

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-01

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk WASHINGTON

Text

Bergquist från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-
ärendet.

Sänder Grestad uppteckningar med kurir som packas
i Stockholm 9 april.

Cabinet

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
Utrikesministerns kansli
Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-01

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Konsuln Grestad

SAN FRANCISCO

STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

(2 bil)

U. n.

Broder,

./1-2

Bergquist i Washington har meddelat mig att Du kommer att förhöra den amerikanske medborgaren Brawer, som nyligen frigivits från ett fångläger i Sovjetunionen. För Din orientering översänder jag två uppteckningar från samtal med personer, vilka suttit i lägret 385/5 i Mordvinien. Jag förmodar att även Brawer suttit i detta läger.

Vårt huvudintresse är naturligtvis att få reda på om Brawer under sin tid i Sovjetunionen hört talas om Raoul Wallenberg.

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

☒ sv kurt☐ utl kurt☐ luftpost☐ vanlig post

Avgångsdatum

Sign

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

BRYSSEL

1980 03 28

P 2

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
1980-04-03 - ex t:

Fru Nina Lagergren
F justitierådet I Gärde-Widemar
Per Anger c/o Wallenberg-kommittén
Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I
Liljegren Pol II
amb Moskva onumr
amb Washington onumr
amb Tel Aviv

Kanslirådet Nilsson

Utrikesdepartementet

exp 800403/ACF

Wallenbergärendet

(1 bil)✓

47

INKOM UD		
1980-04- - 2		
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P	2	En F

Broder,

Bifogade kommuniké mottog vi igår utan missiv. Som synes är det ett stort antal betydande personer i Luxemburg som beslutat bilda en Wallenbergkommitté.

Sin tillgång

L. Schönander

C O M M U N I Q U E

Au moment où les troupes soviétiques libéraient la Hongrie du joug nazi, elles arrêtaient un diplomate suédois en poste à Budapest, dont le seul tort était d'avoir sauvé plus de 25.000 juifs. Depuis, toutes les démarches pour obtenir la libération de WALLENBERG ont été vaines. Le Gouvernement soviétique n'a jamais révélé les motifs de la détention arbitraire. Il a déclaré que le diplomate serait mort en 1947 en prison d'un arrêt du cœur. Contrevérité - alors que plusieurs détenus libérés après 1947 ont pu communiquer avec lui.

Les soussignés viennent de constituer au Luxembourg le COMITE POUR LA LIBERATION DE WALLENBERG. Le comité soutient la proposition faite récemment par plusieurs parlementaires britanniques de décerner au diplomate suédois le Prix Nobel de la Paix.

Les demandes d'adhésion sont à adresser à M. Guy Binsfeld, 2, avenue de la Porte-Neuve à Luxembourg.

Ernest ARENDT, ancien bâtonnier, conseiller d'Etat,
Alain ATTEN, archiviste de l'Etat,
Guy BINSFELD, publiciste,
Emmanuel BULZ, grand rabbin de Luxembourg,
Francis CERY, médecin,
Eliane EICHER, avocat,
Paolo M. FALCONE, secrétaire général adjoint du groupe
socialiste du Parlement Européen,
Pilo FONCK, journaliste RTL,
Lucien GLODEN, ingénieur diplômé,
Paul HAMMELMANN, avocat,
Paul HEMMER, médecin,
Jean-Marie HENGEN, avocat-avoué,
Simon HERTZ, médecin,
J.P. JAEHNE, assureur,
Robert KRIEPS, ancien Ministre de la Justice, de la Culture
et de l'Education Nationale,
président du parti socialiste luxembourgeois
député,
Pierre PRUM, avocat-avoué,
Pierre PUTH, professeur de lycée,
Jean REGENWETTER, directeur de la Chambre du Travail,
député du parti socialiste luxembourgeois,
Albert RODESCH, avocat,
Paul SCHLEIMER, avocat-avoué,
Gaston VOGEL, avocat-avoué,
Leopold HOFFMANN, professeur de lycée

*Tous le Comité
Gaston Vogel.*

Kabs

ORIGINAL TELEGRAM
(KOPIOR ENL. ANT.)
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SVENSK WASHINGTON KNR 254 1980-04-03

CABINET STOCKHOLM

544. FOER NILSSON, UTRIKESMIN KANSLI FRAAN BERGQUIST ANG
WALLENBERGAERENDET.

VORE DET MOEJLIGT FOER OSS ERHAALLA ETT EX AV DEN NYA VITBOKEN ?
TACKSAM I SAA FALL DEN SAENDS PER KURIR SNARAST.

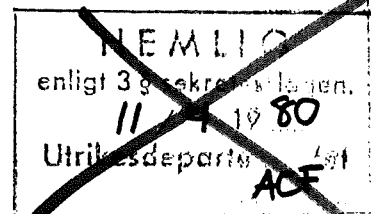
WACHTMEISTER

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

BONN

1980-03-27

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
1980-04-11 - ex f kdm t:



Fru Nina Lagergren
F justitierådet I Gärde-Widemar
Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I
ex f 800411/ACF
amb Moskva nr 79 ✓
amb Washington,
nr 65 ✓
amb Tel Aviv,
nr 29 ✓

Kanslirådet L-Å Nilsson

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenbergärendet
(1 bil) ✓

EXPEDIERA	
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Broder,

Jag hade den 18 mars ett längre telefonsamtal med herr Volker Schaffhauser. Han bor i Rülzheim strax norr om Karlsruhe. Han var genast beredd att tala och lät mycket vederhäftig. Han berättade att han suttit i läger 385/5 1967-1969. Någon medfånge vid namn Raoul Wallenberg (nedan kallad W) hade han aldrig råkat eller ens hört talas om under sin tid i Sovjet. Namnet Wallenberg var honom visserligen bekant, men endast i samband med den svenska bank- och industrivärlden.

Sedan jag berättat lite om W konstaterade Schaffhauser, att den omständigheten att W greps redan 1945 dock kunnat föranleda att han med tiden kom att förvaras i läger för enbart sovjetiska fångar och ej i något "blandat eller rent utlänningsläger". Det var således möjligt att W funnits inom någon av de andra anläggningarna i Mordvinien-komplexet. Men tillfälle till kontakt med fångarna i dessa andra anläggningar hade man endast på det gemensamma sjukhuset. Schaffhauser själv hade aldrig varit sjuk under lägertiden och hade därför icke besökt sjukhuset.

Schaffhauser kände f ö till Papadopolus men hade icke längre någon kontakt med honom.

