
The Raoul Wallenberg Research Initiative RWI-70

Formal Request to the Russian Government and Archival Authorities
on the Raoul Wallenberg Case

Pending Questions about Documentation on the Raoul Wallenberg Case in the Russian Archives¹

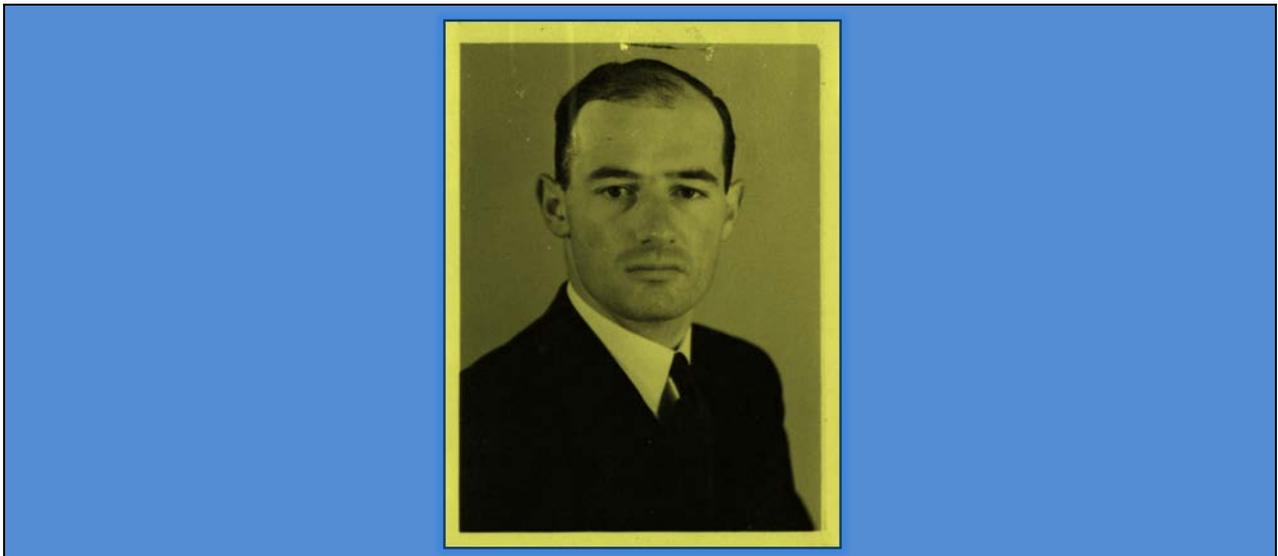


Photo Credit: Raoul Wallenberg's photo on a visa application he filed in June 1943 with the Hungarian Legation, Stockholm.
Source: The Hungarian National Archives, Budapest.

¹ This text is authored by Dr. Vadim Birstein and Susanne Berger. It is based on the paper by V. Birstein and S. Berger, entitled "Das Schicksal Raoul Wallenbergs – Die Wissenslücken." *Auf den Spuren Wallenbergs*, Stefan Karner (Hg.). Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2015. S. 117-141; the English version of the paper with the title "The Fate of Raoul Wallenberg: Gaps in Our Current Knowledge" is available at <http://www.vbirstein.com>. Previously many of the questions cited in this document were raised in some form by various experts and researchers. Some have received partial answers, but not to the degree that they could be removed from this list of open questions.

I. FSB (Russian Federal Security Service) Archival Materials

1. Interrogation Registers and “Prisoner no. 7”²

1) The key question is: What happened to Raoul Wallenberg after his last known presence in Lubyanka Prison (also known as Inner Prison – the main investigation prison of the Soviet State Security Ministry, MGB, in Moscow) allegedly on March 11, 1947? At the time, Wallenberg was investigated by the 4th Department of the 3rd MGB Main Directorate (military counterintelligence); Colonel Sergei Kartashov headed that department.³

Who were Wallenberg’s cellmates after his transfer from Lefortovo Prison (the second MGB investigation prison in Moscow) in early March 1947?

2) What happened to Raoul Wallenberg on or after July 17, 1947? If Raoul Wallenberg died of natural causes on that date, how did it happen? If he was executed, who did take the decision? If he died on that date, where was he buried? If on that date he was moved into isolation as a numbered prisoner (or given a pseudonym), where are the relevant papers?

3) Uncensored copies of all records of interrogations of prisoners connected with the Raoul Wallenberg Case in Lefortovo and Inner (Lubyanka) prisons in the evening of July 22, 1947 and on 23, 1947 should be released.⁴

The names of all prisoners interrogated on those dates remain unknown. For instance, it is unknown what prisoners were interrogated in Lubyanka Prison on July 22, 1947 between 19:35-20:15, and in Lefortovo, between 22:30 and 22:50, as well as between 23:20 and 23:40. The time of the interrogation of one of the prisoners, Ernst Huber, needs to be clarified since the

2. All Soviet security organizations mentioned in this paper, – the NKVD (Interior Affairs Commissariat), NKGB (State Security Commissariat) that in 1946 became the MGB (State Security Ministry), and the GUKR SMERSH (military counterintelligence from 1943-46), -- dealt with the so-called “counterrevolutionary” crimes, that, in fact, were political crimes punished only under Articles 58 and 59 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code. See Vadim Birstein. *SMERSH, Stalin's Secret Weapon: Soviet Military Counterintelligence in WWII* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2012). Pp. 54-57.

3. The history of this department, as well as the structure of SMERSH, its reorganization in 1946 into the 3rd MGB Main Directorate, and biographies of SMERSH leaders and most of the officers who interrogated Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder are given in *ibid.* Pp. 177-216, 323-327.

4 Archival documents about this interrogation were discovered in 1991 by Vadim Birstein and Arsenii Roginsky (currently, Chairman of the International “Memorial” Society, Moscow) in what was then the Special Archive in Moscow (now the Russian State Military Archive or RGVA). At the time, both were members of the first International Commission to Establish the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg; the Commission was formed and headed by Dr. Guy von Dardel. See a discussion in: Vadim Birstein, “The Secret of Cell Number Seven: Did an ‘Extremely Important Prisoner,’ Raoul Wallenberg, Die from a Natural Cause?” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta [Independent Newspaper]*, April 25, 1991, p. 4 (in Russian); the English translation at <http://www.vbirstein.com>; and Vadim Birstein. *Interrogations in Lubyanka. Novoe Vremya [New Times]*. 1993. No. 1. Pp. 40-44 (in Russian); the English translation is available at the same site.

information provided by the FSB archivists without documentation does not corresponds to the time given in the documents in Huber’s archival Personal File (*Lichnoe delo*).

Even if there were no persons called for interrogation during the mentioned periods, a documental proof for all interrogations in Lubyanka Prison on July 22, 1947 from 18:30 to 23:00, on 23 July 23, 1947 from 1:30 to 18:30, and in Lefortovo, on July 22, 1947, from 21:30 to 24:00 should be shown.

Copies of all pages with the records for July 22/23, 1947 in the Registers of Interrogations of both of these prisons should be released in full.

4) The release of an uncensored copy of a page from the Register of Interrogations in Lubyanka Prison (kept in the FSB Central Archive) for the early morning of July 23, 1947, with the recorded entries of the last known interrogations of *Prisoner no. 7* (probably, Raoul Wallenberg), Vilmos Langfelder (Wallenberg’s driver), and Sandor (Alexander) Katona (Langfelder’s cell-mate) is crucial for the case. Despite numerous requests to the FSB Central Archive to release a copy without redaction of names, the requests were ignored.

№	Имя и фамилия арестованного	Содержимое вопросов на арест	Имя, отчество док. лица	Время начала допроса	Время окончания допроса	Содержимое допроса
22	Вильмош Лангфельдер	Копировать
23	Сандор Катона	Копировать

Fig. 1. Heavily censored page from the Lubyanka Interrogation Register for July 23, 1947, showing a more than sixteen-hour interrogation of Vilmos Langfelder and Sandor Katona. FSB archivists claim that a “Prisoner no. 7”, who was interrogated with them, was “in great likelihood” Raoul Wallenberg. Source: The FSB Central Archive, released to the authors in 2009.

5) The request to present an uncensored copy of a page from the Register of Outgoing Prisoners from Lefortovo Prison with the record of the transfer of Willy Rödel (Wallenberg’s last cellmate) to Inner Prison in the evening of February 26, 1947 (in this record the name of Raoul Wallenberg is crossed out) was also ignored. This page has a page number “9ob” in Russian.

A readable copy of the bottom part of this page, which starts from the record “from 15 to 23 hour. February 26, 1947” (in Russian) is another crucial issue for the case. The redacted by FSB

archivists line in Rödel's record might have an explanation why he was transferred on that day to Lubyanka Prison, while Wallenberg was not.

Additionally, researchers need a copy of this page on which the right part of the line with Wallenberg's name is readable. Looking at the previously presented copies one can only say that there is something written in the third column of this record, but it is not readable. Again, this could be an important detail for understanding the fate of Wallenberg.

6) The identity of *Prisoner no. 7* remains entirely unclear and needs to be established.⁵ Who was this prisoner? The question of how exactly Col. Vladimir Vinogradov (FSB official, a member of the Russian part of the Russian-Swedish Working Group that existed in 1991-2000) identified a different Prisoner No. 7 held in Lubyanka Prison in April 1945 as "a Russian national" also needs to be answered. It has to be determined if this alleged methodology (the use of unspecified "*perepiski*" – correspondence records mentioned by Vinogradov) can be applied also to identify the *Prisoner no.7* from July 1947.

7) One more Russian person is known to have been assigned no. 7 while he was under MGB investigation. This was the famous surgeon, Academician Sergei Sergeevich Yudin, arrested on December 23, 1948.⁶ The FSB archivists should provide information from his 5-volume Archival- Investigation File (*Arkhivno-Sledstvennoe Delo*) or Personal File on how S.S. Yudin, while having been under investigation, was given no. 7 instead of his name.

8) Also, records of numbered prisoners were kept, in particular, by the Lubyanka Prison chief warden (*nachal'nik*), Aleksandr Mironov. Did his archive survive?

9) What is the meaning of the word "*Proshel*" ("went through") found on the signature line (for prisoners) in the register of interrogations of Lubyanka Prison on July 23, 1947?

10) The FSB Central Archive needs to provide copies of other entries with the word "*Proshel*" for the years 1947-1951.

11) The references to Raoul Wallenberg, Vilmos Langfelder and Sandor Katona have been blotted out in the MGB prison journals. When did this censorship occur? Russian officials have indicated that they believe the blotting occurred fairly early, still in the late 1940s. However, the issue remains currently unsolved.

