## ***D. LIBERATED LATE BY US FORCES; CAMPS RECEIVING EVACUEES FROM THE EAST***

D.1.

*Camp*. Stalag VII-A, Moosburg, Bavaria

*Location*. On the Isur River, northeast of Munich; 48°21'N-11°57'E.

*Camp population*. Originally a camp for ground forces enlisted men; in the spring of 1945, Moosburg became the largest gathering place for American POWs in Germany.

*Population gains or losses*. Eventually, 15,000 American officers, NCOs, and enlisted men were concentrated at Moosburg. As many as 100,000 Allied POWs of other nationalities were also in the area. The first large influx came in early February when 4,000 officers from Stalag Luft III, Sagan, reached Moosburg. Many POWs from other camps throughout Germany moved to the vicinity of Moosburg during the early part of April. This created nearly overwhelming conditions of overcrowding and confusion.

*Circumstances of liberation*. The 14th Armored Division, US Third Army, liberated Moosburg on 27 April 1945, after a two-hour firefight.

*Accounting of US POWs & other remaining questions*. The Veterans Administration list prepared from the Prisoner of War Information Bureau IBM cards contains 7,628 names of US prisoners of war who were returned to military control from Stalag VII-A (code 013). This total does not include most of the large influx of POWs from February to April 1945; as explained in Appendix II, the PWIB/VA database sometimes significantly underrepresents numbers of POWs liberated from particular camps, because the "camp codes" included are for the initial camp to which a POW went and does not reflect transfers to other camps. [1]

D.2.

*Camp*. Stalag IX-B, Bad Orb, Hesse-Nassau

*Location.* About 51 kilometers northwest of Frankfurt-am-Main; 50°14'N-9°22'E.

*Camp population.* Ground forces enlisted personnel; initially most had been captured by the Germans during the Battle of the Bulge.

*Population gains or losses.* A large influx occurred in early March 1945, when over 1,000 POWs from Stalag XII-A, Limburg, were evacuated into IX-B. The camp population was then over 3,000.

*Circumstances of liberation.* American troops liberated the camp on 12 April 1945.

*Accounting of US POWs & other remaining questions.* The Veterans Administration list prepared from the Prisoner of War Information Bureau IBM cards contains 3,789 names of US prisoners of war who were returned to military control from Stalag IX-B (code 089).[2]

D.3.

*Camp.* Stalag XI-A, Altengrabow, Brandenburg, Prussia

*Location.* Northwest of Dessau; 51°50'N- 12°5'E.

*Camp population.* In mid-April 1945 SHAEF believed this camp held large numbers of Allied POWs, including as many as 8,000 Americans.

*Population gains or losses.* During March 1945, many American prisoners from XI-A were sent to work kommandos; the largest was at Stendal, holding about 2,000 men.

*Circumstances of liberation.* The camp was in the western reaches of the Soviet zone, only 18 miles from the US Ninth Army bridgehead on the Elbe River. Because sanitary conditions reportedly had deteriorated and because of the camp's close proximity to US forces, SHAEF wanted an early liberation of Stalag XI-A. On 4 May 1945, before the camp was overrun by the Soviets (probably the 28th Army, 1st Belorussian Front), a PWX contact team from Headquarters XIX Corps, Ninth Army, went in under a flag of truce arranged with the local German commander and brought out the American

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[1] Military Intelligence Service, WDGS, 1 November 1945, "American Prisoners of War in Germany", pp. 74-85, Subject File POW Information Bureau, box 2197, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

[2] Military Intelligence Service, WDGS, 1 November 1945, "American Prisoners of War in Germany", pp. 86-92, Subject File POW Information Bureau, box 2197, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

prisoners. There turned out to be considerably fewer Americans than originally estimated. The total camp population, however, was very large, consisting of about 16,500 of various nationalities.

*Accounting of US POWs & other remaining questions*. The number of US POWs liberated by from Stalag XI-A was reported on 4 May as 747 by XIXth Corps, but as 1,241 by Ninth Army. The higher number likely included those from outlying work camps.

The Veterans Administration list prepared from the Prisoner of War Information Bureau IBM cards contains only 53 names of US prisoners of war who were returned to military control from Stalag XI-A (code 094).[3]

[3] SHAEF G-1 PWX to SHAEF G-3, "Aid to Allied POWs at Altegrabow, 19 April 1945; SHAEF G-3 to Chief of Staff, "Aid to Allied POWs at Altegrabow," 24 April 1945; SHAEF FWD to SAARF Rear, 24 April 1945, Message FWD-19854, SHAEF SGS Decimal File, "383.6-7," box 87, entry 1, RG 331, NA. Ninth Army to SHAEF FWD, 4 May 1945, Message X-21974; XIX Corps to 12th Army Group, 4 May 1945, Message M-49009, 12th Army Group Adjutant General Decimal File, "255-POW Camps, Vol. III," box 86, entry 198, RG 331, NA. Information about liberation of the camp can be found in File 100-481, JAG War Crimes Branch, box 47, entry 144, RG 153, NA.

## ***REPATRIATION OF AMERICANS THROUGH ODESSA***

Over 2,800 American POWs, liberated from camps in Poland that were overrun by the Red Army in January 1945, were eventually evacuated through the Black Sea port of Odessa. Most accounts of US-USSR POW exchanges in 1945 describe at length the Odessa evacuation process.[4] It is the best documented aspect of those exchanges by far, largely because of the role played by representatives of the US Military Mission to Moscow. Despite problems in the Odessa operation and the reluctant assistance of the Soviets, it was nearly the single positive experience of the US-USSR POW exchanges. The only one to function anything like originally planned. As one contemporary account put it: "Odessa was the only really cooperative concentration point, and, sole transit camp. It was opened to American contact officers on 26 February, the same day that the first echelon of prisoners arrived. Although very hastily organized, the Odessa camp was quite satisfactory even by American standards. It was one of the few positive contributions the Soviets made to the Repatriation Plan."[5]

The POWs evacuated from Odessa came principally from two German camps—Oflag 64 (Schubin, Poland), overrun 21 January 1945, and Stalag III-C (Kustrin, Poland), overrun 31 January. A few Americans (about 100) from Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Prussia), overrun 26 February, also came through Odessa. Information about the liberation of these camps did not reach the Military Mission in Moscow until early February, in part an indication of the Russian unpreparedness to deal with freed Allied prisoners in their zone of operations. Some of the first accounts to reach the Moscow mission came directly from ex-POWs who had made their way, largely by their own means and initiative, the almost 1,000 miles from Oflag 64 to Moscow. Other information came from the Polish Foreign Office in Lublin. By mid-February the American mission had contact teams organized and

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[4] See, for instance, Mark R. Elliott, Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in Their Repatriation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 56-74.

[5] Report of the US Military Mission to Moscow, p. 283, 18 October 1943 - 31 October 1945, ID 929087, Top Secret Intelligence Documents, 1943-59, RG 319, NA.

ready to proceed to Lublin to prepare the freed POWs for air evacuation from the US Army Air Force's shuttle bombing base at Poltava in Ukraine.[6]

The Soviets, however, had other plans. They limited the access of American contact teams and made clear that the evacuation of the POWs was to be on Soviet terms and from the Black Sea port of Odessa. From the time of the initial liberation of the camps until late February 1945, the Soviets gradually gathered the freed prisoners at a series of concentration points, including Cracow, Lodz, Lublin, Praga, and Rembertow. On 22 February the Soviets started rail movements of POWs from these points south to Odessa. On 26 February the first group of prisoners arrived, almost simultaneously with the contact team sent from the Moscow embassy to coordinate repatriation and shipment out of the USSR. Within the first day, 252 POWs had arrived; so did food, medical, and clothing supplies. Facilities and treatment at Odessa remained spartan, lacking all amenities and some necessities, such as heat and hot water. But the Soviets exhibited at least a measure of cooperation with the American contact team in the evacuation effort.[7]

That cooperation did not, however, extend to the American contact team sent to Poland to assist in locating, transporting, and evacuating the freed POWs scattered throughout the countryside. Despite prior agreement that several US contact teams would be permitted in the Soviet zone of operations in Poland where the overrun camps were located, the Soviets allowed only one team, headed by Lieutenant Colonel James D. Wilmeth, at Lublin. Wilmeth arrived in Lublin on 27 February and departed 28 March. During this month, the Soviets were uncooperative, evasive, and generally unhelpful to Wilmeth's mission. Although Wilmeth acquired from the Soviets some information regarding Allied prisoners, they did not allow him to perform the active coordination of POW

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[6]MajGen. Edward W. Hill (Air Division, USMMM) to MajGen. N.V. Slavin (Asst. Chief of Staff, Soviet Army), 14 February 1945; LtCol. Andre Lord, "Statement of Capts. Frank Olevsky and Eugene M. Witt," ca. 19 February 1945; Deane to Marshall, Radio Message M-22715, 14 February 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA; Elliott, Pawns of Yalta, p.59.

[7]The following are a sample of reports describing the POW transit camp and conditions at Odessa: Crockett to Deane, 28 February, 5 March 8 March and 17 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23; and Maj. Paul S. Hall to USMMM, 8 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

repatriation. His frustration with these Soviet actions was manifest in his subsequent reports to Major General John Deane, head of the Military Mission in Moscow: "I received no cooperation, no help from the Soviets—only hindrance and annoyance. They refused to accept the help I had to offer them." [8]

Throughout the period during which POWs were moving towards Odessa, the estimate of numbers likely to be evacuated fluctuated. Officers at the US Military Mission in Moscow initially believed that most of the POW population, about 4,600 men from three camps (Schubin, Kustrin, and Hammerstein), were headed east and south to Odessa. But in fact, many of the prisoners from those camps, including all but a handful from Hammerstein, actually went west with the Germans. Those freed POWs who did head east, moreover, did not travel in large groups, even after the Soviets finally made some effort to concentrate them at Cracow, Lodz, Lublin, Praga, and Rembertow, prior to shipment to Odessa. The groups awaiting transport or who were en route often numbered in the dozens, not the hundreds; this further confounded accurate accounting. Because of disinterest and disorganization, Soviet authorities were in no position to provide accurate estimates until the prisoners actually arrived at Odessa.[9]

The problems of discrepancies and inconsistencies in the numbers of POWs liberated in Poland and evacuated through Odessa is encapsulated in the experience of Wilmeth at Lublin. On 28 February he met with a Lieutenant Colonel Vlasov, representing the Soviet POW repatriation mission in Poland, who said 2,422 Americans already had arrived at Odessa, with another 519 POWs en route or soon to be shipped. Although Vlasov had accounted for 3,361 Americans, he stated he did not know the total number liberated by Soviet forces. Vlasov's figures clearly were in error. In fact, the first Americans had only just arrived at Odessa on the 26th, about the same time Vlasov insisted there were 2,422 already at the port. At a minimum, his numbers of "shipped" and "arrived" must have counted some

[8] Lt.Col. James D. Wilmeth, "Report on a Visit to Lublin, Poland, 27 February - 28 March 1945;" "Memorandum to General Deane: Lublin Trip," 13 April 1945; Wilmeth, n.d., "Report on the Soviet Reaction toward American participation in evacuation of American prisoners of war from Poland;" USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

POWs more than once. Vlasov's only accurate claim was acknowledging that he did not know the total number of prisoners the Red Army had liberated. At a second meeting with Wilmeth on 12 March, Vlasov furnished "corrected" numbers, reduced by about half to 1,774 arrived at or en route to Odessa. Vlasov said he still did not know the total number liberated.[10]

By 27 March 1945, most (but not all) of the Americans who would be, had been evacuated from Odessa. By that date they had departed in three shipments; on 7 March, 1,207 aboard Moreton Bay, bound for Port Said; on 15 March, 482 aboard Duchess of Bedford, bound for Malta; and on 27 March, 860 aboard Circissia (Duchess of Richmond), bound for Naples. For over two months thereafter, however, the "stragglers," some from hospitals, some previously AWOLs, some who had otherwise been delayed or detained, departed Odessa as space became available on merchant ships or on foreign vessels engaged in the ongoing embarkation of foreign POWs. For example, there were 17 aboard Bergensfiord on 7 April, 16 aboard Brand Whitlock on 18 April, eight aboard Staffordshire on 21 April, and so forth.[11]

On 20 April 1945 Wilmeth provided his accounting of American prisoners from the POW camps liberated in Poland and evacuated from Odessa. Wilmeth based his assessment on evidence from returned prisoners, as well as from Soviet and Polish officials with whom he had dealt. He concluded that about 2,800 US POWs (1,000 from Oflag 64, 1,700 from Stalag III-C, and only 100 from Stalag II-B) "fell into Red Army hands." American officials had accounted for about 2,700 of this

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[9]AGWAR from Deane, Radio Message 22990, March 1, 1945; Hall to Crockett, Radio Message 042355Z, 6 March 1945; Golubev to Deane, 16 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[10]Lt.Col. James D. Wilmeth, "Report on a Visit to Lublin, Poland, 27 February - 28 March 1945," p.4 and p.7, USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[11]Col. James C. Crockett, "Memorandum For General Deane," 27 March 1945, provides the accounting as of March 27. This memo also indicates that Odessa was the point of embarkation for US POWs coming out of Poland; only 22 other POWs had been evacuated by air from Poltava and 8 from Moscow. Regular memos of telephone conversations with the contact team in Odessa in the same file document the continuing, but much smaller, evacuations, after 27 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

2800 by 20 April. The remaining 100, Wilmeth concluded, were "people sick in private homes, in Polish hospitals, or in some cases Russian hospitals...; or disgruntled, able-bodied Americans who are hiding out until they get some assurance that they will be evacuated back home. A small percentage have married- probably not more than 10 men." Wilmeth believed that "except for these small numbers of stranded personnel" the POW problem in Poland was finished. The Soviets had returned to US control the American POWs they had liberated.[12] This accounting was from an officer harshly critical of the general level of Soviet cooperation and treatment of liberated US POWs.

A month after Wilmeth's assessment, the US Military Mission in Moscow prepared a list of all American POWs evacuated from Poland through the USSR. There were 2,983 names on the list; this, unfortunately, included both POWs and non-POW Army Air Forces personnel evacuated from Odessa, but with no distinction between categories.[13] The "official" tally of US prisoners evacuated through Odessa, first reported on the 12 May 1945, daily SHAEF report "Data on Evacuation of Recovered Prisoners of War," was 2,858. This is the same number used in the official European Theater history of the POW recovery operation. Allowing for stragglers, late returnees, and other recovery problems, this number is remarkably consistent with Wilmeth's 20 April analysis and the 18 May listing from the Moscow mission. There is no concrete evidence to challenge its basic accuracy.[14]

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[12]LtCol. James D. Wilmeth to General Roberts, "Status of POW Evacuation," 20 April 1945 USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[13]Maj. G.C. Rich, AC/S G-1 (Personnel), "Master List of American Prisoners of War," 18 May 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[14] Report No. 3, 12 May 1945, "Daily Evacuation Cables," 370.05/1, SHAEF G-1 Decimal File, box 22, Entry 6, RG 331, NA; Chief Historian, European Command, RAMP's: The Recovery and Repatriation of Liberated Prisoners of War (Frankfurt-am-Main: European Command, 1947), p. 26.

## ***STRAGGLERS: THE EFFORT TO RECOVER LIVE POWS IN 1945***

The circumstances surrounding the evacuation and liberation of German POW camps in early 1945 resulted in innumerable American "stragglers" throughout the area eventually occupied by the Red Army. These included those sick, wounded, and otherwise immobile prisoners who had to be left behind when the Germans evacuated the camps. Some of these men subsequently went into Polish or Soviet military hospitals. Other POWs fell out or escaped along the route of the evacuation marches. Still other groups of POWs were abandoned as their German guards simply walked away from work kommandos, POW hospitals, and other satellite installations, in the face of the Soviet advance. The fragmentation of the POW population in Poland and East Prussia continued even after the Red Army overran the area, because of the manner in which prisoners were moved east, deeper into the Soviet zone.

The US Military Mission to Moscow and SHAEF made considerable effort to enlist Soviet cooperation in locating and repatriating these stragglers. From early 1945 through the summer of that year, they continually queried Soviet authorities for information on specific individuals known to have been POWs of the Germans but who had not "returned to military control" (RMC). The requests usually were based on information provided by ex-POWs who had been debriefed on their captivity.

A number of problems plagued the search for these stragglers. American officials wanted accurate identification of all POWs who were evacuated, in order to prevent Germans, Poles, Russians, or other nationalities from passing themselves off as Americans. A report of the Odessa contact team described one such problem: "Hall is holding one man named Kelbinski because he is not properly identified. Hall is not at all sure he is an American. The man did not know what unit he had been in." Until the War Department verified identification, such individuals were held at Odessa, or at Camp Lucky Strike, near Le Havre, before receiving final clearance for transportation to the United States.[15]

Inaccurate information also hampered identification. SHAEF, the European Theater Provost Marshal, and the Military Mission to Moscow received many inquiries regarding individuals believed to

[15] Col. James C. Crockett, "Record of Conversation with Major Hall at Odessa," 6 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

have been POWs but who apparently had not returned to military control. But often the inquiry was dated (the man had already returned), or did not clearly identify the correct individual (misspelled names and incorrect service numbers were a serious problem). In July 1945, for example, there were a number of exchanges about "Captain P.C. Ghaffagnino," reported to have been in Oflag 64. No one had information on the release of this officer. But in fact, "Peter C. Graffagino" (with the same service number and obviously the same man) had been released and returned.[16]

The effort to locate stragglers continued on several fronts throughout 1945. The Military Mission to Moscow coordinated inquiries from other Allied sources and passed them through Lieutenant General K.D. Golubev, the Soviet Administrator for Repatriation; for instance: "Inclosed is a list of Americans previously reported to be in Poland who, according to our records, have not yet been evacuated. It is urgently requested that a search be made to locate these men and evacuate them as soon as possible. I would greatly appreciate early information concerning your findings as we are, of course, anxious to contact and evacuate every American still remaining in Poland."[17]

More proactive measures were also underway. During the early summer of 1945, for instance, just beyond the Third US Army area of occupation, SHAEF POW Executive Branch personnel physically searched in the Soviet zone as far east as Prague, Tabor (Czechoslovakia), Melnik (Czechoslovakia), Loeben (Austria), and Vienna, recovering a number of British and American personnel. Although the American POW contact team departed Odessa on 14 June 1945, the Office of the Assistant US Naval Attaché at the port continued to receive and pursue, as late as 1946, inquiries regarding ex-POWs reported to have been in that area. Despite these efforts, few stragglers were recovered after June 1945.[18]

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[16] See messages dated 27 June, 1 July and 5 July 1945, regarding this case in 12th Army Group Adjutant General Decimal File, "383.6-POWs, Vol. VII," box 200, entry 198, RG 331, NA.

[17] Deane to Golubev, 18 May 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[18] Third Army (signed Craig) to 12th Army Group PWX, Cable M-67091, 5 July 1945, 12th Army Group Adjutant General Decimal File, "383.6-POWs, Vol. VII," box 200, entry 198, RG 331, NA;

## ***RECORD-KEEPING AND DOCUMENTATION OF POW STATUS***

With the large numbers of POWs being liberated from German camps at the end of the war, including inter-Allied transfers, creation and maintenance of records was essential for an accurate final accounting. Although the Allies carefully planned for this and attempted to verify identification of released POWs against known information, in execution, the process did not work smoothly.

On 29 December 1941, the War Department established the Prisoner of War Information Bureau (PWIB) in the Office of the Provost Marshal General. Among other responsibilities, the bureau was to handle all information concerning American military personnel in enemy hands (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and merchant marine), as well as those interned in neutral territory. The PWIB received information about recently captured or interned Americans from the State Department, the American Red Cross, and the International Red Cross.

Normally, notification that an individual had been captured began with the enemy government. German authorities, for instance, would inform one of the neutral "protecting powers," Switzerland or Sweden, that they had captured an American. This information was then passed by cable to the US State Department and forwarded to the PWIB. One cable would likely have contained basic information (name, rank, service number, etc.) on dozens of recently captured Americans. The bureau would break down the long lists of names received by cable, prepare individual files and other records, and disseminate information to the next of kin. As the PWIB received additional information about an individual POW, it would update the files.

Two unique record keeping procedures were utilized. "Flex-o-line" strip files were loose single file line entries, similar to a teletype message, showing last known information about a POW. The entries would be sorted alphabetically by surname and additional names easily could be added. Periodically, the PWIB would prepare photostatic copies of these strip files in order to create lists of

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there are a number of letters and cable of this type in Office of Naval intelligence, Naval Attaché-Moscow, ANA-Odessa Subject File, 1945-7, "POWs,", box 45, RG 38, NA.

known POWs for use by overseas theater Provost Marshal and casualty accounting personnel.[19] The bureau also prepared IBM machine record cards on every reported POW, indicating name, rank, service number, branch, detaining power, camp location, and other personnel information. The camp location codes allowed authorities to sort the cards and create rosters of POWs believed to be in particular camps, a useful measure when German POW camps were being overrun late in the war. Unfortunately, the movement of prisoners from camp to camp, particularly the mass evacuations begun in January 1945, seldom were reflected in the coding of the machine record cards.[20]

Planning for the recovery of POWs at the European Theater level took cognizance of the need to account for and document thoroughly the liberated POWs; the contemporary acronym was "RAMP," recovered Allied military personnel. The operative planning documents were the ECLIPSE plans, prepared by SHAEF for postwar operations in Germany, especially ECLIPSE Memorandum No. 8, "Care and Evacuation of POWs in Greater Germany," and ETO Standard Operating Procedure No. 58, "Reception, Processing, Maintenance, and Disposition of Recovered Allied Military Personnel." These documents emphasized the need to identify POWs positively, by interrogations, check of personal papers and unit personnel records, and by check against PWIB and War Department casualty records. Thorough identification was necessary because planners anticipated that Germans and other nationalities would attempt to pass themselves off as American POWs. Once positive identification was established: "All personnel included in the scope of the ETO-SOP will, when recovered,... be reported by nominal roll as prescribed hereunder." These rolls, in effect rosters, became the principal documentary record accounting for and controlling groups of POWs during the repatriation process.[21] The US-Soviet agreements governing delivery of POWs through army lines did not specify which side was responsible for preparing transfer documentation, such as the nominal rolls.

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[19] The preparation of these files is described in Assistant Provost Marshal General to ETO Provost Marshal General, "Microfilm Records-American Prisoners of War," 27 September 1944, PWIB Subject File, "POWs-Strength Reports," box 2239A, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

[20] Office of the Provost Marshal General, World War II: A Brief History (Washington: PMGO, 1946), pp. 525-43.

[21] ETO SOP No. 58, 3 April 1945, ETO MIS-X, Decimal Correspondence, "388-Post Hostilities Planning," box 11, RG 332, NA.