Schaffhauser föreslog spontant att jag skulle kontakta "en person vid namn Walther Naumann", eftersom denne kom till Mordvinien tidigare än han själv. Han gav mig adressen till Naumann, vilken jag som bekant hittills icke lyckats lokalisera.

. / .

Jag fick telefonkontakt med Walther Naumann den 19 mars. Denne arbetar numera på Akademisches Ausländeramt vid universitetet i Heidelberg. Även Naumann var mycket tillmötesgående och lämnade snabba och klara besked. Han berättade att han arresterades i september 1961 och utväxlades i februari 1969. Han satt i Wladimirfängelset 1961-63 och därefter i 385/5 i Mordvinien. Varje halvår efter förflyttningen till 385 fördes han dock till Moskva för samtal med representanter för tyska ambassaden, vilka arbetade för hans frigivning. Dessa samtal ägde rum omväxlande i Lefortova- och Botyrkafängelserna. De sista sex månaderna förvarades han i det gemensamma sjukhuset för hela 385. På min fråga svarade han omgående att han endast hört talas om W via västerländska media. Han hade aldrig själv sett W eller hört några konkreta uppgifter om honom under sin tid i Sovjet. Han hade heller icke varit cellkamrat med någon amerikan vid namn Cecil August Stowner. I Wladimirfängelset hade Naumann blott känt till tre utlänningar, varav två holländare samt den amerikanske u-2-piloten Gary Powers. Han hade heller icke hört talas om Abraham Kalinski. Den ende amerikan han personligen träffat var en person i 385/5, som han råkat under en sjukhusvistelse. Men denne, vars namn han glömt, förvarades bland de kriminella fångarna (på grund av illegal valutaväxling), medan Naumann och Schaffhauser behandlades som politiska fångar.

Naumann visste vem Peter Sonntag var, som enligt vad han trodde, numera bodde i Hamburg. Han saknade dock dennes adress. Naumann kände också Gerhard Bech, men hade heller icke dennes adress. Han lovade återkomma, därest han skulle få kontakt med denne igen.

Naumann kände icke till Horst Theodor Mülle. Från Auswärtiges Amt har vi dock fått bifogade note, varav framgår att dess efterforskningar varit resultatlösa. Vi avser trots det fortsätta våra förfrågningar och återkommer givetvis, därest de skulle ge något resultat.

Hjärtligaste hälsningar

Di Lijione

John W.

John Wingstrand

510-511 WL Mülle

V e r b a l n o t e

Das Auswärtige Amt beehrt sich, der Botschaft des Königreiches Schweden unter Bezugnahme auf ihre Verbalnote vom 13. Dezember 1979 - Nr. 167 - und im Nachgang zu seiner Verbalnote vom 20. Dezember 1979 - 510-511 WL Mülle, betreffend Herrn Horst Theodor Mülle, folgendes mitzuteilen:

Nach den Feststellungen im Auswärtigen Amt wurde Herr Mülle im Jahre 1975 von der Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bangkok heingeführt. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt hatte er als Anschrift angegeben: Baseler Platz 7, 6000 Frankfurt.

Ausweislich der Meldekartei des Oberstadtdirektors in Neuss hat Herr Horst Theodor Mülle, geb. 11.6.1917 in Essen, verh., ev., deutsch, Journalist, sich am 24.10.1956 für Neuss, Graf-Landsberg-Straße 3 angemeldet; die Anmeldung trägt den Vermerk "aus russischer Gefangenschaft". Am 23.3.1959 hat er sich abgemeldet, und zwar nach Daun (die Eintragung ist sehr unleserlich und könnten auch Bonn heißen), Weberstr. 13; eine Rückmeldung vom neuen Wohnsitz ist damals beim Oberstadtdirektor in Neuss nicht eingetragen.

- 2 -

An die
Botschaft des
Königreiches Schweden

...

Laut Meldekartei des Oberstadtdirektors in Bonn war Herr Mülle dagegen bereits schon seit 5.10.1957 bis zum 18.7.1967 für Bad Godesberg, jetzt Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Maxx-Planck-Str. 19, gemeldet. Die Staatsangehörigkeit hat er seinerzeit mit deutsch und österreichisch angegeben, wobei die österreichische Staatsangehörigkeit nicht nachgewiesen wurde.

Herr Mülle ist 1967 ohne Abmeldung unbekannt verzogen. Eine neue Anschrift ließ sich auch aufgrund örtlicher Ermittlungen nicht feststellen.

Das Auswärtige Amt bedauert sehr, der Botschaft des Königreichs Schweden keinen günstigeren Bescheid gegen zu können und benutzt diesen Anlaß, die Botschaft des Königreichs Schweden erneut seiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu versichern.

Bonn, den 19. März 1980

L.S.

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

WASHINGTON

1980-03-31

1980-04-09

Kr L-Å Nilsson/

Utr.min:s kansli, GO

Ex av artikeln t:

Fru Nina Lagergren,
Wallenbergkommittén/Sthlm
F. justitierådet Ingrid Gärde
Widemar, W-komm./Sth
Amb Per Anger, W-komm./Sth

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Ex av hbr + art. t:

Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg, Pol I Wallenbergaffären
Lars Berg, Tel 1710 A 1979-12-27
Amb Brasilia Hbr Bergquist-Nilsson 1980-01-04
Amb Moskva Tel 525 A 1980-03-31
" Tel Aviv (1 bil)✓
" Budapest
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Som jag redan redovisat i vårt ovanciterade telex innehöll söndagens New York Times Magazine (March 30) närslutna artikel om Raoul Wallenberg. Det är väl den mest omfattande publicitet ärendet fått på bra länge, i alla fall under mina fyra år här, möjligen om man bortser från det långa inslaget i CBS' kvällsnyheter den 26 december i fjol, vilket insändes med ovanciterade handbrev. Raoul Wallenbergs bild pryder omslaget på tidningen. Artikeln, som författats av tidningens medarbetare Elenore Lester och rabbinen Frederick Werbell, som är född och uppvuxen i Sverige, säger inte så vitt jag kan se något nytt. Den är självfallet mycket uppskattande mot Raoul Wallenberg men den innehåller nog en del anmärkningar som av läsarna måste tolkas som att svenska regeringen inte varit så aktiv som den kunnat vara - under de första efterkrigsåren, som artikeln med utgångspunkt från de nyligen frisläppta svenska dokumenten främst tar upp. Det talas sålunda om att Sverige "made only a low-keyed, intermittent effort" för att få ryssarna att tala om vad som hänt W. Det sägs också att de frisläppta dokumenten "revealed enough missed diplomatic opportunities" för att få Aftonbladet att tala om "betrayal". Amerikanska erbjudanden om bistånd sägs ha avvisats och Sverige jämförs med det bekanta fallet då Schweiz fick ut sin fängslade diplomat.

