

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

2. Work Conditions and Procedures for Construction of the Database

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

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

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

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

Enter a Prisoner's Last Name, then press ENTER:

Return To The Main Menu Computer ID: 7427

№ ДЕЛ 1857

ФАМИЛИЯ **Круминьш**

ИМЯ **Зигурдс Дзидрис**

ОТЕЧЕСТВО **Эрнестович**

ГОД РОЖДЕНИЯ 1927

ДАТА РОЖДЕНИЯ 1927

ОТМЕТКИ M+T.K

ОТМЕТКИ КР

ДАТА ЗАПОЛНЕНИЯ КАРТОЧКИ: 08/05/56

КОРПУС-КАМЕРА	ДАНИЕ	НЕРАЗБОРЧИВО ДАНИЕ
2-17	5/6/56	
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	7/5/58	
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	

ДАНИЕ ПРИБЫТИЯ/ОТБЫТИЯ	НЕРАЗБОРЧИВО ДАНИЕ ПРИБЫТИЯ/ОТБЫТИЯ	ПРИБЫЛ / ОТБЫЛ / УМЕР
1/28/63		DEPARTED

Part A

Enter a Prisoner's Last Name, then press ENTER:

Return To The Main Menu Computer ID: 467

Case Number 1857

Last Name **Kruminsh**

First Name **Zigurds Dzidris**

Patronymic **Ernestovich**

Year of Birth 1927

Date of Birth #Name?

Special Marking 1: U/k+"P"

Special Marking 2: kr

Date of Filling Out: 5/6/56

Prison Cell	Date	Unclear Date
2-17	5/6/56	
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	

Arrival/Departure Date	Unclear Arrival/Departure Date	Arrived/Departed/Died
1/28/63		Departed

Part B

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

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

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

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

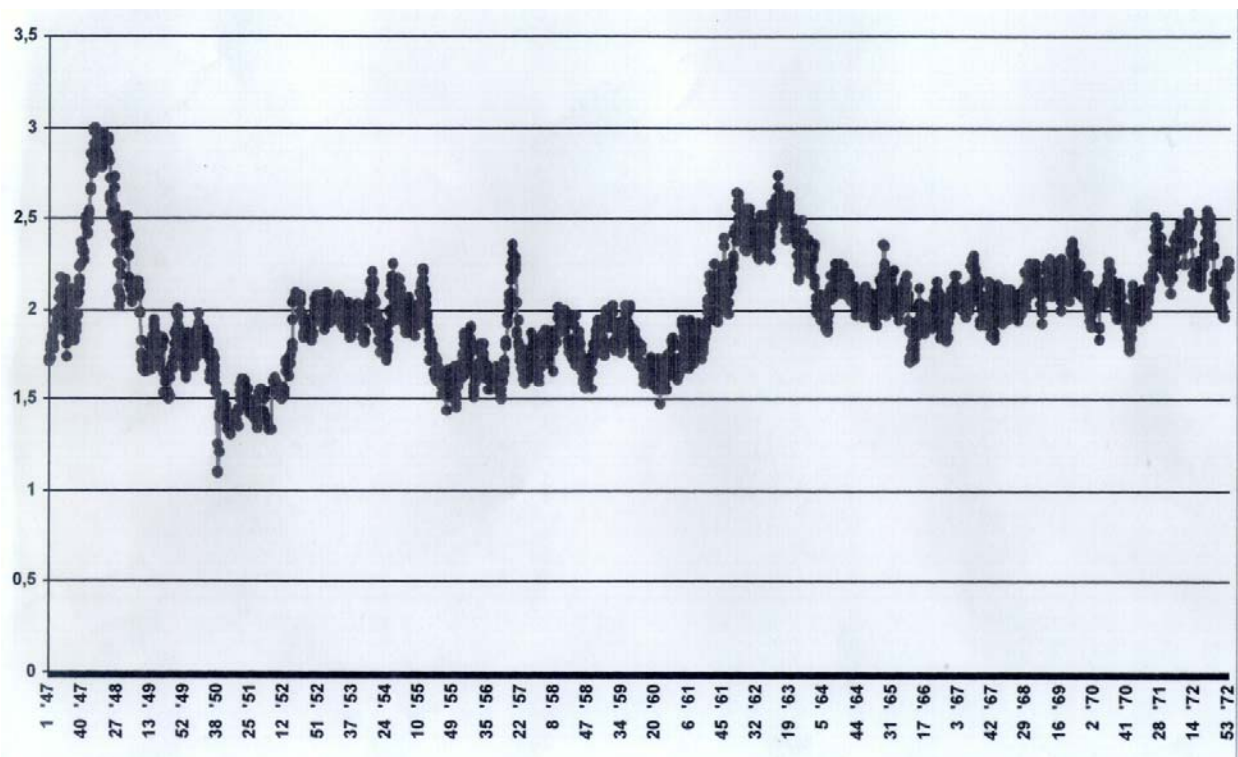
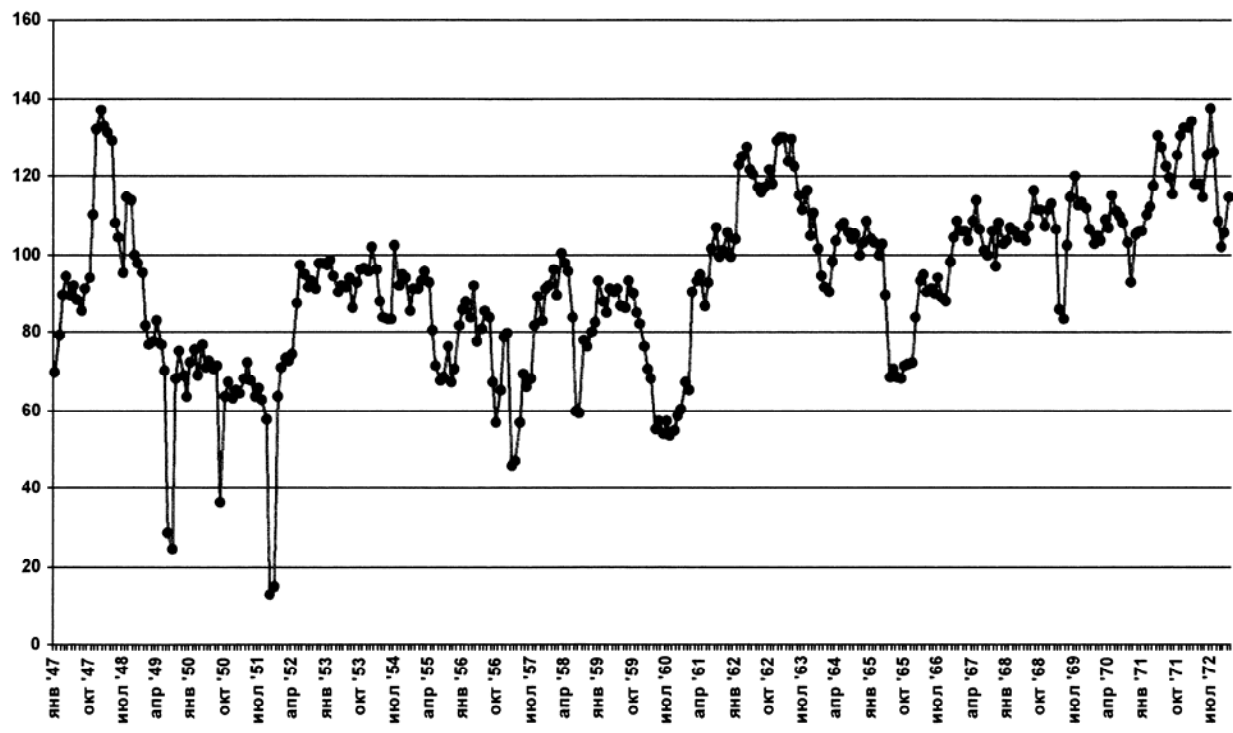
C. Limitations in the Analysis of the Occupancy of Cells in Korpus 2 of the Vladimir Prison