In fact, although regulations required the nominal rolls for recovered US and British POWs, they were not mandatory for other allied prisoners. Evidence suggests that the US and British did the rolls, not the Soviets.[22]

Although there were some problems, the process of identification and documentation of liberated US POWs worked reasonably well, much as stipulated in SOP 58 and under the ECLIPSE plans, for those prisoners who came out through Odessa. The numbers involved were small and there were Prisoner of War Executive Branch (PWX) contact team personnel in place to monitor the process. It did not work nearly so well, nor was it done systematically, for the large numbers of POWs liberated in western and southern Germany by US units. Finally, it certainly did not work well for those Americans who were liberated by the Red Army in central and northern Germany from mid-April to early-May and who were repatriated across the front lines.

The biggest problem was keeping up with the large flow of POWs liberated in a brief period of time. Nominal rolls, the principal means of control and accounting for released POWs, were not always prepared and forwarded in a timely way to European Theater headquarters. The rolls sometimes were compiled at the liberated camp, but were more often done at the large POW collection points along the western front in such cities as Erfurt, Halle, Hildesheim, and Luneburg. Because of the desire to get the liberated POWs evacuated from Germany quickly, almost always by air, records creation sometimes suffered. As reported by one American corps headquarters on its liberation of a POW work camp (kommando): "Since the Group was not under complete control, this headquarters was unable to make an accurate count of the kommando."[23]

Despite such problems, nominal rolls were key documents in reporting on the liberation and evacuation of US POWs. Copies of these rolls are extant today in the National Archives as part of the records of the European Theater of Operations Provost Marshal Section. The lists for Erfurt, Halle,

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[22] SHAEF Plan for Delivery Through Army Lines of Former POWs, 27 May 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 25, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[23] AC/S G-1, HQ V Corps to AC/S FUSA, 20 April 1945, 12th Army Group Adjutant General Decimal File, "383.6-Nominal Rolls," box 201, entry 198, RG 331, NA.

Hildesheim, and Luneburg appear most relevant for those men liberated by the Soviets. Most of the lists are arranged by date of evacuation, thereunder alphabetically by surname; each entry also includes service number, rank, military organization, POW number, and camp name or number.[24]

There was another important aspect of the identification and documentation process. The War Department and the War Office furnished SHAEF officials with lists of known British and US POWs in Germany, against which to check and verify the RAMPS. But there also existed large numbers of "missing" personnel, "concerning whom it has not been possible to obtain any information." In order to determine the status of MIAs, POW contact officers were instructed to search records in the German camps.[25]

As Allied forces overran German territory, they captured, nearly intact, the German Army Information Center for War Losses (the German acronym was WAST), located at Saalfeld and Meiningen (near Erfurt). The records of Bureau VIII, which maintained documentation on Allied POWs in German custody, were exploited in the efforts to recover POWs, identify and verify missing-in-action, and locate burial sites of previously unaccounted for personnel.

On 23 April 1945, Bureau VIII at Meiningen reopened, operated largely by the original German staff but under US Army authority and supervised by personnel of the Adjutant General, Headquarters European Theater. The basic German documents for enemy POWs, the personnelkarten, which included all relevant information about a particular prisoner, normally were maintained at the camp in which the POW was held. These documents were sent to Bureau VIII only when the Germans released or repatriated the POW or upon his death. However, lists of prisoners recently received, POW rosters, and similar documents prepared at the camps were sent to Bureau

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[24] ETO Provost Marshal Section, "Nominal Rolls of American POWs," boxes 1-12, RG 332, NA. For information relating to nominal rolls see Col. C.R. Landon, AG 12th Army Group, to CG ETO, 3 April 1945, 12th Army Group AG Decimal File, 383.6-POW Policy Vol. I, box 197, entry 198, RG 331, NA; SHAEF MAIN to 12th Army Group, 23 May 1945, Message S-89125, SHAEF MAIN to 12th Army Group, May 25, 1945, Message S-89273, SHAEF AG Decimal File, "383.6-1," box 186, entry 56, RG 331, NA.

[25] ECLIPSE Memo No. 8, 19 March 1945, 13-14, SHAEF SGS Decimal File, "383.6," box 87, entry 1, RG 331, NA.

VIII for transmission through neutral or Red Cross channels to the POW's home government. Using these WAST sources, Bureau VIII personnel created 85,000 identity cards on US POWs, 58,000 after the 23 April reopening. The reconstituted bureau also accumulated 10,000 burial records for American personnel. Most were not POWs, but aircrew killed-in-action and buried on German-controlled territory. Finally, Bureau VIII did receive the personnelkarten for about 10,000 Americans held at Stalag IV-G and Stalag XII-A, two camps overrun by US forces.[26]

Some of these German records relating to Allied POWs survive as part of the POW Information Bureau, General Subject File, Record Group 389, others are in the National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized, Record Group 242. The original personnelkarten from Stalags IV-G and Stalag XII-A are in this record group. Most of the other relevant captured German records are microfilmed as part of the records of Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) (on National Archives Microfilm Publication T-77) and Oberkommando des Herres (OKH) (on T-84).

[26] Adjutant General ETO to G-1 SHAEF, 5 May 1945, "Records of Allied Personnel at Meiningen,;" Adjutant General ETO to G-1 SHAEF, 11 June 1945, "German Records of Allied Prisoners-- Summary Report," SHAEF G-1 Decimal File, "383.6," box 25, entry 6, RG 331, NA. Adjutant General ETO to Adjutant General War Department, 11 June 1945, "German Records of Prisoners of War," AG 383.6 (11 June 1945), AGO Classified Decimal File, 1943-45, box 2439, entry 360, RG 407, NA.

## ***"THE FOG OF WAR": FACTORS AFFECTING POW RECOVERY***

The contemporary record indicates that American and Allied authorities at the War Department, SHAEF, and the US Military Mission to Moscow were concerned with the lack of accurate information regarding Allied prisoners of war. There were questions about exact locations where the Germans held American POWs, where they moved Allied prisoners, the number under German control, and especially the number liberated by Soviet forces. The end of the war in Europe on 8 May 1945, did not lead to immediate clarification of these several points. There were several reasons for these problems, not the least of which were the extremely confusing and rapidly changing conditions in Germany as the fronts collapsed during the early months of 1945 and the war drew to a close. There were bureaucratic reasons, as well.

Under the best of circumstances, confirmation of an individual's POW casualty status normally lagged several weeks behind the actual event. After capturing an American soldier or airman, the Germans would inform the International Red Cross or representatives of one of the neutral "protecting powers" (Switzerland or Sweden) that the individual was a POW. Through diplomatic channels, these sources passed the information to the American State Department who forwarded it to the military authorities. Although the personnel departments of the respective services were involved in the process, the Prisoner of War Information Bureau, Office of the Provost Marshal General at the War Department was the centralized repository for information about all US POWs, regardless of service. The several channels through which information passed contributed to the slowness of the process. The evacuation of POW camps by the Germans and their movement of entire prisoner populations toward the west compounded the difficulties of this reporting process. Finally, with respect to US prisoners liberated by the Soviets, the seeming lack of clearly defined procedures, general disorganization, and indifference to the POWs on the part of the liberating forces, further exacerbated an already confused situation.

Gathering accurate and, more particularly, up to date statistics on the number of American POWs held by the Germans was increasingly difficult by the end of the war. The situation was not limited to POWs in areas overrun by the Soviet Army. Disruption of German communications by Allied action was a significant factor in the delayed transmission of POW information to the Swiss and

Swedes, which by the spring of 1945 was "months behind."[27] By mid-April 1945, confusion reigned. The SHAEF POW Executive Branch reported: "Owing to the rapidity of the advance on the Western Front it has become exceedingly difficult to obtain quick and even accurate information on PW recovered, and it will inevitably be some little time before a detailed picture is available." [28] The US Military Mission to Moscow reported in a similar vein: "The accuracy of the information we have on locations of POW camps and numbers of prisoners is open to question." The Mission did know that the Germans evacuated many of the prisoners and speculated that consequently the Soviets were likely not to liberate as many American POWs as initially estimated.[29] The British faced similar problems. On 23 April 1945, the War Office declared that because of the transfer of prisoners by the Germans it was "impossible [to] make any reliable estimate [of] numbers of British Commonwealth PW likely to fall into Russian hands."[30] Reporting problems continued well after VE Day. On 30 May, the War Department complained that European Theater authorities were not always reporting promptly the movement back to the United States of liberated POWs. Over 4,000 had just arrived with no authorizing order or prior notification of the War Department.[31]

Documenting the experience of US POWs liberated by or in Red Army custody is made even more difficult because of the lax Soviet administrative procedures for dealing with them. Numerous contemporary observers commented on this problem. Consequently, estimates or even specific numbers of Allied POWs furnished by the Soviet authorities must be examined critically. One American POW, released in February 1945 from a camp in Poland, commented that Soviet troops observed no

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[27]History of the Theater Provost Marshal, 1 October 1944-8 May 1945, ETO Historian File, ADM 567, RG 332, NA.

[28] SHAEF PWX Fortnightly Bulletin No. 8, 18 April 1945, 12th Army Group G-1 Subject File, "114," box 24, entry 165, RG 331, NA.

[29]USMMM to AGWAR, Cable M-24009, 22 April 1945, Outgoing Cables, box 59, entry 310, RG 334, NA.

[30]War Office to 30 Military Mission Moscow, 23 April 1945, Message 87814 PW-5, SHAEF SGS Decimal File, "383.6-11," box 88, entry 1, RG 331, NA.

sanitary rules and displayed "little discipline" of any sort." [32] Other observers noted the complete unpreparedness of the Soviets to deal with liberated POWs or with displaced persons in their zone, even weeks after VE Day.[33] Perhaps the crux of the problem, at least in terms of attempting to document the process, was that for the Red Army "paper work seemed to be a forgotten thing along the front."[34]

Kenneth Bargmann, a former POW, who in early February 1945 was liberated from Stalag III-C, Kustrin, confirmed the Soviet Army's inattention to paperwork and general disinterest in liberated Allied prisoners. Following initial liberation, US POWs remained at Stalag III-C for several days before Soviet troops finally exercised complete control over the area, about 1-2 February 1945. But even then, the Soviets did little to provide for, or to exercise control over, the American POWs. Nor did Bargmann recall any attempt by the Soviets to document or account for the POWs. From the time the Soviets liberated Stalag III-C until he returned to US custody, Bargmann said he was never asked to provide any basic identification or personal information to any Soviet official. He believed the Soviets with whom he had contact neither made, acquired, nor kept records on US POWs, although they did take occasional "head counts."[35]

The western Allies recognized the problems these practices would create in terms of identifying liberated POWs in Soviet Army custody. The SHAEF staff section responsible for POWs cabled the

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[31]AGWAR from Marshall to COMZONE for Lee, 30 May 1945, Message WX-90358, SHAEF SGS Decimal File, "383.6-7," box 87, entry 1, RG 331, NA.

[32] Crockett to Harriman, 1 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 23, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[33] Maj. DeRosen to Col. Koltick, 15 June 1945, File 112, G-1 Misc. Branch, 12th Army Group, box 24, entry 165, RG 331, NA.

[34] Capt. Wm. Fitchen, Report on Interviews with Former POWs, 6 March 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[35] Kenneth Bargmann interview with TK Nenninger, 9 May 1995, Washington DC.

War Department on 23 May: "Observation shows that due to loose administrative system in Red Army we cannot expect to get any worthwhile information on men in their custody for some time." [36]

[36] SHAEF G-1 to AGWAR, 23 May 1945, Message S-89142, SHAEF G-1 Decimal File, "337-2, Conference-Halle," box 22, entry 6, RG 331, NA.

Treatment of Liberated American POWs by the Soviet Army

Following return to military control, the Military Intelligence Service had about half of the POWs freed by the Soviets in late January and early February 1945 complete questionnaires relating to their entire POW experience. For the most part, these POWs were among the 2,858 who came out through Odessa.

There was no consensus among the American POWs as to the quality of treatment the Soviets provided. A few wrote of extremely harsh, brutal treatment, including beatings, robbing prisoners of watches and other personal possessions, and conscious denial of food, shelter, transport, and medical supplies. Some thought this harsh attitude on the part of Soviet soldiers stemmed from a more general attitude toward the countries the Red Army had liberated: "Prisoners are spoils of war won by Soviet arms. They [sic] may be robbed, starved, and abused... an [sic] no one has the right to question such treatment." [37]

Many others, however, commented on an entirely different quality of Soviet treatment: "They wanted to give me everything they had." A fairly common experience seems to have been that once the Soviets determined a freed POW was American, the treatment improved. Probably the most balanced assessment is summarized by one American lieutenant who declared: "In my opinion we were treated well according to Russian standards. This must be kept in mind because their standards are far below ours...." Another POW later reflected: "The Russians oversimplified their support of liberated kriegys [POWs]. It could be characterized as striking the least common denominator of using one solution for all cases.... At least some of them seem to have been inserted between bedlam and chaos where there was little evidence of Russian management and little opportunity for Allies to obtain services. Agreeing to transport groups to the rear and then forgetting about it created much hard feeling." [38] Clearly,

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[37] Lt.Col. James D. Wilmeth, "Report on a Visit to Lublin, Poland, 27 February - 28 March 1945," USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[38] Col. H.E. Hixon to AC/S G-1, 19 April 1945, forwarded to Chief of US Military Mission to Moscow, USMMM Subject File, "POWs-Personnel Evacuated Through Odessa," box 22, entry 309, RG 334, NA; Clarence R. Meltesen, Roads to Liberation From Oflag 64 (San Francisco: Oflag 64 Press, 1990), p. 346.

cultural differences played a role in how Soviet troops treated liberated Allied prisoners. That the Soviet Union had lost 24 million people during the war also likely affected their concern for and interest in the POWs they freed.

Analysts from the Military Intelligence Service evaluated information contained in the questionnaires in order to reach some general conclusions on Soviet treatment of US POWs. The MIS determined that 56% of the respondents thought the Soviets treated them well in light of Soviet standards and the tactical situation. Slightly less than seven percent thought the treatment was bad, reflecting varying degrees of physical hardship and outright mistreatment. About one-third of the respondents believed their treatment to have been indifferent, because the Soviets were preoccupied with other matters; and thus, they left the POWs to fend for themselves.[39]

[39] MIS-X, WDGS, "Statements of Evacuees from German P/W Camps Reporting Experiences in Russia," 3 April 1945, ETO MIS-X Decimal Correspondence, "383.6-POWs(Allied)", box 9, RG 332, NA.

## ***WORLD WAR II AMERICAN POW AND MIA STATISTICS AND CASUALTY ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES***

For a number of reasons, it is difficult to determine accurate, consistent, and reliable POW and MIA statistics relating to American World War II-era service personnel. As POWs were recovered from captivity after VE and VJ Day the number in each category changed.[40] The numbers changed further as the services learned additional information about specific cases and issued "presumptive findings of death" or "reports of death" for personnel who did not return to military control and whose bodies were not recovered. For example, the number in each casualty category would be significantly different on 8 May 1945; 2 September 1945; 1 January 1946 or 1 January 1950.

The July 1991 Department of Defense POW-MIA Fact Book states: "...approximately 78,750 Americans were unaccounted for from World War II...."[41] Even though this statement is in the past tense and "unaccounted for" is not synonymous with MIA, its meaning can be and has been misinterpreted. What happened to those servicemen is known; they are dead. The circumstances surrounding the deaths also is known in more or less detail, depending on the individual case. But the remains for those individuals, unfortunately, have not been recovered.

During World War II approximately 359,000 deaths occurred among American military personnel overseas. As of 1955 a total of 280,835 remains had been recovered from all theaters of war. Of this total 270,479 were identified, but 10,356 of the recovered remains were not identified.[42] The remains of a much larger number of the dead, over 78,000, were never recovered. The reasons

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[40] War Department authorities had serious difficulties reconciling the sometimes conflicting sources of information. Other problems resulted because chaotic conditions in Europe, particularly beginning early in 1945, interrupted the previously accurate and relatively prompt German system of reporting Allied casualties (both POWs and deaths) through neutral channels. These difficulties are described in Brig.Gen. R.B. Lovett (AG ETO) to Maj.Gen. A.L. Lerch (PMGO), 14 July 1945; and Lerch to Lovett, 30 July 1945, PWIB Subject File, "Death Lists-Germany; Folder 1," box 2172, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

[41] Department of Defense, POW-MIA Factbook (Washington: DOD, July 1991), p. 35.

[42] Erna Risch and Chester L. Kieffer, The Quartermaster Corps: Organization, Supply, and Services, Vol. II: Unites States Army in World War II (Washington: Department of the Army, 1955), pp. 402-04.

should be evident - amphibious and naval operations on a vast scale; ground fighting in dense jungles, over mountainous terrain, and on remote islands; and air combat and other flight operations over oceans, jungles, and mountains. Locating and recovering remains of the dead from such areas often was not possible, despite massive wartime graves registration efforts and continuing search and identification endeavors in the postwar period. The devastating effects of high explosive munitions and fire on the fragile human anatomy further compounded recovery and identification of war dead.

The American Battle Monuments Commission identified 78,954 servicemen who died during World War II whose remains still have not been recovered (38,439 Army/Army Air Forces; 35,713 Navy; 4,141 Marine Corps; 661 Coast Guard).[43] These men are not currently "missing in action," nor are they "unaccounted for." With more or less certainty, all 78,954 have been determined to be dead or are now officially reported as dead. The 1,103 sailors and Marines entombed on December 7, 1941, aboard USS Arizona, for example, are among this total. There is no doubt as to the fate of those men, although their bodies cannot be recovered. Service personnel lost at sea, in circumstances similar to those aboard Arizona, as well as other dead buried at sea comprise a large percentage of the total; over half of the total are Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Many of the 38,439 Army/Army Air Forces personnel were aircrew aboard planes that disintegrated in flight, went down over water, or crashed in inaccessible areas. Other soldiers were buried in unmarked graves or even lost at sea; for example, on 24 December 1944, over 700 soldiers of the 66th Infantry Division died and 500 of their bodies were never recovered when the transport SS Leopoldville sank off Cherbourg, France.[44]

The War Department and Navy Department did not (by law could not) "write off" whole categories or large groups of servicemen who did not return from the war alive and for whom remains had not been recovered. Presumptive findings of death were determined on an individual case by case basis. Under authority of Section 5 of the "Missing Persons Act," Public Law 490, 77th Congress, 7 March 1942, as amended, service personnel previously reported as missing or missing in action and

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[43] Information provided by American Battle Monuments Commission in telecon with TK Nenninger, 3 February 1995.

[44] HQ ETO to The Adjutant General, 1st Ind., 2 March 1945, AG 704 (15 February 1945), AGO Classified Decimal File, 1943-45, box 3142, entry 360, RG 407, NA.

who were no longer presumed to be alive could be declared dead. But such findings of death were made only upon or subsequent to 12 months in a missing or missing in action status, were withheld so long as there was some presumption the person was living, and were based on analysis of known information in each case.[45] In 1944 Congress amended the Missing Persons Act to authorize official "reports of death" in cases where "conclusive" information as to death could be established. Just as in a Section 5 finding, under Section 9 it was not necessary that the remains of the deceased be recovered and identified. But some conclusive first hand proof, such as testimony from eyewitnesses, was required. Frequently, after twelve months an individual previously MIA would be declared dead under Section 5. Later, as more information became available, this finding would be changed to an official report of death under Section 9. [46]

The classification "missing in action" is the most elusive of casualty categories, not least because it was a temporary designation. Everyone at anytime categorized as MIA eventually was determined to be in another final casualty status, based either on his return to duty or on the findings of a casualty status review board. Nearly all MIAs eventually were either "returned to duty," "declared dead," or "reported dead." During the war and even for some time thereafter the number of MIAs continually changed, as an individual's status migrated from MIA to POW or to "declared dead" or to "reported dead" (which in most cases eventually meant KIA). As a consequence, it could be misleading to declare that there were a specific number of American MIAs during the war; in fact, the number continually changed.

As indicated in the following table, many American servicemen initially listed as missing in action in the European Theater of Operations eventually were determined to have died as result of hostile

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[45] Statistical and Accounting Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, Army Battle Casualties and Nonbattle Deaths in World War II: Final Report: 7 December 1941 - 31 December 1946 (Washington: Department of the Army, 1 June 1953), p. 4; also 56 Stat 143, United States Statutes At Large: 1942: Vol. 56, Part 1 (Washington: GPO, 1943), p. 145, contains Section 5.

[46] 58 Stat. 679, United States Statutes At Large: 1944: Vol. 58, Part 1 (Washington: GPO, 1945), pp. 680-1 contains the amended Section 9.

action or accident. Often they were never POWs of the Germans or ever in Soviet custody. The final determination of their status was largely the result of the postwar casualty clearance process.

***CASUALTY STATISTICS FOR ARMY/ARMY AIR FORCES PERSONNEL; EUROPEAN, MEDITERRANEAN, & AFRICA-MIDDLE EAST THEATERS (WAR AGAINST GERMANY)***

| | MIA(current status) | Declared/Determined Dead | Returned to Duty |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5/1/45 | 54,864 | 4,278 | 17,783 |
| 7/1/46 | 433 | 14,432 | 21,550 |
| 6/1/53 | 0 | 2,430 | 21,488 |

| | POW/Internee | Died | RMC |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5/1/45 | 52,823 | 270 | 13,873 |
| 7/1/46 | 0 | 1,239 | 96,691 |
| 6/1/53 | 0 | 1,124 | 94,407 |

| | KIA |
|---|---|
| 5/1/45 | 123,549 |
| 7/1/46 | 142,411 |
| 6/1/53 | 153,270 [47] |

[47] Numbers calculated from data in: Machine Records Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, Battle Casualties of the Army: 1 May 1945 (Washington: Statistics Branch, Office of the Chief of Staff, 1945), p. 5; Strength Accounting Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, Battle Casualties of the Army: 1 July 1946 (Washington: Central Statistical Office, Office of the Chief of Staff, 1946), p. 5; Statistical and Accounting Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, Army Battle Casualties and Nonbattle Deaths in World War II: Final Report: 7 December 1941 - 31 December 1946 (Washington: Department of the Army, June 1, 1953), pp. 8-9.

Even before VE Day, Army "search teams" began combing the battlefields of Europe for soldiers listed as missing in action, to locate burial sites of military personnel, and to obtain further information on men killed in action. During the summer of 1945, by which time nearly all live American POWs in Europe had returned to military control (RMC), the effort was well underway. On 12 July 1945, the War Department issued a casualty clearance plan to the theater commanders for Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa-Middle East, which would govern solution of unresolved casualties in those areas for the next several years.

The categories subject to investigation included missing, missing in action, prisoner of war, and interned. The basic objectives were to determine whether "persons" in any of these categories were dead or alive; to recover and return to military control persons found alive; to terminate, initiate, clarify, or correct the casualty status of any "individual," including death or finding of death; to add new information to already resolved cases regarding time, place, or circumstances of death; and "to convey to families such new information as is obtainable concerning individuals carried in any casualty status, carried as deceased, or in whose cases finding of death has been made."[48]

The special search teams consisted of five men, at least one of whom spoke the local language. The team would cover one small geographic area at a time, interviewing local officials and other citizens, identifying grave sites, and searching hospital and local government records. The European field excavation included general area searches followed by specific searches for isolated remains. In the

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In several categories the 1953 figure is smaller than the 1946 number. For the categories "declared/determined dead" and "died" that is because individuals were changed to a final casualty status of "KIA," particularly as the casualty resolution process continued and more information about a particular case developed, thus leading to a report of death which would replace the previous determination or declaration of death. For the categories "returned to duty" and "RMC" (returned to military control) the smaller 1953 number reflects moving some individual cases to another final casualty status, such as KIA or died of wounds. It also reflects the final audit of all casualty information and statistics, assuring that duplication and similar administrative discrepancies were resolved.