Man kan inte utesluta att artikeln, som ju kan läsas i ett område med stor judisk befolkning, kan föranleda nya brev till oss, endera med påståenden om att vi inte gjort nog, eller frågor vad vi gjort. Dessa brev besvarar vi alltid, med utgångspunkt från den mall som jag för en del tid sedan sänt Sven Hirdman.

Mats Bergquist

ML

The New York Times Magazine

1982-1983 SECTIONS



THE LOST HERO OF THE HOLOCAUST

The Search for Sweden's
Ragnar Wallenberg

**By Elenore Lester and
Frederick E. Werbell**

During the late fall of 1944, five men sat down to dinner in the Budapest home of Lars Berg, a Swedish diplomat. Adolf Eichmann was present with an aide. The others were 32-year-old Raoul Wallenberg, then a special attaché to the Swedish legation, and another Swedish diplomat. A strangely civilized dinner party for an uncivilized time.

"It seemed like an ordinary, pleasant dinner party," Berg said of that event recently. "We drank brandy. No voices were raised. But we could see the Russian artillery fire from our window."

Berg, today the second-ranking diplomat in the Swedish Embassy in Brasilia, remembers one exchange between young Wallenberg and Eichmann that was anything but casual table talk.

Wallenberg said, "Look, you have to face it. You've lost the war. Why not give up now?"

Berg recalls that Eichmann argued at first, then said that he knew the end was near but that he would continue to do his job even though he would probably be killed.

Then Eichmann faced Wallenberg and said, "Don't think you are immune just because you are a diplomat and a neutral."

A few days later, Wallenberg's car, which was well known in Budapest, was rammed by a German truck and demolished. But Wallenberg wasn't in it at the time.

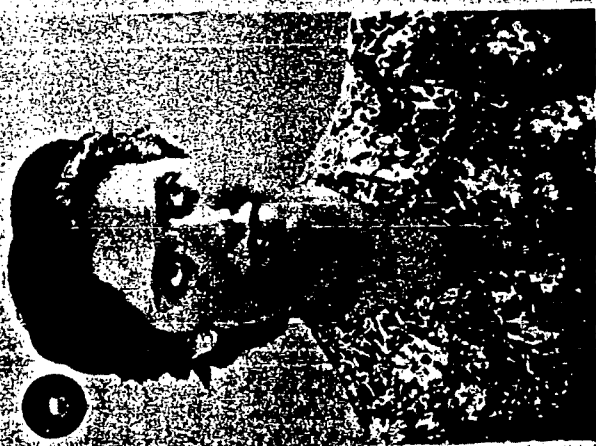
When Wallenberg spoke to Eichmann about the incident afterward, Eichmann said, "We'll try again."

Raoul Wallenberg had incurred Eichmann's wrath because his mission in Budapest directly conflicted with Eichmann's. A scion of one of Sweden's most illustrious families, often referred to as "the Rockefellers of Sweden," Wallenberg had been sent to Budapest on July 9 by the Swedish Government on a special one-man mission to save Jewish lives.

It was a time in the destruction of European Jewry for clutching at slender straws. The Nazis, clearly losing the war, were obsessed with wiping out the remaining Jews under their control. Desperate attempts were launched to save Jewish lives. Thirty-two commandos from what was then Palestine parachuted into Yugoslavia in the vain hope of making their way to Hungary to rescue Jews; their mission failed. Joel Brand, a Hungarian leftist Zionist, futilely tried to arrange an exchange with the Nazis of trucks for Jews. The Roosevelt Administration, prodded by Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr., finally recognized the plight of the

Elenore Lester writes frequently for this Magazine. Frederick E. Werbell is a rabbi who was born and brought up in Sweden. At work on a book about Raoul Wallenberg, they both did research for this article, which was written by Miss Lester.

KÖNIGLICH
SCHWEDISCHE GESANDTSCHAFT



Name:

Agnes Mandl

ARBEITSBESCHREIBUNG

Die Kgl. Schwedische Gesandtschaft be-
scheinigt hiemit, dass Frl.

Agnes Mandl

bei der Repatriierungsabteilung der Gesand-
schaft und des Schwedischen Roten Kreuzes
ständige Arbeit leistet.

Budapest, den 17. August 1944.



Agnes Mandl
Schwedischer Gesandtschafts-
sekretär.

Jews and in January 1944 formed the War Refugee Board to work on a limited number of rescue projects. Ira Hirschmann, a delegate from the board, was sent to Turkey and, working with the International Red Cross, succeeded in getting thousands of Balkan Jews released from camps. The board also asked the Swedish Government if it would send a representative to Budapest whose special function it would be to aid the rescue project. The situation in Hungary then was desperate.

The pro-Nazi Hungarian Government, sure of Hitler's defeat, had made surrender overtures to the Western Allies, to keep out the Russians, who were approaching rapidly. The Germans vetoed surrender and installed a more compliant Prime Minister. Besides, there was unfinished business: bringing "the final solution" to almost 900,000 Jews in Hungary, the last large remaining Jewish population in Europe. Hitler had become enraged by their continued existence in Hungary, his supposed ally. In March 1944, he had sent in German troops; he also had sent Eichmann to supervise the Jewish operation. By July, some 400,000 Jews had been deported from the countryside to be gassed in Auschwitz and Birkenau; 300,000 more remained in various deportation centers and concentration camps. In Budapest, 200,000 others had been penned in ghettos in star-marked houses, waiting.

By late fall, Germany's situation became so critical that it was no longer possible to transport Jews in cattle cars to Auschwitz. Eichmann solved that problem by starting a series of "death marches" to Strasshof, an infamous camp at the Austrian border, 120 miles from Budapest. So many thousands died in ditches along the way that some Nazi leaders objected. Even Heinrich Himmler, at this point certain of the collapse of the Third Reich, forbade further liquidation of the Jews. But Eichmann persisted, aided by the Hungarian Nazis, Prime Minister Ferenc Szalasi's Arrow Cross Party. Between 10,000 and 15,000 Jews were killed by Arrow Cross street gangs roaming the city, pulling people out of houses, shooting them in the streets and dumping them in the Danube. Frozen corpses floated in the river alongside blood-streaked ice floes.