5. "Prisoner no. 7" may have been a reference to a prisoner held in Cell no.7 of Lubyanka Prison in 1947. It was a common NKVD/NKGB/MGB practice to conceal for some time the prisoner's identity during investigation. In February 1947, Colonel Kartashov ordered both Raoul Wallenberg and Willy Rödel to be placed in Cell no.7 of Lubyanka Prison.

6. See I. V. Kuzmin and I. Yu. Yudin. 2001. Academician S. S. Yudin [1891–1954], a surgeon in exile and a forced oncologist: Once again about destroyed talents and unclaimed world-class specialists. *Novyi khirurgicheskii zhurnal [New Surgical Journal]*. Vol. 1, no. 3, <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?num=4860&t=page> (in Russian).

12) What exactly happened to Langfelder, Katona and *Prisoner no. 7* after the interrogations in Lubyanka Prison on July 23, 1947?

13) What were the administrative procedures to assign numbers to prisoners under investigation in Lubyanka Prison during the years 1947-1951? How were these numbered prisoners traced? Where are special registers or other documentation that allowed prison personnel to track these prisoners?

14) In 1991-92, Boris Solovov, in 1944-46 an investigator in the 2nd GUKR SMERSH Department (military counterintelligence) and in 1946-48, in the 4th Department of the MGB 3rd Main Directorate (both departments were headed by Sergei Kartashov), stated in interviews with the Working Group that an official of the 3rd Main Directorate, Nikolai Kuleshov, created a special diagram of all prisoners who had had direct contact with Raoul Wallenberg since 1945.⁷ These prisoners were subsequently isolated. Unfortunately, Solovov did not identify the year when this event presumably happened.

Apparently, Solovov was mistaken about Kuleshov's involvement. Before May 1946, Kuleshov headed a section within the 4th GUKR SMERSH Department, and later, from May 1946 to January 1948, he served as Deputy Head of the 6th Department (investigation of Soviet servicemen charged mostly with treason and espionage) of the 3rd Main Directorate that had no connection to Kartashov's department in charge of the Wallenberg case investigation. But the alleged creation by investigators of charts of the movements of prisoners through prison cells is quite possible and this question should be clarified.

15) Solovov also claimed that somewhere in 1947, he delivered a package to the MGB Archive Section. The package supposedly carried the inscription "Prisoner no. 7" and Solovov says that he was aware at the time that the documentation contained in the package referred to Raoul Wallenberg.

The Archive Section did not exist within the MGB structure, and Solovov, possibly, meant the MGB Department "A" (registration and archives). It should be found out what were the reasons and procedures for a transfer of documentations/items from investigation departments to the MGB Department "A" in 1947.

16) After his release from imprisonment in the Soviet Union, Hermann Grosheim-Krisko, former employee of the Swedish Legation in Budapest (at the Legation, he worked under the name Heinrich Tomsen), who was arrested and investigated at the same time as Wallenberg, stated to Swedish officials that he was "absolutely convinced" that Raoul Wallenberg had been transferred from Lubyanka Prison to Butyrka Prison on March 30, 1950. At the time many foreign prisoners under MGB investigation, including Grosheim-Krisko and the others who knew

7. Information about Solovov's biography see in Birstein. *SMERSH, Stalin's Secret Weapon*. Pp. 325-326, 381-383, 403-404.

of Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder or who had had contact with them in Lybyanka and Lefortovo prisons, were moved to Butyrka Prison (which had just been transferred from the MVD to the MGB jurisdiction and became the fourth Moscow MGB investigation prison).

During the meetings of the Working Group Russian officials stated that official registers for prisoners arriving in Butyrka Prison in 1950 have been destroyed. However, questions persist if some of the records may in fact have been preserved. If so, they should be made available for a review by independent researchers.

17) From the materials released by the Russian Foreign Ministry from its archive (AVP RF) it is known that in February 1947 Pyotr Fedotov, at the time head of the 1st MGB Main Directorate (foreign intelligence), as well as deputy State Security Minister in charge of intelligence (i.e., one of Minister Abakumov's deputies), informed the Soviet Foreign Ministry that Raoul Wallenberg was in the MGB custody. The involvement of Fedotov points to the possibility that at the time Wallenberg was "on loan" to Foreign Intelligence from the 3rd MGB Main Directorate headed by Nikolai Selivanovsky, another Abakumov's deputy, but in charge of counterintelligence. During meetings of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, SVR representatives (SVR is the successor of the former 1st First MGB/KGB Main Directorate) claimed that the SVR Archive does not contain any material relevant to the Raoul Wallenberg case. Obviously, the question of a possible involvement of Soviet Foreign Intelligence in the Raoul Wallenberg case in February 1947 should be clarified and materials in the SVR Archive should be studied by independent researchers.

18) According to a memoir published in 1999 by Valery Boldin, a close aide to the former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev (from 1981 to 1987, he was Gorbachev's assistant, and in 1990-1991, he headed Gorbachev's Office), the interrogation protocols for Raoul Wallenberg were preserved well into the 1950s and were found in Stalin's personal safe after his death in 1953. It remains unknown on what information did Boldin base this claim and what has happened to the records.

19) During the early 1990s, a specially created group comprised of Swedish and Russian representatives interviewed numerous former employees of the Soviet Security Services. Many of the interview protocols remain classified by the Swedish side. Independent researchers should be allowed to review them.

2. Medical Records

1) The 2001 report of the Russian part of the Working Group (available at <http://www.regeringen.se>) contains a statement by the former KGB official Colonel Andrei Bachurin, deputy head of the KGB Press Bureau in the early 1970s. Bachurin claimed that "the [KGB] leadership at the time did not want to tell the real cause of death of the Swedish

diplomat." This statement implies that the KGB at the time had knowledge of Wallenberg's death as well as how he died.

However, the comment needs to be checked further. In what context and to whom was this statement made? Did Bachurin have full knowledge of the Raoul Wallenberg case? Did Bachurin's KGB colleagues reveal how Wallenberg died and when? And if so, is this knowledge persevered today?

2) During a press conference in January 2001, Col. Vinogradov cited a reference to a medical registry that supposedly showed that Raoul Wallenberg had asked for medical assistance once, when he requested an appointment with a dentist. The actual register entry has never been presented by the FSB despite numerous inquiries. Russian officials stated that the information had been provided by the above-mentioned official Bachurin.

During an interview by the Working Group in 1993, Col. Bachurin indicated that Wallenberg's request occurred "either in Butyrka or Lefortovo." The FSB informed researchers that medical registers are not available in its archives for Butyrka Prison (the records apparently exist only after 1947), as well as for Sukhanovo (the third MGB investigation prison in Moscow) and Vladimir Prison (one of three Soviet special prisons for the most important political convicts), and they supposedly did not survive for Lubyanka and Lefortovo. Col. Bachurin died in 2004.

Obviously, the issue of medical registers of MGB prisons remains an open question, as does the question about how Col. Bachurin learned of Raoul Wallenberg's request.

3. List of Prisoners Sentenced by the MGB Special Board (OSO) and Death Registers of Moscow Prisons

1) Uncensored copies of the list of all prisoners sentenced by the MGB Special Board (OSO) for the years 1947-1953 should be made available to exclude a possibility that Wallenberg, Langfelder, and Katona were formally charged of a crime and convicted.

2) Uncensored copies of the death registers for Lubyanka, Lefortovo, Butyrka and Sukhanovo prisons for the years 1947-1953 should be made available to exclude a possibility that the death of Wallenberg, Langfelder or Katona was registered.

4. Raoul Wallenberg's Personal Possessions

1) In October 1989, Soviet officials handed Raoul Wallenberg's personal possessions over to his family, claiming that they had been discovered just about a month earlier, during refurbishment of old KGB offices.

This find remains a mystery and raises unanswered questions. Were these belongings really discovered accidentally or were they part of an archival collection? If they were part of a file, which one? And where is this file kept today?

What happened to Wallenberg's other possessions, including his car, as well as the documentation and other valuables he was allegedly carrying at the time of his arrest?

2) The Soviet and Russian officials claimed that Wallenberg died in July 1947. Once a prisoner died, under prison rules any currency and valuables were permanently confiscated by the Soviet State within six months of his/her death.

However, since Wallenberg was listed a prisoner-of-war (POW) on his Prisoner Card in Lubyanka Prison, released in 1989 along with his possessions, apparently the rules for POWs had been applied to him. According to these rules, after his death such valuables as his gold cigarette case should have been sent to the Precious Metals Directorate of the USSR Finances Ministry, and the foreign banknotes, -- to the State Bank.

If Raoul Wallenberg indeed died in 1947, why then was his currency and valuables not confiscated and sent away according to the Soviet rules, but were still in the MGB/KGB storage and handed over to his family in 1989?

3) According to prison rules, a copy of the receipt stating the precise amount taken from Wallenberg should have been placed in his Prisoner File when he arrived in prison.

Does this mean that a copy of this receipt and possibly Raoul Wallenberg's Personal or Investigation files were available in 1989? Copies of receipts for Vilmos Langfelder and Sandor Katona were released to researchers, but not one for Wallenberg.

4) What possessions did Raoul Wallenberg take with him from Lefortovo to Lubyanka Prison in March of 1947? The entry in the official Registry of Prisoner Possessions in Lubyanka Prison, copy of which was released, was censored.

When did this censorship occur? Is this really an entry for Raoul Wallenberg? Russian officials were able to restore only the initials of Wallenberg's first names, ("R.G."). Researchers need to be allowed to review the original entries.

5) There is a check mark on the first line of the column entitled "When the Belongings Were Sent to the State Fund or Taken." When was this check mark was put down? What was the meaning of the check mark?

Additionally, on the copy made and released by the FSB Central Archive, one can see the remains of unclear letters to the right of the check mark and on the next line, and all of this was encircled with an ink line at some unknown point. It is impossible to judge basing on this copy if the circle and the check mark were made by the same ink and if there were, in fact, some words inside the circle. Obviously, the independent researches need to investigate the original of this entry.

5. Vilmos Langfelder and Sandor Katona's Personal Possessions

Questions persist about a copy of a receipt for and a list of Langfelder's possessions, as well as a list of Katona's possessions. The type of file the copies of these documents came from (they have almost sequential page numbers, 151 for Katona and 154-155 for Langfelder) and why there was no similar documents for Wallenberg (or Rödel) needs an explanation by the FSB.

Possibly, this issue could be clarified if the FSB show independent researchers the original file with Langfelder and Katona's receipts.