[48] "Army Search Teams" Comb Battlefields for Personnel Missing in Action," 21 September 1945, Press and Radio News Releases, War Department Public Information Division, Box 109, entry 498, RG 165, NA;TAG to CG European Theater et. al., "European Casualty Clearance Plan," 12 July 1945, AG 704 (19 June 1946), AGO Classified Decimal File, 1943-45, box 3544, entry 360, RG 407, NA.

year following the end of the war, the casualty clearance process in Europe received considerable resources and support from the military leadership. Individual case searches, indicating the thoroughness of the effort and providing a key link between the graves registration search for remains and the resolution of MIA cases, continued into the early 1950s.[49]

Soviet cooperation in this effort was less than complete; in fact the Soviets sometimes obstructed progress. But from 1945 to 1949 field investigation teams did get into the areas of Germany and Austria controlled by the Red Army and were able to resolve cases. By contrast the teams had good cooperation from the Czech, Polish, Rumanian, and Hungarian governments and from local authorities in those countries.[50]

The US Government spared little cost or effort to come to a full accounting of American World War II casualties. Most significantly this involved attempting to determine the fates of those previously in missing or missing in action status. Final accounting was done on an individual basis. It did not, it is important to reiterate, involve "writing off" whole categories of missing. A significant endeavor was underway to uncover bodies, identify remains, and resolve discrepancies. The documentary results of this effort are extensive and are extant today in the National Archives.[51]

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[49] Edward Steere and Thayer M. Boardman, Final Disposition of World War II Dead: 1945-51: QM Historical Studies, Series II, No.4 (Washington: Office of the Quartermaster General, Department of the Army, 1957), pp. 178, 194, 198. There are a number of important files relating to this effort filed under "AG 704," for example "Progress Reports and Casualty Clearance Plans," AG 704 (13 December 1945)(35), AGO Central Decimal File, 1940-45, box 4067, Entry 360, RG 407, NA, contains informative statistical and narrative reports covering the effort through December 1946 (the file is dated 1945, the information continues through 1946.

[50] Steere and Boardman, Final Disposition of World War II Dead, pp. 254-63. APPENDIX VI: "Deceased US Servicemen in the Soviet Union" describes in more detail the frustrating postwar experience of recovering remains, mostly of merchant seamen, buried on the territory of the USSR and recent identification efforts of Task Force Russia and the Defense POW/MIA Office.

[51] "AG 704," boxes 3116-3237; "AG 704 Dead," boxes 3238-3290; "AG 704 Missing," boxes 3291-3311, AGO Classified Decimal File, 1943-45, entry 360; "AG 704," boxes 3544-3548, AGO Classified Decimal File, 1946-47, entry 360; "AG 704 Casualty," boxes 4066-4104, AGO Decimal File, 1940-45, entry 363; "AG 704 Dead," boxes 4105-4137, AGO Decimal File, 1940-45, entry

## ***FINAL WORLD WAR II CASUALTY ACCOUNTING***

Army/Army Air Forces

On 1 June 1953, the Army's Statistical and Accounting Branch published its final report on World War II Army and Army Air Forces casualties, based on information available as of 31 December 1949. The number of "captured and interned" from all theaters of war included in that report is 124,079; of that number 111,426 returned to military control and 12,653 died (KIA, DOW-died of wounds, and non-battle dead). The report included 30,314 under the category "missing in action;" but 24,098 eventually returned to duty and 6,058 were "declared dead" and 158 "died of other causes (non-battle)".[52]

By VE Day Allied authorities knew that the Germans held more, by many thousands, American POWs than had officially been reported. The difference, however, was not and could not be determined with any precision until after Allied armies had overrun the German camps and actually recovered the prisoners. A significant percentage of American POWs held by the Germans were captured during the last six months of the war, including nearly 25,000 from the Battle of the Bulge (December 1944-January 1945) alone. Losses from heavy air operations during early 1945 also contributed to the rapidly growing POW total. The peak number of American POWs reported by Germany, 72,193, was reached 30 April 1945. These were POWs officially reported through

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363; "AG 704," boxes 1524-1552, AGO Decimal File, 1946-48, entry 363; "AG 704 Dead," boxes 1553-1574, AG Decimal File, 1946-48, entry 363, RG 407, NA.

Many of these case files include instances of information and documentation added to cases years after resolution; for example, although a pilot was known to have died in an air crash and declared dead in 1945, additional information from a witness to the crash is obtained, perhaps in connection with investigation of another case, and in 1947 added to the 1945 file relating to the initial determination. Despite their extent, the records are difficult to search for information on a particular individual because they lack a reliable index or other means of name access.

APPENDIX XII: "The AG 704 Files" summarizes in somewhat more detail the creation, arrangement, and content of these records and their value as a source of information relating to POWs and MIAs.

International Red Cross and diplomatic channels and recorded by the Prisoner of War Information Bureau of the Provost Marshal General's Office. The number the Germans had reported also was consistent with the number estimated by intelligence sources, although the numbers were not identical. The last Military Intelligence Service survey during the war of German camps and other POW facilities accounted for 71,877 Americans as of mid-March 1945. [53]

Navy/Marine Corps

The Navy and Marine Corps POW and MIA population was considerably smaller than that of the Army and Army Air Forces; most Navy and Marine Corps personnel in these categories resulted from the loss of Guam, Wake, and the Philippines, to the Japanese in 1941-42.

As of 23 November 1945, the Navy had accounted for "all known Naval Prisoners of War totaling 552 officers and 2,746 enlisted men" (this number did not include Marine Corps personnel). Of the 3,298 total, 2,427 "returned to naval jurisdiction" and 871 were found to be deceased. During that same period (October-November 1945), the Navy still carried approximately 9,000 personnel in a "missing

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[52] Statistical and Accounting Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, Army Battle Casualties and Nonbattle Deaths in World War II: Final Report: 7 December 1941 - 31 December 1946 (Washington: Department of the Army, 1 June 1953), p. 5.

[53] The Army Service Forces Monthly Progress Reports: Section 11: Administration for January through May 1945 indicate that the number of US POWs held by the Germans steadily increased until the April peak, this despite the liberation of POWs beginning in January; "Progress Reports, 1943-46," PMGO Historical File, 1941-58, box 42, entry 439A; "German Prisoner of War Camps (With American PsW)," CPM Branch, Military Intelligence Service, 17 March 1945, PWIB Subject File, "POW Camps Germany-Strength, Welfare, Movements," box 2235, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

The rapid growth in the POW and MIA populations can be tracked in the monthly Battle Casualties of the Army from January through July 1945; a nearly complete run of this publication is filed under OPD 704, Operations Division Security Classified Correspondence, 1942-45, Entry 418, box 1684, RG 165, NA.

status." But within a few months they resolved these as "presumed dead" or "determined to be dead," as they involved casualties at sea with little chance for survival or recovery of remains.[54]

Published in 1950, the Navy's medical history of the war contains little information that is useful for determining POW or MIA status. Although the work contained exhaustive and official casualty statistics for the Navy and Marine Corps, POWs are not included as a separate category and "all of those reported as missing in action and later declared dead" have been included with the numbers for "killed in action." There are 1,419 listed under the category "died, prisoner of war."[55]

The official Marine Corps history of the end of the war in the Pacific also provides an accounting of final Marine Corps casualties. There were 2,274 Marine Corps prisoners of war; 1,756 returned to military control of the United States, 268 died in captivity, and 250 were known to have been captured but were otherwise unaccounted for and were presumed to have died. This source included an additional 795 Marines as "missing, presumed dead;" these would not have been POWs. [56]

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[54] There are several important documents including Lt. T.P. Price to Chief of Naval Personnel, August 3, 1945, "Recovery of Prisoners of War;" Cdr. Walter W. Finke to Director of Welfare, 23 November 1945, "Prisoners of War;" Bupers to Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet, nd. (ca. November 1945), "Final Determination of Status of Missing Naval Personnel and Unrecovered Prisoners of War;" and the weekly status reports of recovered POWs during the period August-November 1945, in the file "General Records Relating to POWs," Casualty Branch, Bureau of Naval Personnel, box 1, RG 24, NA.

[55] Division of Medical Statistics, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Navy Department, The History of the Medical Department of the United States Navy in World War II; The Statistics of Diseases and Injuries: Vol. 3 (Washington : GPO, 1950), pp. 75-76, 170-71.

[56] Benis M. Frank and Henry I. Shaw, Jr., Victory and Occupation: History of US Marine Corps Operations in World War II: Volume V (Washington: Headquarters US Marine Corps, 1968), pp. 731-32.

## ***"THE NUMBERS GAME": HOW MANY US POWS DID THE RED ARMY LIBERATE AND REPATRIATE?***

On 21 July 1945, Lieutenant General K.D. Golubev, a political commissar accredited by the Soviet Army General Staff to negotiate with the US Military Mission to Moscow, reported to Major General John Deane, head of the mission, that the Soviets had repatriated 22,010 Americans to Allied authorities. His report indicated that the return of US prisoners of war had been completed.[57] With certainty, Golubev's figure was too low by several thousand. Part of the problem was the one of Red Army administrative disorganization, shoddy record keeping, and lack of accountability, which has already been discussed in this report. It also was in part a matter of definition. Golubev's numbers likely were only those Americans who clearly had been in Soviet Army administrative and physical custody; his numbers probably did not include those thousands of POWs loose in the Soviet zone who largely on their own, with little or no Soviet assistance, reached Allied lines.

According to American sources, the total number of US prisoners of war received from the Soviets by 12th Army Group, the principal US Army field command in the European Theater, was 25,140 through 2 June 1945.[58] In May 1945 the 12th Army Group consisted of Ninth, First, and Third Armies, arrayed north to south in the central portion of the SHAEF front. Its geographical location and wide frontage, from Linz, Austria, to within 100 miles of the Baltic, assured that 12th Army Group would receive the bulk of freed US POWs, whether liberated at Moosburg in Bavaria by Third Army

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[57] Golubev to Deane, Letter No. 04997, 21 July 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 25, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

[58] "Memorandum to Colonel Borden," 26 May 1945 [annotated to 2 June], "File 103-A/PW (US & BR)(General Policy & Misc.)," Subject File, 1944-45, Miscellaneous Branch, G-1 Section, 12th Army Group, box 23, Entry 165, RG 331, NA.

Most of the American POWs recovered from the zone of the Red Army came into the hands of the US Ninth Army. That organization, in fact, handled the largest number of liberated Allied prisoners, either recovered from the Soviets or overrun by US and British units. On 4 April 1945, the 692nd Field Artillery Battalion became the Ninth Army special troop unit principally responsible for administration and evacuation of liberated Allied POWs. It performed those duties, including operation of the important US-Soviet POW transshipment point at Hildesheim, until 31 May 1945. Journal 692nd FA Battalion, April-May 1945, FABN-692-0.7, World War II Operations Records, RG 407, NA.

troops, or assisted across the Elbe at Torgau by First Army, or received by elements of Ninth Army at Hildesheim from the Soviet Zone. The 25,140 reported received by 12th Army Group, consequently, includes nearly all American POWs passed across the front line or evacuated by air from the Soviet zone. It does not, however, include the 2,858 shipped from Odessa, or the other eastern evacuations such as by air from Moscow and Poltava. At least 28,000 American prisoners of war previously held by the Germans, therefore, came from the zone controlled by the Soviets if not from Red Army custody and were returned to US military control.

By way of comparison, Soviet authorities repatriated 25,102 British and 294,699 French POWs, as well as several hundred thousand other Allied nationals; as with the Americans, most were exchanged across the front-lines in Germany and Austria. There were 4,300 of the British and 27,000 French POWs who came out through Odessa. [59]

Three recent accounts argue that many--as many as 23,000--American POWs liberated by the Red Army were never returned to US control, but rather were held after VE Day in Soviet prisons as bargaining chips to get back from the Western Allies liberated Soviet POWs who did not want to return to the USSR and as further leverage in the incipient Cold War.[60] The authors of these accounts rest their arguments on assertions such as: thousands of American POWs at Stalag III-A (Luckenwalde) were never repatriated but remained in Soviet control[61]; although Soviet authorities reported they

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[59] Mark Elliott, Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in Their Repatriation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 76, footnotes 35 and 36.

[60] John M.G. Brown, Moscow Bound: Policy, Politics and the POW/MIA Dilemma (Eureka, California: Veterans Press, 1993), pp. 119-330 deal with World War II issues; Jim Sanders, Mark Sauter, and R. Cort Kirkwood, Soldiers of Misfortune: Washington's Secret Betrayal of American POWs in the Soviet Union (Washington: National Press Books, 1992), pp. 31-114 relate to World War II; and, Patricia Louise Wadley, "Even One Is Too Many: An Examination of the Soviet Refusal to Repatriate Liberated American World War II Prisoners of War," Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1993.

[61] John M.G. Brown to Trudy Huskamp Peterson (Acting Archivist of the United States and Commissioner on the Joint Russia-US Commission on POW/MIAs), 31 March 1995.

shipped 5,159 US POWs to Odessa, only 2,858 ever came home[62]; and, in late May 1945, there were 15,597 US and 8,462 British prisoners being held in Austria under control of Marshal F.I. Tolbukhin's 3rd Ukrainian Front and these POWs also never were exchanged.[63]

As previously described in this report, the several thousand American POWs who were at Luckenwalde did return to US military control. Although for many POWs their Soviet liberators were of little assistance in the repatriation, Americans at Luckenwalde by and large liberated themselves and made their own way to Allied lines. The names of those returned to military control (RMC) from Luckenwalde appear on nominal rolls, on the POW Information Bureau IBM cards, and in other documentation.

The previous discussion in this report of the German POW camps in Poland and East Prussia overrun in late January 1945 by the Red Army emphasized the difficult, chaotic conditions faced by the liberated prisoners. The unconcern and inability of Soviet authorities to deal with those they had freed was obvious. As numerous contemporary observers reiterated, the Soviets were unable to provide accurate, consistent numbers of the Allied prisoners they had overrun. To accept as accurate the Soviet report that 5,159 Americans were shipped to Odessa and then conclude that, since only 2,858 were evacuated from the port, 2,301 must have disappeared forever into Soviet prisons, ignores considerable contradictory evidence; which includes the assessment of Lieutenant Colonel Wilmeth, a harsh critic of the Soviets, that only 2,800 (not 5,159) Americans fell into Red Army hands from the POW camps in Poland and East Prussia.

A British Air Ministry message, dated 29 May 1945, was the first and only report raising the possibility of 15,597 Americans and 8,462 British in the hands of Marshal Tolbukhin's forces. This message, widely disseminated at SHAEF, the Moscow military missions, and in Washington, spawned additional documentation and generated requests for action in repatriating the POWs. Eventually

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[62] James Sanders to Trudy Huskamp Peterson, 30 March 1995, "World War II: Soviet Retention of US POWs in 1945," footnote 12. Another of Sanders' contentions, that the Soviets did not return many of the American POWs they liberated from Stalag Luft I (Barth), is examined in APPENDIX VI: "The Sanders List."

[63] Wadley, "One Is Too Many," pp. 216-19.

someone at the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington questioned whether the information in the original message was correct; because by late May most US and British POWs had been recovered, therefore 24,000 additional was a surprisingly high number. On 3 June Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ) in the Mediterranean, the ultimate source of the original information, clarified the matter. The numbers should have referred to Soviet POWs still in US and British hands, not the reverse as originally reported. Copies of these documents, including the clarifying message, exist at both the Public Record Office in London and the National Archives in Washington. The US Government has attempted in the past to explain the confusion. Despite these efforts, allegations that there were 15,597 American POWs being held in late May 1945 by the Soviets in Austria persist.[64]

If there had been 15,000 US POWs in Austria in late May 1945, whence had they come? Allied intelligence estimated in February 1945 that there were only 4,000 American prisoners in Austria, most in Stalag XVII-B, the largest camp in Austria. But the Germans evacuated that camp and moved the POWs westward, away from Marshal Tolbukhin's advancing forces. On 3 May 1945, US troops liberated 3,000 American POWs at Branau, on the Austrian-German border, who had been evacuated and marched westward from XVII-B. By late May, clearly there were few American POWs remaining in Austria and certainly not 15,000 to be held by the Red Army or anyone else.[65]

For it to be true (as Brown, Sanders, and Wadley allege) that the Soviets liberated but never repatriated 23,000 US prisoners of war, all of the following, among other unlikely possibilities, also had to be true:

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[64] Air Ministry Special Signals Office (AMSSO) Top Secret Cipher Telegram to Joint Staff Mission Washington (JSMW), OX 3431, 29 May 1945; JSMW to AMSSO, IZ 5768, 31 May 1945; War Office to Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ), BM 3928/PW2, 2 June 1945; AFHQ to War Office, FX 87043, 3 June 1945; all from WO 32/13749, Public Record Office, Kew, London. A similar series of radio messages can be located in SHAEF SGS Decimal File, "383.6/11," box 88, entry 1, RG 331, NA. Also see DOD Public Information Series, "DOD Response to Unfounded Allegations that the US Government Abandoned POWs in World War II and Korea," PC 20J (1988).

[65] "Appendix A," Pamphlet 9, 21 Army Group ECLIPSE Plan, ETO MIS-X Correspondence, "388-Post-Hostilities Planning," box 11 (NND 745001), RG 332, NA.

1. A substantial part of the historical documentary record from World War II not only is completely inaccurate, but has been deliberately falsified.
2. Discrepancies in the numbers of American POWs liberated and not recovered simultaneously and identically appear in US, Soviet, German, and British data.
3. The Soviets had almost twice as many US POWs than they claimed or than Allied and German records indicated, and these 23,000 were transferred and imprisoned in the Soviet Union without a trace.
4. The families of the 23,000 allegedly left behind participated in the cover up, because there was no public outcry from these people regarding the status of their missing relatives.[66]

There is no documentary evidence that could lead to a conclusion that significant numbers of American prisoners of war disappeared into Soviet prisons after World War II. The historical record in that regard is neither inaccurate, nor has it been deliberately falsified. In the contemporary debriefings, interrogations, and similar documentation, and in the postwar POW memoir literature, there are no verifiable accounts that claim the Soviets held back 23,000 or any other substantial number of US prisoners. Such numbers, furthermore, are not consistent with the final postwar casualty resolution and accounting.

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[66]Paul M. Cole, POW/MIA Issues: Volume 2, World War II and the Early Cold War (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1994), pp. 29-31.

As the information developed in several of the case studies and other material presented in APPENDICES VII, IX, and X will demonstrate, not only are the generalizations of these authors questionable, but many of the cases relating to individual POWs upon which they have built their arguments do not hold up under critical analysis either.

## ***CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS***

It remains to be determined whether any American prisoners of war liberated in 1945 by Soviet forces were not returned to US military control but were held in Soviet prisons. There were individuals known to have been POWs of the Germans who did not return to US military control after VE Day. Military authorities expended considerable effort, including inquiries to the Soviets, in determining what might have happened to these men.

On 27 July 1945, the Provost Marshal General of the European Theater sent a list of 492 names identified as "unrecovered American prisoners of war" to the POW Information Bureau in Washington.[67] Not all of the POWs on this or subsequent lists of discrepancy cases would necessarily have been in Soviet hands. Most on this ETO list eventually were accounted for and otherwise identified; others had died during the harsh conditions early in 1945, especially on the marches westward when the Germans evacuated the POW camps in the east. In December 1945 the Machine Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office produced a somewhat refined listing, which included 207 names of "Unaccounted for American Prisoners of War Held by the German Government (CFN 74)."[68] A further refinement produced on 14 March 1946, by the POW Information Bureau of the Provost Marshal General's Office, included 31 unrecovered prisoners known to have been held by the Japanese and 77 held by the Germans.[69]

At an early date in its research into World War II questions, the Joint Commission Support Directorate (JCSD) of the Department of Defense POW/MIA Office identified the "207 List" as a significant "find" and as a possible source for names of American POWs who might have been in Soviet custody at the end of the war. JCSD compared the names on this list against a variety of other documentary sources; the process has further accounted for and reduced to 87 the number of

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[67] ETO Provost Marshal General to PWIB, War Department, "Unrecovered American POWs," 27 July 1945, "383.6," ETO PMG Decimal File, 1943-45, box 43, RG 332, NA.

[68] CFN 74, "Unaccounted for American POWs Held by the German Government," Machine Records Branch, Adjutant General's Office, RG 407, NA.

[69] PWIB to TAG Casualty Branch, 14 March 1945, PWIB Subject File, "POW Unrecovered from Enemy (Japan & Germany)," box 2241, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

unresolved cases on this "207 List." Cases were resolved by identifying individuals who did return to military control, or who had died in captivity, or who were killed in action, or who were not actually POWs.[70] We are continuing to pursue leads to resolve the fate of the 87 from the "207 List" and other World War II discrepancy cases.

We developed files on all of the individual cases examined; a description of several of the more significant cases is included in our report.[71] The discrepancy cases we pursued, in which an individual POW or MIA was identifiable, all led to a conclusion that the person died or had been returned to military control, not that they had been incarcerated in a Soviet prison. Our conclusions, in effect, are consistent with the original findings of death issued by the War Department nearly fifty years ago and with the other earlier efforts at casualty resolution. Evidence supporting our conclusions comes from several sources including official personnel files, deceased personnel files, reports of the casualty resolution boards, from other American military records, and from Soviet-era documents.[72]

The evidence in the case studies we pursued does not indicate that liberated American POWs were held against their will by the Soviet Government after VE Day. We uncovered no evidence from Russian or American archives that conclusively demonstrates such a finding, although research on several cases is still underway that could indicate otherwise. There is certainly no evidence that the Soviets held thousands of American POWs in the GULAG, or that the US Government participated in a cover-up of such an operation. We located ample evidence that contradicts such contentions and that demonstrates the "good faith effort" of military authorities following the war to resolve individual casualty status, including that of MIAs.

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[70] APPENDIX VII: "The 207 List" provides the names and an accounting of our findings.
[71] APPENDIX VIII: presents our findings in twelve of these cases.
[72] APPENDIX XIII: "Archival Sources Examined" describes the more important series of records used in compiling this report.

## ***ONGOING ISSUES***

The work of the World War II Working Group is complicated by a number of factors:

1. The lack of an activist constituency. There are very few immediate family members still living who lost loved ones in World War II. There are no parents, wives, or children of former World War II POWs asking us the whereabouts of their loved ones. Any leads or issues that were developed have been done so primarily from information contained in archival documents;

2. Lack of living eyewitnesses. It is becoming increasingly more difficult to locate actual participants in the events, both Russian and American;

3. The vast volume of information to review and the lack of access. World War II is the most extensively documented twentieth century conflict. There are still literally tons of documents that should be reviewed for POW information. The same is true in the former Soviet Union. The issue is compounded in Russia by the lack of access to this material by JCSD analysts. Presently we rely heavily on Russian archivists to search for information. Not only is there a lack of Russian manpower dedicated to this project, but Russian archivists are not always aware of the types of documents that would aid our project and do not always provide us with archival citations in case a promising holding is found. Full access to unclassified archives is paramount.