By January 1945, Sweden's Raoul Wallenberg had distributed Swedish passports to at least 20,000 Budapest Jews and he had sheltered 13,000 of them in "safe" houses, which had been rented by Wallenberg and which flew the Swedish flag. These 20,000 Jews thus came under the protection of the Swedish Government and most were spared the massacre that engulfed 90,000 other Budapest Jews.

In carrying out his rescue operation, Wallenberg cared little for his own safety and yet seemed immune to harm by the Germans. He stood on top of a deportation train handing out Swedish papers to all the hands that could reach them, then insisted that the people holding them be allowed off the train. With his own hands, he pulled people out of "death marches" to the Austrian

border or brought them bread, soup and medical supplies in the middle of the night when he had no more passports to give out.

Wallenberg did not look like a hero. His manner was subdued and business-like, his face sensitive, his voice usually soft. Unlike the tall, blond Swedes at the embassy, he was of medium height, dark-eyed and his dark hair was thinning.

If the Germans never stopped Wal-

lenberg, the Russians apparently did. They were immediately suspicious of him. They knew of his capitalist family background. They wondered about his apparently charmed life under — and his influence with — the Nazis. They wondered, too, about who furnished the large sums of money he used in his rescue operation. And finally, they wondered whether he might be an American spy.

On Jan. 17, 1945, three and a half

weeks after the Russians entered Budapest on Christmas Eve, Wallenberg and his driver, Vilmos Langfelder, and two Russian officers set out for Debrecen, some 120 miles east of Budapest. Wallenberg wanted to get the Russians' help in dealing with the Arrow Cross gangs. Neither he nor his driver ever returned.



Wallenberg acted with such passion

and humanity that Albert Einstein recommended him for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1949. The Swedes made only a low-keyed, intermittent effort after World War II to get the Russians to tell what had become of him, but there are several thousand Hungarian Jews around the world who can never forget what he did. Wallenberg's name is being resurrected today mainly because his immediate family and their friends, supported by a handful of ex-

perts on his case, believe that he is still alive in the Soviet Union, a prisoner for 35 years.

Just last January, the release in Sweden of Foreign Ministry documents dealing with the Wallenberg case between 1945 and 1949 revealed enough missed diplomatic opportunities to cause one of the leading dailies, Aftonbladet, to denounce the "betrayal" of Wallenberg and to prompt former Prime Minister Tage Erlander to say



~~Left: Hungarian women and children arriving in Auschwitz. Inset, far left: Wallenberg rented this Budapest house and others, some with his own money, and turned them into havens for condemned Jews.~~
 Above: Wallenberg at age 3 with his mother. Below: Nina Lagergren and Guy von Dardel, Wallenberg's sister and half brother, will participate in an international forum on the case in Stockholm on May 2.



Joan Adlen

that it is time to recognize him as "one of the greatest Swedes of our time."

On May 2 and 3, the Free Raoul Wallenberg Committee, primarily made up of influential Swedes and Americans, will hold an international hearing in Stockholm, designed to focus on the most recent signs that Wallenberg may be alive and to induce the Soviet Union to produce him if he is, or to offer a satisfactory explanation of what became of him.

President Carter and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin have expressed interest in the case, as have Senators Claiborne Pell, Frank Church, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and some British Members of Parliament. Some 100 religious, educational and community organizations in the New York area have launched a campaign to acquaint Americans with the Wallenberg case and to have information about Wallenberg (Continued on Page 28)

included in Holocaust studies programs.

The Sakharov Human Rights Committee, which is a co-sponsor of the May 2 forum, is sending representatives to Stockholm. The novelist Elie Wiesel plans to attend. Gideon Hausner, who prosecuted Eichmann in Israel for crimes against humanity, will participate, as will the Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, who has been interested in Wallenberg's disappearance for 12 years and who refers to him now as "a holy man."

Wiesenthal says that it is more important to find Wallenberg than to find Nazis, and he believes that Wallenberg must be regarded as alive unless the Russians can furnish better evidence than they have of their claim that he is dead. Wiesenthal is particularly concerned that the Stockholm meeting should not turn into "an anti-Communist assembly," but should be an effort solely directed at learning "the whole truth about Wallenberg."



In 1944, Wallenberg became the counterforce to Eichmann in Budapest. The neutral embassies were the Budapest Jews' only lifeline. Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and the Vatican had assisted Jews, but on a far more limited scale than Wallenberg's operation. They had set up a few safe houses and issued protective passports to those Jews who had the initiative and the contacts to obtain them. After Wallenberg's arrival, they stepped up their efforts. The Vatican representative in Budapest, for example, did away with the requirement that Jews be baptized before they could be helped. In all, the neutral embassies saved about 20,000 Jews.

Wallenberg had pulled together a staff of some 400, nearly all Jews, to give out passports, gather information, distribute supplies and protect the 32 safe houses he had set up on the Pest side of the Danube, where most of the city's Jews lived — plus special shelters housing 8,000 children. What is more, Wallenberg issued passports wholesale. Theoretically, these papers indicated that the holders were about to be admitted to the issuing countries; passport holders were deemed to be under the protection of the issuing countries and therefore exempt from deportation. It didn't always work. In a country long known for anti-Semitism, the Arrow Cross gangs were able to function with little resistance from the general population. Christmas Day 1944 was marked by the machine-gunning and beating with rifle butts of 78 small children in one of the shelters Wallenberg had set up.

It was Wallenberg's shrewdness, courage and dedication that allowed him to succeed as much as he did. His role was twofold. He had to give terrified Jews the feeling that they could save themselves; and he had to deal

friends among them, and at other times confronting them with threats as to what would happen to them after the war. He could when necessary confront Nazis head on with a blaze of moral authority. For example, he confronted Arrow Cross thugs with their rifles poised and shouted, "Cowards! Slobbs! What criminal arrogance! How dare you enter a Swedish-protected house! Nothing takes place here without my permission!" He dressed "Aryan-looking" Jewish young men in S.S. uniforms and set them to guarding safe houses. They hustled off groups of Jews headed for deportation and led them to safety, telling guards they had "higher orders from headquarters."

Wallenberg turned up along the route of death marches with his large car and his driver. The impact of his presence was described recently by Susan Tabor, a librarian at the Hebrew Union College.

"He gave us the sense that we were still human beings," she said. "My mother and I were among thousands taken one night to stay at a brick factory outside Budapest. There was no food, no water, no sanitation facilities, no light. Then Wallenberg appeared and said he would try to return with passports, or 'safety passes,' as we called them, and would also try to get medical attention and sanitation facilities. Soon afterward, some doctors and nurses came from the Jewish Hospital.