1. Prisoner Population Statistics of Korpus 2

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

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

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



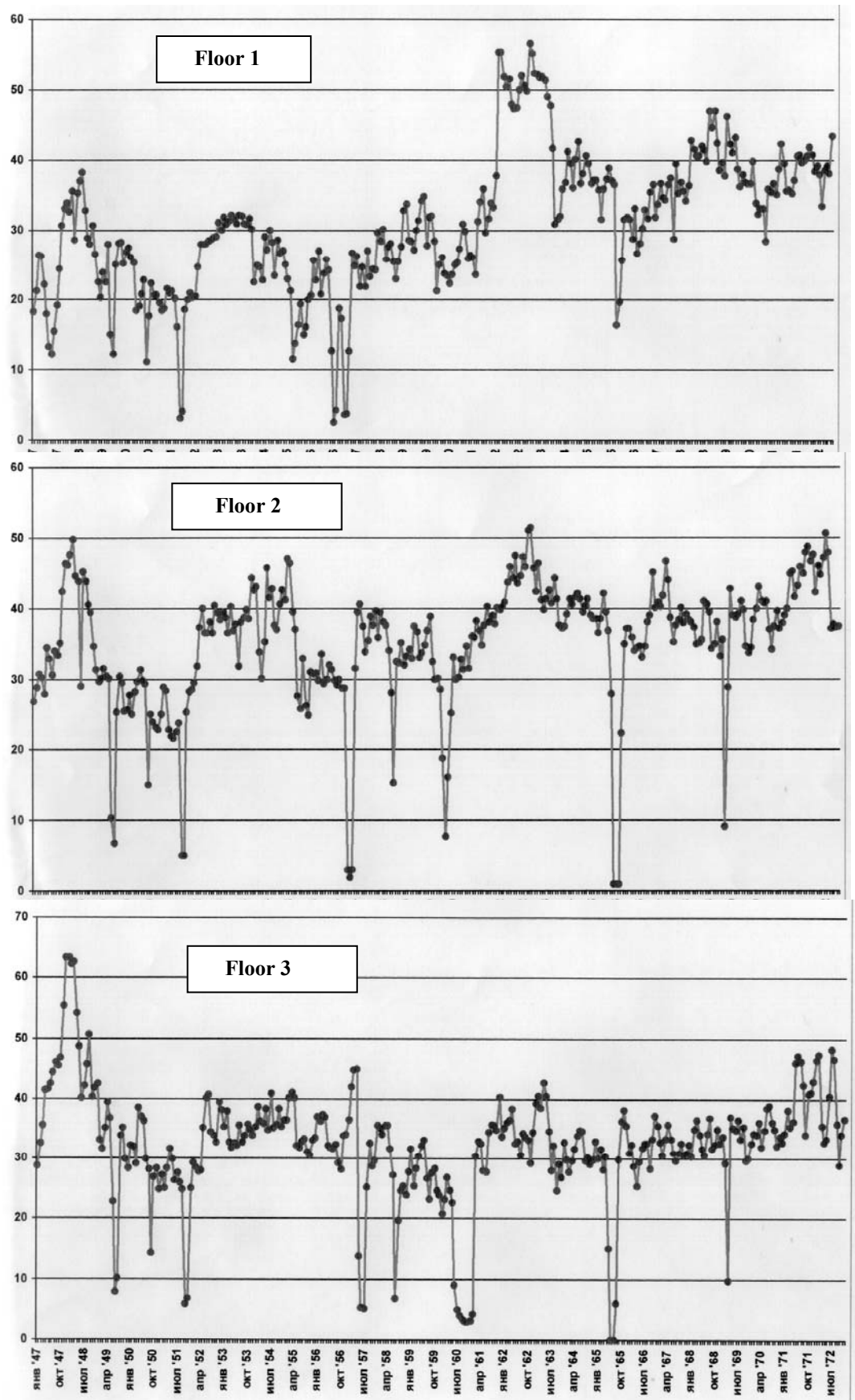


Figure 14. Graphical illustration of total daily prisoner population averaged per month for each floor of Korpus 2 from 01/01/47 to 31/12/72.

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

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

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

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

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

Enter the date: Generate CellMap 11/27/00 First Floor Second Floor Third Floor Exit to Main Menu

2-1	2-2	2-3	2-4	Interrog Cell	Hallway to Exercise Area	2-5	2-6	2-7	2-8	2-9

First Floor, Korpus II Date Computed: 11/28/00

	2-17	2-16	2-15	2-14	Stairwell	Office for Guards	2-13	2-12	2-11	2-10

Enter the date: Generate CellMap 11/27/00 First Floor Second Floor Third Floor Exit to Main Menu

2-18	2-19	2-20	2-21	2-22	2-23	2-24	2-25	2-26	2-27	2-28

Second Floor, Korpus II Date Computed: 11/28/00

	2-37	2-36	2-35	2-34	Stairwell	2-33	2-32	2-31	2-30	2-29

Enter the date: Generate CellMap 11/27/00 First Floor Second Floor Third Floor Exit to Main Menu

2-38	2-39	2-40	2-41	2-42	2-43	2-44	2-45	2-46	2-47	2-48

Third Floor, Korpus II Date Computed: 11/28/00

	2-56	2-55	2-54	2-53	Stairwell	2-52	2-51	2-50	2-49	

2-57: 2-58:

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

3. Cells with the Longest Unoccupied Periods

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Analysis of the Occupancy of Cells in Korpus 2

1. Identifying the Earliest Sources of Information about Raoul Wallenberg

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

a. Vitalii Vital'yevich Shulgin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Semyon Levanovich Gogiberidze

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d. Swedish Speaking Prisoners

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

According to the Wallenberg Files in the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Ludwig Hunoldt, who had been imprisoned in Vladimir from December, 1948, to August, 1953, reported that he had met a Swedish prisoner by name of *Eriksson* in cell 2-57 of Korpus 2 in June, 1950. Eriksson had been arrested in 1944. We did not find cards for Hunoldt or Eriksson during scanning of cards for the present database or during photography of cards in 1990.

Viktor de Latry, a Swiss journalist, is reported to have stated according to the Wallenberg Files that he had had knocking contact with *Karl-Moritz Leuvenhaupt* in the Lefortovo Prison in 1948. While de Latry clearly stated that he did not believe that Leuvenhaupt had been sent to Vladimir, it had been reported to the Swedish Foreign Ministry that there had been three Swiss prisoners and one Swedish prisoner, namely Leuvenhaupt in Korpus 3. de Latry was in the Vladimir Prison from 04/12/52 to 19/08/55 but had not heard of Leuvenhaupt there. There is no information either in the present database or in the cards photographed in 1990 about Leuvenhaupt. Susan Mesinai has requested to examine the personal dossier of Leuvenhaupt but it has not been produced.