We would like to propose an archival research exchange program to the Joint Commission. Under this program, JCSD analysts would be allowed to do active, long-term research in unclassified holdings in the former Soviet Union, and Russian researchers would have the same rights in the United States archives. Experience has shown that key documents are found in the most unlikely of places. Presently, members of Task Force Russia, the Moscow-based branch of the Joint Commission Support Directorate, have been allowed some limited access to some Russian archives, but have never been allowed to devote the time or obtain the access required to perform team research.

There are a number of ongoing issues of concern to the US side of the Joint Commission. These deal primarily with servicemen, whose names have either appeared in Russian archival documents, in documents generated by the wartime US Military Mission to Moscow, in various

publications, or are among the 87 on "The 207 List" that we have not yet resolved. From our Russian colleagues, we have requested information or documents relating to a number of cases. We will continue to pursue these requests. As other names or issues arise, they will be addressed through Commission channels.

## ***APPENDIX I: ROLES, MISSIONS, AND DEFINITIONS***

Definitions[73]

MIA ("Missing in action"): Essentially an "unknown" status given to personnel whose whereabouts or actual fate could not be determined and whose disappearance was presumed to be the result of enemy action. Most cases originally reported MIA later were transferred to killed in action, wounded and injured in action, or captured (POW) and interned, as established by subsequent information. The remainder of those initially MIA later had their casualty status changed to declared dead, died of other causes (non-battle), or returned to duty.

POW ("Prisoner of war"): All military personnel who fell into enemy hands and were detained as prisoners of war; all prisoners who remained in detention, who were on the strength roll of overrun or recovered POW camps, and those who otherwise were not deemed "escapers."

RAMP ("Recovered Allied military personnel"): A term that applied to all members of the United Nations who, having been captured and made prisoners of war, were released from the custody of the enemy and came again into the midst of their own or friendly forces.

RMC ("Returned to military control"): The status that "RAMPs" acquired after they actually came into custody of friendly forces.

Repatriation: Those procedures which effected the return of Allied personnel, military or civilian, to the custody of authorities of the individual's own country.

Roles & missions

POW Information Bureau (PWIB), Provost Marshal General's Office, War Department: Established 29 December 1941, to handle all information concerning American POWs and civilian internees held by the enemy. It coordinated information flow between all elements of the military establishment, the overseas theater of operations headquarters, the State Department, the International Red Cross, and the neutral protecting powers.

[73] The definitions, by and large, came from information in ETO SOP No. 58, 3 April 1945, ETO MIS-X Decimal Correspondence, "388-Post Hostilities Planning," box 11, RG 332, NA.

US Military Mission to Moscow (USMMM): Established 18 October 1943, under Major General John R. Deane to serve as a means of liaison and a channel of communication between Soviet and US military forces. Among other duties, the mission represented the US Joint Chiefs of Staff with regard to policy and strategic issues, assisted in coordination of deliveries of American military aid to the Soviets, and served as the principal US means to coordinate POW repatriation with the Soviets.

Soviet Repatriation Commission (ColGen. Filipp Ivanovich Golikov): The Soviet General Staff entity with which the US Military Mission worked on POW issues.

PWX G-1 SHAEF (Prisoner of War Executive Branch, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Personnel, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force): The staff agency charged with the coordination of plans and supervision of implementation of the recovery of US, British Commonwealth, and other Allied POWs located in Greater Germany and the SHAEF sphere. PWX also was responsible for collecting information pertaining to location, population, and status of POW camps, as well as to information on movements of the POW population. PWX personnel staffed the detachments, contact teams, and served as liaison officers with the field forces under SHAEF control and in the Soviet zone.

RAMP Division, Theater Provost Marshal, European Theater of Operations: On 19 December 1944, the ETO commander charged the Theater Provost Marshal with overall supervision of all activities concerning the care, processing, and evacuation of "recovered allied military personnel" (recently liberated American POWs) "from the time of their entry into the Communications Zone until their evacuation homeward." The field operational units, who actually liberated the POWs or received them from Soviet and other Allied units, transferred them to the ETO authorities who carried out administrative, medical, and intelligence processing, and provided transportation to the United States.

"Protecting power": As neutrals in the war between the Axis and Allies, the Swiss and Swedish governments served as channels of communications between the belligerent powers. They also sent observers to both German and Allied POW camps to assure compliance with the Geneva convention regarding treatment of prisoners.

## ***APPENDIX II: MACHINE-READABLE DATABASE OF POWS RETURNED TO MILITARY CONTROL***

During World War II, the Prisoner of War Information Bureau (PWIB), Office of the Provost Marshal General, compiled data on individual American prisoners of war from information furnished by the Red Cross, the neutral "protecting powers," and other sources. The PWIB created an IBM punch card for each POW as a mechanism for centralizing and controlling this information. Data entered on the cards included: POW name, rank, service number, arm or branch, dates of report (not necessarily dates of capture and release), race, state of residence, POW camp, and detaining power. Complete data were frequently not available for each POW, especially "latest report date" and camp location. The POW camp location apparently pertained to the first permanent camp at which the prisoner was detained; some POWs, however, never were in a permanent camp, but were assigned to itinerant agricultural, industrial, and other labor details. In addition, the "latest report date" sometimes reflected the date a file was closed, not the date the POW actually "returned to military control."

In 1950 the Army loaned the punch cards and other PWIB records to the Foreign Claims Commission. The records were returned to the Office of the Provost Marshal General in November 1957, at which time they were transferred to the Departmental Records Branch of The Adjutant General's Office. The DRB and its records became part of the National Archives in 1968. In the late 1970s the Veterans Administration borrowed two series of the IBM cards relating to repatriated American POWs and read them to computer magnetic tape in order to analyze the records for its report POW: Study of Former Prisoners of War.[74] The VA offered the National Archives a copy of the electronic datasets they had produced. These data sets are now preserved by the Center for Electronic Records of the National Archives.

There are 85,541 records in the European theater dataset and 19,202 records in the Pacific theater dataset. These datasets are a significant research tool for studying segments of the POW population and as a source of information on individual prisoners. But they have limitations and problems and must

[74] Office of Planning and Program Evaluation, Veterans Administration, POW: Study of Former Prisoners of War, May 1980, pp. 17-18.

be used with caution. There are eleven subseries of the IBM cards, including such categories as "deceased American POWs (Germany)," "American escapees (never POWs-Germany)," and "neutral internees." Because it only was interested in ex-POWs likely still to be alive, the VA only converted two of the eleven subseries to electronic form- "American POWs Returned to Military Control by the Japanese" and "American POWs Returned to Military Control by the Germans."

A review of the alphabetical listing by surname of the records of the repatriated POWs indicates that in the dataset for the European Theater some records are missing. Although the appropriate IBM cards exist, only a small portion of the cards were transferred to electronic form for personnel whose surnames begin with the letters "V" through "Z."[75]

In July 1988 the Center for Electronic Records of the National Archives further enhanced the value of this file when it made an electronic sort by the data element "place of detention," which generally corresponds to POW camp, for those records in the subseries "American POWs Released to Military Control by the Germans." The resulting printout includes lists of names of Americans the PWIB confirmed had returned from a particular German POW camp. But the camp for each individual POW is likely the first permanent camp he was in, not necessarily the camp from which he was liberated (particularly in light of the camp evacuations of January-April 1945). Additionally, the largest single segment contains 13,157 names for which there is no camp information on the IBM cards. Other records have garbled data for the machine readable "camp code." Finally, this sort by camp includes only the 85,541 names the VA scanning project read from the IBM cards in the late 1970s; again, surnames beginning "V" to "Z" are almost totally omitted.[76]

The printout sorted by POW camp, consequently, does not include names of all American prisoners known to have returned from a particular camp. The numbers indicated as "returned to military control" from a particular camp in fact underrepresent the actual number from that camp. Nonetheless, the list

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[75] Ben DeWhitt and Jennifer Davis Heaps, Records Relating to Personal Participation in World War II: American Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees: Reference Information Paper 80 (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), pp. 6-8.

can serve as an useful tool to confirm whether a specific individual returned from a particular camp and can provide some indication of the general number returned from a camp. If a name is on the list, the POW returned. If a name does not appear on the list, there is still the possibility the POW returned, but that the data relating to him was among that garbled or among that which lacked a “camp code”.

[76] Memo by Margaret Adams, NNSR, 7 July 1988, "A Guide to Reading Printout: US Military POWs, World War II, Europe, " in Volume I of the three volume printout: Military Reference Section, National Archives.

## ***APPENDIX III: WHAT'S IN A NAME?***

One of the most perplexing problems that has complicated the search for U.S. servicemen who might have been in the hands of the Soviet Army at the end of World War II is the spelling and transliteration of names. Russian names are usually rendered in the following order: first name, patronymic - which is a variation on the individual's father's name, and last name. The gender of a person is usually apparent by the spelling of his or her name. For instance, last names that end in "ov" or "sky" are always men. Likewise, last names that end in "a", "ova", or "skaya" are always female.

All Russians have patronymics. These names are formed from the name of his or her father's first name. The American idea of middle names is virtually unknown in Russia. A person whose father was named "Ivan" (the equivalent of John) would have a patronymic of "Ivanovich" or "Ivanovna" depending on their gender. We have seen American names rendered in Russian with middle names in the patronymic form.

On the other hand, there is no such thing as an "American" name. The United States is the great melting pot with a population made up of immigrants from every country on the Earth. The same is true of the population that comprised the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II. There were many soldiers of eastern European and Germanic ethnicity that served in the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II. We have seen documents containing German sounding names that are purported to be German soldiers, but who could possibly be American.

American names rendered into Russian are another problem. Russian is a phonetic language while English is not. A good example to illustrate this point is an ongoing issue that we are examining. The historical data connected to this person is accurate and not something that is common knowledge. The information came from a witness who had to have lived in a particular area and had intimate knowledge of that area.

This case involves an individual, possibly American, by the name of Rom (as transliterated from the Cyrillic). All records have been searched and this name cannot be found. Since Russian is a phonetic language, Rom is just the way it sounds. How else could the sound Rom be spelled in English? We

have searched for names spelled Rom, Rome, Rhom, Rhome, Rhoem, Rohem, Romey and so forth. All with negative results. We think there is merit in this case, but are unable to find a likely candidate.

When a Russian hears a name, all he can do is spell the sounds that he hears. There are sounds in the English language for which there is no equivalent in Russian. For instance the letter H. The closest sound to H would be transliterated as a Kh. This Harry becomes Kharry. In actuality the transliteration for the way a Russian would spell Harry would come out as Khari.

The same is true with the English letter J. To spell the name John, the transliteration of the Russian would come out as Dzhon. When common names such as Harry and John appear in the Russian language, it is usually quite evident what the name referred to is. The same is not true for last names which are generally much more unique. There are some particularly egregious examples of this.

| In transliterated Russian | Actual English spelling |
|---|---|
| Khaber Vinter Khuber | Hubert Winter |
| Fred Beney | Frederick A. Lang |
| Les Hake Denton aka Prad Lesli Denton | Leslie C. Denton |

Sometimes the names of American servicemen are translated into Russian. These were names that had an equivalent in the Russian language. Some of these names are:

| Russian | English |
|---|---|
| Ivan | John |
| Pavel | Paul |
| Feodor | Frederick |

Sometimes a Russian who was aware of these equivalents would translate an English name into Russian. This further exacerbates our difficulties.

## ***APPENDIX IV: SOVIET CITIZENS IN CUSTODY OF THE WESTERN ALLIES AFTER WWII***

There is considerable information, in published and documentary sources, about Soviet displaced persons (DPs) and refugees following World War II. The sources, however, often do not agree and in fact are contradictory with respect to numbers of DPs and refugees. The difficulty is one of precise accounting and even definition. Determining nationality was often a matter of self-identification; for political and other reasons, DPs would routinely provide misleading information regarding their nationality. In addition, both the numbers and the definitions changed over time. In some totals, for example, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were included as Soviet citizens, yet in other accountings they were separate categories. As one result, the number of Soviet DPs repatriated by the Western Allies at end of 1945 had exceeded by many thousands the number thought to exist on VE Day in areas liberated by the British, French, and Americans.

1. The estimates on specific categories of Soviet refugees and DPs include:
2. Number on VE Day in areas liberated by the Western Allies: 2.3 million (includes 156,000 Balts)
3. Repatriated to the USSR between May and December 1945: 2 million
4. Nonreturners: 529,000 (includes 220,000 Balts)
5. Admitted to the United States between 1946 and 1959: 120,169 (includes 76,341 Balts)

In the course of the work of the Joint Commission, we have furnished to our Russian colleagues copies of several thousand pages of archival documents, most from the records of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), which relate to the numbers, identification, administration, and processing of Soviet displaced persons by the Western Allies. The sources indicated provide specific information regarding these several topics:

<u>Estimated number of Soviets in areas liberated by the Western Allies on VE Day</u>

1. File 2912/1, SHAEF G-5, Record Group 331, National Archives
2. WDCSA 319.1 UNRRA, 1945-6, Sec. I, Record Group 165, National Archives

3. WDCSA 383.7 Reports, 1945-6, Sec. I, Record Group 165, National Archives

Estimated number of DPs and refugees assisted by SHAEF and UNRRA during 1945 and 1946

1. George Woodbridge, UNRRA: History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Vol. III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 423
2. 80th Congress, 2nd Session, Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Report 950, Displaced Persons in Europe (Washington: GPO, 1948), pp. 12-13
3. File 2912/1, SHAEF G-5, Record Group 331, National Archives
4. WDCSA 319.1 UNRRA, 1945-6, Sec. I, Record Group 165, National Archives
5. WDCSA 383.7 Reports, 1945-6, Sec. I, Record Group 165, National Archives
6. WDCSA 383.7, 1945-6, Sec. IV, Record Group 165, National Archives

Estimated number of DPs by nationality repatriated by SHAEF and UNRRA from areas liberated by the Western Allies

1. 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Committee on the Judiciary, House Report 1507, Displaced Persons in Europe and Their Resettlement in the United States (Washington: GPO, 1950), pp. 22-30
2. Senate Report 950, Displaced Persons in Europe, pp. 23-24

Estimated number of former Soviet citizens who did not return to the USSR following WWII

1. Mark R. Elliott, Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in Their Repatriation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 174-75
2. George Fischer, Soviet Opposition to Stalin: A Case Study in World War II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 108-13
3. Elliott summary of information in selected publications
4. House Report 1507, Displaced Persons in Europe and Their Resettlement in the United States, p. 30

Immigrants, DPs, and refugees by nationality admitted to the United States from 1946 to 1959

1. Letter No. 1448 from RADM Maples to LT GEN Golubev, dated 2 October 1945
2. "Immigration by Country of Origin;" excerpts from Statistical Abstract of the United States
3. DPs and refugees admitted to the United States; US Immigration and Naturalization Service statistical breakdown of those admitted by nationality and specific authorities

Other sources of information

1. House Report 1507, Displaced Persons in Europe, pp. 47-48; describes the efforts of the International Tracing Service
2. Earl Ziemke, The US Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-46 (Washington, US Army Center of Military History, 1975), an official account of the US Army's efforts to assist, repatriate, or otherwise resettle POWs, DPs, and refugees
3. Woodbridge, UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Vol. II; the official UNRRA account of its work in Europe

## ***APPENDIX V: DECEASED US SERVICEMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION***

A handful of US Army and Navy servicemen, as well as US Merchant Mariners were known to have been buried in the Soviet Union during the World War II era. These men died as a result of either combat action, accident, or suicide and can be placed into several distinct categories:

1. US Merchant seamen (Serial numbers either begin with a "Z" or "Bk. No.").
2. US Army Air Corps buried in the Soviet Far East.
3. US Army Air Corps buried at Poltava.
4. US servicemen buried at Odessa.

Presently, a total of 33 individuals have been identified that fit this criteria.

In 1949, the U.S. Government contracted with the Soviet Government to pay 204,000 Rubles to recover and repatriate the remains of 24 American servicemen buried in the Soviet Union. The Soviets returned 15 bodies in 1950 and said that they could not find the rest. The complete list of names corresponding to these 15 specific sets of remains repatriated in 1950 have not been found at this time.

In 1950, the U.S. Government paid the Soviets an additional 4,000 Rubles to search for the remaining nine bodies. After several months had passed, the Soviets reported no success in locating them. This search took place in the midst of the Cold War, and no Americans were permitted on the search team.

## ***APPENDIX VI: LIST OF KNOWN US ARMY, NAVY, AND MERCHANT MARINERS BURIED IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, PERTINENT INFORMATION, AND DISPOSITION***[77]

**Bold** indicates that the body was not recovered.

| Name | Rank | Serial Number | Original Burial Location |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. ALLEN, Keith N. | LTC | O-303121 | American-English Cemetery,Murmansk,USSR |
| Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Philadelphia National Cemetery, Pennsylvania | | | |
| 2. **BETANCOURT, Juan** | Fireman | Bk. No.109 177 | Archangel, USSR |
| Remains still unrecovered. Fireman aboard the SS Exford. According to a document in his 293 file dated 26 October 1942, he committed suicide by jumping overboard with a weight tied around his neck on 23 October 1942. A message was sent to Task Force Russia on 31 December 1992 directing them to ask Russian Officials to conduct another search for his grave. No response received. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Archangel area with no success. | | | |

[77]RG 92 Entry 1892, Boxes 484-486, Office of the Quartermaster General Correspondence Geographic File, 1946-1948, Russia. TFR 133-21. **NOTE:** TFR in document citations stands for Task Force Russia document. In the earliest days of the Commission's existence, the TFR numbering system was adopted to account for all Russian language documents that were received. These documents came from the Russian side of the Joint Commission, newspaper articles, or letters from private citizens. They were assigned a one up TFR number based on the order that they were received. Each page within a batch of documents then received a one up number. Thus, the first page of the first batch of documents received the number "TFR 1-1". Most of the Russian language documents received did not have archival citations attached. This has complicated our work to some degree. TFR batches 1-67 inclusive are available in the public record through the National Archives or Library of Congress. All other TFR numbers are still under control of the Defense POW/MIA Office.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | COLLINS, Edward A. | GM3c | 7111492 | Murmansk, USSR |
| | Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in New York. | | | |
| 4. | **DAILEY, Domingo** | Messman | Z384506 | American-English Cemetery, Murmansk,USSR |
| | Remains still not recovered. Did not die during WWII, but later in December 1945 when his ship, the SS William H. Webb ran aground near Murmansk. His body was recovered and buried in Murmansk. Subsequent efforts to retrieve his remains were unsuccessful as they could not be found by Soviet authorities. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Murmansk area with no success. | | | |
| 5. | DENTON, Leslie C., Jr. | Cpl | 34607983 | Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR |
| | Remains repatriated and buried in South Carolina. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[78] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula. | | | |
| 6. | EISER, J. Nathan | Capt | O-724028 | Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR |
| | Remains repatriated and buried in Ohio. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[79] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula. | | | |

[78]TFR 19-118
[79]TFR 19-118

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | ERNSER, Roland R. | S/Sgt | 16046137 | Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR |
| | Remains repatriated and buried in Wisconsin. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[80] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula. | | | |
| 8. | ESTLE, Raymond C. | 1LT | O-753279 | U.S. Cemetery, Novi Senzhari, near Poltava[81] |
| | Died on 22 June 1944 as a result of German bombing raid on Poltava airfield and buried on 25 June 1944[82]. Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Fort McPherson National Cemetery, Nebraska. | | | |
| 9. | **GESTIDO, Jose** | Fireman | Z16402 | Archangel, USSR |
| | Remains still unrecovered. According to his 293 file, he was a fireman aboard the SS Hollywood and died of "tuberculosis [of the] left lung, degenerate heart and liver" and was buried in a local cemetery. A message was sent to Task Force Russia on 31 December 1992 directing them to ask Russian Officials to conduct another search for his grave. No response received. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Archangel area with no success. | | | |

[80]TFR 19-118

[81]Poltava served as a shuttle base for US heavy bombers under Operation FRANTIC. On 21 June 1944, 73 US B-17s that had landed earlier at Poltava were attacked by 75 German bombers. 47 US heavy bombers were destroyed and most of the remainder were damaged.

[82]TFR 133-2

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10. GLODEK, Matthew M. | Sgt | 42020135 | Petropavlovsk area |
| Remains repatriated and buried in New York. Deceased crew member of an Army bomber that landed in the Soviet Union on 10 June 1945. Sergeant Glodek was wounded by Japanese gunfire and died shortly after his airplane landed in the Soviet Union. Remains shipped from the Soviet Union for repatriation on 12 July 1947.[83] | | | |
| 11. **HALL, Edward, Jr.** | Oiler | Z11561 | Archangel, USSR |
| Remains still unrecovered. According to his 293 file, he was aboard the SS Washington when it was torpedoed in early 1942. He survived the sinking of his ship and managed to make it to Archangel where he died in Hospital #191 on 20 July 1942 of acute Myeloi Leukemia and gastric hemorrhages. He was buried in a local cemetery with appropriate ceremonies. A message was sent to Task Force Russia on 31 December 1992 directing them to ask Russian Officials to conduct another search for his grave. No response received. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Archangel area with no success. | | | |
| 12. HEINDEL, George J. | Ch. Engineer | Z27455 | American-English Cemetery, Murmansk, USSR |
| Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in California. | | | |
| 13. HENDRICKSEN, Jacob | Ch. Engineer | Z215668 | Foreign Cemetery, Archangel, USSR |
| Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium. | | | |

[83]TFR 2-130 to 2-142, Documents dated July and October 1947, on the repatriation of Ring, Glodek, and Wutchic.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14. IRVING, Edward J. | Capt | O-396038 | Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR |
| Remains repatriated and buried in Virginia. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[84] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula. | | | |
| 15. HIBBARD, Paul R. | 1LT | O-758565 | U.S. Cemetery, Novi Senzhari, near Poltava |
| Died on 18 September 1944 from enemy action while on a B-17 combat mission and buried on 20 September 1944.[85] Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium. | | | |
| 16. JOHANNSON, Eric A. | Bosun | Z137504 | Small Island, NW of Molotovsk, USSR |
| Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Ardennes, Belgium. | | | |
| 17. KERCHNER, Richard G. | PFC | 6947136 | U.S. Cemetery, Novi Senzhari, near Poltava |
| Committed suicide on 6 October 1944 and buried on 9 October 1944.[86] Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Pennsylvania. | | | |
| 18. LANG, Frederick A. | S/Sgt | 34275916 | Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR |
| Remains repatriated and buried in Mississippi. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific | | | |

[84]TFR 19-118
[85]TFR 133-2
[86]TFR 133-2

Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[87] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula.

19. LARSEN, Richard C. Ch. Officer Bk. No. 105458 Second Christian Cemetery, Odessa, USSR

Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried at Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium.

