

POW/MIA Accounting

Paul M. Cole

POW/MIA
Accounting

Volume I – Searching for America’s Missing
Servicemen in the Soviet Union

palgrave
macmillan

Paul M. Cole
Nashville, TN, USA

ISBN 978-981-10-7127-0 ISBN 978-981-10-7128-7 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7128-7>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017960946

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover Image © Eddie Gerald/Getty Images

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

PREFACE

POW/MIA Accounting, which focuses on the US government’s efforts to account for American prisoners of war (POW) and missing in action (MIA) who became “unaccounted for” as a result of three of America’s four historic conflicts (World War II, the Korean War, and the Cold War era), consists of two volumes:

Volume I: Searching for America’s Missing Servicemen in the Soviet Union describes three research projects that were sponsored between 1991–1994 by the Department of Defense (DoD). The purpose of the three projects, each of which was focused on archives located in the former Soviet Union, was to search for any evidence that American citizens in general, and service members¹ in particular, had been transferred to the territory of the Soviet Union and held there against their will. DoD did not include the Vietnam War, America’s fourth historic conflict, in the statement of work for these projects. The first two projects were administered by the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California, the third by DFI International Inc., in Washington, DC.

*Volume II: J*P*A*C and The Politics of Human Skeletal Identification* is an insider’s account of the activities and events that occurred within the Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command and Central Identification Laboratory, Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam, Hawaii, during the years 2010–2014.

Both volumes are intended to create a single first-person narrative, from the perspective of a participant who was in the program for seven years, that describes in detail how the accounting program operated.

* * *

Volume I, which opens with the origins of and authorization for America's POW/MIA accounting program, sets the scene for the broader socio-political context within which the accounting program operates. This context includes the definition of the term "accounted for," the consequences of regulatory capture, as well as a description of the intense competition for administrative control of the science of human skeletal identification. Examples of how America's missing service members have been exploited by those in and out of the government, including the President of the United States, are included.

In order to be able to make a meaningful evaluation of the accounting program, one must have an understanding of the program's origins, socio-political context, terminology, statistics, jargon, and acronyms. One is also advised to become familiar with the names of the agencies, people (such as lobbyists and politicians), and organizations in and out of the government that influence or in some cases control considerable aspects of the accounting program.

For example, the most important term in the accounting program is the definition of "accounted for." Despite wishful thinking to the contrary, the definition that binds the Accounting Community derives from Congressional authorization. This definition, which is amended periodically in response to shifting political and technological circumstances, is always associated with a corresponding set of "accounting methods" that are authorized by Congress through the annual National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA).

"Historic conflicts" are currently defined by Congress as World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, as well as losses that occurred during the Cold War era beyond the Korean and Vietnam combat zones.

These issues as well as the basic elements of the accounting program are discussed in Chapters one through four. An awareness of these issues and related concepts is essential in order to understand how and why the program to account for missing American servicemen exists as well as why the program was extended into the Soviet Union in the early 1990s.

After the historical, legislative, and socio-political context is established, the narrative turns to the accounting program itself. This narrative addresses the program on two levels: First, the declaratory, which is what was said about the program. Second is the operational level, which is the empirical record of events that occurred within the program. Without a proper awareness and appreciation of both the declaratory rhetoric and operational record, any understanding of the accounting program will be superficial as well as incomplete.

Both declaratory and operational levels of the accounting program deserve equal attention, yet the focus is almost always disproportionate. Far more attention is paid to the declaratory aspect, viz., what is said about the program, rather than what occurs within it. This imbalance is due, in part, to the fact that the rhetoric, which is comparatively easy to produce, can be expressed in simple terms that the general public and members of Congress are able to understand. In contrast, the rhetoric of the physical sciences, including forensic anthropology, odontology, and battlefield archaeology, which is intrinsically complex, is far more difficult for members of Congress, the media and the general public to comprehend. The lack of in-depth, competent reporting by the media on the scientific track record of the accounting program is also directly attributable to the DoD's improper efforts to discourage or prevent participants from releasing technical information associated with operational activities. Oversight of political rhetoric is easy. Oversight of scientific activities, which requires in-depth subject matter expertise, is both time consuming as well as impossible for those who lack subject matter expertise. The overwhelming majority of DoD officials responsible for management and oversight of the accounting program have been scientifically illiterate. In addition, no candidate for Congress has a constituency that votes on the basis of which candidate has the stronger position on the accounting program. This political reality explains why the meager amount of oversight applied by Congress is often led by the scientifically illiterate in pursuit of political objectives or an agenda determined by regulatory capture.

As a result of the superficial and often unrealistic rhetoric used over many years by prominent American politicians, military leaders, and others, the accounting program is often described as exceptional, a unique program, simultaneously secular and hallowed, that is carried out by "handpicked" military elites and altruistic civil servants on behalf of a grateful nation. For example, the accounting program was characterized by the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) as the "most humanitarian of all humanitarian missions."² Less than a decade after the end of the Vietnam War, President Reagan elevated the accounting program to the level of the "nation's highest national priority." Presidents Obama and Trump and countless military leaders have referred to the accounting program as a "sacred" mission.

The consequence of this ostentatious rhetoric has been to enshroud the accounting program with myth. The point of this study is not to refute myth with fact, for the two have little to do with one another. Nor is the intent to destroy the myth, primarily due to the fact that "once born, [myths] carry on independent lives."³ As long as people choose to believe

that it is so, the accounting program will continue to be a “sacred,” “humanitarian” mission that is the “highest national priority” regardless of the underlying reality or the facts.

