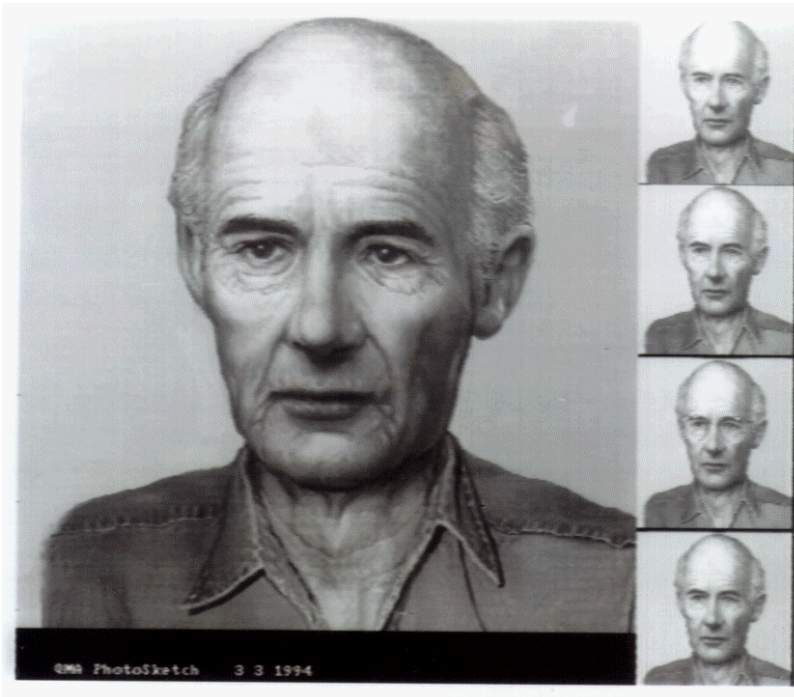
**Figure 2.** Side profile photograph of Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest identified by Varvara Larina as the foreign prisoner in solitary confinement on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 at the time of the death of the prisoner Osmak.



**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. Меньшагин 2. Имя Борис 3. Отч. Георгиевич 4. Год рожд. 1902 5. Место рожд. \_\_\_\_\_

6. Адрес \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Проф. (спец.) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Место работы, должн. \_\_\_\_\_

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без сокращений  
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Сл. Арх-20 60/68 П  
Сл. 2-7 4/55 51  
Арх. \_\_\_\_\_  
Лакто \_\_\_\_\_  
форм. \_\_\_\_\_

указательный  
палец правой руки

**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. Дел)**. 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/II-50 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.

**МЕНШАГИН**  
**Борис**  
**Георгиевич**

4. Год рожд. 1902 5. Место рожд. г. Смоленск, Владимирской  
6. Адрес Смоленск, Старо-Рославская ул. 405  
7. Проф. (спец.) юрист  
8. Место работы, должн. ген. канцелярии  
г. Ярославль - Салицкий  
9. Парт. 3/2 10. Нац. русский 11. Гражд. СССР  
12. Арестован 28 мая 1945 13. Характер преступ-  
ления по обвинению в измене Родины  
14. Ст.ст. УК 25, 26, 27, 28 15. Карточка заполнена  
28 мая 1945

Орган 2-е Главное  
кем арестован МБ  
без содержания 1  
Отдел 1  
№ дела 333

Сл. 333  
2-20 30/11-51 2-30  
2-40 1/12-51 2-40  
2-48 10/12-55 2-05 24/11-56  
2-45 23/11-57 2-26 3/12-58  
2-41 1/12-59 2-2 20/12-60  
Дакто 2-26 29/12-61  
форм. 2-30 6/1-62  
2-43 3/1-63 2-21 1/1-64  
2-42 8/1-65 2-22 8/8-68  
2-53 5/10-68 2-52 3/10-69  
2-40 1/12-68 2-30 13/5-69  
2-23 1/1-70  
2-28 6/1-72

**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. Дел)** 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.

Ком. осужден С.М.М. Советскому при 1/12-51  
Когда 12 сентября 1951 ст.ст. УК 25, 26, 27, 28  
срок 25 лет М.О. 170 лет  
указать полностью дополнительные меры Начало срока исчислять с 28/5/45  
Титлы 30/12/51 из Звездной машины МБ СССР  
Опред. 31/5-1969, версуде РСФСР срока по 13/11-1951, не считать с 28/5/45  
Освобожден 28/5-1970, по отбытии срока наказания  
и выдан к месту жительства. Князе-Губерский дом интернат Мурманск  
(паспорт получить при освобождении)