20. LORD, Orvil H. 2LT O-784739 Cape Lopatka, Kamchatka, USSR

Remains repatriated and buried in Labrador, Canada. Aircrew member of B-25 No. 44-29148 that was shot down by a battery of the Pacific Ocean Fleet on 9 June 1945[88] north of Cape Lopatka on the Kamchatka Peninsula.

21. LUKACEK, Joseph G. F/O T-61544 U.S. Cemetery, Novi Senzhari, near Poltava

Died on 1 July 44 as a result of German bombing raid on Poltava airfield and buried on 2 July 1944[89]. Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Beverly National Cemetery, New Jersey.

22. **NEIGHBOURS, Fleet B.** Steward Z112406 Archangel, USSR

Remains still unrecovered. Second cook aboard the SS Alcoa Ranger when it was torpedoed on 7 July 1942. He survived the sinking and managed to make it to Archangel were he died on 16 August 1942 of Arterial Sclerosis.[90] A message was sent to Task Force Russia on 31 December 1992 directing them to ask Russian Officials to conduct another search for his grave. No response received. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Archangel area with no success.

[87]TFR 19-118
[88]TFR 19-118
[89]TFR 133-2

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23. **NIES, Walter** | S/Sgt | 37307545 | Heydekrug, POW Camp 6, East Prussia |

Remains still unrecovered. Heydekrug is located in contemporary Lithuania. According to his 293 file, he was a member of the 96th Bomb Squadron, 2nd Bomb Group and was shot by a guard on 28 May 1944. Buried in grave 3. Requests have been made of Lithuanian officials for any information they may have regarding his burial location.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24. RING, Thomas E. | T/Sgt | 14073557 | Petropavlovsk area |

Remains repatriated and buried in North Carolina. Deceased crew member of an Army bomber that landed in the Soviet Far East on 12 August 1943. Remains shipped from the Soviet Union for repatriation on 12 July 1947.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 25. **ROBINSON, Roy A.** | S1c | 6110637 | City Cemetery, Murmansk, USSR |

Remains still unrecovered. Killed in action on 27 February 1943 in Murmansk harbor when his ship, the SS Eli Oriente, was attacked by German planes. He was buried in the Murmansk City Cemetery in a lot reserved for foreigners. The grave was unnumbered but marked with a cross. On 29 February 1952, the U.S. Government declared his remains as non-recoverable. Task Force Russia personnel have searched cemeteries in the Murmansk area with no success.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26. ROLAND, Donald R. | Lt (jg) | 175115 | British Plot, Koosnechefskoye Cemetery, Archangel |

Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 27. SIMPSON, Donald C. | Sgt | 38412844 | U.S. Cemetery, Novi Senzhari, near Poltava |

Died on 6 August 1944 from enemy action while on a B-17 combat mission and buried on 8 August 1944. Remains repatriated on 29 December 1950 and buried in Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium.

28. TEAFF, William F. T/Sgt 35586750 Heydekrug, POW Camp 6, East Prussia

Remains still unrecovered. Heydekrug is located in contemporary Lithuania. According to his 293 file, he was a member of the 351st Bomb Squadron, 100th Bomb Group and died of an unspecified illness on 10 July 1944 and was buried in grave 4. Requests have been made of Lithuanian officials for any information they may have regarding his burial location.

29. TIMMERMAN, Lyle E. Cpl 12138246 Second Christian Cemetery, Odessa, USSR

Died on 19 March 1945 at Transit Camp 139 in Odessa while awaiting repatriation when a brick wall collapsed on him[91]. Remains repatriated and buried in Canajoharie, New York.

30. **WALKER, George B.** S/Sgt 34147240 Heydekrug, POW Camp Stalag Luft 6, East Prussia

Remains still unrecovered. Heydekrug is located in contemporary Lithuania. According to his 293 file, he was assigned to the 369th Bomb Squadron, 106th Bomb Group and incarcerated in Stalag Luft 6. He was shot while attempting to escape on 29 April 1944 and buried in Grave 2. Requests have been made of Lithuanian officials for any information they may have regarding his burial location.

31. WALRAVEN, Eugene Unk Z259143 Unknown[92]

Remains repatriated and buried in Neuville-en-Condroz Permanent Cemetery, Belgium.

[91]TFR 336-20
[92]TFR 133-21

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 32. WUTCHIC, Paul W. | Sgt | 13111686 | Petropavlovsk area |
| Remains repatriated and buried in Golden Gate National Cemetery, San Bruno, California. Deceased crew member of an Army bomber that landed in the Soviet Union on 11 May 1945. Remains shipped from the Soviet Union for repatriation on 12 July 1947. | | | |
| 33. YATES, Ted | Sgt | 38148940 | Second Christian Cemetery, Odessa, USSR |
| Died on 19 March 1945 at Transit Camp 139 in Odessa while awaiting repatriation when a brick wall collapsed on him[93]. Remains repatriated and buried in Rocky Ford, Colorado. | | | |

[93]TFR 336-20

## ***APPENDIX VII: THE SANDERS LIST***

Several authors and researchers have alleged that the Soviet Union recovered thousands of American and Allied prisoners of war from German POW camps in Eastern Europe and consigned up to 23,000 of the Americans, and hundreds of thousands of the Allies, to the GULAG. One of the foremost among these authors is Mr. James D. Sanders.

Mr. Sanders is sincere in his concern for missing US servicemen, has done important research on the issue, and has been helpful in bringing several POW/MIA issues to our attention. But he lacks the assets available to the Defense POW/MIA Office (DPMO) and has not always been able to pursue thoroughly an issue to its logical conclusion.

In July 1995, Mr. Sanders provided to DPMO a list of 162 US POWs from Stalag Luft I (Barth). He derived the names from US-generated camp rosters which he had checked against names in Veteran's Administration files of repatriated soldiers. It was Mr. Sander's supposition that the names making up his list were of POWs never repatriated from Stalag Luft I after it was liberated by the Red Army on 2 May 1945.

Mr. Sanders' list contained names, ranks, and full or partial serial numbers. The Joint Commission Support Directorate arranged with the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis to locate any information about the 162 men on the list. The results were conclusive and contradicted Mr. Sanders' original contention.

Of the 162 names on the list, information was available on 142. All 142 were repatriated. Information was even available on some individuals who completed a career in the armed forces and was dated as late as the 1960's. There were only 20 names on the list for which there was no available information.

We discovered numerous errors on the original camp rosters, including misspellings, incorrect initials, or erroneous service numbers; not surprising considering the circumstances of the time. The attached table clearly illustrates these problems.

In 1973 a fire destroyed about 80-85% of the World War II-era Army/Army Air Forces records maintained at the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri. It is likely that the records of the 20 individuals for whom there was no information available were destroyed in that fire.

Discrepancies in the Sanders' List

**Bold** indicates a discrepancy between the Sanders' List and research conducted by JCSD.

Dates provided by the National Personnel Records Center were in a MMDDYY format and the dates from the Provost Marshal's POW Roster were in a DDMMYY format these formats were maintained in their original format.

Following the date in the column marked date the letter "R" denotes the repatriation date of the individual; the letter "D" denotes the individual's date of discharge.

| Actual Name | Name in Sanders' List | Actual Serial # | Serial # in Sanders' List | Rank | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abel, Charles F. | Abel, C.**E.** | O-830689 | O-8**2**0689 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Adler, Clifford W. | Adler, **W.C.** | O-886220 | O-886220 | 1LT | 11 05 45R[2] |
| Allen, John L. | Allen, J.L. | O-756143 | O-756143 | 1LT | 01 03 45R[2] |
| Anderson, Alton D. | Anderson, A.D. | O-799220 | O-799220 | 1LT | 01 03 45R[2] |
| Anderson, Marvin D. | Anderson, M.D. | O-741824 | O-741824 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Anderson, Ralph M. | Anderson, R.M. | T-002882 | T-**2882** | F/O | 01 04 45R[2] |
| Apostolos, John | Apostolos, J. | O-751868 | O-751868 | 2LT | 18 05 45R[2] |
| Armstrong, John E. | Armstrong, J.E. | O-752041 | O-752041 | 2LT | 16 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Ashbridge, J.B. | | O-5?2306 | 2LT | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not found | Auemuth, L.M. | | O-524542 | 2LT | |
| Ball, Howard George | Ball, **R.G.** | O-734297 | O-734297 | 1LT | 09 30 64D[1] |
| Ball, William F. Jr. | Ball, **W.E.** | O-1296624 | O-1296624 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Ballard, Jerome J. | Ballard, J.J. | O-822609 | O-822609 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Barton, Donald W. | Barton, D.W. | O-747565 | O-747565 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Basye, Paul E. | Bayse, P.E. | O-2061125 | O-2061125 | 2LT | 10 02 45R[2] |
| Not found | Bennett, L. | | O-225891 | CPT | |
| Berman, Marvin A. | Berman, M.A. | O-832994 | O-832994 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Brazdons, Donald L. | Bra**t**dzons, D.L. | O-711326 | O-711326 | 1LT | 11 30 45D[1] |
| Brown, Cleve M. Jr. | Brown, C.M. | O-661184 | O-661184 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Boyce, Marvin S. | Boyce, M.S. | O-759563 | O-759563 | 2LT | 10 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Bush, C. | | T-155?? | F/O | |
| Cammer, Robert A. | Cammer, R.A. | O-708648 | O-708648 | 2LT | 01 04 47D[1] |
| Carlson, John K. | Carlson, J.K. | O-1995936 | O-1995936 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Carlson, John M. | Carlson, J.M. | O-674463 | O-674463 | 2LT | 02 05 45R[2] |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cselton, William J. | Caselton, W.J. | T-132852 | T-132852 | F/O | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Clarke, Keylon W. | Clarke, K.W. | O-821961 | O-821961 | 2LT | 12 11 45D[1] |
| Connolly, Joseph F. | Conn**e**lly, J.F. | O-739544 | O-739544 | 2LT | 09 22 45D[1] |
| Not found | Conners, E.B. | | O-698266 | 2LT | |
| Not found | Czarota, L.C. | | 0-697194 | 2LT | |
| Day, Burchard | Day, **M.B.** | O-809550 | O-809550 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Decker, Richard P. | Decker, R.P. | O-815661 | O-815661 | 1LT | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Delgado, Genaro | Delgado, G. | O-781243 | O-781243 | 1LT | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Dwyer, Martin Jr. | Dwyer, **M.** | O-833057 | O-833057 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Dykes, H.N. | | O-682082 | 2LT | |
| Eastman, Phillips Jr. | Eastman, **P.** | O-026082 | O-**26082** | 1LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Fiack, John F. | **Flack, J.F.** | O-743231 | O-743231 | 2LT | 04 11 53RD[1] |
| Fielschmidt, Hugo | **Fieldswick, H.** | O-352331 | O-352331 | CPT | 01 23 46D[1] |
| Flotron, Paul J. | **Fletrom, P.J.** | O-778453 | O-778453 | 2LT | 01 22 46D[1] |
| Frederick, Jack L. | Frederick, J.L. | O-758329 | O-75**6**329 | 2LT | 09 05 45R |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fyler, Carl J. | Fyler, C.J. | O-730443 | O-730443 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Garner, Dorance | Garner, D. | O-696763 | O-696763 | 2LT | 12 05 45R[2] |
| Gesicki, Leon J. | Gesicki, L.**T**. | O-2065978 | O-20**71827** | 1LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Goodson, Ray M. | Goodson, **B.**M. | O-776535 | O-776535 | 2LT | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Gose, Thomas A. Jr. | **Goss**, T.A. | O-684314 | O-684314 | 2LT | 11 30 45D[1] |
| Gould, Cornelius P. Jr. | Gould, **E.**P. Jr. | O-1692875 | O-1692875 | 2LT | 14 05 45R[2] |
| Gower, Richard L. | Gower, R.L. | O-803603 | O-803603 | 1LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Greenberg, Henry | Greenberg, **M.** | O-723065 | O-72306**3** | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Gregory, Homer | Gregory, **M.** | O-709353 | O-709353 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Hamilton, Howard B. | Hamilton, **R.**B. | O-731372 | O-731372 | 2LT | 15 05 45R[2] |
| Hanzl, Joseph E. | Hanz**e**l, J.E. | 35307207 | **O-753702** | **2LT** SSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Hardstedt, Harold F. | **Halstedt,** H.F. | O-1998571 | O-1998571 | 2LT | 01 18 61D[1] |
| Jaynes, Jay | Jaynes, J. | O-024813 | **O-24813** | CPT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Middleton, Cecil J. | Middleton, Cecil J. | O-740869 | O-740869 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Paes, I.M. | | O-392?? | | 1LT | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sabol, Emil M. | Sabol, E.M. | T-005249 | **T-5249** | F/O | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Santomango, Anthony | Santomango, **F.** | T-121810 | **T-1218** | F/O | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Schold, George B. Jr. | Schold, **S.**B. | O-862601 | O-862601 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Schuerman, Arthur M. | Schuerman, A.M. | T-134244 | T-134244 | F/O | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Schwikert, John W. | Schwikert, J.W. | O-834033 | O-834033 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Shumake, Glynn F. | Shumake, G.F. | O-431050 | O-431050 | MAJ | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Simonton, W.M. | Sim**m**onton, W.M. | O-829324 | O-829324 | 2LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Sluga, E.L. | Slug**z**, E.L. | O-409366 | O-409366 | LTC | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Smith, John S. | Smith, J.S. | T-131325 | T-131325 | F/O | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Suprenant, Charles E. | Suprenant, Charles E. | O-796911 | O-796911 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Swain, Roger L. Jr. | Swain, **R.L.** | O-399581 | O-399581 | CPT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Swiger, William F. | Swiger, W.F. | O-701018 | O-701018 | 1LT | 11 29 45D[1] |
| Thomas, William H. | Thomas, W.H. | O-751490 | O-751490 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Thompson, John J. | Thompson, J.J. | O-781710 | O-781710 | 2LT | 01 05 45R |
| Todd, Wilson P. | Todd, W.P. | O-430638 | O-430638 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vogler, George L. | Vogler, G.L. | O-755798 | O-755798 | 1LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Vokaty, Alfred E. | Vokaty, A.E. | O-803717 | O-803717 | 1LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Volet, Leonard | Volet, L. | O-807083 | O-807083 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Voorhies, James W. | Voorhies, J.W. | O-717308 | O-717308 | 2LT | 08 05 45R[2] |
| Voska, Gerald H. | Voska, G.H. | O-747112 | O-747112 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Watters, Ronald A. | **Waters,** R.A. | O-683218 | O-683218 | 2LT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Wilson, William W. | Wilson, W.W. | O-825353 | O-825353 | 1LT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Winslow, Edward P. | Winslow, E.P. | O-730834 | O-730834 | 2LT | 08 05 45R[2] |
| Wyand, Joseph L. | **Wyland,** J.L. | O-761490 | O-761490 | 2LT | 02 05 45R[2] |
| **Enlisted Pesonnel** | | | | | |
| Agius, Vincent J. | **Aguis,** V.J. | 36119990 | 36119990 | SSG | 11 15 45D[1] |
| Alexander, James W. | Alexander, James W. | 33342767 | 33342767 | SSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Attamaz, Walter L. | | 2080649 | SGT | |
| Basiden, Forse | **Barsden,** F. | 15394358 | 15394358 | TSG | 05 29 53RD[1] |
| Beltmann, Clarence | **Belemann,** C. | 16048737 | 16048737 | SGT | 10 17 45D[1] |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not found | Bertelio, P.J. | | 38538009 | SSG | |
| Bess, Oliver E. | Bess, O.E. | 34529855 | **32392516** | T/4 | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Binagia, Dominic | **Binagi**, D. | 18191495 | 18191495 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Bishop, G.R. | | 170069094 | SGT | |
| Not found | Black, J. | | 1853504 | SGT | |
| Not found | Bordon, R. | | 39098725 | SSG | |
| Not found | Bordon, R.B. | | 6978816 | SSG | |
| Brininstool, Forrest W. | **Brinstool,** F.W. | 36459119 | 36459119 | SSG | 11 19 45D[1] |
| Brod, Irving S. | **Brodi, S.** | 19177385 | 19177385 | SSG | 10 29 45D[1] |
| Bujalski, Edwin | **Buvalski, H.** | 16149889 | 16149889 | SSG | 10 17 45D[1] |
| Caporali, Joseph | **Caparali,** J. | 16082792 | 16082792 | SSG | 09 26 45D[1] |
| Clay, Charles R. | Clay, C.R. | 19165159 | 19165159 | SSG | 09 05 45R[2] |
| Collins, Benjamin | Collins, **R.** | 13044457 | 13044457 | PVT | 10 21 45D[1] |
| Comps, William D. | **Coombs,** W.D. | 35558929 | 35558929 | SSG | 10 10 45D[1] |
| Corrieri, Leo | Corrieri, L. | 36345131 | 36345131 | PFC | 10 19 45D[1] |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Craver, Luther S. | Craver, L.S. | 34598092 | 34598092 | SSG | 12 05 45R[2] |
| Cronin, Eugene R. | Cronin, E.R. | 37535683 | 3753683 | SSG | 03 05 45R[2] |
| Donahue, William C. | **Donohue,** W.C. | 32778056 | 32778056 | SGT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Dolan, John S. | Dolan, J.**I.** | 12220945 | 12220945 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Eickemeyer, Harry H. | **Eichemeyer, W.N.** | 37454581 | 37454581 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Ernharth, John F. Jr. | **Erhart, J.F.** | 33264689 | 33264689 | TSG | 10 09 45D[1] |
| Evans, Jack C. | Evans, J.C. | 18192565 | 18192565 | TSG | 10 05 45R[2] |
| Evert, Herman G. | Evert, H.G. | 35281681 | 35281681 | CPL | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Feltus, Edward H. | Feltus, E.H. | 42008001 | 42008001 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Fieden, Nathan | **Fielden,** N. | 42072250 | 42072250 | SSG | 11 23 45D[1] |
| Fjeld, Robert | **Field,** R.N. | 17154923 | 17154923 | SSG | 10 25 45D[1] |
| Not found | Foster, R.L. | | 6379324 | SSG | |
| Fretz, Edmond A. Jr. | Fretz, E.A. Jr. | 18118883 | 18118883 | SSG | 12 05 45R[2] |
| Fugatt, Ralph J. | Fugat?r, J. | 34409559 | 34409559 | TSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Garber, Walter T. | Garber, W.T. | 18149170 | 18149170 | TSG | 01 05 45R[2] |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gavron, A. | **Garron, A.** | 32341460 | 32341460 | PVT | 09 27 45D[1] |
| Greer, Donald | **Grier, D.** | 11111490 | 11111490 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Gribbin, John J. | **Gibben, J.J.** | 32084310 | 32084310 | TSG | 10 17 45D[1] |
| Handel, Edward W. | **Mandal, R.W.** | 36687789 | 36687789 | SGT | 11 08 45D[1] |
| Hendricks, W.H. Jr. | **Hendricks, W.H.** | 38366085 | 38366085 | TSG | 03 05 45R[2] |
| Herrmann, Robert J. | **Herman**, R. | 36361735 | 36361735 | CPL | 11 14 45D[1] |
| Hobgood, Richard M. | **Hopgood,** R.M. | 14049691 | 14049691 | TSG | 23 10 45D[1] |
| Horval, John | **Horral,** J. | 35304376 | 35304376 | CPL | 12 05 45D[1] |
| Jenkins, Richard N. | Jenkins, R.N. | 32816782 | 32816782 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Kolby, Carl Edward | **Kalby,** C.E. | 16049583 | 16049583 | SSG | 30 04 45R[2] |
| Keenan, Alan W. | Keenan, A.W. | 13200624 | 13200624 | SSG | 03 05 45R[2] |
| Kosta, Anthony | **Kost, A.A.** | 32231192 | 32231192 | TSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Kulak, John J. | Kulak, J.J. | 11101954 | 11101954 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Kvocka, Eli E. | **Kuocka,** E.E. | 35046730 | 35046730 | SGT | 12 07 46D[1] |
| Lafata, Guy A. | Lafata, G.A. | 17160807 | 17160807 | SSG | 12 05 45R[2] |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leonhardi, Fredric M. | **Leonardi, E.**M. | 19126098 | 19126098 | SGT | 02 20 53RD[1] |
| Long, David G. | Long, D.G. | 32547688 | 32547688 | TSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Moore, Paul B. | Moore, P.B. | 35385087 | 35385087 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Morgan, Robert | Morgan, R.N. | 15334667 | 15334667 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Murray, Billy J. | Murray, B.J. | 18162953 | 18162953 | SSG | 17 05 45R[2] |
| Pavlic, Stanley | **Paylie,** S. | 32371308 | 32371308 | SGT | 11 10 45D[1] |
| Pavlowich, Ernest C. | **Parlowich,** E.C. | 36840051 | 36840051 | PFC | 12 16 45D[1] |
| Not found | Perlinsasky, J. Jr. | | 12208825 | SSG | |
| Patano, Salvatore | Patano, S. | 36739809 | 36739809 | CPL | 08 29 45D[1] |
| Not found | Reemts, J. | | 273125 | SGT | |
| Rollett, James C. | **Pollet,** J.C. | 36586757 | 36586757 | SGT | 11 15 45D[1] |
| Schofield, James G. | **Schoefell,** J.G. | 14172903 | 14172903 | TSG | 08 05 45R[2] |
| Not found | Schulman, W.W. | | 38419932 | SGT | |
| Sink, Howard Melvin | **Senk, H.** | 13180771 | 13180771 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Shepard, William P. | Shepard, W.P. | 13172029 | 13172029 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sheston, Harry | Sheston, H. | 39531518 | 39531518 | SSG | 24 05 45R[2] |
| Shilts, Wilfred R. | Shilts, W.R. | 36828398 | 36828398 | SSG | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Silvestro, Stephen L. | Silvestro, S.L. | 33746719 | 33746719 | SSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Smyth, Fredrick A. | **Smith,** F.A. | 32276195 | 32276195 | PFC | 10 11 45D[1] |
| Spencer, James P. | Spencer, J.P. | 39704294 | 39704294 | SGT | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Sweitzer, Donald J. | **Switzer,** D.J. | 35618838 | 35618838 | SGT | 31 10 45D[1] |
| Tsivis, Andrew | **Tisivis,** A. | 12014858 | 12014858 | SGT | 04 09 45D[1] |
| Not found | Ulich, G.R. | | 17060706 | SSG | |
| Not found | Valra, A. | | 39120364 | SSG | |
| Vajda, Steven | **Vatd,** S. | 33022582 | 33022582 | CPL | 20 09 45D[1] |
| Vitrano, Frank A. | Vitrano, F.A. | 38172622 | 38172622 | TSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Voelz, Warren M. | Voelz, W.M. | 39206592 | 39206592 | SGT | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Volkman, Robert E. | Volkman, R.A. | 16173457 | 161**37**457 | TSG | 14 05 45R[2] |
| Volpp, Spencer A. | Volpp, S.A. | 16141452 | 16141452 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Von Castleberg, E.H. | **Von Castleberg, E.** | 32867810 | 32867810 | TSG | 01 05 45R[2] |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vores, Robert R. | Vores, R.R. | 3375892 | 3375892 | CPL | 01 05 45R[2] |
| Voss, Raymond J. | Voss, R.J. | 19163299 | 19163299 | SSG | 13 05 45R[2] |
| Vosters, Floyd G. | Vosters, F.G. | 16086530 | 16086530 | SSG | 09 19 45D[1] |
| Vrban, Vance P. | Vrban, V.P. | 37043273 | 37043273 | TSG | 02 05 45R[2] |
| Walstrom, Arthur C. | Walstrom, A.C. | 19139693 | 19139693 | SSG | 15 05 45R[2] |
| Winner, Charles H. | Winner, C.H. | 17133434 | 17133434 | SSG | 01 05 45R[2] |

1. Date denotes that the individual was discharged from US military service.

2. Date denotes that the individual was a repatriated US POW.

## ***APPENDIX VIII: THE "207" LIST***

In December 1945, the Machine Records Unit, the Adjutant General's Office, compared known American POWs who were in German captivity with repatriated American servicemen. Discrepancies were included in a listing titled "Unaccounted for American POWs Held by the German Government."[94]

There are a total of 207 names on this list. Of these 207 names, there are handwritten notations that state six of the persons were returned to military control, two were dead, two were British, and one was a Canadian; these entries were crossed off of the original listing. (One name, Ray T. Caldwell, bears the annotation "Dead Per Col Duke," but is not crossed out.) This brings the number unaccounted for down to 196. This list is attached.