Sunlight, however, is the most effective disinfectant. After the rhetoric is peeled back, the empirical record of the accounting program bears scant resemblance to a “sacred mission” of the “highest national priority” that has been carried out by a handpicked group of elite humanitarians. This is not altogether surprising. The probability that any program, regardless of the competence or dedication of the participants and regardless of the resources dedicated to it, could possibly fulfill an advance billing that was both extraordinarily optimistic as well as embellished beyond all reasonable expectations was remote, even in the most optimal of circumstances. If sprinkling the pixie dust of the word “sacred” would ensure the success of a government program, Congress and the president would designate every program as “sacred.” Eventually, as every theocracy learns sooner or later, sacred missions have a tendency to run aground on the shoals of reality. When these shipwrecks occur, the prime directive shifts to concealing the cause of the catastrophe from the general public.

The narrow slice of the empirical narrative of the accounting program described herein derives from three projects sponsored by DoD. The first, which began in 1991, was administered by the RAND Corporation. The origin of the first project derived from DoD’s obligation to respond to a two-sentence amendment to the FY1992 Intelligence Authorization Act that passed the House without objection. At the end of the day, however, the statement of work as authorized and funded bore little, if any, relationship with the reporting obligation created by that legislation. The first project quickly evolved from a domestic archive research project into the search for missing American service members in the Soviet Union. This astonishing metamorphosis was typical of the mission creep that is allowed to flourish in the accounting program. Congress funded the accounting program year after year, yet consistently failed to rein in mission creep through any meaningful oversight. In the absence of operational oversight, funds allocated for one purpose can be easily and routinely re-directed for another.

The scope of work (SoW) of the second project administered by RAND, which was an extension of the first, was expanded to search for evidence that American service members who had gone missing during the Korean War as well as any other American citizens had been transported to the territory of the Soviet Union (USSR) against their will. RAND management determined one and one half full-time equivalent (FTE) researchers would be sufficient to carry out this project.

In addition to such an ambitious scope, the SoW drafted by DoD and approved by RAND included a task to investigate the assertion that at the end of WWII, over 23,000 US and more than 30,000 British and Commonwealth POWs liberated from German POW camps had been transferred to but never repatriated from the Soviet Gulag. RAND management should have never agreed to include this task in the SoW. The allegation that General Eisenhower had colluded with Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin to condemn over 50,000 Allied and American POWs to the Soviet Gulag was preposterous. A casual review of the publications that touted this nonsense would have drawn attention to the misuse of evidence and undergraduate-level analysis required to produce such an irresponsible and unfounded assertion. If this accusation had been submitted by a constituent, any self-respecting member of Congress would have consigned it to the “Sad File,” unworthy of a reply.

Instead RAND management, which stated repeatedly that RAND neither “answered the mail” nor felt obligated to respond to requests for the DoD or Congress, agreed to include this task in an otherwise serious research project. The inclusion of this task, which degraded the importance of the accounting program, granted validity to a specious argument raised by people described as “crackpots.” The inclusion of this task confirmed that within the DoD bureaucracy, attention paid to the nation’s “highest national priority” occurred at a remarkably low epistemological level. In this environment, conspiracy theories, scientific conclusions and legitimate scholarship were regarded as opinions of equal validity. This bogus issue could have and should have been screened out by competent management in the earliest phase of negotiations between DoD and RAND on the solid grounds that this had nothing to do with the two-sentence amendment to the FY1992 Intelligence Authorization Act. The inclusion of this issue in the SoW explains why significant time, resources, and attention were diverted from questions that were far more relevant and, more importantly, worthy of examination by one of the most prominent research institutions in the world.

The endorsement of the first two projects by the US Secretary of Defense and the Soviet Union’s Minister of Defense enabled research to be conducted on an unprecedented scale in archives controlled first by the Soviet Union, then after the dissolution of the USSR by the Commonwealth of Independent States and finally by the Russian Federation. The archives accessed included Soviet military intelligence records located in Moscow. Red Army intelligence officers who had first-hand experience with US POWs during the Korean War were interviewed, as were the chairman and deputy chairman of the KGB and other intelligence officers who had knowledge of these events.

In 1993 the third project, which was sponsored by the Defense Prisoner of War/Missing in Action Office (DPMO),⁴ was administered by DFI International Inc. in Washington, DC. It is important to distinguish the purpose of from the motivation for the third project. The purpose of the third project was to continue searching for any evidence that American service members who went missing during any of America's historic conflicts had been transported across, confined, or resettled in territory controlled by the USSR or any of its allies. The motivation for the project was the fact that the US-Russia Joint Commission on POW/MIA Affairs (USRJC) was faltering due to inadequate leadership on the US side as well as the inability and unwillingness to perform on the Russian side.

In the third project's statement of work, DPMO expanded the scope of the previous projects in two salient respects:

- First, in contrast to the two previous projects that focused on research in Moscow, DPMO required us to achieve access to and conduct research in archives and other records found in the KGB headquarter buildings located in four of the former Soviet republics, namely, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Ukraine.
- Second, DPMO required us to carry out research in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). This included research in various archive holdings, including military intelligence as well as the records of the Ministry for State Security (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*), East Germany's secret police known by the acronym "Stasi."

Interviews were an integral part of the third project. Our research teams in the former Soviet republics interviewed Soviet military veterans who had engaged in combat against US forces and others who had first-hand knowledge about and in some cases direct contact with US POWs, including face-to-face interrogations. Some of the Soviet veterans described how American POWs had been transferred to the USSR. An American deserter who had been relocated to East Germany by Soviet forces revealed in an interview that American POWs and other deserters had been relocated to or transferred to East Germany during the Korean and Cold Wars.

DPMO terminated the interview effort while the third project was on-going.