Nietz, Harald-Kurt (born 1926), who had previously lived in Sweden, was imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison as an 'American spy' from 28/07/52 – 10/10/55. While Nietz spoke Swedish fluently, we believe that it is unlikely that he would have been confused with a Swedish prisoner held in Korpus 2. Nietz occupied cells only in Korpus 3 during his imprisonment in the Vladimir Prison.

2. Testing the Consistency of Sightings of Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison

a. **Berger, Leizer Niselyevich (born 1922) reported that he was in cell 1-29 when the prisoner Vorobyov-Vorobei, Vasili Feodorovich (born 1910-1913) was brought to that cell into the Vladimir Prison from Novgorod for the first time. Vorobyov was subsequently transferred to Korpus 2. Later Berger was in cell 1-76 with Vorobyov, from whom he then learned about the Swedish diplomat-prisoner Wallenberg being held in Korpus 2. In particular, Berger stated that the Swedish prisoner had been in cell 2-53 with a former "Stalin general" Gorgibereshvili and that he himself was later in that same cell.**

Examination of the registration card of Vorobyov indicates that his arrival to the Vladimir Prison was indeed from Novgorod (more will be stated about Vorobyov later) and that he was first placed into cell 1-29 in which was Berger. At a later time the cards show that they were brought together into cell 1-76, fully confirming the cell locations stated by Berger.

Cell 1-29	15/03/60 – 15/09/60	Berger
Cell 1-29	15/03/60 – 02/04/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei
Cell 1-76	15/09/60 – 14/12/60	Berger
Cell 1-76	23/08/60 – 14/12/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei

Berger himself was never in cell 2-53, but his registration card does show that he was placed into cell 2-51 for the 18/06/64 – 20/07/64 period. This cell is in the immediate vicinity of cell 2-53 in Korpus 2, and the numbers could have been easily misremembered by Berger through the interval of time between Berger's occupancy of cell 2-51 and his report given after his release from prison during immigration to Israel in 1980.

It is of interest to point out that, before Vorobyov-Vorobei was reunited with Berger in 1-76, he was in the following cells:

Cell 1-74	02/04/60 – 18/04/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei
Cell 1-74	30/07/59 – 02/08/60	Mamulov, Stepan Solomonovich (born 1905)
Cell 2-52	18/04/60 – 30/05/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei
Cell 2-52	31/03/60 – 20/05/60	Shkor, Vladimir Mikhailovich (born 1936)
Cell 1-74	30/05/60 – 09/06/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei (still overlapping with the presence of Mamulov);
Cell 1-57	09/06/60 – 06/07/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei (with other prisoners)

Cell 2-19	06/07/60 – 23/08/60	Vorobyov-Vorobei
Cell 2-19	23/03/60 – 13/09/60	Plazinskii, Vasilii Matveyevich (born 1921)

The above listing of cells and partial listing of cellmates of Vorobyov-Vorobei between the two occasions during which he shared cells with Berger shows that he had ample opportunity in Korpus 2 to learn about foreign prisoners in general and about Raoul Wallenberg in particular. Of particular interest is that he shared a cell on two occasions with Mamulov, who is discussed below. Also, he was in the immediate vicinity of cell 2-49 at the time of the death of Osmak on 16/05/60, an event that was related by Larina as corresponding to the time that a foreign, non-German prisoner, answering to the description of Raoul Wallenberg, was held in solitary confinement on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2. More on this will be described later.

There is no prisoner registration card with the family name of Gorgibereshvili that we have been able to find. However, there is a prisoner with the name of Bereshvili, Shalva Nestorovich (born 1899), who entered the Vladimir Prison in 1944 and had the marking of 'Menshevik' on his card. His departure date from the Vladimir Prison was 23/05/60, and the card showed that he was in cell 2-49 at the time of Osmak's death on May 16, 1960. Bereshvili had a 25-year sentence and was released prior to having served the entire sentence.

We have examined the history of the cellmates of Bereshvili and found that he was 'alone' in cells 2-50 (11/08/54 – 27/09/54) and 2-52 (27/09/54 – 30/12/54). While it can be argued that this may simply be a period in which Bereshvili was "in solitary confinement," examination of the rest of his prisoner-cellmate record shows no other period of detention 'in solitary.' At this point during his incarceration, a period of 4-5 months of solitary confinement would constitute unusual punishment, but if this were the case, the circumstances would be readily verified from inspection of his personal file. It is of interest to note that Bereshvili was 'in solitary' in cells 2-50 and 2-52 in the immediate vicinity of cell 2-53 mentioned by Berger. Furthermore, cell 2-52 is of special interest because it is located in Korpus 2 on the third floor adjacent to the stairwell. It is, therefore, particularly well adapted for isolation of a prisoner because lengthy communication by wall tapping is not possible through the side facing the stairwell, leaving only the other wall to be controlled.

As noted in Table 3 for numbered prisoners, Prisoner No. 3 was a Georgian. We have no information about his identity or period of incarceration in the Vladimir Prison. This individual in principle may have been the "Georgian general" rumored to have been Raoul Wallenberg's cellmate. We believe through research carried out by Nikita Petrov, a senior staff member of Memorial Society in Moscow, that this Georgian may have been S. A. Goglidze, an associate of Levranii Beria's. We have at present no further data to examine this situation further but request access to the file and identity of Prisoner No. 3 and the file of Goglidze.

As part of the research carried out for the Working Group, Susan Mesinai has requested to study the personal files of over 100 prisoners of relevance to the case of Raoul Wallenberg, and Professor Makinen has studied with her approximately 30 of these files in the archives of the FSB and MVD. We requested on the basis of these findings that the personal dossier of Bereshvili be added to this list for detailed study and examination by Mesinai and Makinen but have received no definite reply. Because of the importance of these individuals to the case of Raoul Wallenberg, we also add to the request the files of Mamulov and Leizer Berger.

b. The Swiss prisoner Emil Brügger, who has been mentioned above, made several statements about Raoul Wallenberg after his return from the Soviet Union. On November 3, 1958, he was interviewed in Bern, Switzerland, by Leif Leifland. In this interview Brügger stated that in the end of July, 1954, he was brought to Korpus 2 for about 7-10 days during which he was in a cell on the first floor with Field Marshall Ewald von Kleist (born 1881). The prisoner in the neighboring cell began to knock, and after several days Brügger finally answered him. According to Brügger he received the reply: "My name is Wallenberg. I was first secretary in the Swedish Legation in Budapest. When you are released, I ask you to contact the Swedish consulate and tell them that I am here." Later the prisoner knocked to state that he was alone in the cell.

Brügger further stated that, when he spoke about his knocking contact with Raoul Wallenberg upon his return to Korpus 3, two other prisoners Uibel and Turin informed him that they had been in Korpus 2 in 1953 and had had knocking contact with Raoul Wallenberg.