Для других  
ИЗГОТОВЛЕНО 1 спецотделом МВД СССР Форма № 1



Despite assurances made by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Moscow, Professor Makinen and his assistants were informed upon arrival in the office of the director of the Vladimir Prison that the Vladimir administration (*Upravleniye*) had received no instructions to allow photography of prisoner registration cards and would not allow this work to be carried out until specific instructions had been received. Despite the presence of Ambassador Hallqvist and numerous discussions between the Swedish Embassy with the Russian Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs in Moscow, no further progress on this issue was made. While the details of the unpleasant discussions between Professor Makinen and the prison administration officials will not be repeated here, the prison administration did settle in the end on allowing the cards to be selected, stating that they were to be identified by being rotated in the drawers of the *kartoteka* and that they would be preserved in that state until permission for photography would be obtained. Professor Makinen was also requested to produce a list of the names and year of birth of the prisoners whose cards had been selected. With the assistants from Memorial Society; three prison guards who were hired on an *ad hoc* basis through the prison director's office to assist in the preparation of the handwritten list of names; Al'bina Dvoretzkaya, in charge of the *Spetzchast'* of the prison where the *kartoteka* was kept; and occasional assistance by Vitalii Gurinovitch, the cards of all prisoners who had been in Korpus 2 at some point in their incarceration in the Vladimir Prison between the years of 1947 and 1972 were identified, and a handwritten list of their names and year of birth was prepared. The list consisted of names of slightly over 6,000 individuals. Xeroxed copies of the list of names were made and provided to the Vladimir prison administration, the Swedish Embassy, and later to Mr. Tarakanov in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Moscow. Also Professor Makinen kept one copy of the list for future reference. The work required approximately 12-14 hours of effort daily for the entire week. This was surely one of the most trying periods in working with the Russian government on this project.

While much of the week for Professor Makinen was spent either in discussions with prison administration officials or in assisting with the selection of prisoner registration cards, there were two notable results that were obtained while working with the cards in the *kartoteka*. These two results provided important support for the idea that analysis of the cell occupancy data for Korpus 2 should be carried out. The first was that the registration card for Osmak, Kirill Vladimirovich, a Ukrainian nationalist, born 1912, was found in the *kartoteka*. The card stated that he died on May 16, 1960, while he occupied cell No. 49 in Korpus 2. The front and back sides of Osmak's card that document his date of death are provided in Figure 8. (This card was scanned by a laptop controlled scanner in late

1. Фам. Осмак  
2. Имя Кирилл  
3. Отч. Иванович  
4. Год рож. 1890 5. Место рож. с. Угличское  
Шимского уезда, Вологодская обл.  
6. Адрес г. Вологда  
7. Проф. (спец.) электрик  
8. Место работы, долж. наладчик электровод  
9. Парт. 57 10. Наб. 001111 11. Гражд. СССР  
12. Арестован 13 12 1955 г. 13. Характер преступ-  
ления за участие в антиправительственной  
деятельности  
14. Ст. ст. УК 54-1а, 54-1 15. Карточка заполнена  
17 марта 1955 г.  
16. Дата смерти 16 мая 1960 г.  
Указать название органа МВД СССР  
Фамилия составная, карточку

Орган МВД СССР  
Лич. архив МВД СССР  
без сокращения  
Отдел 1067  
МВД дел 1067  
Сл. 2-18/55  
Арх. 2-41 10/11-55  
3-41 21/12-55  
2-23 10/12-55  
Лакто  
Форм 2-23 10/12-55  
2-50 6/11-56 2-21 30/12-58  
2-50 5/11-57 2-49 25/12-50  
2-22 8/11-58  
4-25 23/12-58  
2-56 9/11-58  
2-33 11/12-58

**Figure 8.** Front (upper) and back (lower) sides of one of the four registration cards of Kirill Ivanovich Osmak (born 1890) in the Vladimir *kartoteka*. This card corresponds to the latter part of Osmak's imprisonment in Vladimir from 18/02/55 until his death. As in Figure 7 for Men-shagin, the front side has personal information and cell occupancy data. On the back side it is seen that Osmak was sentenced to 25 years by Special Tribunal. In the central part of the back side, the words in Russian are written: 16. of May, 1960, died. Osmak died the evening before he was to be transferred to KGB headquarters in Lvov. The cause of death is stated on the card as cerebral hemorrhage. An autopsy was carried out for which the report was included in his personal dossier (*lichnoye delo*).