With regard to the issue of taking notes, when we began work in Moscow in 1991, laptop computers were rare, bulky, and expensive, the Internet and email were unavailable, cell phones did not exist, and international telephone service was both unreliable and extremely expensive. The fax machine, which at the time was an awe-inspiring, cutting-edge technology, relied on “thermal paper.” If a fax message were exposed to direct sunlight, the text on thermal paper would vanish like magic. When a fax machine jammed, which would occur with alarming regularity, the machine would burst into flames. Video cameras, which were the size of a carry-on bag, were unavailable in the USSR. A microcassette audio-only tape recorder, handwritten notes, and a photocopy machine (when we could find one that worked) were the only reliable means available to create a written record or to tape interviews (Fig. 1).

In addition to archive material and interviews, the other primary source for *Volume I* is the author’s personal journal, a page from which follows (Fig. 2).

The journal entries are reproduced with only minor editing for clarity such as to correct spellings or to clear up the vague antecedent of a relative pronoun.

* * *

With regard to the perspective, details have been added whenever possible, but not with the intent to lard the narrative; rather, the objective is to provide a comprehensive, empirical record of events that includes insights that could only be provided by a participant. This is not, therefore, a detached tale related from a perspective high above government institutions. Instead, this story is told, whenever the evidence allows, from within the room where the events occurred, at the level of individuals. Due to the fact that the narrative is structured thematically, there is at times a disruption of the chronological flow of events and some unavoidable redundancy that every effort has been made to keep to a minimum.

In addition to many honest, competent, dedicated professionals and family members searching for answers they most assuredly deserve, the accounting program also attracts an astonishingly diverse rogue’s gallery of villains. These miscreants, who are responsible for an appalling list of abhorrent activities, have been described by members of Congress and others as “cruel frauds,” “scoundrels,” “marginal employees,” “crackpots,” and “evil creeps.” The explanation for why the accounting program appeals to a broad range of con artists, the scientifically illiterate, lobbyists, and incompetents who describe themselves as “activists” exceeds the scope

Fig. 1 Microcassette recorder (Photo: Public Domain)



-686-

April 16, 1994 - Vilnius, Lithuania (Saturday)

Yesterday was unexpectedly eventful. He started w/ a late breakfast followed by an 11:00 meeting w/ Gediminas Kirkilas, a member of Parliament who met us last December. He explained to him the problems we face here -- e.g. the research guy we thought we hired in Dec '93 simply disappeared. So we told GK the sob story about how next month I have to report to the DoD and I have nothing to say about Lithuania. No one needs to know about the work Rom M. has done for us with the archive material he photocopied here two years ago. So GK phoned the head of the Lithuanian state archive -- the guy's first name is Gediminas -- everyone here is named Gediminas -- so we went immediately to his office w/ GK's car. The only problem was the driver took us to the police headquarters! He walked

-686-

April 16, 1994 - Vilnius, Lithuania (Saturday)

Yesterday was unexpectedly eventful. We started w/ a late breakfast followed by an 11.00 meeting w/ Gediminas Kirkilas, a member of Parliament who met us last December. We explained to him the problems we face here – e. g., the research guy we thought we hired in Dec '93 simply disappeared. So we told GK the sob story about how next month I have to report to the DoD and I have nothing to say about Lithuania. No one needs to know about the work Rom M. has done for us with the archive material he photocopied here two years ago. So GK phoned the head of the Lithuanian state archive – the guy's first name is Gediminas – everyone here is named Gediminas – so we went immediately to his office w/ GK's car. The only problem was the driver took us to the police headquarters! We walked

Fig. 2 Sample page of Dr. Paul M. Cole's journal

of the present study. These “evil creeps,” who plague the accounting program like bloodsucking deer flies at a lakeside summer camp, have refused do the honorable thing, which would be to go away and never be heard from again. The role played by the “evil creeps” is therefore an integral part of the story of the accounting program.

The “cruel frauds,” who derive money and extract pleasure from exploiting vulnerable family members, receive the fame they desperately crave from fawning journalists and gullible members of Congress. “Crackpots” and bombastic idiots are routinely referred to as “experts.” Demonstrably fabricated statements concocted by “marginal employees” are treated with reverence as valid “opinions.” “Scoundrels” and their false narratives have become a familiar malignancy so deeply embedded within the accounting program that it would be irresponsible to pretend otherwise. Names of the honorable and capable, the indifferent and incompetent, as well as the “cruel frauds” and “evil creeps,” therefore, are included in this narrative whenever the issue is salient, the evidence is both sufficient and credible, and the reference to individuals by name contributes to the integrity and comprehensiveness of the narrative. Like a history of the church, the story of America’s “sacred” mission includes both saints and sinners. Pretending the latter do not exist unjustly diminishes the contributions of the former.

With regard to ambition and scope, this study is not intended to be a comprehensive history of either the accounting program or the POW/MIA Accounting Community.

That important task is left to more capable hands.

* * *

Nashville, TN, USA

Paul M. Cole

NOTES

1. Members of the United States Armed Forces, regardless of gender, who went missing during America’s historic conflicts are collectively referred to as “servicemen” or “service members.”
2. POW/MIA Recognition Day statement, September 19, 2014 <http://www.pow-miafamilies.org/recognition-day.html>
3. “Myths about science...and belief in the paranormal,” Milton Rothman, *Skeptical Inquirer* (Vol. 14, No. 1, Fall 1989), pp. 25–34.
4. The Defense Prisoner of War/Missing in Action Office subsequently became the Defense Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The activities described in *Volume I* are the product of extraordinary contributions by many people. Few of the events described herein, however, would have been possible without the leadership, assistance, and friendship of Sergei Zamascikov. Any progress that was made as a result of these projects to account for missing American service members may be attributed to Sergei whose dedication to his adopted country was often a thing to behold.