6. Prisoner Registration Cards

1) The prisoner card for Willy Rödel includes several entries on the back, indicating his transfer to Lubyanka Prison in late February 1947, his death in October 1947, as well as the prisoner card for Willy Rödel includes several entries on the back, indicating his transfer to Lubyanka Prison in late February 1947, his death in October 1947, as well as registration numbers for two receipts for his possessions, — his belongings and a list of items in them.

No such information is included on Raoul Wallenberg's prisoner card. What does account for this discrepancy?⁸

2) Prisoner cards from both prisons, Lubyanka and Lefortovo, for prisoners directly connected with the Wallenberg case (especially Gustav Richter, Willi Scheuer-Schluter, Jan Lloyd, Ernst Huber, Paul-Erhard Hille, Ero Pelkonen, Horst Kitchmann, Reiner Stahel, Ernst Krafft, Otto Hatz, Hermann Thomsen-Krisko) should be provided by the FSB Central Archive for a review and analysis, to determine what information was noted on these documents, as a matter of routine administrative procedure.

3) No prisoner registration card has ever been presented for Vilmos Langfelder and Sandor Katona. This gap in the documentation should be examined further.

7. The Smoltsov Report

1) A report by Dr. Aleksandr Smoltsov, at the time head of the Medical Department of Lubyanka Prison, states that a prisoner "Walenberg" died of a heart attack on 17 July 1947.

Many questions regarding the Smoltsov Report remain unanswered. In what Russian archival file or collection was the so-called "Smoltsov Report" discovered? When exactly was it found, by whom, and under what circumstances?

8. This question was first raised by the consultant of the Swedish Group Susan E. Mesinai.

Do the two handwritten figures visible in the right corner of the document, “12” and “159”, indicate page numbers? If so, to what kind of archival files could the Smoltsov Report belong?

2) Why were no handwriting samples for Dr. Smoltsov from the crucial year 1947 provided to the Swedish and Russian forensic experts who were asked to analyze the Smoltsov report?

Such additional handwriting samples are needed for further analysis of the Smoltsov Report.

3) According to Smoltsov's son Viktor, Dr. Smoltsov was on medical leave because of illness on the day he wrote his report about the death of Wallenberg. Supposedly, Smoltsov was unexpectedly called to work one evening in July 1947. The son refused to meet with the Swedish members of the Working Group.

What are the precise dates and circumstances of Smoltsov's illness and employment in 1947?

Was he, in fact, at work when the report was supposedly written? Was he called in to write the report on July 17, 1947 or some other date? What was the genesis and purpose of the Smoltsov Report?

4) The exact circumstances in which the document was created remain unclear. The main part of the report was written with purple ink by a pen, but the additional note, by a blue pencil. It is possible that Smoltsov may have authored the note about cremation and autopsy at a later point, before his death in 1952. Or that the additional note was forged. Also, the writing speed of the Smoltsov Report is remarkably slower than that of the other sample documents.

As of today, the possibility cannot be excluded that the whole document is a forgery. In light of all these issues, it would be important to submit the Smoltsov Report to additional forensic testing, by an independent group of experts.

5) Important questions also remain regarding the drafting of the Gromyko Memorandum in 1956-57. Why did the Soviet leadership not present more direct and convincing evidence of Raoul Wallenberg's death? If the Smoltsov Report is genuine, why did the Politburo during internal deliberations consider a number of different versions of Wallenberg's death to be presented to the Swedish government? In one version, he was supposed to have died in Lefortovo Prison; another placed his death in Butyrka Prison.

7. File PF-9653 and the File of Willy Rödel

During the work of the Working Group from 1991 to 2000, the Russian side denied the existence of an Archival-Investigation File for Willi Rödel, Raoul Wallenberg's cellmate in Lefortovo Prison in 1946/47. Information published in a book about Ivan Serov (former head of

the KGB) by the Russian historian Nikita Petrov of the Moscow International Memorial Society contradicts this denial.⁹

In 2012, the FSB published a book in Russian about Willi Rödel under the title “*SA Oberführer Willy Rödel: Documents from the FSB Archives of Russia*” edited by Lt. General Vasily Khristoforov, who from 1995 heads the FSB Directorate of Registration and Archival Collections. The book contains 150 pages of Rödel’s investigation documentation. The authors of the book assert that the documents about Rödel they published came from an operational correspondence file concerning prisoners of war which contains materials on foreign diplomats who died in Moscow prisons from 1945 to 1947.

1) It was standard Soviet SMERSH (Soviet military counterintelligence from 1943 to 1946)/MGB practice to open for a person detained by them and then brought from Europe to undergo investigation, both a Personal and an Investigation File (sometimes, at first it was called simply File of [the name], File No. [...], or File for an Arrestee).

Why would this practice not have been applied to Rödel or, for that matter, to Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder?

2) At some point, Col. Vinogradov mentioned that the Folder PF-9653 also contains the file of the Hungarian Prime Minister Count István Bethlen (1921-1931), who died in the Butyrka Prison hospital in Moscow in 1946. It seems that the FSB has never released MGB documents about Count Bethlen to the Hungarian officials, only archival documents of the Red Army Political Directorate and from the Foreign Ministry Archive (currently called the Russian Federation Foreign Policy Archive) were given to them.

Is the MGB documentation on Count Bethlen kept in the PF-9653 folder?

2) From a special order by the KGB Head Ivan Serov to preserve Rödel's file (discovered by Nikita Petrov) we know that Rödel was executed. If all files in the Folder PF-9653 are of persons who died in 1945-47, possibly, the whole folder might contain materials of executed persons. An Associated Press reporter was shown this file from the outside only but was not allowed to look inside.

Regarding the PF-9653 collection, the question remains: Who are the persons other than Willy Rödel whose documents were included in this folder? Is Raoul Wallenberg's case part of the collection?

3) Page 540 of Willy Rödel’s file in the FSB archival collection PF-9653 was not reproduced in the book “*SA Oberführer Willy Rödel.*”

9. See Nikita Petrov. *First KGB Chairman Ivan Serov* (Moscow: Materik, 2005). P. 158 (in Russian).

It needs to be clarified why this page was omitted. In addition, independent researchers should receive full access to Rödel's file.

4) A copy of Andrei Vyshinsky's Note from 1947 (this Note stated that Wallenberg had never been in Soviet hands) was found among Rödel's documents by the Nikolai Arzhannikov Commission; Mr. Arzhannikov was Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights at the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation. This Commission was formed in 1991, to debrief former interrogators of SMERSH/ MGB). Additionally, the Commission found five requests of Kartashov's department from May to September 1947 (May 21, June 21, July 21, August 21, and September 21) to Aleksandr Mironov, the Lubyanka Prison chief warden, to keep Rödel in Lubyanka. Unfortunately, the copy of the Commission's report that Dr. Birstein saw in 1992, was destroyed.

It is extremely important to check the other copies of the 2-volume materials of the Arzhannikov Commission. Neither that copy of the Vyshinsky Note, nor Kartashov's requests were included in Vasilii Khristoforov's book about Willy Rödel.

5) Willy Rödel died on October 15, 1947. According to a KGB archival document published by the Russian historian Petrov, Rödel was "liquidated" (killed). This archival document includes a phrase "Files of the Liquidated: Redel [the Russian spelling of the name Rödel], 'Sluga' ['Servant'], the Uzhgorod Case."

The exact circumstances of Rödel's death need to be established.

8. Archival-Investigation Files and Operational Materials

1) The Archival-Investigation files of the cellmates of Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder as well as of prisoners closely associated with the Wallenberg Case need to be provided for the study by independent researchers. They include the files of Gustav Richter, Horst Kitschmann, Franz Rudolf Gflorener, Sandor Katona, as well as of prisoners known as cell spies — Hans Loyda, Erhard Hille, and Walter Schlitter-Scheuer.

2) The KGB/FSB has never released a transcript (*protokol* in Russian) of the interrogation of Hermann Grosheim-Krisko by Abram Waindorf, MGB investigator, on January 17, 1947, that, according to Grosheim's later statement, was only about Wallenberg.

Supposedly, during that interrogation Waindorf wanted to know mostly about Wallenberg's private life and background. It is possible that there was no transcript of this interrogation in Grosheim's Archival-Investigation File, but this needs to be checked. This interrogation, in fact, definitely took place — the date January 17, 1947 is on the FSB list of interrogations of Grosheim-Krisko (interrogator Waindorf, time 11:30-13:15). In general, Grosheim was very precise in his recollections. Since the Archival-Investigation Files are kept in the FSB Central Archive, the presence or absence of this transcript in Grosheim's file could be easily checked.

3) It is known that agent files (there was a special Agent File for each of informers in which his/her reports were kept) should be kept forever in the FSB Archives. Therefore, most likely agent files of all cell-spies who were placed with Wallenberg (Willi Scheuer-Schluter, Jan Loyda, Willy Rödel, and, apparently, Gustav Richter) survived and should be studied.

4) Former Soviet officials have repeatedly alluded to information that they claim originates directly from the interrogations of Vilmos Langfelder, Wallenberg's driver, arrested with him.

Where are these interrogation records of Vilmos Langfelder and why have they not been shared with Swedish officials and independent researchers? The Soviet government claimed that Vilmos Langfelder had died in March 1948. However, no archival documentary proof or record of his death was ever presented. What were the circumstances of his death?

Nikita Petrov has suggested that a prisoner who was executed in the autumn of 1947 and who is known only by the pseudonym "Sluga" ["Servant"] may have been Vilmos Langfelder. FSB archivists deny that "Sluga" is identical with Langfelder without providing any proof to the contrary. In response to several inquiries, FSB archivists have also denied that "Sluga" is a cover name for the American citizen Isai Oggins. What is "Sluga's" real identity? What has happened to his Personal and Archival-Investigation Files? This issue needs to be resolved.

5) Sandor Katona, a driver at the Hungarian legation in Sofia arrested in September 1944, was transferred as a prisoner with Langfelder from the Lefortovo Prison to the Lubyanka Prison on 22 July 1947.

Why was Katona transferred and what happened to him? Where is the documentation related to his case?

6) In 1956, a man called Shiryagin from Kharkov (Ukraine) wrote a letter about Raoul Wallenberg to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MID). In the letter, he stated that he had important information about the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg. Mikhail Gribanov, at the time head of the 3rd (Scandinavian) Department of MID, forwarded the letter to the KGB officials with a request to silence Shiryagin.

What was the reason for this request? What information did Shiryagin's letter contain? Where can the information in that letter be found today?

7) Each Politburo member had two separate Special Files (*Osoby papki*), one for the NKGB/MGB, and another for the NKVD/MVD, containing materials and reports from those organizations about the most sensitive issues. Currently, the NKVD/MVD Special Files of the Politburo members are available and kept in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). However, according to Dr. Sergei Mironenko, GARF former director, the similar Special MGB Files are still classified and kept in the FSB Central Archive (personal communication).