Analysts from the Joint Commission Support Directorate, Department of Defense POW/MIA Office, have further accounted for and reduced to 87 the number of cases on this "207 List" requiring further research, by identifying individuals who did return to military control, or who died in captivity, or who were killed in action, or who were not actually POWs. The analysts checked the names on the lists against names in American Battle Monuments Commission lists of dead, other lists of casualties and returned POWs, and official military personnel files at the National Personnel Records Center, to resolve these cases.

[94] CFN-74, "Unaccounted For American POWs Held By the German Government", Strength and Accounting Branch, Machine Records Unit, Adjutant General's Office, RG 407, NA.

Unaccounted for American POWs Held By The German Government CFN 74

[ NOTE:

1. The list consists of 207 names.
2. The 87 bolded names require additional research to clarify their final status.
3. For the other 120 names we have sufficient documentation to conclude with certainty what happened to the individual.
4. The entries marked with an asterisk (*) were those annotated on the original list as RMC, dead, British, or Canadian, and were crossed out on the original list.
5. The underlined entries were the 13 names handwritten at the end of the original document.]

| **NAME** | **RAN**K | **SERVICE NO** |
|---|---|---|
| ABORN, JOSEPH | CPL | 31426729 |
| ACRI, VINCENT J | PFC | 33503154 |
| ABNEY, ROBERT | SSG | 35458066 |
| **AHO, EDWARD W** | **SGT** | **36831090** |
| **ANDERSON, EDGBERT H** | **PFC** | **34283182** |
| **ANDERSON, LEE E** | **PVT** | **37586615** |
| **ANSCHUTS, GEORGE D** | **SSG** | **37470789** |
| ARRINGTON, HERMAN B | PVT | 34818655 |
| ASSESSOR, RICHARD E | PVT | 36890764 |
| **BEAVIS, P T HARTHELL** | ... | ..... |
| BECKETT, PAUL G | PFC | 33426863 |
| **BEIOLEY, R F** | **SGT** | **.....** |

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|---|---|---|
| BELLI, THOMAS F | PVT | 42062616 |
| **BELLIN, ALFRED R** | **TEC4** | **37089823** |
| BELLITT, IRVING | SGT | 32208988 |
| **BENNETT, K. A. M.** | **LT** | **.....** |
| BERRY, LAWRENCE J | SSG | 39840357 |
| BERTRAM, FRANK L | PVT | 31470059 |
| BIGELOW, ROBERT (USAAF) | 2LT | O-811520 |
| **BIGI, EDWARD .** | **PFC** | **330894.6** |
| **BIGLEY, JOSEPH** | **PFC** | **32944612** |
| BLAN, SIDNEY H JR | PFC | 34806244 |
| **BLOCH, DE** | **FLO** | **T-069028** |
| **BOLT, EARNEST W** | **PFC** | **33648317** |
| **BOSTON, ROBERT F** | **PVT** | **31178990** |
| BOURAS, SAM J | SSG | 36645353 |
| BOWEN, ARVO P | PVT | 34827877 |
| **BREWER, ROBERT R** | **SSG** | **14163552** |
| BRIGGS, GEORGE W | SSG | 39193615 |
| **BRINK, FRANCIS** | **2LT** | **O-328683** |
| BRODIE, GEORGE W | SSG | 31329300 |
| **BROWN, H** | **PVT** | **32175254** |
| **BROWN, HENRY** | **PVT** | **21152154** |
| BROWN, JOHN L | SGT | 6394922 |

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|---|---|---|
| BROWN, ROBERT A | 2LT | O-778400 |
| BRUNTY, BYRON L | SSG | 16051490 |
| **BRYK, JOHN A** | **PVT** | **36662550** |
| BUCKMASTER, CALVIN O | SSG | 15374233 |
| BUNDY, ED | SSG | 15055976 |
| ***BUNDY, FREDERICK C** | **SSG** | **11071938** |
| BURTON, WILFRED G | 2LT | O-719883 |
| **BUTLER, ARTHUR NMI** | **PFC** | **34002912** |
| **BYERS, GLENN E** | **CPL** | **6938619** |
| CADLE, WARREN S (USAAF) | SSG | 39539003 |
| **CAMPBELL, HENRY R** | **PFC** | **33579620** |
| **CARLTIN, MARTIN** | **PFC** | **38996277** |
| CASON, ROY L | SGT | 38348736 |
| **CASTLE, JOHN C** | **PVT** | **35072353** |
| CALDWELL, RAY T | TEC5 | 38339287 |
| COTHRAN, CHARLES B | TSG | 18040338 |
| **CRAWFORD, WALLACE D** | **2LT** | **O-736130** |
| **CURRAN, JOSEPH J** | **TSG** | **12009163** |
| DAHL, ERLING N | PFC | 37578968 |
| DEAL, EUGENE W | PVT | 38530747 |
| **DELMAS, JEAN** | **SGT** | **59529** |
| DICKSON, DOYLE E | PFC | 39295728 |

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|---|---|---|
| DIKEMAN, LEVI A | SSG | 37333470 |
| DOANE, BURT M | PFC | 37479813 |
| DONOVAN, ROBERT C | 2LT | O-671304 |
| DONOVAN, TIMOTHY J | PVT | 31421525 |
| DOTZLER, DENNIS | PVT | 37118614 |
| DOVE, J D | SSGT | 6967396 |
| DUJMOVIC, MARK M | SSG | 37344433 |
| **DUNLAP, WALTER A** | **PVT** | **16010619** |
| **ERICKSON, BERNARD G** | **PVT** | **37021176** |
| **FARMER, PAT** | **PVT** | **18031779** |
| FENDLER, WILFRED J | PFC | 37052263 |
| FEUCHT, GEORGE L | 2LT | O-830440 |
| FLORA, AUBRIN E | PVT | 33659331 |
| FORD, LOUIS | PVT | 32164390 |
| **FOREMAN, HARRY W JR** | **SGT** | **33562898** |
| FOSTER, JOSEPH | PVT | 34554560 |
| **FRISCH, RUDOLPH** | **PFC** | **36890648** |
| FUNK, ROGER J | PVT | 42056747 |
| GALLAGHER, M J SR | PVT | 1015433 |
| **GAXIOLA, GUS J** | **SGT** | **19109524** |
| GENTRY, JOHNNIE | PFC | 38401235 |
| **GERALD, RABIE** | **1LT** | **O-207039** |

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|---|---|---|
| GERSTNER, JACOB A | TEC5 | 6982037 |
| **GIBB, HAMILTON L** | **SGT** | **35521941** |
| GITLIN, EDWARD E | PFC | 42036976 |
| GLADEK, FRANCIS I | PVT | 33509759 |
| GLASS, LOUIS | PFC | 32508854 |
| GODFREY, RICHARD R | PVT | 35752351 |
| GOLDHAGEN, SAMUEL M | 1LT | O-749615 |
| **GORDON, WILLIAM H** | **PVT** | **35739221** |
| ***GORE, LAWRENCE J** | **PFC** | **6396610** |
| *GRANT, WILLIAM | SGT | 116118 |
| *GREGORY, NORMAN E | SGT | 1473815 |
| ***GROVES, PERCIVAL C** | **PVT** | **16146248** |
| HAGEN, GLENN O | PFC | 37269763 |
| **HARKINS, THOMAS B** | **PFC** | **32067781** |
| HARNETT, ROBERT J | PVT | 20620531 |
| HARRIS, HARRY C | SGT | 20704284 |
| HARRY, WILLIAM R | 1LT | O-515826 |
| **HELME, FREDERICK** | **SGT** | **01675318** |
| HENDRICKS, WILFORD W | PVT | 33119574 |
| HERRON, ROBERT L | PVT | 38692862 |
| **HIGNETT, ROBERT J** | **PVT** | **42142098** |
| **HILLO, WILLIAM** | **PFC** | ..... |

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|---|---|---|
| **HINES, JAMES E JR** | **PVT** | **34548390** |
| HINTON, LEONARD C | PVT | 6271031 |
| HOLEMO, DONALD M | CPL | 36586967 |
| **HOLLAND, DUTCH I** | **PVT** | **39421650** |
| **HOLLAND, NORBERT J** | **PVT** | **37683509** |
| **HOLLAR, DAVID G** | **PFC** | **35917406** |
| HOLLINGER, FRANKLIN T | PVT | 33510495 |
| **HOLLINGSHEAD, LLOYD G** | **SGT** | **16171775** |
| HORN, SHERWOOD J | SGT | 33488217 |
| HUCKEL, RUSSELL W | PFC | 32273219 |
| HUGHES, HENRY W | 1LT | O-444032 |
| **HUMBLE, HOWARD E** | **PFC** | **36780018** |
| JACKSON, ROBERT L | PVT | 36648570 |
| *JARVIS, JOHN | PVT | 14621500 |
| JOHNSON, KENNETH G | TEC5 | 37167584 |
| JONES, AVIS B | PFC | 31334872 |
| ***JONES, VAN T** | **PVT** | **35212725** |
| **JUNTILLA, JAMES** | **1LT** | **O-815712** |
| KAISER, WILSON K | PFC | 34515689 |
| KELLY, JAMES H | TSG | 32481674 |
| **KEOUGH, JOSEPH W** | **TSG** | **6137030** |
| ***KIMBREL, ALTON E** | **PVT** | **38698574** |

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|---|---|---|
| KIMBREL, RUSSEL V | PVT | 15042362 |
| KING, RICHARD P JR | PVT | 35609967 |
| **KIZAK, STAM** | **PVT** | **.....** |
| LA FRANCE, NORMAN L | CPL | 31327215 |
| LAMONT, ERWIN E | SSG | 31196474 |
| LEINWEBER, MARVIN | 1LT | O-686756 |
| LYNCH, JOSEPH E JR | CPL | 31303823 |
| MACAGNONE, FRANK | PFC | 32214043 |
| MACDONALD, DONALD L | PVT | 36562706 |
| **MADRIL, JUAN O** | **PVT** | **37352330** |
| MAGILL, WILLIAM A | TSG | 36559430 |
| MAGYARI, GEORGE M | PVT | 32366366 |
| **MARIOTT, JACK B** | **PVT** | **39283305** |
| **MAYNE, FRANK L JR** | **PFC** | **33900497** |
| **MC COMBS, WILLIAM E** | **PVT** | **36514269** |
| MC INTIRE, WILLIAM E | PFC | 33272567 |
| **MC LEAN, ALOYSIOUS J** | **PVT** | **36042935** |
| MC NEELY, JAMES E | PFC | 37516672 |
| MILLS, HENRY L | MAJ | O-885187 |
| MOORE, MARVIN J | PFC | 14043436 |
| **MORGAN, FLOYD B** | **TEC5** | **36002913** |
| ***MORGON, FRANCIS P** | **PFC** | **314.771.** |

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|---|---|---|
| MULLICAN, JOSEPH R | PVT | 34810112 |
| NELSON, RICHARD H | PVT | 33710728 |
| OBERG, GUNNARD | PFC | 37024191 |
| OFER, JOHN H | PVT | 35109909 |
| OLSZANSKI, THEODORE E | PVT | 20130384 |
| **ORDWAY, LAWRENCE L** | **PFC** | **33433338** |
| OSBORN, LAWRENCE L | PFC | 38445250 |
| **PAINTER, LESLIE W** | **CPL** | **34334638** |
| **PALAIA, MICHAEL D** | **PFC** | **33802017** |
| PARKER, ARTHUR D | PFC | 33563067 |
| PATZKE, JACK D | TSG | 19170297 |
| PAYTON, HOWARD S | SGT | 35493395 |
| PEERY, DEWARD N | SSG | 37002715 |
| **PEMBERTON, JOE C** | **PVT** | **14036084** |
| **PETERS, LLOYD** | **FL O** | **T-086323** |
| PETERSON, MAROLD G | PFC | 37589813 |
| PHIPPS, DAVID R | TEC5 | 31234583 |
| **PODDOM, THOMAS** | **....** | **.....** |
| **PORTER, COLEMANN** | **2LT** | **O-702140** |
| **PRIEGO, MICHAEL** | **PVT** | **81905** |
| PURDY, GEORGE W | PVT | 34982923 |
| **QUILLMAN, CHARLES J JR** | **PFC** | **33827635** |

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|---|---|---|
| RADLINGER, RICHARD J | SSG | 36815362 |
| RANDALL, JAMES F | PFC | 37672828 |
| RANSBURG, EDWARD C | 1LT | O-362143 |
| **RAPHEAL, GEORGE** | **TSGT** | ..... |
| RICKER, WILLIAM G | 2LT | O-1823208 |
| **RITENOUR, ELMER T** | **PFC** | **33885033** |
| **ROBERSON, ERNEST R** | **PFC** | **34824060** |
| **SANBOWER, LLOYD E** | **SSG** | **33203207** |
| **SASACKA, ITSUMI** | **SGT** | **30101548** |
| ***SCHROYER, JOHN V** | **PVT** | **4327.89** |
| **SCHULASKI, HARRY F** | **TEC5** | **32174124** |
| SCOTT, JAMES R. | PVT | 33649513 |
| SHERMAN, DONALD S | SSG | 16100996 |
| **SHIPE, CLETIS P** | **SSG** | **6944175** |
| SLAVENS, AUBREY W | SSG | 37055388 |
| **SMITH, WALTER A** | **PFC** | **35295481** |
| SPOTO, JOHN | PVT | 32356066 |
| SPRING, MERRILL T | 2LT | O-695383 |
| STANLEY, MARION E | PVT | 20809114 |
| **STEWART, HARLEY D** | **PFC** | **33403257** |
| STINSON, CORNELIUS W | SSG | 32608417 |
| STINZIANO, ANTHONY J | PFC | 35534940 |

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|---|---|---|
| STOHRY, HAROLD H | CPL | 35171102 |
| **SUMMEY, BENNIE** | **SGT** | **34013087** |
| TANNLER, THOMAS K | 1LT | O-026158 |
| TOLLEFSEN, F G M | SSG | 39385783 |
| **TREMPER, WILLIAM J** | **SSG** | **19055583** |
| **VAN ART, LAWRENCE H** | **PFC** | **13053316** |
| WACKOWSKI, ALFRED F | PVT | 42021926 |
| WAGNER, ROY E | PFC | 33707415 |
| **WALKER, THOMAS L** | **PFC** | **35400101** |
| WALLACE, HUGH J | PVT | 36885376 |
| WARREN, DEXTER H | 2LT | O-812019 |
| **WATSON, SIDNEY T** | **2LT** | **O-776838** |
| YURKA, EDWARD R | SGT | 37034682 |
| ZAHA, GEORGE JR | PFC | 36357352 |
| **ZANGER, GEORGE** | **LT** | ..... |
| ZELLMER, WALDEMAR F | PVT | 36287059 |
| **ZIEMER, GEORGE J** | **PFC** | **37170983** |
| **ZIRN, RICHARD H** | **TEC5** | **35289235** |

## ***APPENDIX IX: STUDIES OF DISCREPANCY OR INTERESTING CASES***

The Joint Commission Support Directorate, Defense POW/MIA Office, has accumulated information and developed case files on several discrepancy or interesting individual POW and MIA experiences. Several of these cases are among those noteworthy for the attention they have received from POW activists. Others were developed as we attempted to resolve the discrepancy cases listed in "The 207 List" (CFN-74). Information and documentation provided by the Russians to the Task Force Russia/DPMO-Moscow staff and documents located in Russian archives formed the basis for other of those cases. Summaries of a number of the case files developed in this effort follow.

Technical Sergeant Lawrence Edward Reitz

*Service*. US Army Air Corps

*Serial Number***.** 16027151

*Date Captured/Missing*. 1 August 1943; MIA Ploesti, Rumania.

*Current Status*. Casualty files indicate Reitz was declared dead, non-recoverable.

*Remarks.* On 1 August 1943, Technical Sergeant Lawrence E. Reitz was a radio operator on a B-24D (No. 42-60655-S) of the 343rd Bombardment Squadron, 98th Bombardment Group (Heavy), which was shot down in a low level attack on the Rumanian oil fields at Ploesti. Reitz' plane "was observed by Sergeant William A. Cornut and Sergeant Robert C. Lindsey of another crew, to be hit by ground fire over the target, burst into flames and crash to the ground." [95] None of the ten man crew survived; eventually four were positively identified and their remains returned to the US for burial.

Overall casualties on the raid were very high; aircraft losses totaled 54 planes out of the 177 on the mission, which included 41 shot down in the target area. Total personnel casualties (Dead, MIA, & POW) among the aircrew were 532.[96] After the raid, the Rumanians buried 214 Americans, including

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[95] AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 1170, p. 7, AG 704-Dead (2 August 1944), AGO Classified Central Decimal File, 1940-45, box 3275, Entry 360, RG 407, NA.

[96] Earl F. Cruickshank, "The Ploesti Mission of 1 August 1943," pp. 99-100 [on casualties], Historical Division, Assistant Chief of Air Staff-Intelligence, 1944, copy in Military Reference Section, Reference File No. 2000, NA.

101 found so "carbonized" they could not be positively identified.[97] Within weeks, the Rumanians reported (by name) as POWs another 200 Americans who had been wounded and hospitalized in Rumania.[98]

Based on this evidence and a review of missing aircrew reports, POW reports, and operational records, on 2 August 1944, the AGO Casualty Branch issued a determination of death, under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act, on Reitz and 148 other aircrew, who previously had been listed as MIA, from 23 of the aircraft downed at Ploesti.[99]

On 23 January 1948, the Casualty Section of the Adjutant General's Office, based on additional information and analysis, issued an "official report of death" for Reitz and the other members of his crew under Section 9 of the Missing Persons Act. For official and legal purposes this was confirmation that Reitz had in fact died at Ploesti. As part of its analysis, the Casualty Section had tabulated aircraft by aircraft the number of dead resulting from the 1 August 1944, raid; compared the numbers of identified dead, unidentified dead, and those returned to duty to the total aircrew on the downed planes; and, concluded that: "...the total number of dead buried by the Romanians closely approximates the number of men lost in Romania who cannot be accounted for otherwise." Thus they determined it was nearly impossible mathematically for Reitz to have survived the crash of his plane in 1944.

The 1948 report of death also incorporated information developed the previous year in response to the firmly held belief of Reitz' mother, Mrs. Ida M. Stichnoth, that he survived the Ploesti raid, was sent to a POW camp in Germany, in 1945 was taken by Soviet forces from Stalag III-A, and was alive in a Soviet prison camp. In large part her belief rested on a photograph which was taken at Stalag II-B in Germany and which she said included Reitz and several of his fellow crew. From a former POW who

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[97] Harrison (Bern) to State Department, 6 August 1943, PWIB Subject File, "Camps-Rumania," box 2155, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

[98] Headquarters USAAF-Middle East to AGO, 30 October 1944, Ibid.

[99] AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 1170, RG 407, NA.

was in the photograph, the Casualty Section determined that none of the people in the picture were from Reitz' crew, but more significantly that the photograph in question had been taken in February 1943--five months before the plane was shot down. The investigation by the Casualty Section, incorporating photographic identification and the accounting of the remains recovered at Ploesti should have "resulted in completely exploding [Mrs. Stichnoth's] belief that her son [was] still living and held as a prisoner of the Russians." [100]

Several years later, however, other witnesses offered information that reinforced Mrs. Stichnoth's belief Reitz was alive. As a result, she continued to petition the State Department over a period of years to get them to get the Soviets to release her son. In 1956 a soldier, who had been a POW, saw a fifteen-year old photograph of Reitz in a recent Stars and Stripes article about the efforts of Reitz' mother to locate her son. On the basis of the photo, he testified that he had seen Reitz in Stalag III-A, Luckenwalde, on average once or twice a week from mid-February to mid-April 1945. [101]

Other information came from a German, repatriated from the USSR in 1956, who reported to American officials that from the summer of 1952 to the spring of 1954 he was confined in Vorkuta with an American he believed to be Reitz. As the camp barber he twice a week shaved Reitz and once a month cut his hair. In the spring of 1954 Reitz was transferred from Vorkuta. On 22 September 1956, the American Embassy in Moscow again requested information concerning Reitz. Based on Mrs. Stichnoth's pleas, earlier inquiries had been made to the Soviets in 1953 and 1954, with negative

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[100] AGO Casualty Section, Reports of Death- Hadcock et al., AG 704-Dead (23 January 1948), AGO Central Decimal File, 1946-48, box 1557, Entry 363, RG 407, NA. Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, "Lawrence E. Reitz," (R-4), box 7939 , Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center; an extensive file on the Reitz case including the correspondence between his mother and the government, copies of the several reviews and determinations done by the AGO Casualty Section, copies of the photographs in question, letters from the purported witnesses, and newspaper accounts of the saga.