The suggestion to write this book was first made by Dr. John Byrd, who along with Dr. Miemie Byrd offered inexhaustible encouragement.

Over the course of two years of research and writing, generous support and encouragement were provided by a number of people, including Elane and Bob LaGroue, Catherine “MC” Cole, Michael Swaine, Pamela Ballinger and John Henshaw, Richard Bitzinger, Tom Koch, Doug Lockhart, Fiona MacKintosh, J. Burke Burnett, Alessandro Arduino, Helmut Richthammer and Lieutenant Colonel J. Russell Cole (USAF, retired). Friends in Hawaii who provided a place to stay and write but prefer to remain anonymous were not taken for granted. There is no superlative for the words thank you. If there were, you all deserve it.

The colleagues who assisted Sergei and me in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Germany, and Moscow in the early 1990s emerged from the communist era with their dignity and professionalism intact. This book, which is an inadequate expression of our appreciation, is a small indication that the contributions you made all of those years ago still resonate. Assistance of particular importance in the Baltic countries was provided by Dr. Romuald Misiunis.

This book was written in the Aiea, Mililani, and Kaimuki in Hawaii, Chicago, Nashville, Maryland, Maine, Singapore, and Shanghai. Without the support from everyone, particularly during times that were less than encouraging, this book would not have been possible.

Thank you. I owe each of you a debt that will be difficult to repay.

The responsibility for any errors or deficiencies in this book is mine.

CONTENTS

1	Authorization, Policy, Implementation, and Oversight	1
2	The Accounting Program: Locate, Recover, Identify, and Return	57
3	Political Interference with Science	101
4	Exploitation of the Missing	141
5	Accounting for the Korean War Missing	181
6	To Moscow via Stockholm and Helsinki	215
7	Pentagon Briefing, Lunch with a KGB General	279
8	Congressional and DoD Action	297
9	Russia's Involvement in POW/MIA Affairs	323
10	US-Russia Joint Commission on POW/MIAs	353
11	Archive Research Follow-On Project	465

12	Final Project Briefing and RAND Report Published	563
13	Moscow, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, and East Germany	591
14	“Evil Creeps,” Conspiracy Theorists, and DPMO’s Activities	733
15	Findings and Conclusions	813
	Index	865

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	American Association for the Advancement of Science
ABFA	American Board of Forensic Anthropology
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
AEFNR	American Expeditionary Force North Russia
AFDIL	Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory
AFIRB	Armed Forces Identification Review Board
AGRC	American Graves Registration Command
AGRS	American Graves Registration Service
AMEMB	American Embassy
APC	Armored Personnel Carrier
AQG	Army Quartermaster General
ARPANET	Advanced Research Projects Agency Network
ASCLD-LAB	American Society of Crime Laboratory Directors- Laboratory Accreditation Board
ASGRO	Armed Services Graves Registration Office
AWOL	Absent Without Leave
BFF	Best Friend Forever
BND	West German Intelligence Service, <i>Bundesnachrichtendienst</i>
BNR	Body Not Recovered
BTB	Believed to Be
CBD	Commerce Business Daily
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIL	Central Identification Laboratory
CILHI	Central Identification Laboratory Hawaii

CIL-THAI	Central Identification Laboratory-Thailand
CINCUNC	Commander in Chief, United Nations Command
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIU	Central Identification Unit
CODEL	Congressional Delegation
COLA	Cost of Living Allowance
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CRM	Corporate Research Manager
DASD	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
DCM	Deputy Chief of Mission
DDCI	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
DFI	Defense Forecasts, Inc.
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
DMZ	De-Militarized Zone
DoD	Department of Defense
DoDD	Department of Defense Directive
DoDI	Department of Defense Instruction
DoS	Department of State
DPAA	Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency
DPMO	Defense POW/MIA Office, later Defense POW/Missing Personnel Office
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
E3	Private First Class
E. O.	Executive Order
ESSR	Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic
FFRDC	Federally Funded Research and Development Center
FLABS	Folklore and Bullshit
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FRS	Family Reference Sample
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
FSB	Federal Security Service, successor of the KGB
FTE	Full-Time Equivalent
GAO	General Accounting Office, later Government Accountability Office
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GRS	Graves Registration Service
GRU	Soviet military intelligence
GS	Government Service

HR	House Resolution
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
ICHV	International Center for Human Values
IDPF	Individual Deceased Personnel File
ISA	International Security Affairs
JAG	Judge Advocate General
JCRC	Joint Casualty Resolution Center
JCSD	Joint Commission Support Directorate
JFA	Joint Field Activity
JPAC	Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command
JTF-FA	Joint Task Force-Full Accounting
KGB	Committee for State Security of the USSR
KIA	Killed in Action
KIA/BNR	Killed in Action/Body Not Recovered
KWWG	Korean War Working Group
LBJ	Lyndon Baines Johnson
LMA	Ladies' Memorial Association
LSEL	Life Sciences Equipment Laboratory of the Air Force
LSSR	Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic
MIA	Missing in Action
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs, precursor of the KGB
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDAA	National Defense Authorization Act
NDRI	National Defense Research Institute
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NMCP	National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific
NNSC	Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission
NPRC	National Personnel Records Center
NVA	East German Army, <i>Nationale Volksarmee</i>
OIG	Office of the Inspector General
OMPF	Official Military Personnel Files
OPLAN	Operations Plan
OPM	Other People's Money
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
OSI	Office of Special Intelligence
OTR	Off the Rack