It is crucial for the case to find out if any information about Raoul Wallenberg, Vilmos Langfelder, and Willy Rödel exists in the “Special MGB Files” of Stalin and/or Molotov kept in the FSB Central Archive.

8) Soviet archival records contain references to a letter about Raoul Wallenberg written on July 17, 1947 by MGB Minister Viktor Abakumov to Vyacheslav Molotov, then USSR Foreign Minister (he also headed the Soviet Foreign Intelligence), Deputy Chair of the Council of Ministers, and a Politburo member.

The letter itself is supposedly missing. Probably, it contained Abakumov’s suggestion how to deal with Wallenberg. Could this letter be found?

9. The Isai Oggins Case

The Soviet and Russian officials repeatedly pointed to the similarities between the Wallenberg case and his presumed death and the case of the prisoner Isai S. Oggins. Oggins was an American Communist who in 1930s worked for the Soviet intelligence in China.¹⁰ In 1939, he was arrested by the NKVD and in 1940 sentenced to 8-year imprisonment for espionage. His case was repeatedly discussed in the Swedish-Russian Working Group but many important questions remain unanswered.

On May 21, 1947, in a special letter addressed to Stalin and Molotov MGB Minister Viktor Abakumov suggested how to kill Oggins and then inform the United States Embassy in Moscow that Oggins had died of tuberculosis in the city of Norilsk (one of the GULAG centers), where he had been previously imprisoned. Abakumov wrote: “The death of Oggins will be recorded in his medical chart, an autopsy record, and a certificate of burial [will be provided].” According to Nikita Petrov, the Politburo approved the final plan, and on June 10, 1947, Molotov personally instructed Abakumov about that. Oggins was killed by an injection of poison in the MGB special toxicology laboratory in Moscow. Then the MGB created a false document stating that Oggins supposedly died of a heart attack in January 1947 in the city of Penza prison.

A censored copy of Abakumov’s letter dated May 21, 1947 with a plan to kill Oggins was released in the 1990s without any indication from what collection and archive it had originated – like the Smoltsov Report.

Evidently, Abakumov’s letter regarding Oggins should be released in full since a huge part of it was redacted before the release. The information in which archival file this letter was found

10. On the Oggins Case, see, for instance, Vadim Birstein. *The Perversion of Knowledge: The True Story of Soviet Science*. Boulder (CO), Westview, 2001. Pp. 132-38.

(there are file page numbers 284-286 on the released copy) should be provided because this file may contain similar information about the fate of Wallenberg.

In 2009, the FSB archivists informed independent researchers that “from November 16, 1945 on, Oggins was kept in Inner [Lubyanka] Prison... After December 20, 1946 [Oggins] was transferred to Penza Prison no. 1. The forcible death of Oggins took place on July 5, 1947, after which he [i.e., the body] was buried at the Jewish Cemetery in the city of Penza. The death of the American was registered at the fictional date of January 13, 1947.”

The question of poisoning of Oggins remains a mystery, -- FSB archivist did not explain how they know that Oggins was transferred to Penza Prison in late 1946 and did not present any documentation to support that.

Evidently, Russian officials should provide documentary confirmation of Oggins's arrival at Penza Prison as well as the records of his burial since independent researchers did not find registration of Oggins’s burial in the records of that cemetery.

Additionally, independent researchers need to examine Oggins’s Archival-Investigation File, as well as the FSB Central Archive should provide all documentation relevant to the incarceration of Oggins in Moscow prisons in 1946-47, as well as to his death.

More questions about Oggins’s documents will be presented in the subchapter on the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI).

10. Transcripts of Interrogations and Debriefings of Raoul Wallenberg's Colleagues

1) From January to April 1945, the members of the Swedish Legation, including the Swedish Envoy Ivan Danielsson, were detained by Soviet troops separately from Raoul Wallenberg. Later they were sent to Sweden via Moscow. So far, the FSB Central Archive released only a review of debriefings of this group of diplomats (a report by Yefim Mukhortov, deputy head of the SMERSH Directorate of the 2nd Ukrainian Front). The review points to the other previous statements of the members of the group.

Additionally, there were Danielsson’s discussions in March 1945 with the members of the Soviet General Ivan Pavlov’s headquarters (Pavlov commanded the NKVD Troops Guarding the Rear of the 3rd Ukrainian Front) which specifically dealt with the work of the Swedish Legation, Budapest.¹¹

11. Documents of the headquarters of the NKVD Troops Guarding the Rear of various fronts are kept in the practically inaccessible Central Archive of the [Russian] Defense Ministry (TsA MO). The special Fond (Collection) 38652 at the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA) that contains materials of the secretariat of the NKVD Deputy

All this documentation should be released since the following questions remain unanswered: What exactly did Danielsson and the other Swedish representatives tell Soviet officials about the activities of the Swedish Legation in 1944, but also about the work of Raoul Wallenberg?

So far, researchers have not been able to study any of these files.¹²

2) Since there was also correspondence between SMERSH headquarters in Moscow and the NKID about these detainees, the Russian Federation Foreign Policy Archive (AVP RF, former MID's archive) should be checked for this additional documentation. All the records found should be made accessible for researchers.

3) It remains unknown why Valdemar and Nina Langlet, the Swedish Red Cross representative in Budapest in 1944-45 and his wife, detained and questioned, like Wallenberg, were not ordered to be brought to Moscow. Basically, they did the same what Wallenberg did: they protected the Jews of Budapest. Dr. Langlet was negatively characterized in the above-mentioned Mukhortov's SMERSH report to Moscow. Additionally, Count Mikhail Kutuzov-Tolstoy, an employee of the Swedish Legation in Budapest in 1944-45, claimed that during his 8-days detention at the headquarters of the 2nd Ukrainian Front in 1945, his interrogators were very suspicious of Langlet.

Russian archivists have never released any documentation showing the official decision-making process about Nina and Valdemar Langlet, both of whom were at first kept with the detained Swiss diplomats Harald Feller and Max Meyer. The order by Nikolai Bulganin, Soviet Deputy Defense Commissar, to arrest and send Feller and Meyer to Moscow did not mention the Langlets. Evidently, there was a decision made in Moscow to release them. The documentation on the detaining and release of the Langlets, as well as transcripts of their interrogations, need to be released.

11. Materials of the MGB Department "A"(registration and archive) and Prison Department

1) The report of the Russian part of the Working Group states: "As the later [archival] studies showed, the MGB Department "A", responsible for the registration of the arrestees, in response to inquiries from operational MGB departments provided them with information that the diplomat [Wallenberg] was kept in custody of military counterintelligence "Smersh." Only one note of the kind written by the MGB Department "A" has ever been released. All other records of the sort should be released and researchers must receive access to the original files.

2) If Wallenberg, Langfelder and/or Katona survived after July 1947, were convicted and then sent to a prison or a labor camp, there should be two types of archival records:

Commissar in charge of NKVD troops and Fond 32880 at the same archive with materials of the Main Directorate of NKVD Troops Guarding the Rear should be also checked.

12. In his publications Dr. Johan Matz also states that approximately 3,000 foreign intelligence cables from 1944-47 relevant to the Wallenberg Case are still classified. See Johan Matz. "Cables in Cipher, the Raoul Wallenberg Case and Swedish-Soviet Diplomatic Communication 1944-47." *Scandinavian Journal of History*. Vol. 38 (2013). Issue 3. Pp. 344-366

a) Records in the MGB Prison Department about issuing a “*Naryad*” (an order) for each of these prisoners for sending them to a particular prison or a labor camp;

b) Records in the same department about receiving a special registration card of the “Form 1” for each of these prisoners after they had reached the destination of their imprisonment.

The FSB Central Archive has never stated that it specifically checked these two types of records for the period from the end of July 1947 (after the July 23, 1947 interrogation) until mid-1951, when former cellmates of Wallenberg and Langfelder were finally sentenced and sent to Vladimir Prison.

3) If to suggest that Raoul Wallenberg and/or Vilmos Langfelder were convicted in 1947-first part of 1948, and were sent to a MVD punishment prison or labor camp, their cases were also evaluated by special commissions in Moscow (Central Commission), Soviet republics and local regions, as well as in the centers of labor camps that had been set up for the purpose of selecting prisoners to be sent to special prisons and camp. The records about this evaluation should have been kept in the materials of the of the MGB Department “A”. Materials of the Central Commission should be checked for documents about Wallenberg and/or Langfelder in the archival collection of the MGB Department “A” in the FSB Archive.

4) Apparently, documentation in the MGB Department “A” or Prison Department should also specify if prisoners under investigation were at that time registered under their own names or if they were assigned a number or, possibly, an alias name. All information about this process should be provided.

5) It also needs to be determined how some prisoners were assigned numbers after sentencing during the years 1947-53. This question has been left unanswered ever since members of the first International Commission in the Raoul Wallenberg case discovered the existence of such numbered prisoners in the archive of Vladimir Prison in 1990.

6) It needs to be established if the MGB Prison Department received regular reports from the heads of MGB special prisons with detailed information about the prisoner population for specific years, including a statistical breakdown of prisoners by nationality. Such statistics would provide important information about the presence of Swedish prisoners in specific prisons during specific years. Several witness testimonies about Swedish prisoners, including "a Swedish diplomat," allegedly held in Butyrka Prison during the late 1940s and early 1950s, also require further clarification.

7) At least in 1947, the MGB Prison Department had numerous correspondence with the Ivanovo MGB Directorate regarding the numbered Baltic prisoners who were kept in the investigation prison of the MGB branch. Later, after conviction, these prisoners became numbered prisoners in Vladimir Prison, and the MGB Prison Department corresponded with this prison. The archival materials of the MGB Prison Department need to be examined for this documentation.

12. SMERSH/MGB Documents

1) In 1994, FSB representatives handed over to the Swedish Group a document entitled "Collections [*fonds* in Russian] of Archival Materials That Have Been Looked Through In Connection With the Fate of R. Wallenberg." This list consists of 25 points with very general names of the SMERSH, MGB, NKVD, NKGB and KGB units and three NKGB/MGB prisons.

Here are just a few examples:

1. Counterintelligence SMERSH Directorate of the 2nd Ukrainian Front.
10. Main SMERSH Directorate (central apparatus [in Moscow]), 1945-1946.
13. MGB/KGB Secretariat, 1945-1962 [i.e., Abakumov's Secretariat from 1946-1951]. . .
15. 3rd MGB Main Directorate [military counterintelligence], 1946-1949.
16. 4th Department [headed by Sergei Kartashov] of the 3rd MGB Main Directorate, 1946-1949.