We first examine the possibility that Brügger shared a cell in Korpus 2 with von Kleist at the end of July, 1954. At that time, von Kleist was indeed in Korpus 2. The data from the *kartoteka* show:

Cell 2-37	18/03/54 – 24/06/54	von Kleist
	18/03/54 – 29/03/54	Voss, H. (born 1897)
Cell 2-21	24/06/54 – 15/10/54	von Kleist
	04/12/51 – 27/07/54	Krafft, E. (born 1885)
	16/07/54 – 29/01/54	Vasiliyev, V. M. (born 1891)

Neither of these cells is located on the 1st floor of Korpus 2. While von Kleist is apparently the only occupant of cell 2-37 over the 29/03/54 – 24/06/54 period after the departure of Voss, the data show that the neighboring cell 2-36 was occupied by Kalinskii, Abram Mendeleyevich. (born 1912). While we have no information whether Kalinskii shared cell 2-36 with a prisoner at that time whose records have been removed from the *Spetzchast'*, there is no entry in Brügger's card indicating transfer to a cell in Korpus 2 at this time. In cell 2-21, Krafft died on 27/07/54, leaving Vasiliyev as von Kleist's cellmate. To believe Brügger, we must assume that the entry for Brügger into one of these two cells with von Kleist is by some unusual mistake absent on the registration card. While such an error in principle could have occurred, we must consider it highly unlikely in view of the detailed entries made for other prisoners upon transfer to new cell locations. We must, therefore, conclude that the data in the *kartoteka* do not support Brügger's story. However, we analyze this situation in more detail below because von Kleist died on 15/10/54 and, we wish to ascertain how Brügger might have learned of von Kleist's death. We also try to ascertain through what route Brügger learned of Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison.

Brügger arrived at the Vladimir Prison via INTA and Verchne Uralsk. According to reports of the Finnish Security Police, Brügger had stated to Bastamov, a Finnish prisoner, that he had learned in Verchne Uralsk that Raoul Wallenberg had been imprisoned there. Upon arrival in Vladimir he was brought to cell 3-20 on 22/05/54. Among the prisoners in that cell were:

Cell 3-20	22/05/54 – 23/12/54	Brügger
	20/05/54 – 23/12/54	Paltzo
	20/05/54 – 23/12/54	Rattenhuber, J. (born 1897)
	20/05/54 – 23/12/54	Uibel
	20/05/54 – 23/12/54	Hinckeldey
	22/06/54 – 23/12/54	Janczi, Heinz (born 1916).

Brügger was then transferred to cell 3-15 with most of these same prisoners, including Uibel and Hinckeldey, which he shared with them 23/12/54 – 30/12/54. At no point during his incarceration in Vladimir did Brügger ever share a cell with Turin. According to his registration card, Brügger occupied a cell in Korpus 2 for the first time in 1956. None of the cells which he occupied in Korpus 2 were on the first floor, and his cellmates in Korpus 2 according to the *kartoteka* are as listed below. Furthermore, at the time Brügger first entered a cell in Korpus 2, Field Marshall von Kleist had already died (15/10/54). The cell occupancy data show:

Cell 2-47	18/05/56 – 21/06/56	Brügger
	27/10/55 – 15/06/56	Sato, Yasumu (born 1908)
	09/05/56 – 21/09/56	Vasiliyev, S. G. (born 1895)
Cell 2-36	16/10/56 – 17/10/56	Brügger
	16/10/56 – 17/10/56	Gouaze, Lucien (born 1913)
Cell 2-23	17/10/56 – 04/12/56	Brügger
	17/10/56 – 04/12/56	Gouaze
Cell 2-23	18/03/58 – 23/07/58	Brügger
	18/03/58 – 23/07/58	Berishvili

After cell 2-23 Brügger spent approximately 2 weeks in cell 4-25 with Bereshvili, Osmak, and Lazarchuk, B. N. (born 1921) and was released for repatriation on 05/08/58. While we shall comment on the peculiar circumstances surrounding the transfer of Brügger and Gouze from cell 2-36 to cell 2-23 while discussing the prisoner Kruminsh

later, we must conclude that Brügger fabricated the story about sharing a cell with von Kleist on the first floor of Korpus 2.

Brügger shared cells with several individuals who knew about Raoul Wallenberg. We noted above that he shared cell 3-64 with Gogiberidze, Pataridze, and Mulle, and he also shared cells with Bastamov, and Kalinskii, all of whom had knowledge about Raoul Wallenberg and had stated to others that Wallenberg was in Korpus 2. We also note that Paltzo and Hinckeldey had earlier shared a cell with Shulgin prior to sharing cell 3-20 with Brügger. We can only surmise, therefore, that through these encounters with other prisoners Brügger was himself firmly convinced that Wallenberg was in the Vladimir Prison although he himself may not have had direct contact with him. We believe that he, therefore, decided to fabricate an account to add to the stories of Wallenberg's presence in Korpus 2 and to include himself as participating in the drama. It is probable that Brügger had learned in prison of von Kleist's death and invoked him as a cellmate since the story could not then be checked through von Kleist.

There are several possible routes through which Brügger could have learned of von Kleist's death. For instance, the following occupants were in cells adjacent to von Kleist at the time of his death:

Cell 2-20	17/10/53 – 30/10/58	Goldstein, I. J. (born 1892)
	02/10/54 – 16/11/54	Butin, I. F. (born 1930)
Cell 2-21	04/12/51 – 27/07/54	Krafft
	24/06/54 – 15/10/54	von Kleist
	16/07/54 – 29/01/55	Vasiliyev, V. M. (born 1891)
Cell 2-22	07/04/54 – 21/07/55	Bonizhevskaya, V. F. (born 1907)
	07/04/54 – 03/05/55	Pavulin'sh, A.-L. Ya. (born 1915)

As stated earlier, admiral Krafft died on 27/07/54, leaving Vasiliyev as von Kleist's cellmate. After von Kleist's death, the occupants were:

Cell 2-21	16/07/54 – 29/01/55	Vasiliyev
	18/12/54 – 23/02/55	Chernev, A. V. (born 1887)
	07/02/55 – 23/02/55	Tomashevskii, A. M. (born 1921)

Vasiliyev was released approximately 6 months before the end of his sentence on 29/01/55 to the Vladimir hospital because of health, leaving Tomashevskii as the cellmate of Chernov. While we find no link through Chernov or Tomashevskii to Brügger, we note that Goldstein had as cellmates Bikovskii, T. K. (born 1928), 10/04/56 – 21/05/56, and Kalinskii, 08/10/57 – 04/03/58, in cell 2-20. After Goldstein, each prisoner shared cells with Brügger. We noted earlier that Bikovskii shared cell 3-64 with Gogiberidze, Mulle, and Brügger. This was just prior to sharing cell 2-20 with Goldstein; he was then placed back into cell 3-64 on 21/05/56 with Gogiberidze, Mulle, Brügger, *et al.*, giving ample opportunity to give the information about von Kleist's death. Other routes of information about von Kleist's death may have also occurred. We later point out that Goldstein was a cellmate also of Wolfen's, who is closely associated with the case of Raoul Wallenberg. Because of the evidence that Susan Mesinai has obtained that he was considered as a special prisoner and held in strict isolation, Goldstein's file and documents should be examined further.

c. Marvin W. Makinen reported to the Swedish Foreign Ministry in 1963 and 1964 that he had learned about a Swedish prisoner in the Vladimir Prison from three different sources:

The first was from his first cellmate Mukha, Mikhail Aleksandrovich (born 1935), who had simply stated that he had heard about a Swedish prisoner in Vladimir but knew no further details.