[101] Jim Sanders, Mark Sauter, and R. Cort Kirkwood, Soldiers of Misfortune (Washington: National Press Books, 1992), pp. 137-51; Sanders' entire chapter 11 is devoted to Reitz, whose mother Sanders calls the "first POW activist." Most of Sanders' section on Reitz is based on State Department records from the late 1940's and early 1950's, which reflect the official inquiries to the Soviet government on behalf of Reitz' mother. There is nothing in this account examining what might have happened to Reitz in Rumania.

results. The American Embassy requested that the Soviets conduct another investigation based on the above mentioned information in order to "determine the location of Sergeant Lawrence Reitz and return him to his family and friends." On 12 October 1956, the Deputy Chief, 2nd Main Directorate of the Committee for State Security (KGB) replied that Reitz was not among the numbers of prisoners of war and internees. He also reported that Reitz had never been detained and was not at that time detained in the Vorkuta Camp MVD, and not to count Reitz among those "who have been arrested, convicted and serving sentences in different hard labor camps of the MVD."[102]

*Conclusion.* Two witnesses saw Reitz' plane go down in flames. None of the other crew survived. Neither Reitz nor any of the crew were among those Americans reported alive on the ground in Rumania after the raid, either in a POW camp or hospital. Finally, throughout the war the Rumanians kept captured Americans in POW camps in Rumania; they were not sent to Germany.[103] (The Rumanian government freed and repatriated over 1,000 of these POWs on 23 August 1944.) Reitz almost certainly died in the crash of his plane at Ploesti and was not at Luckenwalde to be "liberated" by the Soviets and sent to the GULAG. The witnesses who placed him at those places were mistaken in the identity of the individual(s) with whom they dealt; other evidence accumulated in the case contradicted their testimony. The case continued for over ten years only because of the efforts of Mrs. Stichnoth. Correspondence between her and the Army makes clear that based on no concrete evidence at all, she had determined as early as February 1944 that Reitz was still alive. No contrary

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[102] TFR 77-32,33, & 34. **NOTE:** TFR in document citations stands for Task Force Russia document. In the earliest days of the Commission's existence, the TFR numbering system was adopted to account for all Russian language documents that were received. These documents came from the Russian side of the Joint Commission, newspaper articles, or letters from private citizens. They were assigned a one up TFR number based on the order that they were received. Each page within a batch of documents then received a one up number. Thus, the first page of the first batch of documents received the number "TFR 1-1". Most of the Russian language documents received did not have archival citations attached. This has complicated our work to some degree. TFR batches 1-67 inclusive are available in the public record through the National Archives or Library of Congress. All other TFR numbers are still under control of the Defense POW/MIA Office.

[103] Cruickshank, "The Ploesti Mission," pp. 114-15, Reference Collection 2000; and, Harrison (Bern) to State Department, 12 September and 13 October 1943, PWIB Subject File, "Camps-Rumania," box 2155, entry 460A, RG 389, NA.

evidence presented in subsequent years shook her belief. Nonetheless, the 1944 determination of death for Reitz was entirely justified.

Major Wirt Elizabeth Thompson

*Service*. US Army Air Corps

*Serial Number***.** 0425939

*Date Captured/Missing*. 4 December 1944; MIA on a flight from Myitkyina, Burma, to Kunming, China.

*Current Status*. Declared dead under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act, 5 December 1945.

*Remarks.* In 1955 an official in the bureau of European affairs at the State Department concluded that there was a "strong likelihood" that Major Wirt Elizabeth Thompson was alive and in a Soviet prison camp. The principal source that led the official to this conclusion was a German, recently released from Soviet captivity, who stated that while in prison he had known an American from San Antonio by the name of "Major William Thompson." The State Department believed "William Thompson" to be "Wirt Elizabeth Thompson." But the official who reached this conclusion was not certain that his supposition was correct, and consequently advised against notifying Thompson's family.[104] The military authorities concerned with resolving the casualty status of Thompson would have endorsed the caution exhibited by the State Department official, but would not have agreed with the "strong likelihood" Thompson was alive in the USSR in 1955.

Major Wirt Elizabeth Thompson was born in Italy, Texas, 8 August 1920, and attended high school in San Antonio. Thompson, assigned to the 317th Troop Carrier Squadron as pilot of a C-47A, tail number 43-15821, departed the airfield at Myitkyima, Burma on 5 December 1944, at 0800 and was not heard from or seen since that time. He was on a mission to Kunming, China - ferrying Chinese personnel in his aircraft when he went down north of the village Ta Hsueh Shan (25.17-98.02 Quandrant). Three other American servicemen were identified as being on this aircraft with Major

[104] Crawford to Barbour, "Five American Citizens in Soviet Custody," 1 July 1955, File 611.61241/7-1555, State Department Central Files, box 2524, RG 59, NA.

Thompson - 2nd Lieutenant Dorsey W. F. Beauchamp (0700892, Air Corps, Caucasian, Protestant, BNR), Technical Sergeant William Weil (12141962, Air Corps, Caucasian, Hebrew, BNR), and Staff Sergeant William S. Weaver JR (33535937, Air Corps, Caucasian, Protestant, BNR).

On December 6, 1944, another aircraft of the 317th Troop Carrier Squadron spotted wreckage believed to be Thompson's plane on a mountain top less than an hour's flying time due east of Myitkyina. Ground search parties dispatched immediately after the crash could not reach the site because of the difficult, mountainous terrain. But in March 1945 search and rescue teams again deployed to find the aircraft and were successful in locating wreckage of a C-47A located near the village of Ta Hsueh Shan. Although this team could not identify the tail number of the wreckage, they did bury five remains found at the site. A search two years later, however, could not locate the remains. Graves registration analysts concluded that the original team buried the remains in too shallow a grave and animals dug them up and scattered the bones. They also concluded the crash occurred because Major Thompson was unable to achieve sufficient altitude in his aircraft to clear the high peaks of surrounding mountains.

On 6 December 1945, under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act, the AGO Casualty Branch issued a determination of death for Thompson and his crew. The wreck on the mountain peak in western China along Thompson's planned flight route to Kunming and the lack of any information about them alive for one year were the determining factors in the case. A review of the case in 1948, which incorporated additional information for the subsequent search and rescue and graves registration efforts, confirmed the original finding.[105]

Despite this finding, this case, based on information derived from individuals who claimed to have seen Thompson in the USSR has become an important element in the argument of those who claim there were American World War II POWs in the GULAG.

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[105]AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 4846, AG 704-Dead (6 December 1945), AGO Central Decimal File, 1940-45, box 4107, Entry 363; AGO Casualty Section, "Review of Circumstances...; Case 536," AG 704 (9 March 1948), AGO Central Decimal File, 1946-48, box 1526, Entry 363, RG 407, NA.

In 1954 a German civilian returnee from the USSR reported that he had known "Thompson" in a Soviet prison and that after a forced landing in 1944, Thompson was arrested by the Russians and subsequently sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for alleged espionage. He was reported seen in Budenskaya prison near Moscow from 1944 to 1948, and later was reported transferred to Tayshet camp (compound 026). The witness said that the POW he believed to be Thompson had informed him that he formerly lived in San Antonio.[106]

*Conclusion***.** No one on Thompson's plane survived the crash, or were reported alive after the crash, as POWs, internees, or otherwise. The crash occurred in difficult, remote, almost inaccessible terrain. There were no Japanese in the area. Any Chinese troops likely to be in the area would have been Nationalists, not Communists, and not likely to turn over an American to the Soviets. The crash site was at least 1,600 miles from the nearest Soviet territory. Despite the witnesses who came forward in the early 1950s and claimed to have seen someone believed to be Thompson in a Soviet prison, it is unlikely that Thompson, even if he had survived the crash, could have been "rescued" from a remote mountain peak in southern China and end up in Moscow.

Private Aloysious J. McLean

*Service*. US Army

*Serial Number*. 36042935

*Date Captured/Missing*. captured by the Germans on 4 October 1944; MIA from Stalag III-C on 31 January 1945.

*Current Status*. Casualty files indicate that McLean was declared dead and non-recoverable. McLean's name also is included on the list of 207 servicemen who were known to be in German POW camps but were never repatriated.

*Remarks.* Private McLean's last known location was in the prison hospital of Stalag III-C in the city of Kustrin, Germany (later Alt-Drewitz, Poland). There were six other servicemen in the same prison

[106] Jim Sanders, Mark Sauter, and R. Cort Kirkwood, Soldiers of Misfortune (Washington: National Press Books), pp. 112-13.

hospital including Staff Sergeant Robert R. Brewer. After the Red Army liberated Stalag III-C, the care and treatment of these seven servicemen transferred from Captain Louis Nash (O-440671), also a POW and a doctor in the US Army Medical Corps, to a Soviet major who was the Chief of the Field Hospital at Stalag III-C. [107]

On 1 March 1946, the War Department issued a finding of death in McLean's case based on information from witnesses who were with him when POWs being evacuated by Germans from Stalag III-C were overrun and caught in a cross-fire between German and Soviet troops. The finding was that McLean and seven other POWs died as result of the firefight. Recovery and identification of remains of Americans who died at Stalag III-C were hindered by lack of Soviet records and because several days after the Soviets liberated and evacuated the camp, they burned it. This further helped to obliterate whatever previously extant cemeterial identifications may have existed.[108]

American Graves Registration Service personnel made several efforts in the postwar years to identify the remains of the prisoners who died and were buried at III-C, including exhumation of known grave sites. Mass and unmarked graves, lack of documentation, and bodies without clothing or identification tags, all frustrated these efforts. In 1953 McLean and nine others who had died at Kustrin were declared "non-recoverable." Two men not covered by the original 1 March 1946, determination of death which had included McLean, had been added to the list of American POW deaths at Stalag III-C. The Graves Registration Service teams that conducted the search and exhumation effort were certain that these ten POWs had died in the 31 January 1945, firefight and were buried in the vicinity of

[107] TFR 19-2; TFR 33-1.

[108] AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 5506, AG 704-Dead (1 March 1946), AGO Central Decimal File, 1946-48, box 1569, Entry 363, RG 407, NA. This file actually contains three separate SR&D reports, dated 1 March 1946; 24 January 1947; and 6 June 1949. All three reviews considered the cases of McLean and seven other POWs from Stalag III-C. Each review added information about the circumstances of their deaths and validated the original "finding" of death under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act. But because no remains were recovered an official "report" of death under Section 9 could not be issued.

the camp; they simply could not accurately identify the remains. Several summary reports in McLean's "Individual Deceased Personnel (293) File" state this certainty, but also indicate their frustration.[109]

[109] "Aloysious J. McLean," Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 6388, (M-4), Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center.

Staff Sergeant Robert R. Brewer

*Service*. US Army

*Serial Number*. 14163552

*Date Captured/Missing*. captured by the Germans 11 June 1944; on 15 January 1946, reported dead as of 8 February 1945.

*Current Status*. Casualty files indicate that Brewer was declared dead and non-recoverable. Brewer's name is included on the list of 207 servicemen who were known to be in German POW camps but were never repatriated.

*Remarks.* Brewer's last known location was in the prison hospital of Stalag III-C at Kustrin, Germany. Brewer had been seriously wounded when the Germans bombed Stalag III-C shortly after the Soviets liberated the camp. Six other servicemen were in the same prison hospital, including Private Aloysious J. McLean. After the Red Army liberated III-C, the care and treatment of these seven servicemen transferred from Captain Louis Nash (O-440671), also a POW and a doctor in the US Army Medical Corps, to a Soviet major who was the Chief of the Red Army field hospital at the camp.[110]

On 6 February 1945, the Soviets withdrew from the camp evacuating all POWs except Brewer and two other seriously wounded Americans. At least one of those two survived the war and later reported that Brewer died, probably on evening of 8 February. He further reported that the Soviets burned the camp, including the hospital which he believed still contained Brewer's body. On the basis of this information, on 15 January 1946, the War Department reported Brewer dead under Section 9 of the Missing Persons Act. Extensive searches for the remains of Americans who died and were buried at Stalag III-C continued for several years, but were especially intensive during May, July and October 1948. Finally, on 17 September 1953, Brewer and 54 other Americans known to have died in Poland were declared "non-recoverable." [111]

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[110]TFR 19-2; TFR 33-1.

[111] "Robert R. Brewer," Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 1048, (B-3), Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center.

Private First Class Howard E. Humble

*Service*. US Army

*Serial Number*. 36780018

*Date Captured/Missing*. captured by the Germans 3 January 1945; declared dead 1 June 1946.

*Current Status*. Private Humble was at Stalag IV-A near Dresden when liberated on 7 May 1945, by the Red Army. While in Soviet custody Humble suffered from a severely sore throat, received medical treatment from Russian doctors, and eventually was hospitalized at a Soviet military hospital. Humble never returned to American control. Casualty files indicate Humble was declared dead, non-recoverable. In the master list of deceased for World War II, Humble's name has the notation "pending" next to it. Humble's name is included on the list of 207 servicemen who were known to be in German POW camps but were never repatriated.

*Remarks.* Because he did not return alive with other liberated POWs who had been in Red Army hands, European Theater headquarters requested that the US Military Mission in Moscow seek information about Humble from the Soviets. Repeated requests to Soviet authorities during the late summer and fall of 1945 yielded only the information that Humble's name did not appear in their records. [112]

Although the Soviets provided no information, on 1 June 1946, the War Department issued a finding of death for Humble, under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act, based on statements from fellow POWs and witnesses who had visited him at the Soviet hospital during May 1945. A British soldier acted as leader of the group of 130 Allied POWs, including Humble, held in Dresden by the Soviets. That British soldier and others who had seen Humble in the hospital concluded that he had diphtheria, was in

[112] Message E-83192, 31 August 1945, and response of 1 September 1945; Deane to Golubev, 1 September 1945; Message M-25694, 2 September 1945; Maples to Golubev, 2 October 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 25, entry 309, RG 334, NA.

a very poor state of health, and doubted he could survive. On the basis of this evidence the War Department declared Humble had died while in the Soviet hospital.[113]

American Graves Registration Service personnel conducted a field investigation in Dresden in November 1947, but did not recover the remains of Humble, largely because they lacked specific burial information. Subsequent field investigation also failed because of restricted access to the Soviet zone in East Germany. On 19 October 1953, the Army declared Humble's remains "non-recoverable." [114]

Private First Class Lawrence Van Art

*Service*. US Army

*Serial Number*. 13053316

*Date Captured/Missing*. captured by the Germans on 19 September 1944; on 15 January 1946, declared dead as of 5 March 1945.

*Current Status*. Van Art's name is included on the list of 207 servicemen who were known to be in German POW camps but were never repatriated.

*Remarks.* On 25 December 1945, in letter No. 07814, General-Major Basilov, of the Office of the Commissioner for Repatriation Affairs, wrote General-Major Khodorkov, Chief of the Medical-Evacuation Directorate, Main Military Medical Directorate of the Red Army, requesting information on Van Art. According to the American Embassy, Van Art died in a Soviet hospital in the city of Landsberg, Germany (renamed Gorzow, Poland) sometime between 2 and 5 March 1945. The doctor in charge of Van Art's case was reported to be Soviet Major Georgij Davydovich Arois. The embassy requested information on the exact date and cause of Van Art's death, as well as a death certificate and burial location. General-Major Khodorkov's response indicated that according to the

[113] AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 6005, AG 704-Dead (1 June 1946), AGO Central Decimal File, 1946-48, box 1565, Entry 363, RG 407, NA.

[114] "Howard E. Humble," Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 4437, (H-6), Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center.

Chief of the Medical Directorate - Northern Group of Forces, Van Art did "not appear in the lists of hospital deaths."[115]

Subsequent investigation by American authorities yielded further information confirming the fact of Van Art's death in the Soviet hospital, but did not lead to recovery of his remains. He was declared dead on 15 January 1946, and, after prolonged efforts at recovery, on 2 November 1951, his remains were determined to be "non-recoverable."[116]

Colonel Marshall Bonner

*Service*. US Army Air Corps

*Serial Number*. 018967

*Date Captured/Missing*. MIA 26 June 1944, while on a bombing mission near Vienna.

*Current Status*. Colonel Bonner is on the master list of World War II deceased. His remains are listed as "non-recoverable."

*Remarks.* While there are several Bonners listed in the master list of deceased for World War II in the category of "non-recoverable", Colonel Bonner is the only one listed with the additional notation that his status was pending. This probably derives from the belief by a ranking Army Air Forces officer that Colonel Bonner might have survived the war.

The Joint Commission Support Directorate of the Defense POW/MIA Office has received documents from the Russian side of the Joint Commission relating to an individual named variously as Karl Karl Bonner, Karl Zheri Boner, Karl Karlovich Bonar, Karl Karl Bonar, and Karis Karis Bonner. All these names appear to be used for an individual that these Soviet-era documents initially refer to as an American prisoner of war. By and large these Russian documents originated as result of the 1945 inquiries to Soviet authorities regarding Colonel Marshall Bonner from the US Military Mission in Moscow. The "Bonner" referenced in the Russian documents spent time in a variety of Soviet camps

[115] TFR 19-3; TFR 19-4.

[116] "Lawrence Van Art," Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 9580, (V-4) Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center.

before he was apparently "identified" as a German, exploited, and repatriated to Germany. Most interesting is TFR 39-194 which mentions that he was probably identified as being of a different nationality and shipped to another camp under a different name. One intriguing aspect of this case, however, is that the Soviet era documents we received from the Russian archives refer to American POWs in Soviet camps during 1946 and 1947 in a seemingly matter of fact way.

We obviously were most interested in determining the relationship, if any, between Colonel Bonner and the individual(s) named in the Russian documents. The Bonner of these documents was born in 1919, while Colonel Bonner was born in 1911. Marshall Bonner and the Bonner cited in the Russian archival documents clearly are different individuals.[117]

In the end, however, there is no real mystery surrounding Colonel Marshall Bonner. On 27 June 1945, the AGO Casualty Branch prepared a finding of death in his case under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act. But it was not immediately approved because of the intervention in the case by Lt.Gen. Ira C. Eaker, Deputy Commander of the Army Air Forces, who believed there was a possibility Bonner could have "survived, and hid out and that he will return to military control." (Eaker's interest in the case probably stemmed from the fact that Bonner's father-in-law was retired Major General James E. Fechet, formerly Chief of the Army Air Corps, 1927-31). The case was continued as MIA. This high level interest undoubtedly prompted the several inquiries about Bonner from the Military Mission in Moscow to Soviet authorities during the summer and fall of 1945. Based largely on information from surviving members of the crew with which Bonner flew, on 12 November 1945, he and four others from that crew were declared dead under Section 5. Additional evidence, mostly from German records, led on 9 September 1946, to an official "report of death" under Section 9 of the Missing Persons Act, although remains still were not recovered. The search continued, however, until 25 September 1953, when Bonner's remains were determined to be "non-recoverable."[118]

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[117] Message EX-70454, 19 July 1945, and response of 21 July 1945, USMMM Subject File, "POWs," box 25, entry 309, RG 334, NA; and TFRs 39-181,182,183,185,188,193,194, & 195.
[118] AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 3146, AG 704-Missing (27 June 1945), AGO Classified Central Decimal File, 1943-45, box 3293, Entry 360; AGO Casualty Branch, Status, Review, and Determination Report No. 3146-A, AG 704-Dead (12 November 45),

Sergeant Harry G. Stube

*Service*. US Army Air Corps

*Serial Number*. 19088507

*Date Captured/Missing*. N/A

*Current Status*. Closed Issue.

*Remarks.* Interest in this case initially stemmed from a document, a file card, supplied by the Russian side of the Joint Commission, telegraph No. 129 (no date given, with only a notation of Commo Center NKO USSR) indicating a Gerri Stubi (Gary Stuby? hand underlined), SGT, "died during the accident number 1/2711= Comrade Zhukov." This name did not appear on US Casualty lists from World War II. There were several individuals with the surname Stuby on the master list of World War II deceased for which the circumstances of loss are unknown.

*Update.* A search of the casualty files for any variations on the name Stubi resulted in finding Sergeant Harry G. Stube. Sergeant Stube was a member of a B-17G of the 303rd Bomb Group based at Molesworth, England. Sergeant Stube's plane was shot down near Chojnice, Poland on 28 March 1945 after bombing Berlin, Germany. A letter was received by the American Embassy in Warsaw, Poland in December 1946 from Dr. Jan Lukowicz. Dr. Lukowicz's letter reported that there was an American buried in the Russian cemetery near Chojnice, Poland. The inscription on the cross read:

Sgt. Harry Stube

U.S. Army Air Corps

1909-1945

Killed in Action

28.3.1945

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AGO Central Decimal File, 1940-45, box 4109, Entry 363; AGO Casualty Branch, Report of Death, AG 704-Dead (9 September 1946), AGO Central Decimal File, 1946-48, box 1563, Entry 363, RG 407, NA. "Marshall Bonner," Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 1025, (B-3), Accession 92-70A-001, Washington National Records Center.

One of Sergeant Stube's dogtags was nailed above this inscription. It read:

Stube, Harry G.

19088507 T 42 45 A

P.

Sergeant Stube's remains were exhumed, positively identified, and temporarily buried at Neuville en Condroz, Belgium. At the request of Sergeant Stube's mother, his remains were again exhumed and the body was shipped to Pasadena, California, where he was interred at the Pasadena Mausoleum in Altadena, in June 1949. Curiously, although the initial determination of death based on an autopsy performed by a Soviet doctor revealed that Stube died instantly in the crash of his plane when a "broken rib punctured his liver," one post-war investigation made in 1948 reported that he died while fighting with Soviet troops against the Germans.[119]

Private Ioni Boos

*Service.*

*Serial Number.*

*Date Captured/Missing.*

*Current Status.* Leads being followed in Russian archives. Reported on as died, 20 December 1944. Buried in cemetery No. 3, Section 5, Row 4, Grave 20. The cemetery is reported to be "1.5 kilometers east of Parkommune Voroshilov city (now MRA...J) oblast." We require more information on the accident cited above to determine who this individual was. There are several individuals with the surname Boos on the master list of World War II deceased for which the circumstances of loss are unknown.

*Remarks.* This case is based on a card file provided by the Russian side of the Joint Commission on 27 March 1992. The information on the card mentions a Private Ioni Ionn Boos (Boas), with the year and

[119] TFR 19-30; TFR 336-31 & 32. AGO Casualty Branch, Report of Death, AG 704-Dead (7 August 45), AGO Central Decimal File, 1943-45, box 3243, Entry 360, RG 407, NA.

place of birth listed as 1914 Lancaster. The Camp No. listed is 5929. The card form lists two archive numbers: 320641 and 320488. [120]

Oliver Rom and Lipay Blehk

*Service.*

*Serial Number.*

*Date Captured/Missing.*

*Current Status.* Leads being pursued in US and Russian archives.

*Remarks.* In April 1995 JCSD-Moscow received letters and two rings which supposedly belong to two American aviators, Captain Oliver Rom and Lipay Blehk.

The author of the letters, who wishes to remain anonymous, stated that in February 1949 while at the transit point in Petrozavodsk, he met two alleged American pilots he knew as: Oliver Rom and Lipay Blehk. Rom and Blehk said that they were stationed near Rochester, England in a bomb group (Rochester, east of London and south of the mouth of the Thames was not a US bomber base during the war). Rom said that his plane had been shot down while on a bombing mission over Hamburg, Germany and he had been imprisoned first at Otvertin, Belgium, then in Valenbruk, Germany (Neither of these locales is identifiable as having a German POW facility).

In 1945 British forces reportedly liberated the camp, but for reasons unknown, Oliver Rom and Lipay Blehk were turned over to the Soviet authorities. They were sent to Beryeza Kartyzkaya in the Belorussia, the staging point at Petrozavodsk, and then to the Rudnik-Plotina Labor camp in Kareliea, where he worked in Mine Shaft 1/2. While at Rudnik-Plotina, Oliver Rom's prisoner number was 8007. On 12 December 1958, a guard allegedly shot Rom who was buried at the Zelenaya Sobka site near the camp in plot number 11234. The author of the letter was unsure of the fate of Lipay Blehk, as he had little contact with him and saw Blehk for the last time in 1954.