Clearly, each of these collections included thousands of files, and inspecting them would be long-time work of many archivists. However, no archival attribution of materials was given and there was no explanation how the study was organized, who carried it out and no results were described.

The Swedish part of the Working Group did not insist on an independent review of these collections. It is highly questionable that such enormous collections like documents in Abakumov's secretariat or Kartashov's department (for the years 1946-49) that investigated the Wallenberg case and the Department "A" (registration and archives) do not contain any documentation regarding Wallenberg, Langfelder and their cell-mates.

All these collections must be studied by independent researchers. Special attention should be given to the materials of the 7th Department of the 3rd MGB Main Directorate that kept information about prisoners investigated in that directorate and about their transfers.

2) In 1952, Stalin ordered the preparation of a number of show trials in Hungary, in which several former associates of Raoul Wallenberg were to have been charged with having conspired to kill the Swedish diplomat in the cellar of the American Embassy in Budapest in 1945. A special group of MGB officers was sent to Hungary to oversee the preparations for this trial, yet no documentation or reports of their activities have been released from the Russian archives.

This information could well shed light on how Soviet officials viewed the Wallenberg Case seven years after his disappearance and five years after his alleged death. Hermann Grosheim-Krisko testified that Soviet interrogators in Budapest repeatedly asked him about an "anti-Soviet spy center" which allegedly was to be created at the Swedish Legation, Budapest, to provide

information during the upcoming Soviet occupation of Hungary. Soviet officials were particularly interested in Raoul Wallenberg's activities in this regard.

Soviet documentation on the planned trials and activity of MGB advisers in charge of the preparation of the trials should be released in full.

13. Questions based on the publication of the first KGB Chairman, General Ivan Serov, memoir entitled “Notes from A Suitcase.”¹³

In the chapter “The Wallenberg Case” in the memoir of the first KGB Chairman, Ivan Serov, the author points to the document that supposedly existed in 1953-54, “Akt [Certificate] of Cremation” of Wallenberg’s body. Supposedly, it was signed by Aleksandr Mironov, Chief Warden of Lubyanka Prison, and Vasily Blokhin, Commandant (in fact, Chief Executioner) of the same prison. If this document exists in the FSB Central Archive, why didn’t the Working Group have access to it or its copy? It should be released.

Serov also writes about two interrogations regarding the Wallenberg Case in 1953-54, of Grigory Mairanovsky, head of the MGB Toxicology (Poison) Laboratory (Laboratory no. 1), and Viktor Abakumov, former State Security Minister. If these interrogations, in fact, happened, archivists of the FSB Central Archive should release copies of transcripts of these interrogations.

The same concerns Vasily Blokhin, who, according to Serov, was also interrogated regarding the “liquidation” of Wallenberg.

14. Other Swedes in Soviet Prisons and Records of Vladimir Prison

1) While inspecting prisoner cards in the Vladimir Prison archive, researchers identified the names of all but six of the numbered prisoners who were sentenced between the spring of 1947 and May 1948 and whose prisoner cards are still kept in that archive (*kartoteka*). It is crucial for the case to establish the real names of the six unidentified prisoners with nos. 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 who were sent to the Vladimir Prison after sentencing.

2) A former Vladimir Prison employee, Varvara Larina, stated in an interview in 1993 that a prisoner matching Raoul Wallenberg’s description (she was shown Wallenberg’s photo, including a rare profile shot, among a line-up of photographs depicting individuals of different ages and appearances) had been held in isolation in Section 2 (Korpus 2) in Vladimir Prison from the mid-1950s until the early 1960s. Another former employee of Vladimir Prison, Aleksandr Timofeyevich Kukin, stated the same.

To identify the prisoner who Larina and Kukin kept in mind, the names of all foreign prisoners held in Vladimir Prison during the 1950s, 60s and 70s should be released.

13. Ivan Serov. *Zapiski iz chemodana. Tainye dnevniki pervogo predsedatelya KGB, naidennyye cherez 25 let posle ego smerti* [Notes from a Suitcase: Secret Diaries of the First KGB Found 25 Years after His Death]. Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 2016 (in Russian). Chapter “The Wallenberg Case,” pp. 534-59.

3) A Latvian prisoner by the name of Zigurds Kruminsh told his cellmate -- now American Professor Marvin Makinen, who was imprisoned in Vladimir Prison from 1960 to 1963 -- about a highly secret Swedish prisoner who was supposedly held in Vladimir some time before 1961. Apparently, the Swedish prisoner had been arrested on charges of espionage. In Vladimir Prison, Kruminsh shared cells with important foreign prisoners, including the American U-2 Pilot Francis Gary Powers. Another prisoner later confirmed to Makinen that Kruminsh had apparently shared a cell with a Swedish prisoner. Over the years, at least a half of a dozen of other former prisoners testified about hearing of a secret Swedish prisoner in Vladimir.

The name of this secret Swedish prisoner should be released, even if this was not Raoul Wallenberg. It also needs to be determined if some prisoner cards have been withdrawn from the prisoner cards archive of Vladimir Prison (*kartoteka*).

4) According to the December 2000 letter from Mr. Vyacheslav Tuchnin, head of the Finland and Sweden section of the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry Second Department and at the time, co-chair of the Swedish-Russian Working Group on Raoul Wallenberg, to the Swedish Embassy, Moscow, Kruminsh's Archival-Investigation File, as well as still secret documentation concerning his pardon, are kept in the GARF.

All this documentation should be inspected by independent researchers in full to establish if it contains any information about Kruminsh's alleged meeting with a secret Swedish prisoner in Vladimir Prison.

5) The Archival-Investigation File for another prisoner in Vladimir Prison could also be of interest. Isaak Markovich Wolfen. Wolfen was a former Soviet diplomat, who from 1940-43 worked at the Soviet Mission in Stockholm. Later he taught the Swedish language at the Red Army Institute (College) of Military Translators in Moscow. In 1946, he was arrested by the MGB on charge of espionage, and in 1948, sentenced to a 20-year imprisonment.¹⁴ His Prisoner Card in Vladimir Prison carries the notation "Swedish spy." Wolfen was kept in Vladimir Prison from 1948 to 1955.

6) It should be established what reports Chief Warden (*nachal'nik*) of Vladimir Prison sent on a regular basis to the central MVD/MGB prison authorities in Moscow. The heads (*nachal'niki*) of MVD Special Camps, where political prisoners were kept from 1948 to 1954, for example, had to provide detailed annual reports about the camps they oversaw. These reports included a thorough account of all aspects of the complexes of camps they oversaw, including precise information about the prisoner population, such as numbers of prisoners incarcerated, their nationalities, etc.

14. Wolfen's Prisoner Card in the Vladimir Prison *kartoteka*; see also *Marvin W. Makinen and Ari D. Kaplan*. Cell Occupancy Analysis of Korpus 2 of the Vladimir Prison. Chicago (IL), USA. 2000. P. 48.

It would be important to know if chief wardens of the three special prisons in the cities of Vladimir, Aleksandrovsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, had to provide similar reports. If so, how often -- annually? Bi-annually? Monthly?

The FSB Central Archive should release a sample report for 1950, when Vladimir Prison belonged to the MGB, and for 1956.

6) In addition to prisoner cards, in which a transfer of the prisoner from one to another prison cell was registered, the warden of Vladimir prison must have had other records at his disposal which allowed him and his personnel to track prisoners' whereabouts on a daily basis, such as special registers, daily floor and cell plans, etc. These internal administrative records have never been made available to researchers.

It needs to be established if this documentation survived. If so, it should be made available for review for the years 1947-56.

7) It is necessary to establish the whereabouts of Giovanni Felix Italiener (or Felix Italiener; b. 1919) from March 23, 1957 to July 1958. The memoir by Morris Hershman (Moris Gershman in Russian documents), an American who spent many years in Soviet captivity, mentions that Italiener was in Vladimir Prison in 1956/57.¹⁵ If Italiener was indeed in Vladimir Prison, even for a short time, his presence could have added to the confusion about a secret Swedish prisoner held there.

The FSB Central Archive should clarify Italiener's whereabouts from 1957-58, to either confirm or dismiss Morris Gershman's statements.

8) The detailed testimony given by Ludwig Hunoldt, a former German prisoner of war, about a Swedish man named "Eriksson" held in *Korpus II* of Vladimir Prison in 1950 raises the question why his card was missing in the *kartoteka* of prisoner cards in Vladimir Prison.

It needs to be established if the card of this prisoner has been withdrawn, or if Hunoldt was held under a different name or if he provided incorrect information after his release from prison.

II. SVR (Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, formerly part of the KGB) Archive

1) In June 1992, during a meeting of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, Col. Vladimir K. Vinogradov specifically stated that the Soviet foreign intelligence reports from Hungary for the years 1944 and 1945 were preserved in the archives of SMERSH (currently in the FSB Central Archive), "including those concerning the work of the Swedish Legation in Budapest."

15. Morris Hershman's memoirs were published only in Russian: M. D. Gershman. *Priklyucheniya amerikantsa v Rossii (1931-1990)* [M. D. Hershman. *Adventures of an American in Russia, 1931-1990*]. New York, 1995. Pp. 177-78; <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=page&num=11530>.

This question should be clarified in the SVR Archive.

- 2) Reports and other communication from the *rezidentura* (Soviet foreign intelligence group) at the Soviet Embassy, Stockholm, regarding Raoul Wallenberg have never been released from the KGB/SVR Archive.¹⁶ These materials can provide important information about Wallenberg's early contacts with prominent political figures, such as the Hungarian Minister in Stockholm, Dr. Antal Ullein-Reviczky, as well as with Iver Olsen, a member of the U.S. intelligence service in Sweden (The Office of Strategic Services), who participated in Wallenberg's appointment to the Swedish Legation, Budapest, in 1944.

This information is crucial for understanding what exactly Soviet authorities knew about Raoul Wallenberg and how they assessed his wartime associations in Stockholm. Possibly, the NKGB reports could also clarify if Raoul Wallenberg had any contacts with the Soviet Ambassador in Sweden, Alexandra Kollontay, while he was in Budapest in 1944/45, as has been alleged by Elisabeth Kemény-Fuchs, wife of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Foreign Minister Gábor Kemény.¹⁷

- 3) Colonel Igor Prelin, at the time head of the KGB press service, stated on numerous occasions that the Soviet Foreign Intelligence had important intelligence sources in Hungary. This material has been repeatedly requested. In 2007, a detailed request concerning reports by the Soviet field agents about the activities of Raoul Wallenberg and the Swedish Legation (including interviews conducted with Raoul Wallenberg's diplomatic colleagues in March 1945, as mentioned above) was filed.
- 4) Also, requests were made for specific information about the activities of the Hungarian resistance movement and its leaders with whom both Wallenberg and his Swedish colleagues maintained close contact. This includes information about the activities of several British and Dutch officers who escaped from German POW camps and joined the resistance efforts in Hungary. In 1944-45, they received formal support from the Swedish Legation, Budapest. Several of them personally knew and worked with Raoul Wallenberg.