"The point about Wallenberg is that he came himself. He talked to us and showed us that one human being cared about what was happening to us."

Wallenberg's presence on the scene was also a reminder to the Nazis that their depravity was being observed and recorded. He verbally reminded them that the United States had announced that it would treat those committing outrages against civilians as war criminals, not as soldiers. At one point, as the Russians were beginning to penetrate into Pest, the Germans and the Arrow Cross men plotted a last-minute extermination of the ghetto. However, one of Wallenberg's contacts, a member of the Budapest police department and a leader of the Arrow Cross, objected. He warned the German commander that if the action was carried out, Wallenberg would see to it that they would all be judged as murderers. The action was called off. Because of this episode, Wallenberg is also credited with indirectly saving an additional 70,000 Jews living in the central ghetto in Pest.



Russian units entered Budapest on Christmas Eve of 1944, taking the city house by house, the fighting raging on until February 14. Wallenberg was living on the Pest side of the Danube, near the two Jewish ghettos. On Jan. 10, his colleague at the legation, Per Anger, urged him to move with the Embassy to the safer Buda side, where the neutral

(Continued on Page 32)

Continued from Page 28

embassies were located and where there was less chance of meeting up with roving Arrow Cross gangs. Wallenberg refused.

On or about that night, Wallenberg turned up at a house which flew the flag of the International Red Cross at 16 Benczur Street, on the Pest side of the river. Among the 25 prominent Jews who had already found refuge there was Steven Radi, today a New York businessman.

"He looked pale and thin — exhausted," Radi recalled. "He said the Nazis were looking for him. He asked if he could stay. Of course, he was well known to everyone. I think he stayed for about a week. He had a very soft way of speaking, but when he spoke people listened. We just talked about the war, what was going on out there.

"Then, about the 15th, the Russians came. They came up through the basement. They were going house to house that way. They looked at our papers. They were polite. The soldier who looked at Wallenberg's said he would have to call a higher officer. The

him to take care of people as well as he could since he didn't expect to get back for eight days. He also stopped at the Swedish Hospital and inquired about conditions there. He never returned. □

When the Russians took Budapest in February 1945, they questioned the members of the Swedish legation intensively as to who Wallenberg was, what he was up to and especially where his money came from. The Swedes said it came from the United States, knowing that Wallenberg's mission had indeed been initiated by the American War Refugee Board. This did not go down well with the Russians. The Soviet Union and the Americans were already wary of each other's postwar motives in Eastern Europe.

Knowing that Budapest was now in Russian hands, Wallenberg's mother, not having heard from him in some time, inquired about him at the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm in February 1945. Ambassador Alexandra Kollontay assured her that her son was safe in Moscow, suggesting that it would be best to keep the matter quiet.

Keeping the Wallenberg matter quiet and low-keyed seemed to become one of the objects of Swedish diplomacy over the years. Perhaps as a result, the Swedish Government has managed to extract only three contradictory official statements on Wallenberg from the Russians.

The first was delivered on Jan. 16, 1945, the day before Wallenberg disappeared: "Measures have been taken by the Soviet military authorities to protect Mr. Raoul Wallenberg and his belongings."

On Aug. 18, 1947, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky stated in reply to Swedish inquiries that Wallenberg was "not known in the Soviet Union" and was assumed to have died during the fighting in Budapest.

On Feb. 6, 1957, after several released Soviet prisoners claimed to have had encounters with Wallenberg, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said that a search of the archives of Lubyanka prison had turned up a report dated July 17, 1947, stating that a prisoner, known as "Wallenberg," had died in his cell the previous night of a heart attack. The Swedish

Government was never shown a copy of this report, nor did it ever receive an explanation of why "Wallenberg" had been imprisoned in the first place.

Nevertheless, reports kept coming in that Wallenberg was still alive. On a visit to Moscow in January 1961, Nanna Svartz, an eminent Swedish professor of medicine, discussed the Wallenberg case with a Russian colleague Dr. A. L. Myasnikov. He said that Wallenberg was in a mental hospital. On the basis of this information, Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander requested permission from Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, to send a Swedish doctor to Moscow to bring Wallenberg home. Khrushchev angrily retorted that they knew nothing about Wallenberg in the Soviet Union. Myasnikov later said that Dr. Svartz had misunderstood him. Dr. Svartz saw Myasnikov three more times before his death, but she could never persuade him to retract his denial. She plans to attend the Stockholm hearing.

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's contribution to the Wallenberg story is perplexing. In "The Gulag Archipelago," he de-



A group of Hungarian Nazis, who had made threats against Wallenberg, standing near the Swedish Embassy in January 1945.



Lars Berg, a colleague of Wallenberg's at the Swedish Embassy, also took part in the rescue mission, which saved 90,000 Jews.

scribes an encounter in prison with a Swede known as Erik Arvid Andersen, who said his father was a billionaire (Solzhenitsyn expresses skepticism) and who had been sentenced for a long term. However, the encounter supposedly took place in the early 1950's and Andersen's personal history is nothing like Wallenberg's, aside from the family wealth.

When Solzhenitsyn came out of the Soviet Union, he discussed the case with Swedish authorities and visited Wallenberg's mother. According to Wallenberg's half-sister, Nina Lagregren, he encouraged the family to persist in their efforts to locate and free Wallenberg.

It was, in fact, Wallenberg's mother, Maj, who remained until her death last year the strongest force behind the Wallenberg movement, and who never believed that he could be dead. She kept the family thinking of him constantly, never celebrating a family occasion without remarking, "If only Raoul could be with us." In 1970, she appealed to the American State Department to make an inquiry. The matter was researched and a report written, awaiting Secretary Henry Kissinger's signature. The report was never signed, as a Swedish journalist discovered last year. Mr. Kissinger's office was queried about this some months ago. Several weeks

later, the reply came back: "No comment."

The last report that Wallenberg was seen in Russia came two years ago from Jan Kaplan, a Russian Jew who said that in 1975 in Butyrka prison he had met a Swede who had been in prison for 30 years but was in good condition. When Kaplan's account (in a letter to his daughter in Israel) became public, Kaplan was rearrested in the Soviet Union and has since disappeared. Kaplan's story is one of some 15 accounts of sightings of Wallenberg over the years.



The recently released Foreign Ministry papers show that the Swedes evaded many opportunities to press the Russians and endured countless rude rebuffs when they did press. They even failed to try to obtain information from released Soviet prisoners who had reported seeing Wallenberg in the Soviet Union.