The second source of information came from Makinen's second cellmate Kruminsh, Zigurds-Dziedris Ernestovich (born 1927), who had been the cellmate of Francis Gary Powers. Kruminsh, when asked by Makinen whether he had heard of a Swedish prisoner in Vladimir, stated that he had earlier met a Swedish prisoner while he worked in Korpus 2 as a prisoner-trustee (in Russian the appropriate term would be *bezkonvoinik*) performing tasks such as washing windows and floors, cleaning cells, etc. during an earlier period of his imprisonment. (In an interview in December of 1993 with Dr. Butova, Elena Nikolaevna, retired chief physician of the Vladimir Prison, she categorically denied that it would have been possible for

Kruminsh, as a political prisoner, to have worked in Korpus 2 as a prisoner-trustee. In the experience of Makinen in Korpus 2 over the 1961-63 period, the prisoner-trustees working in Korpus 2 were not political prisoners.) Kruminsh spoke rather reluctantly about the Swedish prisoner and volunteered the information only because Makinen had presented questions about this prisoner on several occasions, because to him the circumstance of a prisoner from a neutral country seemed highly unusual. When asked what was the Swedish prisoner charged with, Kruminsh replied only that he did not know exactly but that it seemed to have involved intelligence work. Kruminsh, in an uncharacteristic moment with a slightly sneering tone, then added that the person seemed very certain that when he returned home he would be well rewarded and acknowledged for his work. Kruminsh denied having been a cellmate with the Swedish prisoner and stated that he did not know the prisoner's name.

The third source of information about a Swedish prisoner in Vladimir came from the same Vorobyov-Vorobei described above with respect to Leizer Berger. This occurred shortly after Makinen's arrival in August of 1963 in labor camp (Pyatii Lagpunkt, village of Leplei, Mordvanian Autonomous Republic). Vorobyov-Vorobei (who had already stated that he had been previously transferred from Vladimir to the labor camp), inquired who had been Makinen's cellmates. Upon hearing the name of Kruminsh, he responded immediately, "That son-of-a-bitch. He sat with all of the foreign prisoners. He sat with Powers, he sat with you Marvin, and he sat with the Swedish prisoner 'Van den Berg. ' "

It is of interest to note in confirmation of Makinen's statements that Leizer Berger during his travel from the Soviet Union to Israel in 1980 stated in the Swedish Embassy in Athens, Greece, that of the 5 persons known to have met Raoul Wallenberg in the Vladimir Prison, Kruminsh was one. "He sat with all the well known prisoners." Berger considered Kruminsh to be a "provocateur. "

The history of Vorobyov-Vorobei in the Vladimir Prison has been already described above, documenting that he had ample opportunity to learn about a Swedish prisoner in Korpus 2. He had also stated to Makinen that Kruminsh had a well known reputation among prisoners in Vladimir for having been a cellmate with several foreign prisoners, adding that these arrangements were made only if the Soviet prisoner is trusted by the authorities and is working for them as an informant.

To Makinen, the statement by Mukha always seemed rather curious because Mukha stated that he had been imprisoned only in Korpus 1 prior to having been brought to cell 2-33, which he shared with Makinen for about two months beginning 15/01/62, and he seemed very vague about the source of his information about a Swedish prisoner. Inspection of the complete list of cellmates of Mukha from the database shows that he shared a cell with Mamulov prior to Makinen:

Cell 2-18	13/10/60 – 19/10/60	Mukha, Mikhail Aleksandrovich
Cell 2-18	05/10/60 – 14/12/60	Mamulov, Stepan Solomonovich

While the emphasis in this section is on Kruminsh, we shall see below that the period during which Mamulov may have shared cells with Wallenberg would have occurred prior to sharing a cell with Mukha. While Mukha had mentioned the 'Beria people' to Makinen (at that time he stated that two were in the adjacent cell 2-32), he never volunteered that he had himself shared a cell with one of them. The source of information by Mukha about a Swedish prisoner may have been Mamulov.

The history of cellmates of Kruminsh extracted from the database requires considerable discussion because of details that are now revealed, showing that he had to have been trusted by the KGB and prison authorities to be placed with important or special prisoners. In support of this assertion, it must be remembered that Kruminsh was pardoned by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet after having served only one-half of his sentence despite his background as an armed partisan and radio operator in Latvia communicating information to British intelligence units in London. (Kruminsh's sentence, 15 years of loss of freedom to be carried out entirely in prison, constitutes a harsh form of punishment in comparison with confinement to labor camp which was viewed as a less severe form of punishment.) In view of this background, a pardon could have been provided only with complete support from the local prison and KGB authorities of the Vladimir Oblast'.

Kruminsh was the only cellmate of Francis Gary Powers in cell 2-31 from 09/09/60 to 08/02/62, without doubt the most publicized case in both the Western and Soviet press of an intelligence agent having been incarcerated in the Soviet Union. Colonel Shevchenko, at that time head of the KGB of the Vladimir Oblast,

emphasized in a telephone interview with Makinen during one of the several trips taken to the Vladimir Prison over the 1993-1997 period that Powers had always commented positively and had praised the Soviet authorities for how he had been treated during his imprisonment. (Shevchenko, however, claimed that he could not remember the name of Powers' cellmate in the Vladimir Prison, nor would he admit that he remembered Makinen's name.) Moreover, the record of Kruminsh in the Vladimir Prison shows that he was the cellmate of Mairanovsky, Grigorii Moiseyevich (born 1899), who had acquired a notorious reputation for having been director of a laboratory developing and testing toxins and poisonous substances for SMERSH and the MGB to be used in counter-intelligence work. Kruminsh shared cells with Mairanovsky for close to 10 months:

Cell 2-52	31/10/57 – 05/07/58	Kruminsh
Cell 2-52	05/08/57 – 05/07/58	Mairanovsky
Cell 2-29	05/07/58 – 15/08/58	Kruminsh
Cell 2-29	05/07/58 – 06/08/58	Mairanovsky

(The location of cell 2-52 adjacent to a stairwell on the third floor of Korpus 2, limiting communications through wall-tapping with other prisoners, has already been described above with respect to Bereshvili. Cell 2-29 was a corner cell on the second floor, similarly ensuring limited access for communication with other prisoners.)

While Kruminsh never mentioned the name of Mairanovsky to Makinen nor gave any indication of the nature of the charges against him, Kruminsh did state that he had earlier shared a cell "with a Jewish professor." In these discussions Kruminsh's strong anti-Semitic feelings readily came to the surface. He could not talk about Jewish people without using the word *zhid*, a course, derogatory term; he stated that this Jewish professor was like all the rest of them, "too lazy to ever do an honest-day's work"; and he stated that he never met a Jew who could be trusted. Since there is no other Jewish prisoner evident in the listing of Kruminsh's cellmates extracted from the database, Kruminsh's comments must have been made with Mairanovsky in mind. Moreover, Mairanovsky did have an academic appointment as director of a pharmacology laboratory.

Analysis of the history of cellmates and imprisonment of Kruminsh extracted from the database reveal the following cells and periods during which he was in solitary or 'apparent solitary' confinement:

Cell 2-17	06/05/56 – 22/09/56 (coincides with Kruminsh's arrival to Vladimir)
Cell 2-37	22/09/56 – 28/01/57
Cell 1-52	28/01/57 – 17/04/57
Cell 2-16	17/04/57 – 03/07/57

Since these total to somewhat more than a year in solitary confinement which would have constituted an extremely severe form of punishment, it is unlikely that Kruminsh was in true solitary confinement during this entire period, particularly because of statements made to Makinen while they shared cell 2-31 from 30/03/62 to 28/01/63. Except for the first cell listed above, there are in addition unusual details revealed about the adjacent cells through analysis of the cell occupancy data. Each is described in turn.

The first period in cell 2-17 most likely constitutes true solitary confinement. Not only does this period coincide with the first cell that Kruminsh entered after his arrival to Vladimir, Kruminsh did state to Makinen that he had been in solitary for an initial period after his arrival. He did state, however, that after that initial period he had not been subjected to lengthy solitary confinement again.