The access to all that information was denied because this documentation remains classified.

- 5) Boris Rybkin, foreign intelligence *rezident* (head of an intelligence group) at the Soviet Legation in Stockholm of the time was in charge of paying Wallenbergs' Enskilda Bank in 1943 with platinum for ball bearing shipments to the Soviet Union.¹⁸ The American Allies even offered to transport the ball bearings from Sweden to the Soviet Union. Most probably, Rybkin's subordinate Igor Spichkin, also a NKVD/NKGB officer, was involved in the ball bearing

16. These NKGB reports from Stockholm should not be confused with the recently released Soviet diplomatic cipher cable traffic from 1944 to 1947.

17. See, for instance, Eric Sjöquist. *Raoul Wallenberg*. Stockholm: Normans förlag, 1985 (in Swedish).

18. From 1935 to 1939, B. A. Rybkin (1899-1947), under the name of Boris Yartsev, headed a *rezidentura* at the Soviet Legation in Helsinki, Finland. In Stockholm, he was from September 1941 to July 1943. In 1947, he was killed in Czechoslovakia under suspicious circumstances.

payment. All these activities must have been reflected in reports to Moscow. The SVR Archive should release documentation about these events.

6) All Soviet foreign reports regarding contacts between Swedish officials and foreign intelligence representatives (especially from the U.S., Great Britain Germany) who were active Hungary and surrounding countries, including Turkey, in 1944-45, are of great interest as well.

Additionally, all information on the contacts of Swedish diplomats, including Raoul Wallenberg, in Hungary with the Jewish resistance network at the time such as the Vaadah, Zionist Youth Movement and others should be released.

7) In September 1944, the American War Refugee Board asked Raoul Wallenberg to check on the precise circumstances of the kidnapping and detention (in Mauthausen concentration camp) of Leopold Ashner, the Jewish Director of the large electrical company TUNGSRAM.

It needs to be determined if Raoul Wallenberg had an active role in the negotiations with the German and Hungarian Nazi authorities in Hungary leading to Ashner's release.

8) Soviet Foreign Intelligence reports regarding the Holocaust in Hungary for the years 1941-1945 are of special interest and should be released. These materials should include reports about activities and contacts of individual Nazi officials like Adolf Eichmann, SS-Officer in charge of Jewish deportation, as well as Edmund Veesenmayer, Plenipotentiary of Hungary, and the others, with the Swedish Legation in Budapest and particularly with Raoul Wallenberg.

9) In discussions during the Swedish-Russian Working Group meetings, Russian archivists, including Col. Vinogradov, repeatedly cited the rumors that Raoul Wallenberg had been known as an asset of the "American, British and German intelligence agencies." The archivists also claimed that Raoul Wallenberg had direct contact with SS-General Walter Schellenberg, head of the German Foreign Intelligence operations in 1944, and his agents in Hungary.

In connection with this, it would be important to determine if Soviet intelligence tried to link Raoul Wallenberg or members of his family to any separate peace negotiation between the Hungarian, Allied and German representatives during the years 1941-45.

Therefore, documentation regarding activities of the German intelligence representatives and agencies in Hungary and Sweden from 1941 to 1945 should be released.

10) The access to Soviet intelligence reports concerning members of the Wallenberg Family (especially bankers Jacob and Marcus Wallenberg), as well as Raoul Wallenberg, have been consistently denied since 2001, even though it has been established that such a collection does exist. This documentation could provide important leads to understand why Joseph Stalin decided to arrest Raoul Wallenberg, as well as offer clues about how the case information was handled in the Soviet bureaucracy.

This information is crucial for the case and should be released.

11) In 2007, the SVR was asked to provide information about Jacob Wallenberg's approach to the Soviet government through foreign intelligence intermediaries in Czechoslovakia in 1954, regarding Raoul Wallenberg. SVR's reply was that no information about this initiative is available.

Evidently, this issue remains pending.

12) As historian Craig G. McKay has pointed out, in her memoirs Nina Langlet claimed that in 1945 the above-mentioned NKGB officer Spichkin was a member of the Soviet part of the Allied Control Commission in Budapest and that he signed the document "announcing the departure of Swedish diplomatic personnel" in March 1945.¹⁹

This claim and Spichkin's supposed official function in Budapest in 1945 needs to be clarified by the SVR as well.

13) Requests to provide access to the files of Count Mikhail Kutuzov-Tolstoy -- Operational File (if he was, in fact, Soviet agent) and/or Personal File -- for information regarding Raoul Wallenberg and his work at the Swedish Legation, Budapest, in 1944, were repeatedly denied. According to Col. Vinogradov, Kutuzov-Tolstoy's file had contained a "character sketch" of members of the Swedish Legation, Budapest, including Raoul Wallenberg, authored by Kutuzov-Tolstoy that later was allegedly destroyed. Requests to review the administrative order for the paper's destruction (referred to by Col. Vinogradov) have remained unanswered.

Anatolii Prokopenko, former head of the Special (now Military) Archive in Moscow, claimed that he had seen Kutuzov-Tolstoy's file in 1991, in a KGB archive outside of Moscow. Since then, apparently, this file has been kept in the SVR archives in Moscow.

During the late 1990s, Ambassador Hans Magnusson requested that a member of the Russian Foreign Ministry be given access to Kutuzov-Tolstoy's file. This request was granted, with the official reporting back that the documentation contained "no information that was not already known." No formal written report of this review was apparently ever made.

It remains unknown what file the Russian official had seen. If that was a Personal File, does this mean that Kutuzov-Tolstoy was, in fact, a Soviet agent? Did he report on Raoul Wallenberg and the other Swedish diplomats as an agent?

Researchers must be allowed to conduct an independent review of Kutuzov-Tolstoy's materials, including all different files available.

19. P. 6 in: *Excerpts from McKay's Notes on the Case of Raoul Wallenberg*, <http://www.raoulwallenberg.org/mckay.pdf>.

14) Requests to inspect the materials regarding contacts between the Soviet diplomat and foreign intelligence officer Pavel Yerzin and the Finnish diplomat Åke Frey in 1955-57 were repeatedly denied. These discussions, conducted during the months before the release of the so-called Gromyko Memorandum in February 1957, unofficially confirmed for the first time that Wallenberg was held prisoner in the Soviet Union. All records regarding these discussions need to be released.

III. Archives to Be Consulted About Specific Issues

1. Defense Ministry Central Archive (TsAMO RF)

a) The *Razvedupr* (RU, field military intelligence) Collection

It is known that in 1944 the *Razvedupr* had a network of agents in Hungary and this organization participated in bringing Hungarian delegations for peace negotiations to Moscow and in the negotiations.²⁰ After Wallenberg had been detained at the headquarters of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, most probably he was debriefed not only by SMERSH (which is known), but also by military intelligence officers. There is a possibility that transcripts of these interrogations might shed some light on Wallenberg's detention and the arrest that followed. This information has never been requested or offered for review.

These materials should be checked and released.

b) The GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate, military foreign intelligence) Collection

During the work of the Swedish-Russian Working Group, the Russian side provided no documentation from the archive of the Main Intelligence Directorate – military foreign intelligence. In the meantime, most of the above-listed questions to the SVR Archive are relevant also to the GRU Archive. The following materials, if they exist in this archive, should be provided:

- 1) Reports about Wallenberg's early contacts with the prominent Hungarian political figures in Stockholm and with Iver Olsen, a member of the U.S. OSS group in Stockholm, who participated in Wallenberg's appointment to the Swedish Legation, Budapest, in 1944.
- 2) Reports on the activities of the Hungarian resistance movement, including the Jewish resistance network, and its leaders with whom both Wallenberg and his Swedish colleagues maintained close contact, and on these contacts.

20. Details in the book in Russian: Popov Ye. V. *The "Hungarian Rhapsody" of the GRU ["Vengerskaya rapsodiya" GRU]*. Moscow: Veche, 2010 (in Russian).

- 3) Reports regarding contacts between the Swedish officials and foreign intelligence representatives (especially from the U.S., Great Britain Germany) who were active Hungary and surrounding countries, including Turkey.
- 4) Reports regarding the Holocaust in Hungary for the years 1941-45, and Adolf Eichmann, and Edmund Veessenmayer personally, as well as on their contacts with Raoul Wallenberg.
- 5) Reports on the rumors about Raoul Wallenberg's alleged contact with Walter Schellenberg and his agents in Hungary.
- 6) Reports on Dutch officers in Budapest and their connections with the Swedish Legation and Raoul Wallenberg.
- 7) Reports on separate peace negotiations between the Hungarian, Allied and German representatives in Stockholm during the years 1941-45 and the alleged involvement of members of the Wallenberg family in them.

c) The Red Army Political Directorate Collection

1) Among the documents the FSB released in 1991, there is a report of the head of the Political Department the 151st Division, Dmitrienko, to the Head of the Political Department of the 7th Army, on the detention of Wallenberg and Langfelder in the house no. 16 on the Benczur Street, dated January 14, 1945. This line of command was not pursued by the Swedish-Russian Working Group, only inquiries about Dmitrienko were made.

However, this line is especially important because the Red Army Political Directorate was, in fact, not a part of the military command, but part of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party, and its head, Aleksandr Shcherbakov, was not only a CC's Politburo candidate member, but also a deputy Defense Commissar, i.e., Stalin's deputy. It is known that in the case of Count István Bethlen, who was detained approximately at the same time as Wallenberg, interrogations by political officers were intense and there was a detailed correspondence of field units with Moscow headquarters (these documents, and not SMERSH materials, were released to the public in the 1990s). This information strongly suggests a possibility of existence of documents regarding the Wallenberg Case in the archive of the Political Directorate.

In May 2012, FSB archivists stated that except Dmitrienko's report, "there are no additional documents in the FSB Central Archive of Russia on the detention of the Swedish diplomats and their interrogations, as well as interrogations of Wallenberg by the Political Directorate of the 2nd Ukrainian Front." Therefore, the relevant documentation should be kept in the archive of Political Directorate.