The papers also show that, in April 1945, Averell Harriman, the United States Ambassador in Moscow, and Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. offered Staffan Söderblom, the Swedish Ambassador in Moscow, help in the Wallenberg matter. The American Government felt a responsibility since Wallenberg had been sent to Budapest at the request of its War Refugee Board. However, Söderblom refused

the offer, saying the Russians were doing everything possible.

About a year later, Ambassador Söderblom had a private audience with Stalin. As the Swedish press noted recently, Söderblom appeared more eager to impress the Foreign Ministry and appease Stalin than to resolve the Wallenberg case. In his report, Söderblom noted that although Stalin does not normally talk to ambassadors, he received him cordially and listened sympathetically.

Söderblom said that he told Stalin, "I personally believe that Wallenberg was the victim of an accident or robbers in Budapest." He did not offer, by way of exchange, to take up with his Government any matter of interest to Stalin. He thus, as was not lost on the Swedish press, offered Stalin an easy out; as Söderblom noted in his report, Stalin wrote Wallenberg's name on a piece of paper and promised to look into it. And that was that.

Sweden's former Prime Minister Tage Erlander, in a recent television interview, said the conversation was ill-advised because it tied the hands of lesser Soviet officials who might fear to act on a matter in which Stalin had shown interest.

In 1949, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, responding to an appeal from Wallenberg's half-brother, again offered

American support. Again the offer was refused — by a new Swedish Ambassador in Moscow, Rolf Sohlman, who reported home, "We cannot drive tandem with the Americans."

The Swiss behaved differently when one of their diplomats was taken by the Russians at about the same time that Wallenberg disappeared. Getting no response to their queries, the Swiss took into custody two Russians, known to be spies. Adding six other Russian defectors, the Swiss made an exchange for their diplomat.

During the early 1950's, the Russians hinted to the Swedes that an exchange of individuals was possible. A Swedish chargé d'affaires, Ulf Brack-Holst, reported that he had inquired about Wallenberg and got the response that the Russians were interested in certain people in Sweden. Now the Swedes had an opportunity to reply and request Wallenberg in exchange. However, Swedish Foreign Minister Bo Osten Unden felt it expedient simply to turn over all the people the Russians asked for, except five who were seriously ill, asking nothing in return.

Even Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, rejected an opportunity to plead Wallenberg's case, as was revealed four years ago in the memoirs of Carl-Fredrik Palmstierna, who served as personal secre-

tary to King Gustav Adolf. Prompted by the Wallenberg Committee, Palmstierna tried to persuade the King to ask Hammarskjöld to take up the Wallenberg case. The King threw it back in Palmstierna's lap and told him to ask Hammarskjöld himself. Palmstierna reached Hammarskjöld by phone.

"He answered in a stream of crystal-clear phrases that the fact that he himself was a Swede made it doubly difficult for him to put the case of a compatriot to the Russians," wrote Palmstierna.

Palmstierna attributes Hammarskjöld's attitude to "that damned Foreign Ministry spirit!" that always regarded the issue as if it were a matter of "declaring war on Russia for the sake of Wallenberg."



The Wallenberg case is one of the most baffling and complex to have come out of the aftermath of World War II. What many find even more baffling is how a young man born into extraordinary comfort and security should have been willing to risk his life to save people who were so remote from his milieu. His one Jewish ancestor (who had converted to Christianity in the 18th century) doesn't begin to explain his motivation. The factors that shaped his humane heroism are not easily accessible. Nothing that he did up to the point at which he went to Budapest indicated the intensity of his compassion.

Early in life, Raoul Wallenberg had shown enormous intellectual curiosity. As a boy, he was an omnivorous reader and his education was supervised closely by his grandfather. (His father, a Naval lieutenant, died of cancer at the age of 23, three months before Raoul was born on Aug. 4, 1912.) His grandfather, Gustav, who served as Sweden's Minister to Japan and Turkey, wanted Raoul to have a good command of several languages and saw to it that the young man spent vacations in England, France and Germany, among other places.

Wallenberg family members not only founded Sweden's Enskilda Bank, but distinguished themselves as bishops and diplomats. Raoul's grand-uncle was Swedish Foreign Minister during World War I; another grand-uncle had been Swedish Minister to the United States.

In 1918, when Raoul was 6, his mother married Fredrik von Dardel, director of Sweden's Karolinska Hospital. The von Dardels had two children, Guy, now a prominent nuclear physicist and a visiting professor at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, and Nina, who is married to Gunnar Lagergren, an administrator of the Swedish royal court and the court's representative on legal issues affecting the crown.

The Wallenbergs had a family tradition of studying in the United States and Raoul studied architecture at the University of Michigan, graduating in 1935.

John Paul Slusser, who was Wallenberg's art teacher at Michigan, now retired, recalls him as a brilliant student with considerable artistic talent. Slusser once told Wallenberg he ought to be a painter, but the reply was, "No,

we're all bankers in my family." Wallenberg went on to explain that it was family tradition to study or work in other jobs before members settled into the family business. Thus, Wallenberg's grandfather had been a stoker in a Pittsburgh steel mill.

A Michigan classmate of Wallenberg's, Sol King, now a retired architect in West Palm Beach, Fla., recalls him as warm, friendly, not in the least snobbish, with an Americanized predilection for hot dogs and sneakers. "We were both," King says, "very, very serious about our work and exchanged notes or information." Wallenberg won the top architectural award in his class, a medal given by the American Institute of Architects. In 1972, when King learned what Wallenberg had done in Budapest and how he had disappeared, he financed a series of annual lectures in Wallenberg's name at the school of architecture they had attended.

In 1935, after Wallenberg spent a summer of travel in Mexico, his grandfather sent him to work for a business firm in South Africa for a year, then to work in a Dutch bank in Haifa for a year, where he met German refugees and became sensitized to the Jewish problem.

His state of mind on returning home may be deduced from this recollection of the actress Viveca Lindfors, who remembers dancing with him in Stockholm in 1937, when she was 16 and Wallenberg 25.

"He took me up to his grandfather's office and I thought he wanted to seduce me," she says. "Instead he started telling me, almost in whispers, what was happening to the Jews in Germany. I was such a dumb girl! I just didn't understand it and didn't believe it. I thought he was trying to win my sympathy or something."

Raoul's younger sister, Nina, says he hated working at the family bank. He was "full of life and fun and said he couldn't bear sitting at a desk all day, saying 'no' to people. He hated boundaries, loved travel and the sea. He was an anti-snob — loved reading and Chaplin and the Marx Brothers."