PACOM	Pacific Command
PADD	Person Authorized to Direct Disposition of Human Remains
PAF	Project Air Force
PFC	Private First Class (E3)
PNOK	Primary Next of Kin
POC	Point of Contact
POW	Prisoner of War
PRO	Public Record Office
PSD	Political Science Department
RSR	RAND-Supported Research
SA-2	C-75 Surface-to-Air missile
SAIC	Science Applications, Inc.
SALT I	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I
SCO	Service Casualty Office
SEP	Socialist Unity Party, <i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei</i>
SES	Senior Executive Service
SIS	Special Intelligence Service
SNIE	Special National Intelligence Estimate
SoW	Statement of Work
SP4	Specialist 4th Class
SSC	Senate Select Committee
Stasi	East German Secret Police, <i>Ministerium für Staatssicherheit</i>
TDY	Tour of Duty
TFR	Task Force Russia
TFR-M	Task Force Russia-Moscow
TSN	Tan Son Nhut
UNCMAC	United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission
USAF	United States Air Force
USAFSS	United States Air Force Security Service
USARVIS	US Army Vietnam Installation Stockade
USC	United States Code
USCINCPAC	US Commander in Chief Pacific Command
USD(P&R)	Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness)
USD(P)	Under Secretary of Defense (Policy)
USN	United States Navy
USPACOM	United States Pacific Command

USRJC	US-Russia Joint Commission on POW/MIA Affairs
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VFW	Veterans of Foreign Wars
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Douaumont Ossuary and Necropolis (Photos: (L) Reuters (R) Jean-Christophe Verhagen/AFP/Getty Images)	7
Fig. 1.2	POW/MIA flag (Photo: Public Domain)	25
Fig. 2.1	Burial mound at Marathon (Photo: Public Domain)	62
Fig. 2.2	Crash site (Photo: earlyaeroplanes.com)	64
Fig. 2.3	Grave site of LT Quentin Roosevelt (Photo: earlyaeroplanes.com)	65
Fig. 2.4	Graves Registration during the Korean War (Photo: Public Domain)	66
Fig. 2.5	Monument to the unknowns, Valley Forge (Photo: Public Domain)	83
Fig. 2.6	Remains of Civil War dead (Photo: nlm.nih.gov)	84
Fig. 2.7	Civil War monument to the unknowns (Photo: arlingtoncemetery.mil)	85
Fig. 2.8	National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific unknowns (Photo: PM Cole) and WWII USS Oklahoma unknown (Photo: Public Domain)	85
Fig. 2.9	Tomb of the Unknowns (Photo: arlingtoncemetery.mil)	86
Fig. 3.1	Trofim Denisovich Lysenko (Photo: Public Domain)	103
Fig. 3.2	Keep America Foundation leaflet (1955) (Source: Public Domain)	107
Fig. 3.3	Dr. Mildred Trotter (Photo: Washington University St. Louis)	115
Fig. 3.4	Remains of the USS Oklahoma missing. CIL, Schofield Barracks, Oahu (Photo: Washington University of St. Louis)	122
Fig. 4.1	PFC Alan K. Barton (Photo: Public Domain)	151

Fig. 4.2	Skeletal chart for X-15. Darkened areas are missing (Image: Public Domain)	152
Fig. 4.3	Newspaper article describing identification of PFC Barton, formerly X-15 (Image: Saginaw, Michigan, <i>News</i> , February 9, 1983)	154
Fig. 4.4	Helicopter crash site (Photo: Public Domain)	156
Fig. 4.5	Anatomical chart of remains identified as PVT William J. McRae (Image: Public Domain)	157
Fig. 4.6	PVT William J. McRae's military identification card (Image: Public Domain)	158
Fig. 4.7	Skeletal chart of X-32. Darkened areas are missing (Image: Public Domain)	159
Fig. 4.8	Skeletal chart of X-17, aka "Boston Billy" (Image: Public Domain)	160
Fig. 4.9	Mr. Jerry L. Degnan (Photo: Public Domain)	161
Fig. 4.10	Anatomical comparison of Jerry L. Degnan to "Boston Billy" aka X-17 (Image: Public Domain)	162
Fig. 4.11	Grave of Mr. Jerry L. Degnan, formerly X-17 (Photo: Public Domain)	163
Fig. 4.12	Caisson with remains of X-26 arrive at Arlington National Cemetery (Photo: Public Domain)	169
Fig. 4.13	President Reagan (far right) at the interment of X-26 in the Tomb of the Unknowns. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger is on the left (Photo: Public Domain)	170
Fig. 4.14	X-26 is lowered into the Tomb of the Unknowns (Photo: Public Domain)	171
Fig. 4.15	Blassie material evidence (Photo: Blassie family via nim.nih.gov)	174
Fig. 4.16	Captain Rodney L. Strobridge (Photo: Public Domain)	175
Fig. 4.17	Lieutenant Michael Blassie, formerly X-26 (Photo: Public Domain)	176
Fig. 5.1	RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California (Source: Public Domain)	183
Fig. 5.2	(L) Congressman John Miller (R-WA) (Photo: US Congress)	191
Fig. 5.3	DIA memorandum (Both versions of the DIA memorandum are available from the Black Vault http://documents. theblackvault.com/documents/dod/readingroom/8/ 643.pdf)	193
Fig. 5.4	Mr. Carl Ford; Admiral Michael McDevitt, USN (ret.); Captain John Kinczel, USN (ret.) (Photos: DoD, Public Domain, DoD)	199
Fig. 5.5	Mr. John Taylor, NARA archivist (Photo: Public Domain)	204