It is crucial for the case to check the archive of the Political Directorate for reports about and the debriefings of Wallenberg and Langfelder while they were detained in the military headquarters of the 2nd Ukrainian Front.

d) **Various Collections**

1) As already mentioned, the TsAMO materials should be also checked for reports on the debriefing of the Swedish diplomats from the Legation in Budapest, detained by the Soviet troops.

2) Archival materials about Count Kutuzov-Tolstoy might also be kept in the TsAMO, since after the war he served as a teacher of foreign languages of officers of the Political Department of the Soviet part of the Allied Control Commission in Budapest. Therefore, the TsAMO materials should be checked for possible information about Kutuzov-Tolstoy.

2. Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry (MID) Archive (AVP RF)

1) Previously, the AVP RF released some of Alexandra Kollontay's reports and cables and other NKID officials about the Wallenberg brothers and Raoul Wallenberg; all information on the Wallenbergs (1940-1947) and their activities should be released.

2) Reports on the role of the Wallenberg brothers in the trade negotiations in 1940 and 1946 should be made available.

3) Information that Raoul Wallenberg had been taken to Moscow was received by the American Military Section of the Allied Control Commission (ACC), Hungary, as early as in May 1945. On request from the U.S. Department of State, on May 7, 1945, General William S. Key raised the issue of Raoul Wallenberg's disappearance and those of two Swiss diplomats with Major General Ivan Lyovushkin, head of the ACC Headquarters, and Grigorii Pushkin, Soviet Political Adviser at the ACC, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissariat (NKID) and the future Soviet Ambassador to Hungary.²¹ Lyovushkin indicated in subsequent discussions that the three diplomats "almost certainly" had been interned and that he had written many letters to different Soviet agencies to determine their whereabouts, without success.

In 2010, the Russian MID released an additional letter written by Colonel Henry G. Simmonite, assistant to General Key, dated May 11, 1945, and a Russian translation of it made in the same May 1945. A handwritten resolution in Russian on the translated letter, dated May 17, 1945, stated that "C.[omrade] Lyovushkin informed Col. Simmonite, that on our requests, [they] were

21. See Susanne Berger, *Swedish Aspects of the Raoul Wallenberg Case*, 2001. Political Adviser at the ACC in Budapest G.M. Pushkin had a staff consisting of a number of assistants, consultants, and experts.

not found. [Put] into the file.” In other words, Moscow decided not to continue this communication. However, the whole issue regarding General Lyovushkin's actions and communications needs clarification.

The reports by Pushkin and his staff, as well as transcripts of telephone conversations of Pushkin with Vladimir Dekanozov, deputy NKID Commissar, are kept in the AVP RF. It's unclear if Lyovushkin's documents are kept in the same archive, or in the Military Archive.

All documentation regarding the search for Raoul Wallenberg conducted via the channels of the ACC Soviet Section, including the NKID reports, should be made available for independent review.

- 4) A series of diplomatic meetings regarding Raoul Wallenberg from 1953 to 1956 is mentioned in the already cited Swedish report published in 2003. Similar records were not released publicly by the Russian side of the Working Group. These meetings were not also mentioned in the 2000 Russian report of the Working Group.²² According to Ambassador Hans Magnusson, a co-chairman of the Working Group, some of these Russian materials were shown to the representatives of the Swedish side.²³ Obviously, the Russian full records about the following meetings should be made publicly available:
 - a) April 13, 1953 (Stockholm). Meeting between Arne Lundberg, Cabinet Secretary at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, with Yevgeny Tarabrin, 1st Secretary at the Soviet Embassy²⁴;
 - b) May 4, 1953 (Moscow). Meeting of the Swedish Ambassador Rolf Sohlman with Vladimir Semenov (head of the 3rd European Department, Soviet MID);
 - c) May 21, 1953 (Moscow). Second meeting of Sohlman with Semenov;
 - d) June 3, 1953 (Stockholm). Meeting of Östen Undén, Swedish Foreign Affairs Minister, with Konstantin Rodionov;
 - e) July 16, 1953 (Stockholm). Rodionov's statement that it was established that Wallenberg has not been and is not in the Soviet Union;
 - f) July 17, 1954 (Moscow). Undén's private conversations with Valerian Zorin, Soviet deputy Foreign Minister, and Anastas Mikoyan, Soviet Foreign Trade Minister;
 - g) October 1, 1954 (Moscow). Sohlman hands a Swedish note over to Zorin. In the note, the Swedish side mentions Lavrentii Beria;
 - h) December 3, 1954 (Moscow). Sohlman's meeting with Semenov, head of the 3rd European Department, MID);
 - i) December 26, 1954 (Moscow). One more meeting of Sohlman with Semenov;

22. <http://archive.mid.ru/Ns-reuro.nsf/arh/432569D80022027E432569D20034404E?OpenDocument>

23. Email from H. Magnusson to V. Birstein, dated September 9, 2016.

24. In fact, Tarabrin was a foreign intelligence officer under a diplomatic cover. Later, from August 1956 to February 1963, Colonel Ye. Tarabrin headed the 2nd/3rd Department in charge of the Great Britain and, apparently, Scandinavian countries, of the 1st KGB Main Directorate (foreign intelligence) [Oleg Mozokhin, <http://shieldandsword.mozohin.ru/kgb5491/structure/1GU/3.htm> (in Russian)].

- j) May 17, 1955 (Stockholm). Meeting of Lundberg with Tarabrin, now former 1st secretary of the Soviet Embassy;
- k) June 13, 1955 (Moscow). Meeting of the Swedish Riksdag delegation headed by Gustav Nilssen in the Kremlin with Kliment Voroshilov, Chairman of the Soviet Supreme Council Presidium, and other Soviet officials, including Gromyko;
- l) November 8, 1955 (Stockholm). Undén provides Rodionov with detailed information on the statements about Wallenberg by the Germans released from Soviet captivity;
- m) November 15, 1955 (Moscow). Second meeting of Sohlman with Bulganin;
- n) December 18 (Moscow). Sohlman's meeting with Semenov;
- o) March 6, 1956 (Moscow). Meeting of Sohlman with Bulganin, Khrushchev, Semyonov and Tarabrin;
- p) March 30, 1956 (Moscow). Talks between Soviet leaders Bulganin, Khrushchev, Molotov, and other officials, with the Swedish delegation that arrived in Moscow: Erlander, Prime Minister, Gunnar Hedlund, Interior Minister, Gunnar Jarring, head of the Political Department of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Sohlman, and some others.²⁵

3. Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE)²⁶

1) Taking into consideration numerous deals of the Wallenberg bank with the Soviet Union during the war, especially the ball-bearing trade which was negotiated by and organized with the help of head of the Trade Department of the Soviet Legation in Stockholm Mikhail Nikitin, there should be numerous documentation about the Wallenberg bankers and various trade deals in the archive of this ministry.

Secret deals involving Wallenberg business and Nazi authorities may have also been conducted in Hungary from 1944-45. For instance, in October 1944, the Swedish ball bearing firm SKF instructed its subsidiaries to transfer all European inventories to Nazi Germany, including its holdings in Budapest. Soviet officials strongly protested against these decisions and threatened to put the SKF Sales Director in Budapest on trial.

All these issues may have a direct or indirect connection with Raoul Wallenberg's activities and possibly his fate. The relevant documents have never been made available for review and should be released.

25. See more details about these meetings in Vadim Birstein. "Raoul Wallenberg in Ivan Serov's Memoir", <http://www.vbirstein.com/serov-memoir-book-review/>.

26. This archive contains at least part of the former USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade Archive. On April 4, 2016, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a decree stating that since that date on, the Russian federal archives that belong to the centralized *Rosarchive* system, including the RGVE, RGASPI, GARF and RGVA, are under his personal control. See "Putin: *Rosarchive* will be transferred under direct control of President." TASS. April 4, 2016 (in Russian), <http://tass.ru/politika/3174626>.

2) There is information that Raoul Wallenberg himself, as a representative of his company Mellaneuropeiska, was involved in negotiations with the Soviet Trade Delegation in Stockholm in 1944. In his last message to Wallenberg in December 1944, his business partner Koloman Lauer mentioned a plan that from Budapest Wallenberg could perhaps go to Moscow for business negotiations. All these actions should be documented in the correspondence between the Trade Department of the Soviet Legation in Stockholm with Moscow. Although this archive responded in 1999 that it “contains no information on the activities of the diplomat Raoul Wallenberg”, this is not an answer to the activities of Wallenberg as a businessman.

All information regarding trade negotiations conducted with Mellaneuropeiska (including closely related firms) and the Soviet Legation (Trade Delegation), and especially Nikitin's office, for the year 1944 should be released.

3) The fact that the Wallenberg brothers, Jacob and Marcus, played a leading role in the negotiations regarding the Swedish-Soviet Trade Agreement of October 1946, points to the necessity of checking documentation on the role of the brothers in the negotiations in this archive, as well as in the MID archive (see below).

The internal deliberations on the Soviet side about these negotiations and whether the question of Raoul Wallenberg's imprisonment was to be raised in some form with the Swedish side have never been made available for review.

4. MVD (Interior Affairs Ministry) Archives

Apparently, records for former prisoners of Vladimir Prison exist also in the archives of the Interior Affairs Ministry (MVD) of the Russian Federation. From publications by FSB archivists, it became known that the Informational Center (Archive) of the Vladimir Region Interior Affairs Directorate (the Vladimir Region UVD) keeps files of prisoners of Vladimir Prison from the late 1940s-1950s. It is not clear if these files were separately created in this prison, or they are personal files of only Russian/Soviet prisoners. Some of the files were destroyed, but the archive keeps lists of those files. There are files of some foreigners in the archive, — at least those who died in Vladimir Prison (probably, Fond/Collection 10). All these files have never been requested by the Swedish-Russian Working Group.

1) The MVD Central Archive in Moscow should present a list of the existing and destroyed files.

2) If to suggest that Raoul Wallenberg and/or Vilmos Langfelder were convicted in 1947-first part of 1948, and were sent to a MVD punishment prison or labor camp, their cases were also evaluated by special commissions in Moscow (Central Commission), Soviet republics and local regions, as well as in the centers of labor camps that had been set up for the purpose of selecting prisoner to be sent to special prisons and camp. The records about this evaluation should have been kept in the materials of the MVD Prison Directorate or the 1st MVD Special Department (registration and statistics).

Materials of the Central Commission should be checked for Wallenberg and/or Langfelder documents in the MVD archival collections.

- 3) In March 1951, all convicted foreigners kept in the labor camps, special camps and MVD prisons were registered. The 1st MVD Special Department was in charge of this registration.