There is a curious development in the relocation of prisoners associated with Kruminsh's occupancy of cell 2-37. Cell 2-37 was located on the second floor between the WC and cell 2-36. The location adjacent to the WC restricts lengthy communication by wall-tapping because prisoners are in the WC for only short periods of time in the morning or evening and are then under more vigilant surveillance by the guard to prevent efforts to conceal packets of tobacco (*makhorka*) or written notes in the water reservoir of the toilet. (This was an old-fashioned flush toilet system that operated via a chain.) When Kruminsh was relocated to cell 2-37, the adjacent cell 2-36 was occupied by two prisoners Epifantsev, A. E. (born 1918) and Titov, N. A. (born 1926). They continued in cell 2-36 until 16/10/56 when they were replaced by Emil Brügger and Lucien Gouaze, as noted earlier in the discussion of Brügger. On the next day 17/10/56 both Brügger and Gouaze were relocated to cell 2-23 on the opposite side of the second floor. Subsequently Mairanovsky was relocated into cell 2-36 for the period 31/10/56 – 06/12/56.

One of the reasons that this shift of prisoners is curious is that when Brügger and Gouaze were relocated on 16/10/56 from a cell on the third floor of Korpus 2 to cell 2-36, cell 2-23 was already 'empty' according to cell occupancy data for 2 days, and their relocation into cell 2-23 could have been made directly without spending a 24-hour period in cell 2-36. We have described the sources of information that Brügger had about Raoul Wallenberg. Gouaze in his intelligence work against Nazi forces in Hungary was also aware of the name of Raoul Wallenberg. If Raoul Wallenberg was in cell 2-37 at that time with Kruminsh, the abrupt relocation of Brügger and Gouaze to a cell on the opposite side of the building most probably occurred because prison authorities realized their error in placing two Westerners with knowledge about Wallenberg into an adjacent cell. Placing Mairanovsky into cell 2-36 would have helped to ensure isolation of the occupants of cell 2-37 since it is unlikely that Mairanovsky would have attempted to generate contacts with other prisoners. (At this point there is no evidence for any further connection between Mairanovsky and Kruminsh since they shared cells 2-52 and 2-29 only afterwards beginning in the latter part of 1957.)

It appears that the relocation of Kruminsh to Korpus 1 was made probably for purposes of reconstruction in Korpus 2. Although we have not had time to carry out a systematic study of other prisoner cell histories, we observed through the cell history of Menshagin that he also occupied a cell in Korpus 1 precisely over the same period as Kruminsh. (Menshagin, as the former mayor of Smolensk, had become an unwitting witness to the Katyn Forest Massacre and had spent nearly all of the first 7 years of his imprisonment in Vladimir in solitary confinement.) However, the relocation of Kruminsh to cell 1-52 in apparent solitary confinement is curious because of statements Kruminsh made to Makinen. Kruminsh did admit to Makinen, in response to a question about whether he had been in Korpus 1, that he had been there earlier but only for a short period of time. However, his answer was given reluctantly and with the vaguest of details, but nonetheless stating that he had not been in solitary confinement at that time. He offered no details about his cellmates in Korpus 1 despite inquiries by Makinen. According to Mukha, who had spent considerable time in Korpus 1, the cells were larger than those in Korpus 2 and were designed for up to 5-6 cellmates at a time. Kruminsh's statements were given with the impression that there was nothing atypical about his relocation to Korpus 1 and that he had the usual set of cellmates as other prisoners normally had in Korpus 1.

We have no information on the location of cells in Korpus 1 to specify which cells were located in corners of the building or adjacent to toilets, stairwells, etc., restricting wall-tapping and other forms of communication. Also, since the prime criterion for selection of registration cards was that the prisoner spent some time in Korpus 2 during incarceration in the Vladimir Prison, the statistical basis for comparisons of prisoner traffic and changes in cell occupancy may not be as extensive as for Korpus 2. Nonetheless, it is still valid to draw conclusions on comparisons of cell changes, etc. within the subset of data that apply to Korpus 1, and this analysis of Kruminsh's relocation to Korpus 1 is made on this basis.

Examination of the occupants of cells 1-51 and 1-53, which we assume are located on opposite sides of cell 1-52, shows the following:

Cell 1-51	28/01/57 – 17/04/57	Gensiruk, Pyotr Filimonovich (born 1934)
	25/01/57 – 03/07/57	Perikol'ski, Fedor Ivanovich (born 1917)
Cell 1-52	28/01/57 – 17/04/57	Kruminsh
Cell 1-53	28/01/57 – 17/04/57	Petrusenko, Varvara Savel'yevna (born 1905)

Since cells in Korpus 1 in general contained at least several prisoners and inspection of the prisoner traffic into and out of these cells showed it to be considerably heavier prior to and after Kruminsh's relocation into Korpus 1, the restricted flow of prisoners in what may be adjacent cells to 1-52 is unusual.

There is another aspect to the transfer of Kruminsh to Korpus 1 that may be relevant. The period of Kruminsh's relocation into Korpus 1 overlaps with the release of the Gromyko Memorandum on February 6, 1957, with its accompanying Smoltsov Report to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow, alleging that Raoul Wallenberg (at the age of 34) succumbed to a myocardial infarct in the Lubyanka Prison on July 17, 1947. Although it appears that no public statement was published at that time in the Soviet press about the memorandum, we consider it conceivable that the authorities were likely to have decided that it would be best to remove Wallenberg from Korpus 2 for this period in anticipation of public announcement of the memorandum. Since there was much awareness of the case of Raoul Wallenberg amongst prisoners in Korpus 2 and Korpus 3, Wallenberg's relocation to Korpus 1 with

Kruminsh can be, thus, viewed as an effective measure to minimize contact and prevent information leaks to him in case some statement with respect to the memorandum were to be published in *Pravda*.

We have repeatedly requested to examine the file of Kruminsh but have received no satisfactory answer about what information is available regarding Kruminsh. Also, because of the information that might be found about Kruminsh, Professor Makinen has requested permission for other independent consultants to examine his personal file but it has never been produced. We repeat these requests since the case of Kruminsh is of extreme importance in further investigating the fate of Raoul Wallenberg.

d. Kalinski, Abram Mendeleyevich (born 1912) reported to the Swedish Foreign Ministry that Mamulov, Stepan Solomonovich (born 1905) had been a cellmate of Raoul Wallenberg in cell 2-23 and that Mamulov as a cellmate was followed by another Beria associated prisoner Shariya, Pyotr Afanas'yevich (born 1905). This information was apparently given to Kalinski by Gogiberidze. This report finds some echo in information provided by Leizer Berger, who was discussed above, in which Berger stated that Raoul Wallenberg was seen with two former Beria associates together in walking courts that were located behind Korpus 2.

Kalinski was a well known prisoner in Vladimir having arrived for the first time on 02/08/45. While he did spend some initial time in Korpus 2 in 1947 and 1948, he departed from Vladimir on 26/09/48 and did not return to the Vladimir Prison until 05/09/55 remaining until 29/10/59. During these last four years he was incarcerated twice in Korpus 2, in cell 2-20 from 08/10/57 – 04/03/58 and in cell 2-28 from 19/08/59 – 29/10/59. While these periods do not overlap with those of Bereshvili or Kruminsh in 'apparent solitary confinement,' they provide adequate familiarity with the structure of the building and the location of cells and walking courts. Kalinski claimed to have obtained the information about Mamulov from Gogiberidze, whom he visited in Tbilissi. (Gogiberidze did share cell 2-33 with Mamulov for 5 weeks just prior to being released on 26/08/65.)