Fig. 5.6	<i>Sunday Sport</i>	205
Fig. 5.7	Korean War post-capture American casualties (Source: Dr. Cole's Senate testimony)	207
Fig. 5.8	Tovarishch Sergei Zamascikov (Photo: Open Source)	209
Fig. 5.9	Dr. Benjamin Lambeth (Photo: Open Source)	210
Fig. 6.1	Education Minister Palme (Photo: Public Domain)	223
Fig. 6.2	Stockholm to Helsinki (Image: Google Earth)	231
Fig. 6.3	Dzerzhinsky Square and Lubyanka (Photo: Public Domain)	245
Fig. 6.4	Entrance to Lubyanka (Photo: Public Domain)	246
Fig. 6.5	Lubyanka (Photo: Public Domain)	247
Fig. 6.6	Prison cells in basement of Lubyanka (Photo: Public Domain)	254
Fig. 6.7	(R) Colonel Georgi Plotnikov (Photo: PM Cole)	259
Fig. 6.8	L–R: General Kharkov, General Ivashov, Dr. Paul M. Cole (Photo: PM Cole)	272
Fig. 7.1	General Shaposhnikov Marshal of Aviation and Commander in Chief of the CIS Armed Forces (Photo: Public Domain)	282
Fig. 7.2	KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin (Photo: Public Domain)	288
Fig. 7.3	Yurchenko's plaque (Photo: Public Domain)	289
Fig. 8.1	(L–R) Mr. Paul Vivian, DPMO; Mr. Alan Ptak, DASD/ DPMO; Mr. Danz Blasser, DPMO (Photo: Public Domain)	300
Fig. 8.2	Rolodex (Photo: Public Domain)	305
Fig. 8.3	Senate Select Committee Hearing (Photo: C-SPAN)	317
Fig. 9.1	First page of President Yeltsin's letter (Source: RAND working paper)	326
Fig. 9.2	Mr. Richard Boylan, NARA archivist (Photo: Public Domain)	334
Fig. 9.3	Images of typical archive holdings (Photos: Public Domain)	335
Fig. 9.4	Major Danz Blasser (ret.) (Photo: NOVA)	342
Fig. 9.5	Colonel Ralph Peters (ret.) (Photo: Public Domain)	343
Fig. 9.6	Major General Bernard Loeffke (Photo: DoD)	346
Fig. 9.7	Mr. Michael Rich, RAND (Photo: Public Domain)	349
Fig. 10.1	(L) Ambassador Malcolm Toon, (M) President G. H. W. Bush (1992), (R) General Dmitri Volkogonov (Photo: (L) Dennis Cook/Associated Press (R) Public Domain)	354
Fig. 10.2	Major General Eldon Joersz (Photo: DoD)	361
Fig. 10.3	"Turbulent Turtle" refueling at NAF Port Lyautey, Morocco (Photo: Public Domain)	363
Fig. 10.4	DC-3 <i>Hugin</i> (Photo: Public Domain)	367
Fig. 10.5	Colonel Stig Wennerström (Photo: Swedish Air Force)	369
Fig. 10.6	Colonel Wennerström with Major General Vitaly Nikolsky (Photo: Public Domain)	370

Fig. 10.7	Prime Minister Bildt (Photo: Public Domain)	372
Fig. 10.8	Ambassador Fokin (Photo: rusemb.org.uk)	372
Fig. 10.9	Soviet archive document “Tukums Map” (Source: “Soviet authorities,” included in <i>HR</i> , p. 26)	373
Fig. 10.10	Pilot’s sketch map (Source: <i>HR</i> , p. 31)	374
Fig. 10.11	Swedish AF Catalina (Photo: Swedish AF Museum)	376
Fig. 10.12	Swedish Air Force Catalina (Photo: dn.se)	376
Fig. 10.13	DC-3 wreckage (Source: <i>HR</i> , p. 94)	377
Fig. 10.14	DC-3 wreckage (Photo: Flygvapenmuseum)	377
Fig. 10.15	Navigator Gösta Blad’s wallet (Source: <i>HR</i> , p. 162)	379
Fig. 10.16	DC-3 crew (Photo: FRA <i>HR</i> , p. 42)	379
Fig. 10.17	Duty stations of DC-3 crew (Source: <i>HR</i> , p. 236)	380
Fig. 10.18	Hugin wreckage, port side highlight (Photos: “DC-3:ans Sista Resa”) (“DC-3:ans Sista Resa”) (“The Last Flight of the DC-3”), a 2004 documentary film by Johan Candert and Malcolm Dixelius. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4OI-2hzyFM All images and text from “DC-3:ans Sista Resa” used with permission)	381
Fig. 10.19	Ms. Ulla-Britt Blad (Photo: “DC-3:ans Sista Resa”)	381
Fig. 10.20	Ms. Ulla-Britt Blad (Photo: “DC-3:ans Sista Resa”)	382
Fig. 10.21	Ms. Karin Lissshagen Jonsson (Photos: (L) SVT Bild, (R) “DC-3:ans Sista Resa”)	383
Fig. 10.22	Privateer shootdown location (<i>Code Warriors: NSA’s Codebreakers and the Secret Intelligence War Against the Soviet Union</i> , Stephen Budiansky (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2016), p. 125. https://books.google.com/books?id=JWgqDAAAQBAJ&dq=1950+Privateer+Baltic+CIA&source=gbs_navlinks_s)	384
Fig. 10.23	DC-3 Hugin shootdown location (<i>HR</i> , and <i>Code Warriors: NSA’s Codebreakers and the Secret Intelligence War Against the Soviet Union</i> , op. cit.)	385
Fig. 10.24	DC-3 and Privateer crash sites (Image: Google Earth)	386
Fig. 10.25	(L) US Army troops in Siberia and (R) Archangel (“The Polar Bear Expedition: The U.S. Intervention in Northern Russia, 1918–1919,” Alexander F. Barnes and Cassandra J. Rhodes, <i>Army Sustainment</i> , Vol. 44, Issue 2, March–April 2012. http://www.almc.army.mil/alog/issues/MarApril12/Polar_Bear.html), 1918 (Photo: NARA)	392
Fig. 10.26	Archangel (Maps: U of Michigan)	393
Fig. 10.27	One of the evil magpies (Photo: Public Domain)	403
Fig. 10.28	l’Estrade Lobby Bar, Aerostar Hotel (Photo: en.aerostar.ru)	405
Fig. 10.29	(L) Matryoshka nesting doll. (R) Fake KGB identification (Photo: (L) ebay.com (R) Public Domain)	408