The MVD Central Archive should present materials of this registration for inspection or provide information what archives these files were moved to for checking if Wallenberg and Langfelder were kept in 1951 in any MVD facility for convicted prisoners.

- 4) The Informational Center of the Vladimir Region UVD should provide an opportunity for independent researchers to study the file of Konstantin Ordzhonikidze which, possibly, contains some information about an assignment of numbers to special prisoners in Vladimir Prison.

- 5) If this collection contains also files of foreign prisoners, the files of persons connected to the Wallenberg Case, including Paul-Erhard Hille, Ernst Huber, Horst Kitchmann, Jan Loyda, Ero Pelkonen, Gustav Richter, and Reiner Stahel, should be inspected by independent researchers.

- 6) If this collection contains Personal File of Ernst Krafft, who died in Vladimir Prison on July 23, 1954, it should be studied. It should be checked if Krafft, who in 1947 shared a cell with Langfelder in Lefortovo Prison, was called for an interrogation on the night of July 22/23, 1947.

- 7) If numerous correspondence between the MGB Prison Department with the Ivanovo NKGB/MGB branch and then Vladimir Prison regarding the numbered prisoners is kept in this collection, it should be also inspected.

- 8) If this archive contains documentation on the arrival of prisoners, the names of prisoners transferred in May 1952 should be checked for possible identification of the Hungarian Prisoner no. 1 (b. 1909).

5. Presidential Archive (AP RF)

- 1) An analysis of the list of names of persons who attended the Politburo meeting in Stalin's office on August 9, 1947 shows that, most probably, the Vyshinsky Note (and, possibly, the whole Wallenberg Case) was discussed at this meeting, when Abakumov was in Stalin's office from 23:00 to 23:30. Before him, Vyshinsky was in Stalin's office from 22:10-22:50. However, only on 12 August a Politburo decision regarding the MGB appeared in the Politburo records (P59/123). Additionally, copies of the final version of the Vyshinsky Note were sent to all attendees of this meeting, including Abakumov, plus Molotov and Anastas

Mikoyan, Soviet Foreign Trade Minister, who were absent at the meeting. Such decisions were filed in the MGB Special Folder of the Politburo which is still classified. Mikoyan's name on the list of recipients of the note directly points to the involvement of the Foreign Trade Ministry in the Wallenberg case.

All records on this meeting should be released.

- 2) There is direct evidence in MID's documents that Stalin's personal secretariat, called the Special Sector of the Central Committee, dealt with the Wallenberg case. On December 11, 1947, A. I. Kabashkin, head of the 5th Section (letters) of the Special Sector, sent a Swedish letter, addressed to Stalin, to the MID for MID's comments.²⁷

Therefore, the archive of the Special Sector should be checked for documents about Wallenberg.

6. Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI)

Part of some collections of documents from Stalin's time had been moved from the AP RF to the RGASPI, and some files from those parts have been declassified, especially in 2007, 2014-15.

Two collections, of V. M. Molotov (Fond/Collection 82) and A. I. Mikoyan (Fond/Collection 84) should be checked. Molotov's collection should be checked for materials on Raoul Wallenberg and his case, as well as on the Wallenberg brothers. Mikoyan's collection should be checked for materials on any trade negotiations and agreements between the Soviet Foreign Trade Commissariat/Ministry and Swedish companies, including negotiations about ball bearings with the SKF, with Raoul Wallenberg's company Mellaneuropeiska in Stockholm, and about the trade agreements of 1940 and 1946.

It is necessary to remember that those collections are only partly declassified.

Collection of Stalin's documents (Fond/Collection 558. Opis/Register 11) should be also kept in mind. However, it is most likely that documents about Wallenberg, if they exist in this collection, are still classified.

7. Russian Federation State Archive (GARF)

- 1) As already mentioned, materials for Zigurds Kruminsh, including his Archival-Investigation File, needs to be examined.

27. The so-called "Memorandum on the Wallenberg Case", 1952, p. 10; signed by Andrei Plakhin, at the time acting head of the 5th European Department of MID. The "Memorandum" has been released in 1991 from the AVP RF (former MID Archive).

- 2) Materials of the NKVD/MVD Prison Directorate (Fond/Collection R-9413) need to be examined to check if any order regarding Raul Wallenberg and/or Vilmos Langfelder was issued in 1947-48 – in case if they survived after July 1947, were convicted and sent to a prison or a labor camp (in 1947, special prisons were still within the MVD system, they were transferred to the MGB in 1949).
- 3) Also, since Fond/Collection R-9413 (Opis'/Register 1) contains materials about many aspects of prisons and their administration, as well as, apparently, the numbered prisoners in Vladimir Prison, this collection for the 1946-49 years should be carefully checked, in particular, for better understanding of the system of assigning numbers to convicted prisoners.

8. Additional Issues That Need to Be Reviewed in Some Particular Archives

Here are some examples:

- 1) It needs to be established how, when and where exactly Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder were moved from Budapest to Moscow in January 1945, before their arrival in Lubyanka Prison on February 6, 1945.
- 2) In the years 1945-47, Soviet diplomats appeared to signal a possible willingness of the Soviet government to make an exchange for Raoul Wallenberg, for Soviet citizens detained in Sweden.

It needs to be established what instructions, if any, these diplomats received from their superiors in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from the Soviet leadership.

- 4) There is an uncertainty with Marcus Wallenberg's second letter to Ambassador Kollontay.

The well-known Marcus's letter to Alexandra Kollontay from April 23, 1945 appears to be the only letter he sent to her. By that time, Kollontay had left Stockholm and the letter was taken to Moscow personally by Bengt Åkerren, Swedish Military Attaché to Moscow. Kollontay's response came only more than one year later, on June 7, 1946.

It should be checked, if there was any additional correspondence between these two persons since Staffan Söderblom, Swedish Minister to Moscow, stated on June 11, 1946, when he forwarded Kollontay's letter to Stockholm: *"In the matter concerning Raoul Wallenberg's disappearance I carried with me after my last visit home a letter from Marcus Wallenberg, Jr., written on my suggestion, to Mrs. Kollontai."* In fact, it was Åkerren, not Söderblom, who carried the letter. Söderblom visited Stockholm on several occasions after April 1945, including in May 1946. He returned to Moscow on May 23rd.

Marcus Wallenberg's second letter should be released, as should any additional letter(s) by Alexandra Kollontai that are part of this exchange.

5) In 1945, Alexandra Kollontay apparently told Ingrid Günther, wife of the Swedish Foreign Minister, that Raoul had committed "a foolish thing" while in Budapest.

It remains unclear what Kollontai was referring to specifically.

6) The details of the discussions between the Swedish physician Dr. Nanna Svartz and Soviet Academician Aleksandr Myasnikov from 1961 to 1965, when Dr. Svartz understood that Dr. Myasnikov claimed that Wallenberg was still alive, should be reviewed in full.

Myasnikov's personal papers were requested for a review, but the request was denied. The Myasnikov-Svartz contacts were discussed at the highest levels of the Soviet leadership, including the Central Committee's Presidium (former Politburo). Only very few documents have been released. Such a review could clarify if Soviet officials had precise information what transpired in the Myasnikov-Svartz conversation, if Myasnikov was reprimanded, or if he ever had been involved in the medical treatment of foreign prisoners.

A second physician, Dr. Grigory Danishevsky, was also present during Myasnikov's meeting with Svartz in 1961, yet no information about his role or his statements has been released. Apparently, his presence at the meeting was not accidental since he himself spent 15 years as a political prisoner in the Gulag. Full access to all documentation related to the Myasnikov-Svartz discussions should be provided.

7) In May 1965, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party approved an official reply to Dr. Svartz. The notations on the document show that the Myasnikov/Svartz issue was also discussed by a full session of the Politburo.

The full documentation that was preparatory to this meeting should be released.

8) In June 1963, Stig Wennerström, a Swedish Air Force Colonel, was arrested as a Soviet spy. The subsequent behind-the-scenes discussions, via East Germany, allegedly about using his arrest to press for the truth about Raoul Wallenberg, should be clarified.

All documentation related to the contacts between Wolfgang Vogel and Carl Gustav Svingel, from one side, and Soviet representatives in the negotiations, from another, should be released.

9) The meeting in 1965 between Tage Erlander, Swedish Prime Minister, and Aleksei Kosygin, Soviet Prime Minister, which led to the official closure of the Raoul Wallenberg case until 1979, requires further evaluation.

What exactly did Kosygin tell Tage Erlander about the Raoul Wallenberg case? And what exactly did Kosygin know about Raoul Wallenberg's fate?

This documentation should be released in full.

10) Only partial records of discussions at the Politburo meetings that preceded Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to Moscow of Raoul Wallenberg's relatives in 1989 have been released so far.

This documentation should be released in full.

11) In 1952, Stalin ordered the preparation of a number of show trials in Hungary, in which several former associates of Raoul Wallenberg were to have been charged with having conspired to kill the Swedish diplomat in the cellar of the American Embassy in Budapest in 1945. A special group of MGB officers was sent to Hungary to oversee the preparations for this trial, yet no documentation or reports of their activities have been released from Russian archives.

This information could well shed light on how Soviet officials viewed the Wallenberg Case seven years after his disappearance and five years after his alleged death. Hermann Grosheim-Krisiko testified that in 1945 Soviet interrogators in Budapest repeatedly asked him about an "anti-Soviet spy center" which allegedly was to be created at the Swedish Legation, Budapest, to provide information during the upcoming Soviet occupation of Hungary. Soviet officials were particularly interested in Raoul Wallenberg's activities in this regard.

Soviet documentation on the planned trials and activity of Soviet advisers in charge of the preparation of the trials should be released in full.

11) In February 1983, the Swedish judge Gunnar Linnander reported that he had met an Englishman in Geneva who said that Raoul Wallenberg had died just a few weeks earlier, at a "dacha" (country house) outside of Moscow. As a source of this information, he named a Norwegian businessman and arms dealer by the name of Erik Bjertnes.

Bjertnes explained that his source was an old acquaintance of his from wartime Stockholm, Aleksandr Pavlov. According to Bjertnes, Aleksandr Pavlov was the son of the famous translator and diplomat Vladimir Pavlov, who had translated for high ranking Soviet officials, including Stalin. Despite repeated requests to identify Pavlov and to provide information about him, the Russian side has provided no details. During the war a representative of the Soviet news agency TASS by the name of Aleksandr Pavlov was stationed in Stockholm. It was known he was connected with the GRU.

Bjertnes had close contacts with Soviet Ambassador Alexandra Kollontay in Stockholm. A possible transfer of information about Raoul Wallenberg through these old channels should be researched further. The true identity of Aleksandr Pavlov needs to be determined.