Raoul hoped that through the family business he could get a job that used his architectural training. Instead Raoul became involved in an export business with a Hungarian Jew, Koloman Lauer, who since the outbreak of war could no longer travel between Budapest and Sweden. Wallenberg traveled for him, getting to know Budapest and its people.



Toward the end of the war, the Allies could no longer ignore the irrefutable evidence of Auschwitz. There were a number of last-minute plans to rescue the remaining Jews of Europe. The idea of bombing the railroad lines that led to Auschwitz and the crematories was rejected because, according to the Allies, military resources could better be employed elsewhere. Exploring another route, Herschel Johnson, United States Ambassador to Sweden, and Iver Olsen, director of the War Refugee Board in Sweden, asked the neutral Swedes if they would send someone on a rescue mission.

The Swedes agreed and Wallenberg was selected because he spoke German like a German and knew Budapest well. He had no diplomatic training, but he had a broad education in the United States and Europe.

Wallenberg was told that whatever money he needed would be made available. At first, he planned to go in August. However, when he read Swedish Foreign Ministry reports of the deportation trains and other horrors, he decided to leave at once. According to Nina Lagergren, he asked his superiors in the Foreign Ministry for *carte blanche* to use whatever methods he found necessary.

When he arrived in Budapest, he was an unprepossessing man. Despite his slightly balding head, he looked too young and sensitive for the nightmarish job ahead. Wallenberg's methods immediately disturbed his colleagues. Lars Berg, who was also at the Swedish legation in Budapest, recalled recently that he and his colleague Per Anger did a lot of arguing with Wallenberg.

"You see, we each had our own people to take care of," Berg explained. "Sweden was neutral so it was up to us to represent the interests of citizens of other countries who were in Hungary at the time. Anger had the United States, Britain, France. I had the others, China, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Denmark and a thousand captured Russian soldiers."

The legation had already given out several hundred protective passes to Budapest Jews who had some sort of business or family connection with Sweden. When Wallenberg came, he was ready to give them out to anyone who asked.

"We were afraid there would be an inflation of the passes, they would no longer mean anything," said Berg. "We used to sit and argue about this, but Wallenberg always got his way because he was extremely persistent and said it was a matter of saving lives."

Wallenberg kept in touch with the Vatican and the neutrals — Switzerland, Spain and Portugal — each of which had its own area in Budapest with protected Jews. He also maintained contact with the Budapest police and the Nazis. These connections may have rung alarm bells for the Russians.

The Swedish diplomat Berg remembered that when the

Russians came, he was brought to the Soviet secret police for intensive questioning — a good part about Wallenberg. They asked him whether it wasn't a fact that Wallenberg belonged to a great capitalist family and Berg had to say yes. He still feels today that the Russians simply couldn't believe that Wallenberg's only purpose in coming to Budapest was to save lives — and Jewish lives at that.

Another reason for the Russians' suspicions was suggested by Wallenberg's stepfather, Fredrik von Dardel, in a book published in 1970, "Facts Around a Fate." Wallenberg, at heart an architect and city planner, had drawn up a plan for the rehabilitation of Budapest. He wanted to use the people he had worked with through the war to set up a relief and rehabilitation organization. He itemized the things that had to be done: searching for lost families, caring for orphans and war victims, fighting epidemics, distributing food, restoring Jewish property and business (how this must have irked the Russians), repatriation and emigration, restoring cultural values, constructing business and industry. He had more than likely spoken about his plan during his own interrogation. It was why he wanted to get to Debrecen: to get the Russians' approval to begin.

Despite his astuteness, Wallenberg may not have imagined at that time that the Russians had their own plans for the area and would take a dim view of the plan of a member of a famous capitalist family.



Some analysts believe that it would be impossible for a person to survive 35 years of Soviet imprisonment and still be sufficiently intact physically and psychologically that the Soviets would not be embarrassed to release him. However, others point out that there have been cases of people who have come out of the Soviet Union after many years in reasonable health. The Free Wallenberg Committee hopes to bring to the Stockholm meeting a Spaniard who was released by the Soviets last year after 35 years.

Dr. Boris Zoubok, a Russian émigré psychiatrist now associated with Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, has seen a number of prisoners come out of the Soviet Union after prolonged terms physically and mentally intact. He believes that a man with Wallenberg's

resources might well be used in some distant labor camp to perform work that is badly needed, such as tutoring the children of prison personnel.

Because of the obscurity surrounding the case, it has been difficult for Jews to honor Wallenberg appropriately. The Hungarian Jews, suffering extreme losses and not knowing the details of the case, accepted the idea that Wallenberg had been killed in the street fighting. The Budapest Jews attempted to put up a monument to Wallenberg in 1948, but it was spirited away by the Russian-dominated Government the night before the dedication was supposed to take place.

In Israel at the Holocaust memorial, Yad Vashem, trees are planted honoring "righteous gentiles," those who risked their own lives to save Jews. However, Mrs. von Dardel didn't want such a memorial because she felt it made her son seem to be dead. In fact, many of those honored in this way are living.

Last year, Mrs. von Dardel and her husband died within two days of each other at the ages of 87 and 93. Nina Lagergren and Guy von Dardel promised their parents they would carry on the work of fighting for Raoul, and they accepted the tree planted in Raoul's name on the "Street of the Righteous Gentiles." In addition, Hungarian Jews now living in Sweden planted a woodland of 10,000 trees in a special area behind the memorial.

There are more personal memorials in individuals' minds. Annette Lantos of San Francisco, who for several years has campaigned to rouse American Jews to become active on Wallenberg's behalf, says that even during the three decades she believed he was dead, Wallenberg was "a legend in our home." Her husband, Tom, an economics professor, and at present a candidate for Congress, worked on Wallenberg's staff. Mrs. Lantos, then a child of 12 in Budapest, and her mother had Portuguese papers and managed to get out of the country with them, but she feels they both owe their lives to Wallenberg. Mrs. Lantos' father was one of many who were dragged out of a "safe" house and killed on the street by Hungarian Nazis.