Fig. 10.30	Structure of the RAND archive research project in Moscow	413
Fig. 10.31	RB-45 Tornado (Photo: boeing.com)	438
Fig. 10.32	Captain Charles McDonough (Photo: Public Domain)	439
Fig. 10.33	Colonel John R. Lovell (Photo: Public Domain)	440
Fig. 10.34	Mrs. Jeanne McDonough-Dear (Photo: PM Cole)	441
Fig. 10.35	General John Girauda (Photo: Public Domain)	445
Fig. 10.36	Dr. Pierre Rigoulot (Photo: Public Domain)	452
Fig. 11.1	North Korean missile test, April 13, 2012 (Image: bbc.com)	496
Fig. 11.2	Inside Lenin's Mausoleum (Photo: Public Domain)	507
Fig. 11.3	L–R General Makarevsky, Mr. George Blake, Dr. Paul Cole—George Blake (Photos: PM Cole)	522
Fig. 11.4	En route from Moscow to Seoul on Korean Air (Photo: PM Cole)	527
Fig. 11.5	Ambassador Don Gregg (Photo: Public Domain)	529
Fig. 11.6	En route to Panmunjom (Photo: PM Cole)	531
Fig. 11.7	Dr. Cole in the Panmunjom Peace Village (Photo: PM Cole)	532
Fig. 11.8	Dr. Cole in North Korea (Photo: PM Cole)	533
Fig. 11.9	Dr. Cole with the Bridge of No Return in the background. The axe murder occurred several feet in front of the right side of the bridge (Photo: PM Cole)	534
Fig. 11.10	(L–R) Dr. Paul M. Cole, Sergeant David Bashford (Photo: PM Cole)	537
Fig. 11.11	CIL lab space (Photo: (L) Public Domain (R) Dr. William Belcher)	538
Fig. 12.1	Letter from DCI Woolsey to Dr. Paul M. Cole	564
Fig. 12.2	Dr. Jonathan Pollack (Photo: Public Domain)	567
Fig. 12.3	Dr. Jeremy Azrael (Photo: Public Domain)	573
Fig. 13.1	Cosmonaut Nelyubov disappears (Photos: www.jamesoberg.com)	613
Fig. 13.2	Map of Central Europe (Image: Public Domain)	615
Fig. 13.3	Ukraine and Crimea (Map: Gene Thorp, <i>Washington Post</i>)	619
Fig. 13.4	(L–R) Mr. Vladimir Dorofeyev, Mr. Yuri Pankov, Dr. Paul M. Cole (Photo: PM Cole)	622
Fig. 13.5	Kiev to Riga (Image: Mapquest)	623
Fig. 13.6	An Antonov-24 (Photo: Public Domain)	627
Fig. 13.7	Dr. Paul M. Cole (C) interviewed by Ukrainian state television (Photo: PM Cole)	634
Fig. 13.8	Soviet Korean War veterans. Vladimir Dorofeyev (second from the left). Colonel Askold Germon, leader of the Soviet veterans group (second from the right) (Photo: PM Cole)	634
Fig. 13.9	Colonel Harold “Hal” Fischer, second from the left in jeans (Photo: PM Cole)	635

Fig. 13.10	(L–R) Sergei Zamascikov, Colonel Askold Germon, Dr. Paul M. Cole (Photo PM Cole)	637
Fig. 13.11	Luncheon for the Soviet Korean War veterans group (Photos: PM Cole)	638
Fig. 13.12	Conference with Soviet Korean War veterans group, Kiev, Ukraine (Photo: PM Cole)	638
Fig. 13.13	Harold Fischer (center front) with Soviet MiG-15 pilots (Photo: PM Cole)	639
Fig. 13.14	F-86 Sabre (Photos: Public Domain)	639
Fig. 13.15	Harold Fischer and the Soviet MiG-15 pilot he shot down (Photos: PM Cole)	640
Fig. 13.16	Soviet Korean War veteran with map (Photo: PM Cole)	641
Fig. 13.17	Small group discussion during the Kiev conference (Photo: PM Cole)	642
Fig. 13.18	Colonel Germon, wearing a Soviet Air Force hat, on the bus to Poltava (Photo: PM Cole)	644
Fig. 13.19	Vladimir Dorofeyev (second from the left), commander of the Poltava air base (military uniform center left), Harold Fischer (jean jacket center right), Colonel Askold Germon (far right) (Photo: PM Cole)	647
Fig. 13.20	The commander of the Poltava air base (Photo: PM Cole)	649
Fig. 13.21	Poltava air base luncheon. Colonel Fischer at the far end on the right (Photo: PM Cole)	650
Fig. 13.22	(L–R) Ginger, Ukrainian hostess, Hal Fischer, interpreter (Photo: PM Cole)	650
Fig. 13.23	L–R: John Henshaw in white trousers, Vladimir Dorofeyev partially obscured over Henshaw’s left shoulder, base commander to Fischer’s right, Colonel Germon to Fischer’s left, Dr. Cole above Germon’s left shoulder (Photo: PM Cole)	651
Fig. 13.24	Monument to fallen Swedes, Poltava, Ukraine (Photo: Tourism Poltava)	653
Fig. 13.25	(L) Colonel Harold Fischer, (C) Colonel Germon (Photo: PM Cole)	656
Fig. 13.26	Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia (Map: umc-ne.org)	658
Fig. 13.27	Victuals obtained from a Norwegian Statoil gas station (Photo: PM Cole)	662
Fig. 13.28	(L) Dr. Aivars Beika, (R) Dr. Paul M. Cole (Photo: PM Cole)	662
Fig. 13.29	Human chain across the Baltic nations (Photo: estonianinaworld.com)	664