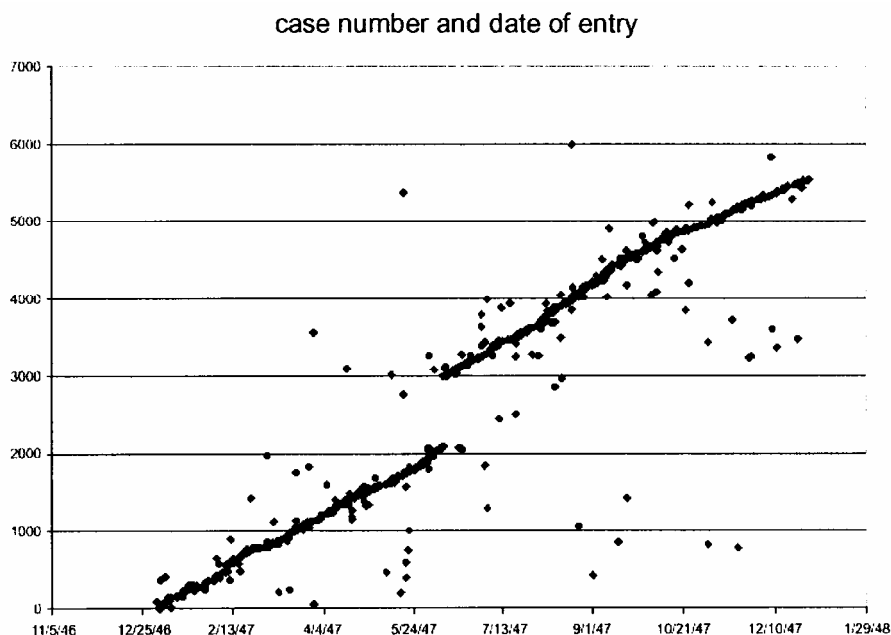
КР  
Кем осужден Особым Совещанием при МТБ СССР  
Когда 10/11/55 ст. ст. УК 54-1а, 54-1 ст. 40  
срок 25 лет МТБ СССР  
указана полностью дополнительными мер  
Начало срока исчислять с 13/12/55 Конечный срок 13/12/60  
Отбыл в п. 48, 23, тюрьмы МТБ СССР  
Всего 31/53 в исправительной тюрьме МТБ СССР. Досроч-  
ный освобождения по предельной МТБ СССР 11/6/57 29/12-53  
Примечание 16 мая 1960 г. Умер  
Причина смерти Кровоизлияние в мозг. Смерть  
Зарегистрирована во Владимирской тюрьме. О смерти  
по делу Осмак К. И. в Вологодской области, Киевской обл.  
МВД СССР  
Наказ по делу МТБ СССР Вологодская обл. 17/53  
Выготское & Снегидомо МВД СССР. Размер 148 X 98 мм. Форма 26/17

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.

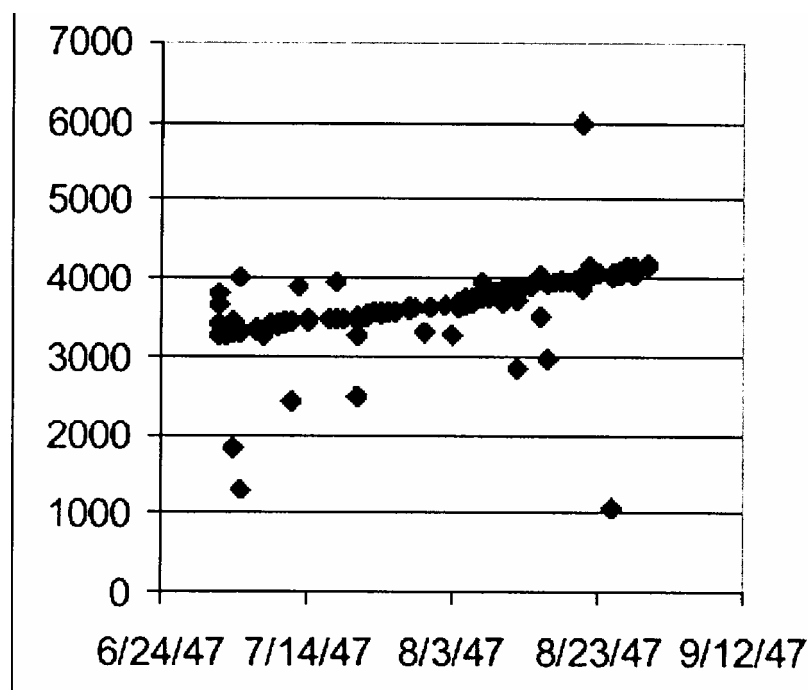
The second result was achieved by Susan Mesinai. Through Lieutenant Yuri Miroshin, assistant director of the prison, she requested access to registry journals for transport of prisoners into and out of the Vladimir Prison for the years 1947, 1952, and 1954. (Susan Mesinai had studied the Vladimir cards 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. Del*) 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. Del</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