[120] TFR 5-16 a, b & c.

According to the letters, Captain Oliver Rom was born in 1923 and was a native of Minnesota, United States. Rom's father was a Colombian who had experience working in mines in Fort Francis, Canada and Minnesota. Rom's mother was a native Russian whose maiden name was Olga Garshkova (Gorshkova). Rom was stationed in England as a bomber pilot, possibly with the 8th Air Force.

Although little is known about Lipay Blehk, he apparently experienced frequent troubles with camp authorities and spent a lot of time in Vyborg.

After Rom's burial, Blehk gave the author some of Rom's belongings, which included a small black address book, and a ring with the head of a Trojan warrior on it. Blehk also gave the author his own ring, which had a lion's head on it, and claimed that the symbols on the rings corresponded with the insignia that had been painted on the sides of their bombers. Camp authorities confiscated Rom's address book, but did not take the rings.

Initial analysis on the rings was done by an expert in "trench art" from the US Army Institute of Heraldry, Fort Belvoir, Virginia. He concluded: Rom's ring (Trojan warrior) was made from a brass nut; the warrior's profile is affixed to the brass with an epoxy substance that was common during WWII; Blehk's ring (Lion's head), was made from a double stroke die. Experts in London have been faxed an image of the rings and are currently studying them for more information.

The U.S. side of the Commission has not been able to identify Captain Oliver Rom and Lipay Blehk using the casualty lists or related personnel-type records from World War II. Additional searches are being conducted with the National Archives, Brigham Young University Geneaology Department, and Army Air Force historical files for Rom and Blehk.

There are many consistencies that lead us to believe that there is some merit to this case. They are:

1. The area around Fort Francis had a sizable population of immigrants from the former USSR.
2. Gold mines were and still are prevalent in the Fort Francis area.
3. The description of the area of Fort Francis as told to in the letter matches the actual terrain - confirmed by Henry Ossachuk, an immigration officer in Fort Francis.

4. A similar name, “Romyn” is associated with a gold mine in the Fort Francis area.
5. Gold mines were prevalent in pre-war Minnesota.
6. A search of CAF records found a record for “Oliver Romuk”. However, the record is located in a building undergoing asbestos removal and access to this record is not possible at the present time.
7. According to a map survey, the description of the route taken in the Karelo-Finskaya SSR is accurate.
8. A mine is located approximately 12 km from the town of Plotina in the Republic of Karelia.
9. The craftsmanship and materials connected with Rome’s ring are consistent with the war years.

We requested that a search be conducted in Russian archives for cardfiles or additional information from the Rudnika-Plotina Camp on Rom and Blehk. Also, records should be available at Zelenaya Sobka where Rom is allegedly buried.

<u>The “Dak Doil” case</u>

*Service.*

*Serial Number.*

*Date Captured/Missing.*

*Current Status.* Leads being followed in Russian archives.

*Remarks.* Vladimir Vladimirovich Starikov, a Militia Lieutenant in Magadan, recently answered a Task Force Russia advertisement. Lieutenant Starikov reported that while on a 1990 patrol down a foot path in the Amurskaya Oblast he found a lone wooden grave marker. On the grave marker was the inscription “Dak Doyl” , wing insignia, and the comment that the buried individual was a “good Communist”. Lieutenant Starikov produced the wings for Task Force Russian and they greatly resemble the insignia denoting a US aviator.

Task Force Russia personnel attempted to locate the grave site to acquire as accurate a rendition of the insignia as possible. We have searched our casualty data and have found five or six names that could

be derived from the name "Dak Doil". We will continue our research at the National Military Personnel Records Center in St. Louis to see if any of these individuals could possibly be the person buried in the Amurskaya Oblast. We requested our Russian colleagues search there sources to see if they have any information on "Dak Doil" in the Amurskaya Oblast.

The "Stanley" Case

*Service.* US Navy

*Serial Number.*

*Date Captured/Missing.*

*Current Status.* Leads being followed in Russian archives.

*Remarks.* On 19 May 1995, Task Force Russia received a letter from Boris Yakovlevich Kotlovsky, a Russian citizen who was in the GULAG during 1949 and 1950. While there, he says that he had contact with an American submarine Commander by the last name of "Stanley".

When Task Force Russia interviewed Kotlovsky on 10 August 1995 in Kiev, he said he was in the "Udarnik" goldmine near Susuman when he met Stanley. He stated further that Stanley was a about 35-37 years old and was a Lithuanian-American, who spoke both Russian and English.

We searched the list of World War II dead and could not find a Navy officer, whose last name was Stanley. We also conducted a search of the submarine losses of WWII at the Navy Department Library at the Washington Navy Yard. As far as we were able to determine, there were no Navy submarine officers lost whose first or last name was Stanley. There was only one submariner lost during World War II named Stanley. This was Gunner's Mate Second Class (GM2) Jason Stanley (2623066), who was lost on board USS Argonaut.

We have requested that our Russian colleagues search their archives for information on the Udarnik Gold Mine and any reference to GM2 Stanley.

## ***APPENDIX X: THE JOSEPH A. FRIEDL CASE***

In a 1993 PhD dissertation Patricia Wadley states that Joseph Friedl was one of thousands of Americans liberated by the Soviet Army from German POW camps, never returned to US military control, and held against their will in Soviet prisons. But Friedl was different, she states, because eventually he did return in April 1946, probably as result of Soviet efforts to use Allied POWs as blackmail against Washington and London into continuing forcible repatriation of Soviet citizens. The source Wadley cites for this account is: "Information from James Sanders, 17 January 1992." [121]

Joseph A. Friedl (37466700) was a staff sergeant from Sioux City, Iowa, serving with the 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion, 14th Armored Division, when captured by the Germans on 28 November 1944. He was sent to Stalag III-B at Furstenburg. His name appears on the master list of POWs of the Prisoner of War Information Bureau and is annotated as "RMC" (returned to military control). Friedl likely was liberated by Soviet troops from Stalag III-A, Luckenwalde, where in March the Germans had marched most of the Allied POWs from Stalag III-B. But contrary to the information Sanders supplied to Wadley, Friedl returned to the United States on 18 June 1945, and was discharged from the Army on 30 November 1945.[122]

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[121] Patricia Louise Wadley, "Even One Is Too Many: An Examination of the Soviet Refusal to Repatriate Liberated American World War II Prisoners of War," Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1993, pp. 231-32, especially footnote 106.

[122] "Final Payment Worksheet," 28 November 1945, and "WD AGO Form 53," 28 November 1945 (signed by Friedl); copies furnished by Records Reconstruction Branch, National Personnel Records Center.

## ***APPENDIX XI: RUSSIANS BURIED IN ALASKA FROM THE WORLD WAR II ERA***

Strict observation of neutrality with the Japanese Empire was a major concern to the Soviet Union prior to the Soviet declaration of war on Japan. This is amply illustrated by the famous Doolittle Raid on Japan. One concern of the planners of this mission was the range of the aircraft. If the plan was flawlessly executed, Doolittle's aircraft would have just enough fuel to safely reach and land at Chinese controlled airstrips. An alternative to this plan was to approach the Soviets and see if they would accept Doolittle's aircraft as a Lend-Lease shipment, thus allowing the aircraft to land at Soviet air bases after bombing Japan. Even though the Soviets relished the idea of receiving a squadron of new B-25 bombers early in the war, they would not agree to this proposal because of the extreme sensitivity surrounding their neutrality with Japan[123].

The Soviet Union maintained a technical services detachment in Alaska during World War II. The group was primarily responsible for the Soviet coordination and acceptance of Lend Lease supplies destined for the Soviet Union. All Lend Lease aircraft flown from Alaska to the Soviet Union were flown by Soviet Air Force pilots. Soviet reflagged Lend Lease freighters transported non-armament supplies through Japanese waters to Vladivostok. This large scale presence of Soviet personnel in Alaska invariably resulted in a number of accidental deaths, most were from aircraft accidents.

At least eleven Soviet servicemen and one civilian died and were buried in Alaska during World War II from various causes. These people and all known information are:

1. Stepan Stepanovich Bokarev, Junior Lieutenant, Soviet Air Force. Died as a result of a compound skull fracture received from an airplane crash on 13 June 1943. Lieutenant Bokarev was initially buried in the Ladd Field Cemetery, Alaska, but his remains were later moved to the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska where they remain. Lieutenant Bokarev was married at the time of his death.[124]

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[123]Otis Hays, Jr., Home From Siberia: The Secret Odysseys of Interned American Airmen in World War II (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1990), 28-29.

[124] Individual Deceased Personnel ("293") Files, box 739, Accession 92-70-1, RG 92, Washington National Records Center.

2. Boris V. Kisel'nikov, Major, Engineer Assistant to the Chief Engineer, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 7 December 1942 at Ladd Field, Alaska. Major Kisel'nikov was initially buried in the Ladd Field Cemetery, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska where they remain. Major Kisel'nikov was married at the time of his death to Nina V. Kisel'nikova.[125]

3. Alexsander N. Savinkin, Senior Lieutenant, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 14 March 1945 at Nome, Alaska. Lieutenant Savinkin was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946 where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[126]

4. Muberet Nurievich Nuriev, Captain, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 14 March 1945 at Nome, Alaska. Captain Nuriev was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[127]

5. Mikhail K. Murav'ev, Lieutenant, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 14 March 1945 at Nome, Alaska. Lieutenant Murav'ev was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[128]

6. Ivan Nikolaevich Moiseev, Captain, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 27 June 1943 at Golovin, Alaska. Captain Moiseev was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National

[125]ibid., box 4910, RG 92, WNRC.
[126]ibid., box 8348, RG 92, WNRC.
[127]ibid., box 6820, RG 92, WNRC.
[128]ibid.

Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[129]

7. Stepan Ivanovich Shchekachikhin, Sergeant, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 27 June 1943 at Golovin, Alaska. Sergeant Shchekachikhin was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were later moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[130]

8. Aleksei Dmitrievich Skorednev, Lieutenant, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 27 June 1943 at Golovin, Alaska. Lieutenant Skorednev was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[131]

9. Konstantin Iosifovich Zareumba, Lieutenant, Soviet Air Force. Died as result of a plane crash on 27 June 1943 at Golovin, Alaska. Lieutenant Zareumba was initially buried in the Post Cemetery Number 2, Nome, Alaska, but his remains were latter moved and interred at the Fort Richardson National Cemetery, Alaska on 22 October 1946, where they remain. No information available on his next of kin.[132]

10. Fedor Maksimovich Dikov, Warrant Officer, Soviet Navy. Died as result of coronary thrombosis on 8 September 1945. Mr. Dikov is buried in the US Army Cemetery at Fort Randall, Cold Bay, Alaska. At the time of his death, he was survived by his wife, Elena Vasilevna Dikova of Mikhailov, Kalinin Oblast.[133]

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[129]ibid., box 6205, RG 92, WNRC.
[130]ibid., box 8450, RG 92, WNRC.
[131]ibid., box 8197, RG 92, WNRC.
[132]ibid., box 10328, RG 92, WNRC.
[133]ibid., box 2291, RG 92, WNRC.

11. Evtikhii Emilyanovich Arelski, Chief Petty Officer, Soviet Navy. Died on 13 April 1945 as result of a skull fracture received from slipping on a ship's gangway. Chief Arelski is buried in the US Army Cemetery at Fort Randall, Cold Bay, Alaska. No information available on his next of kin.[134]

12. Yatskevicha, civilian daughter of Engineer Major Yatskevich. The only information available on this person is that she was buried in the Civilian cemetery in Fairbanks.[135]

13. All military graves are maintained in American fashion; each has a marble tombstone and each is decorated with crossed American and Russian flags on Memorial Day. Each body is buried with records sealed in metal canisters. Should the Russians decide to repatriate the remains, they will be easy to locate.

[134]ibid., box 65, RG 92, WNRC.

[135]TFR 133-33, List of Air Technical Personnel Buried on the Territory of Alaska.

## ***APPENDIX XII: THE "AG 704" FILES***

In the War Department Decimal File System, the records filing scheme nearly universally used by the Army during the World War II-era, the number "704" was the subject designation for "casualties, wounded, and wounds." In fact, documentation on all manner of casualties was filed under "704," including records of individual cases of missing in action, prisoner of war, and killed in action. Consequently we examined systematically nearly two hundred boxes of "704" files from the records of the Adjutant General's Office (TAGO), the War Department "office of record" for matters relating to personnel administration, among other responsibilities war. This appendix describes our research methodology and findings. [136]

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[136] The records we examined came from the several chronological and other subseries of the AG Central Decimal File, RG 407. They included the following chronological segments, file designations, and boxes:

1. AG 704-Dead;
   - 1945, boxes 4105-25
   - 1946-48, boxes 1553-74
   - 1949-50, box 992
2. AG 704-Dead (Security Classified)
   - 1945, boxes 3238-67
   - 1946-47, boxes 3544-48
3. AG 704-Casualty
   - 1945, boxes 4066-90
4. AG 704-Missing (Security Classified)
   - 1945, boxes 3291-3304
5. AG 704 (Classified)
   - 1945, boxes 3116-47
6. AG 704
   - 1946-48, boxes 1524-52.

Benjamin L. DeWhitt, Records Relating to Personal Participation in World War II: American Military Casualties and Burials: Reference Information Paper 82 (Washington: NARA, 1993), pp. 30-33, provides a good description of the Central Decimal File, in general, and the records under AG 704, in particular. The differences between the several AG 704 subseries and subfiles are mostly subtle. For instance, determinations of death of individuals previously in MIA status can be found filed under AG 704 Dead, AG 704 Missing, and AG 704. Nor are the distinctions between the security classified and the unclassified portions obvious. The chronological subseries are the more important consideration, particularly since determinations of death under the Missing Persons Act normally were made twelve

The Adjutant General's Office had technical supervisory responsibility over and provided services to War Department headquarters and all major echelons of the Army for a variety of Army-wide administrative, communication, records management, and personnel matters. As a result, TAGO central decimal files for World War II "are probably the most comprehensive single body of important documentation of the activities of the War Department and Army during the war...." The central decimal files are large in volume (nearly 5,000 cubic feet for the period 1940-54) and nearly comprehensive in the subject matter they document.[137] For our work, those portions relating to personnel administration and casualties were the most significant.

The Casualty Branch of TAGO received notices about military personnel who were casualties in the United States and overseas, prepared notifications to their next of kin, handled related correspondence, supervised casualty reporting methods used throughout the Army, and reviewed findings and actions in cases of Army personnel reported as MIA. As a result of this work, the branch created important records, now part of the TAGO Central Decimal File, relating to policy and procedures for casualty reporting and the casualty resolution process, that were of value to our understanding these subjects. But for us the most significant documentation was that relating to the reviews and determinations of individual cases under the Missing Persons Act.

Within each of the chronological subseries and decimal subfiles of AG 704 (as listed in footnote 177) the "reviews and determination of status," "subsequent reviews," and "reports of death" are arranged by date, usually the date the casualty resolution board which examined the case rendered a determination. Although some determinations were made throughout the war, particularly under Section 5 of the Missing Persons Act, far more came as hostilities drew to a close and continued into the postwar years; the bulk of the files useful to us, therefore, was dated 1945 to 1948. As the process continued after VE

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months after the person went missing. With persistence, it sometimes is possible to locate the case on a specific individual by searching the relevant AG 704 files dated approximately one year after the disappearance. The dates of death listed in the American Battle Monuments Commission Register of World War II Dead Interred in American Military Cemeteries on Foreign Soil... (Washington: AMBC), also can provide clues to possible file locations.

Day and additional information was uncovered, "determinations of death" rendered earlier under Section 5 often were changed to "reports of death" under Section 9. But the growing number of cases filed in the chronological subseries dated after VE Day was not simply a matter of the twelve month provision in the law. More and more sources of information to assist in resolving individual casualty cases became available as Allied forces occupied territory formerly controlled by the German enemy. Significant among these were liberated POWs, captured German records, and actual burial sites. As the AG 704 files reveal, the effort was truly massive and comprehensive.

The process involved resolving both cases of MIAs and of known POWs who did not return to military control. The discrepencies relating to most individuals in each of these categories eventually were resolved as either determined dead or reported dead. The Casualty Branch received much information through normal War Department channels, such as Missing Aircrew Reports, findings of Graves Registration Teams, and lists of known POWs. But it also sought out information to assist in resolving individual cases from less likely sources. For example, on cases of known POWs who were missing after liberation or of aircrew who were MIA, it routinely would contact survivors (from the POW camp or aircraft of the missing individual) who might know about the circumstances of the disappearance. Occasionally it would request information from the next of kin. It used the Federal Bureau of Investigation and scientific/medical sources to assist in fingerprint, dental, and other pathological means of identifying bodily remains. It sought information from aircraft manufacturers, such as serial numbers of parts and equipment, that were aboard a particular plane believed involved in an incident involving an MIA or unidentified remains. It also got information on possible burial sites from churches, municipal government, and other sources in Germany and the countries of formerly occupied Europe, which further helped to resolve individual MIA cases.

The documents relating to individual "reviews and determination of status," "subsequent reviews ...," and "reports of death" contain information about casualties resulting for several types of incidents. The largest number of the reports relate to aircrews from the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces, which were missing after being shot down in operations over Germany, Austria, and other areas of Nazi-occupied

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[137] Departmental Records Branch, Guide to Records of the Adjutant General's Department, 1940-45:

Europe. Infantrymen overrun by German attacks, as at Kasserine Pass (Tunisia) in February 1943 or in the Ardennes (Belgium) in December 1944, or lost in American offensive operations conducted in rough, isolated terrain, such as along the Rapido River (Italy) in January 1944 or in the Huertgen Forest (Germany) during the autumn of 1944, also constitute a sizable portion of these files. Because these reviews under the Missing Persons Act normally were done twelve months after a person was missing, records relating to numbers of individuals lost in a specific major operation, such as the "Big Week" bombing missions of February 1944 or the Normandy landings in June 1944, often can be located together (filed, that is, under the same or nearly the same AG 704 file date). These records also contain a substantial amount of information on American POWs held by the Germans, including prisoners who died during captivity, who were killed in bombing raids or while Allied forces attempted to liberate them, or who went missing on the evacuation marches when the Germans moved the camp populations.

Obviously we could not reconstruct all of the casualty resolution cases prepared by the War Department during and immediately after the war. But we selectively reviewed portions of the TAGO central decimal files that contained documentation on those cases, identified those segments that contained the chronologically and geographically relevant material, and then systematically and carefully reviewed case files relating to POWs and MIAs who might have had some contact with Soviet forces. From this research we gained a depth of understanding of how the casualty resolution process worked, how evidence was gathered, and how the analysis was done that led to determination of final casualty status. Our review was not only useful for a general understanding of the process, but also for uncovering information on specific cases, including individuals who had come into Soviet Army custody from German POW camps or who had or might have had contact with the Russians at the end of the war. In addition, we found information on individual cases we already had developed, such as for some names on the "207 List" and for discrepancy case like Reitz and Thompson. Our AG 704 file search yielded documentation on these and other matters in great quantities.

The most interesting information uncovered fell into several often overlapping categories:

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Record Group Summaries 207.12-207.90 (Washington: TAGO, 1950).

1. American POWs known to be in German custody who were reported killed at about the time Soviet forces liberated their camps, such as those at Stalag III-C, Kustrin (all individuals already known to us).
2. POWs reported to have died or been killed on the evacuation marches;
3. POWs reported to have died during German captivity whose remains were never recovered (BNR).
4. Americans who were MIA in proximity to Soviet forces who were declared dead and whose remains were not recovered.
5. Other "interesting" cases, such as of individuals originally reported as POWs but who it was determined later had been killed in action and were never in German custody (such cases are an especially dramatic example of the "fog of war" problem discussed earlier in our report and one which caused unfortunate expectations among the next of kin).
6. Notable individual cases (Reitz, Thompson, et al). Documents relating to these categories have been copied and organized for our ongoing work in developing additional case studies and problems to examine.

## ***APPENDIX XIII: ARCHIVAL SOURCES EXAMINED***

Although we believe our research and analysis have resolved a number of issues, raised new questions about other issues, and uncovered new and valuable sources of information about the American World War II prisoner of war experience, we do not believe our account is the last word on the subject. With that knowledge firmly in mind, we have endeavored to provide accurate citations to the documents and series of records which we have used. We anticipate, even welcome, other researchers examining the documentation we have utilized.

Electrostatic copies have been made of virtually all of the original documents cited in the footnotes of this report; the copies generally have been arranged to correspond to the organization of the report. The copies and other working papers accumulated in preparing the report will be available to researchers at the National Archives. The copies have been annotated to indicate the file, box number, record series, and record group, where the original document can be located. The footnote citations in the report also provide that information.

Two publications provide an invaluable starting point to researching the vast World War II records holdings of the National Archives relating to the POW experience:

- Ben DeWhitt and Jennifer Davis Heaps (compilers), American Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees: Records Relating to Personal Participation in World War II: Reference Information Paper 80 (Washington: NARA, 1992).
- Benjamin L. DeWhitt (compiler), American Military Casualties and Burials: Records Relating to Personal Participation in World War II: Reference Information Paper 82 (Washington: NARA, 1993).

The following record groups, series, and files were especially valuable for our work, although the list is by no means exhaustive of all the materials in the National Archives that we examined.

- Record Group 331; Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF);
- Secretary General Staff, G-1, and G-1 PW Executive Branch correspondence;

- Records relate to planning for POW recovery, liaison with allies (including Soviets), tracking POW population in German camps, reports on recovery of Allied POWs.
- Record Group 332; European Theater of Operations (ETO);

  a. Provost Marshal General; administrative correspondence relating to recovery of POWs and transport out of the ETO back to the US; also includes nominal rolls of POWs returned to military control (RMC) arranged by POW camp or transport point;

  b. ETO MIS-X Branch; intelligence reports on POWs in German custody and debriefs of those RMC.
- Record Group 334; US Military Mission to Moscow; especially see the "POW" entry in the Subject File; relates to diplomatic exchanges with the Soviets, activities of the Wilmeth team in Poland and the contact team in Odessa, and inquiries about and passing of information relating to individual American servicemen believed to be POW and MIA in the Soviet zone.
- RG 389; Provost Marshal General's Office;

  a. Prisoner of War Information Bureau (PWIB) records include the master lists of POWs, whether RMC or died in captivity;

  b. PWIB Subject File contains a variety of significant entries relating to POWs, including debriefs of those RMC, intelligence reports relating to the evacuation of German camps, and information on the repatriations from Rumania and Bulgaria; Reference Information Paper 80 contains an extensive file listing of this series.
- RG 407; Adjutant General Central Decimal Files, 1940-48;

  a. under AG 383.6 policy documentation and reporting on the recovery of POWs;

  b. under AG 704 [with variations] casualty recovery, resolution, and clearance policy;

  c. especially significant are those files under AG 704-Dead for individual cases of MIAs determined or known to be dead (This is perhaps the most important new body of documentary

evidence uncovered in the course of our work, to help understand both the policy relating to POW recovery and casualty clearance, but also to see how individual discrepancy cases fit into that policy.).