Fig. 13.30	(L) Sergei Zamascikov, (R) Mr. Balys Radžius (Photo: PM Cole)	667
Fig. 13.31	Latvia to Lithuania (Image: Mapquest)	668
Fig. 13.32	The Latvia-Lithuania border, as seen from the back seat (Photo: PM Cole)	669
Fig. 13.33	On the road in Lithuania. Sergei Zamascikov is driving (left). Dr. Rom Misiunis is in the passenger side seat (right) (Photo: PM Cole)	669
Fig. 13.34	Luxurious first-class bathroom in Dr. Cole's luxurious first-class hotel room in Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: PM Cole)	670
Fig. 13.35	Mr. Gediminas Kirkilas (Photo: Public Domain)	671
Fig. 13.36	KGB headquarters, Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: vilnius- tourism.lt)	672
Fig. 13.37	(L) Dr. Paul M. Cole, (R) Mr. Balys Radžius (Photo: PM Cole)	673
Fig. 13.38	Photographing and fingerprinting room. KGB prison, Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: PM Cole)	674
Fig. 13.39	Torture chamber, KGB prison (Photo: Public Domain)	675
Fig. 13.40	The "wet room" in the KGB prison in Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: Public Domain)	676
Fig. 13.41	KGB prison cell in Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: Genocide Museum, Vilnius, Lithuania)	677
Fig. 13.42	Prisoners in KGB prison (Photo: Genocide Museum, Vilnius, Lithuania)	678
Fig. 13.43	Mr. Jurgis Jurgelis (Photo: Public Domain)	681
Fig. 13.44	Lithuania to Estonia (Image: Mapquest)	684
Fig. 13.45	Tallinn, Estonia (Photo: PM Cole)	685
Fig. 13.46	(L-R) Dr. Indrek Jürjo, Dr. Paul M. Cole, Sergei Zamascikov in the Estonian State Archives, Tallinn, Estonia (Photo: PM Cole)	687
Fig. 13.47	Outside the Estonian State Archives, Tallinn, Estonia. (L-R) John Henshaw, Sergei Zamascikov, Dr. Indrek Jürjo (Photo: PM Cole)	688
Fig. 13.48	(L) Dr. Indrek Jürjo, (R) Sergei Zamascikov (Photo: PM Cole)	688
Fig. 13.49	KGB case file of CIA officer "Kalju Kukk." (L-R) Dr. Indrek Jürjo, Dr. Paul M. Cole, Sergei Zamascikov (Photo: PM Cole)	689
Fig. 13.50	Kalju Kukk (Photo: Public Domain)	692
Fig. 13.51	CIA Wall of Honor (Photo: cia.gov)	693
Fig. 13.52	Ambassador Robert Frasure (Photo: Public Domain)	697

Fig. 13.53	Comrades Kim Il-Song (L) and Erich Honecker (R) in Berlin, 1984 (Photo: Public Domain)	706
Fig. 13.54	(R) Stasi head Markus Wolf, 1985 (Photo: <i>Der Spiegel</i>)	711
Fig. 13.55	US POW “Turncoats” (Photo: Lois Mitchison/AP)	714
Fig. 13.56	Bautzen (Image: Google Earth)	719
Fig. 13.57	KGB report on Wechsler, translated by Task Force Russia (Images: Public Domain)	722
Fig. 13.58	Residents of the International Solidarity Camp, Bautzen (Photo: Peter Köpf) (“Deserting the wrong way: Why soldiers went East,” <i>The Local</i> , April 12, 2013. https://www.thelocal.de/20130412/49097)	724
Fig. 13.59	Stephen Wechsler, early 1950s (Both Wechsler/Grossman photos appeared in “Jewish Communists expats in East Germany recall heady 1950s,” Micki Weinberg, <i>The Times of Israel</i> , September 27, 2014. The photo from the early 1950s is credited to “Courtesy.” The photo from 2014 is credited to “CC BY-SA, via Wikipedia”.)	725
Fig. 13.60	Victor Grossman, ca. 2014	726
Fig. 14.1	Mr. Vadim Bakatin (Photo: Public Domain)	751
Fig. 14.2	Tallinn to Riga (Image: Public Domain)	756
Fig. 14.3	Finland’s greatest cultural treasure (Photo: Public Domain)	760
Fig. 14.4	Cover of Mr. Jolidon’s book	767
Fig. 14.5	Vice President Nixon in East Berlin (Photo: Public Domain)	768
Fig. 14.6	Mrs. Anne Bakkensen in the cockpit of an F-86 (Photo: Courtesy of Mrs. Bakkensen)	776
Fig. 14.7	<i>77-Page Report</i> (Photo: PM Cole)	779
Fig. 14.8	(L-R) John Henshaw and Dr. Paul M. Cole at the entrance to the Gauck Archive, Berlin (Photo: PM Cole)	781
Fig. 14.9	<i>Bears in the Caviar</i> , book cover (Photo: Public Domain)	790
Fig. 14.10	Pages from DEI’s Moscow Report	799
Fig. 15.1	Stalin (L) and Beria (R) with Stalin’s daughter Svetlana (Photo: BBC)	844
Fig. 15.2	Colonel Walker “Bud” Mahurin (Photos: (L) Public Domain (R) Public Domain)	846
Fig. 15.3	(R) Admiral Stockdale as a POW (Photo: Public Domain)	850