Examination of the cell history of Mamulov does show that he shared a cell in Korpus 2 with Shariya, in addition to having shared cells later with Shariya in Korpus 1. The data are:

Cell 2-26	20/09/58 – 17/12/58	Shariya, Pyotr Afanas'yevich (born 1902)
Cell 2-26	19/09/58 – 08/07/59	Mamulov, Stepan Solomonovich (born 1905)

Shariya was then transferred to Korpus 1 where he remained until his departure from Vladimir on 27/06/63, having completed his 10-year sentence. Thus, according to the records, Shariya could not have been a cellmate of Wallenberg's after Mamulov and could not have accompanied Mamulov in the walking courts after 17/12/58 when he last shared a cell in Korpus 2 with Mamulov. (They did share several cells later in Korpus 1 and Korpus 3, in each case with other prisoners.) The only period that Shariya spent in Korpus 2 was as indicated above. His association with Raoul Wallenberg, if any in Korpus 2, would have then been restricted to the period spent with Mamulov, requiring three individuals in the cell. Prisoners were kept on average two to a cell, but this number is seen to fluctuate, as illustrated in Figure 13.

Mamulov first came to the Vladimir Prison 18/10/54 and his departure date was 28/06/68, just two days prior to the completion of a 15-year sentence. After Shariya in Korpus 2, Mamulov had no other cellmates in cell 2-26 according to the prisoner registration cards from the *kartoteka*. There are also two other significant periods of time in Korpus 2 in which Mamulov was placed in apparent solitary confinement:

Cell 2-26	18/12/58 – 08/07/59 (corresponding to the period after Shariya)
Cell 2-19	11/03/66 – 09/07/66
Cell 2-27	08/02/68 – 28/06/68

Each, particularly that in cell 2-26, constitutes an extensive period of time and is unusual since inspection of the list of prisoner-cellmates of Mamulov, e.g., Eitingon, Sudoplatov, Marchenko, among others, showed not only that he was a special prisoner but also that he was placed with other well known prisoners.

In efforts to identify other prisoners who were either Beria or Stalin associates with Georgian backgrounds, we have also examined the prisoner-cellmate listing of Pataridze, Leontii Evstaf'yevich (born 1902). Pataridze arrived at the Vladimir Prison in 1944, had the label of 'Menshevik' on his registration card, and departed 06/01/60

similarly to Bereshvili. There are no periods of apparent solitary confinement for Pataridze in Korpus 2, and there is in general an absence of cells shared with Bereshvili, Shariya, or Mamulov.

e. Larina, Varvara Ivanovna, a woman of approximately 70 years of age who had worked in Korpus 2 as a sanitarka since 1946, described a foreign prisoner of non-German origin who was held for a lengthy period of time in solitary confinement on the third floor of Korpus 2. She described this prisoner in the presence of the chief physician of the Vladimir Prison, Dr. Polinina in an interview in December of 1993 conducted by Marvin W. Makinen and Nikita Vasiliyevich Petrov, an independent consultant and senior staff member of Memorial Society in Moscow. Since a detailed description of this interview has been provided in the Introduction as historical background for Makinen suggesting database analysis of cell occupancy in Korpus 2 to test whether Larina's statements were verifiable or not, we shall not repeat those details here.

As described earlier, examination of the *kartoteka* of the Vladimir Prison immediately revealed the registration cards (there were 4 sets of cards) for the prisoner Osmak, Kirill Ivanovich (born 1890) who died from a cerebrovascular accident on May 16, 1960, (established subsequently by autopsy examination), on the eve of an impending return to KGB headquarters in the Lvov Oblast' in the Ukraine (*cf.*, Figure 8). The card indicated that Osmak was at that time in cell 2-49. Subsequent analysis of the database showed that Osmak shared cell 2-49 with Bereshvili, who has been described earlier, and with one other prisoner at the time of his death. The information showed:

Cell 2-31	30/08/58 – 23/03/60	Osmak
	30/08/58 – 23/03/60	Bereshvili
Cell 2-49	23/03/60 – 16/05/60	Osmak
	23/03/60 – 23/05/60	Bereshvili
	23/09/59 – 23/06/60	Sidorov, Valentin Dmitriyevich (born 1931)

Examination of the 134 deaths which we have established from analysis of the database to have occurred in Korpus 2 between the years of 1947 and 1972 showed that approximately 3 weeks after the death of Osmak the prisoner Konakov, Lev Ivanovich (born 1922), died on 11/06/60 in cell 2-56, located at the opposite end of the third floor from cell 2-49 in Korpus 2. The previous death of a prisoner in a cell on the third floor of Korpus 2 was that of Ivanov, Nikolai Petrovich (born 1931) in cell 2-45 on 20/10/59. After the demise of Osmak, the next death of a prisoner on the third floor was that of Kapriyelyan, Arkadii Samvelovich (born 1939) in cell 2-42 on 24/12/61. From 20/10/59 to 24/12/61, thus, there are no other prisoner deaths that could have been confused with the demise of Kirill Osmak and associated with the presence of a foreign prisoner on the third floor of Korpus 2.

Figure 16 provides a cell map illustrating the distribution of prisoners in cells on the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 on May 16, 1960, the day of Osmak's demise. There are 8 cells that have no listed occupants around that day according to the available cards in the *kartoteka*. Analysis of cell occupancy data yielded the following:

cell	period unoccupied	number of days
2-38	10/02/59 – 05/02/61	717
2-41	30/04/60 – 05/02/61	281
2-43	04/06/60 – 05/02/61	246
2-44	29/04/60 – 28/12/60	243
2-45	18/05/60 – 05/02/61	263
2-46	07/05/60 – 05/02/61	274
2-47	16/05/60 – 07/02/61	267
2-48	18/05/60 – 24/02/61	282
2-53	11/05/60 – 05/02/61	270

Any one of the listed cells at first glance could qualify as the one with the foreign prisoner because they were all on the third floor in the proximity of Osmak's cell 2-49. However, since cells 2-43, 2-45, and 2-48 became empty after Osmak's death, we shall exclude them from the discussion. Also, since cell 2-53 is not located on the side opposite to the cell where Osmak died, we exclude this latter cell. Although cell 2-38 as a cell that was particularly well suited for isolation of a prisoner could be invoked, being across the corridor from cell 2-56 where Konakov died, we feel that it is important to associate the location of the foreign prisoner with the cell of Kirill

Osmak in view of Larina's recollection not only of his death but also his name. In order to decide in which cell the foreign prisoner described by Larina is most likely to have been located, it is necessary to analyze the changes of the occupancy of all cells on the third floor with time because of the sharp decrease in prisoner population for the 2nd and 3rd floors of Korpus 2 (*cf.*, Figure 14) from late June, 1960, to early February, 1961.

A minimum of three identifiable individuals was reached as the lowest population of the 3rd floor indicated by the sharp fluctuation in the population of prisoners on the 3rd floor in Figure 14. The distribution and histories of these prisoners and the periods during which they did not have cellmates indicates that the foreign prisoner identified by Larina could have been readily kept also on the 3rd floor during this period also despite possible construction activities. In fact, the low prisoner population on the 3rd floor would have been highly conducive to concealing his identity from other prisoners.

At the nadir of the prisoner population on the 3rd floor, Sudoplatov occupied cell 2-42 (23/02/60 – 12/01/63), Menshagin occupied cell 2-40 (17/12/58 – 26/07/63), and Prishlyak, Evgenii Stepanovich (born 1913) was in cell 2-39 (05/08/58 – 16/05/61). In these cells they were each without assigned cellmates according to the database for the periods of 03/03/60 – 06/02/61, 20/06/59 – 06/02/61, and 06/06/60 – 06/02/61, respectively. Sudoplatov, who organized the assassination of Trotsky and Konovalts; Menshagin, who, as the mayor of Smolensk, became an unwitting witness to Katyn; and Prishlyak, who was considered the most important anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalist, can be viewed as special prisoners with whom contact with other prisoners must have been monitored carefully by prison authorities. Their presence overlapping with and continuing after the death of Osmak shows that occupation of cells on that side of the 3rd floor was not incompatible with construction activities, if that was the reason for the decrease in prisoner population. Another reason for the decreased population, perhaps coupled with construction activities, could have been additional security measures to conceal the foreign prisoner and to prevent communications with other prisoners. Since cell 2-43 is occupied until 04/06/60 and cell 2-44

Enter the date:		Generate CellMap		16.05.60		First Floor	Second Floor	Third Floor	Exit to Main Menu	
2-38	2-39	2-40	2-41	2-42	2-43	2-44	2-45	2-46	2-47	2-48
	Журавлев, М. П. 1926 Пришляк, Е. С. 1913 Колосов, С. Д. 1928	Меньшагин, Б. Г. 1902		Судоплатов, П. А. 1907	Кривцов, Г. А. 1927 Ожгибесов, Ю. И. 1935 Кривцов, Г. А. 1927 Ожгибесов, Ю. И. 1935		Букаев, В. Д. 1924		(-) Лещева, З. К. 1927 (-) Чепикова, О. Е. 1920	Платонов, В. В. 1926
Third Floor, Korpus II										Date Computed 11.06.00
	2-56	2-55	2-54	2-53	Stair-well	2-52	2-51	2-50	2-49	
	Конаков, Л. И. 1922 Полянский, А. Д. 1932	Орлов, И. А. 1894 Плазинский, В. М. 1921	Супрунов, А. Т. 1929			Воробьев-Воробей, В. Ф. 1910 Шкор, В. М. 1936	Жук, М. С. 1930	Богданов, Л. Л. 1932	Беришвили, Ш. Н. 1899 (-) Осьмак, К. И. 1890 Сидоров, В. Д. 1931	
2-57:					2-58:					

FIGURE 16. Cell map of the 3rd floor of Korpus 2 showing known 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 is 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 that cell on that day. The duplication of names in cell 2-43 occurs because of multiple computer cards for each individual with partially overlapping chronological data. It should be also noted that the prisoner Vorobyov-Vorobei is indicated as an occupant of cell 2-52, as was discussed earlier.

acquires a prisoner [Fedorenko, V. P. (born 1928)] on 29/12/60, we suggest that the most likely cell that held the foreign prisoner identified by Larina was 2-47 since the adjacent cells 2-46 and 2-48 remained without occupants for virtually the same exact period of time. With adjacent cells empty, communication through wall tapping is eliminated. In addition, this cell also is directly opposite cell 2-49 in which Osmak died on May 16, 1960. Furthermore, attempts to communicate through the *fortochka* in the window of the cell with individuals in the walking courts three stories below would have been extremely difficult and readily prevented because of the guard who always monitored the walking courts against any illegal activities of prisoners with each other through windows. The guard stood on a platform allowing surveillance of the entire backside of Korpus 2.

Because of the witness statement of Larina that a foreign prisoner of non-German origin occupied a cell on the third floor of Korpus 2 opposite to the cell in which Osmak died and because of the unhesitating manner in several interviews in which she consistently selected the photograph of Raoul Wallenberg to identify this prisoner, including one on December 20, 1994, in the presence of Pavlov, Alexei Anatol'yevich, the acting director of the prison; Miroshin, Yuri Ivanovich, head of the section of corrective affairs of the Vladimir UVD; Kuzovkin, Gennadii Valer'yevich, an independent consultant to the Working Group and member of Memorial Society in Moscow; Professor Guy von Dardel; and Professor Makinen, we must conclude that the likelihood of mistaken identity is extremely small. The cell occupancy data and Osmak's registration cards completely confirm Larina's statements. The analysis of the constellation of prisoners in nearby cells to that in which the foreign prisoner is likely to have been held demonstrate that his isolation at this time would have been extremely effective for preventing communications with other prisoners. From this analysis we can only conclude that this prisoner was most likely Raoul Wallenberg and that his registration card and other documentary materials in the Vladimir Prison have been removed by KGB authorities.

f. Terelya, Iosef Mikhailovich (born 1943), an ardent Ukrainian nationalist and devout member of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, entered the Vladimir Prison on 19/10/69. Except for a two-month absence in 1972, his final departure was on 27/11/72. Terelya, because of his fierce religious beliefs and strong resistance to the Soviet government, was forced out of the Soviet Union with his family and resettled in Canada, temporarily in St. Catherines, Ontario, and later near Toronto, Ontario. Professor Makinen interviewed Terelya on three separate occasions in the late 1980's at the request of Professor Guy von Dardel, the maternal brother of Raoul Wallenberg, the last interview having been conducted in the Ukrainian language through an interpreter who was considered trustworthy by Terelya. The first two interviews were conducted in Russian with an apology by Makinen that he was unfamiliar with the Ukrainian language. (Terelya had informed Makinen during the first interview that on Soviet soil he refused to ever speak Russian and insisted that all official communication with him be conducted in the Ukrainian language; Makinen made this apology to engage Terelya's cooperation because he was aware of the Ukrainian's dislike of being under Soviet rule.)

Terelya reported that he shared a cell with another prisoner on the second floor of Korpus 2 in March or April of 1970, when one evening the guard made a mistake and released them out of their cell to go to the WC before a prisoner from another cell had been returned to his cell. (To provide credibility that such a mistake could happen, a similar occurrence happened once also for Makinen in 1962.) Terelya stated that at that time the prisoner was in cell 33 on the opposite side of the second floor from his. He also stated that he had realized that the prisoner in cell 33 had been recently transferred to that cell from cell 25, which was on the same side of the second floor as his cell. He described the prisoner as having a prominent forehead with 'three fingers' of baldness, grey-white hair, and an unusual sharpness in his eyes. Terelya commented that the eyes were unusual because most prisoners had a constant dullness in their eyes due to poor nutrition. While he tried to say something to the person, Terelya first spoke in Ukrainian which was not understandable to the prisoner. Terelya's description of what the prisoner answered was unclear but it was not in Russian.

Terelya stated that he was later transferred to another cell on the second floor of Korpus 2 which was then a few cells away from where the foreign prisoner sat in isolation. At that time he stated that his cellmate was Ogurtsov, Igor Vyacheslavovich (born 1937). Since his new cell lacked a *tumbuchka* or small wooden cupboard/night-stand in which prisoners could store their belongings in the cell, he requested from the guard that they have the usual supply of cell furniture. At some point they realized that the foreign prisoner must have left the second floor because they saw no activity in cell 33 and things were unchanged from day to day as they walked by the cell to go either to the WC or to the walking courts. The guard apparently brought to them a *tumbuchka* from that cell on the backside of which was written "Sweden Raoul Wallenberg" and the words "Martina Miranda." Terelya stated that only afterwards did he realize that this