"For many years I've lectured on the Holocaust," she reports, "and I've always talked about Wallenberg. He not only saved our lives, but our belief in mankind and the power of good." ■

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

WASHINGTON

1980-04-01

1980-04-09

Kr L-Å Nilsson,

Utr.min:s kansli/GO

hbr Nilsson-tit

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

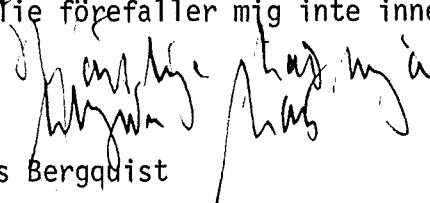
UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenbergärendet
(1 bit)

Broder,

21.4. Av Olle Tunberg i Los Angeles har jag fått närslutna handbrev med viss korrespondens som Mark Seidenberg haft rörande Raoul Wallenberg och framför allt rörande Wrangelön och dess status. Inte minst denna senare fråga intresserar Seidenberg - Du vet att det finns de här som anser att ön egentligen är amerikansk och att ryssarna olagligen lagt beslag på den. Pappret från Shifron tycker jag mig känna igen från någon annan delgivning och utdraget ur den svenska tidskriften Ymer har mera kuriositetsvärde. Vad Seidenberg säger i sina brev till Ms Hahn och Lord Emslie förefaller mig inte innehålla något nytt.


Mats Bergquist

ML

LOS ANGELES

Ambassadrådet Mats Bergquist
WASHINGTON

FÖRTROLIGT

INK BESK: WASH.

D. No. 10-85

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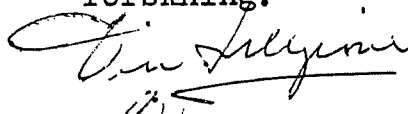
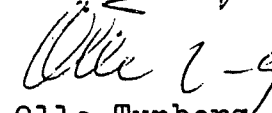
Papper från Seidenberg
(4 bil)

Broder,

../. 1-4

Äntligen har jag fått de kopior som lovats mig av Seidenberg och som jag nämnde i mitt telefonsamtal. De saknar inte intresse, vare sig ur R.W.-synpunkt eller som illustration till Seidenbergs intresse för Wrangelön. - Viktigast är väl bilaga 1 med alla namnuppgifter m.m. samt viss kritik av L. Bergers trovärdighet. ("Sakharov Hearin. instundande maj omnämns också). Ett påstått sovjetiskt administrativt knep framskyftar: att benämna fångar på Wrangels land som "legalt döda". Kanske för att ön "egentligen" är amerikansk?

Till min rörelse finner jag även - bil 4 - kopia av gamla "Ymer" från 1882. - I Tokyo har vi just firat 100-årsjubileum av Nordenskiöld's "nord-ostpassage" och i "Ymer" omnämns att amerikanska fartyget "Jeanette" skulle om nödvändigt undsätta honom. Vid letandet efter den försvunna "Jeanette" planterades USA:s flagga på Wrangels land, vilket väl förklarar Seidenbergs intresse för polar forskning.



Olle Tunberg

BLg

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(Former political prisoners)

A. SHIFRIN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 17, 1980

Additional information on the research on R. Wallenberg case

G. Berman

V. Boguslavsky

D. Bitzel

O. Frolov

A. Guzman

Y. Hromchenko

S. Kudirka

I. Kogan

M. Lapid

P. Medinsh

Y. Markman

D. Panin

M. Perah

B. Podolskiy

R. Palatnik

I. Shneider

L. Tarassuk

A. Uchitel

A. Vudka

L. Zabelizhensky

E. Shifrin
Secretary

1. Manuel Garsia has testified to having seen Raoul Wallenberg in camp no. 5 in Merdevia some time during the period of summer-autumn of 1977. He offers as possible supporters of his evidence the following former prisoners: Polish citizen Vasilii Vorebei, Greek citizen Popadepules (M.G. does not remember his first name) and a certain Valter whose last name M.G. does not remember but is sure that the man is from Switzerland. The above information has been obtained from M.G.'s hand-written letter dated Febr. 1, 1980 and addressed to myself. Enclosed is a digest from the letter. M.G.'s home address is: Torre dels Pardals 60, Barcelona, Spain.

2. Leonid (presently introducing himself as Lazar) Berger, known to me since my camp days, was interviewed by myself on February 11, 1980. During the interview, L. Berger said that he had seen R. Wallenberg twice in the Vladimir prison: the first time was on Febr. 2, 1961, and the second time was shortly before the New Year of 1963.

3. In the same interview, L. Berger has mentioned the following former prisoners whom he knows to have been in camp no. 5 in Merdevia at various times: Valter, Vasilii Vorebei, George Popadepules, Ionidi, Kerifidi, David Buyer and Josif Rosenzweig (there may be spelling mistakes in all the names, since they were all given to me in Russian). Here is a more or less detailed information about each of them:

Valter - according to Berger, he must be in Switzerland since 1979, although Berger does not know the address; Berger says he has Valter's last name written down somewhere and he even premissed to give it, but has not done so yet. Since the same Valter has been mentioned in M. Garsia's testimony (also without last name) he may become a valuable witness if found. He will either confirm or disprove M. Garsia's evidence concerning his meeting with R. Wallenberg in 1977 in camp no. 5 in Lepel (Merdevia), therefore it is extremely important to find him.

Vasilii Vorebei - Berger's information about this man contradicts to that given by M. Garsia; Berger says that V. Vorebei was released from camp no. 5 in 1975, which means, if it's true, that M. Garsia could not be introduced by V. Vorebei to R. Wallenberg in 1977 in the

same camp as Jesif (Yankel) Rosenzweig - camp no.5 in Leplei in 1977. Presently resides in Georgiu Desh Street, Breseshti - the address given by Berger). If found, the man may also prove or disprove M.Garsia's evidence. Georgius (in camps known as Yura) Papadepules - a taxi-driver by profession, presently residing in Athens, Greece at the following address: 45 Trakis str. #G-2, 3-d floor, Tavros; the address has been given by Berger, who also says that Papadepules left camp no.5 no later than 1974-1975. Since M.Garsia says he had seen Papadepules (whose first letter he does not mention) in camp no.5 in 1977, it is possible that either M.G. saw another Papadepules in the camp (and then we must try to find him) or Papadepules may disprove M.G.'s evidence. G.Papadepules's number in Athens: 347 22 49. David (John) Buyer - an American citizen, known by Berger to have been in camp no.5 in 1977 and to have left the USSR 1979. According to Berger, D.Buyer must be living in Dallas, Texas, USA. It is essential to find and interview him, since he, too, may either prove or disprove M.Garsia's evidence.

Ionidi, athlet-coach; Iliepulis (known in camps under the nick-name Zherka-Grek), photographer; Kerifidi (known in camps under the nick-name Lyekha-Grek) - all the three of them are known to Papadepules and must be found and interviewed, because according to Berger, they were in camp no.5 in Leplei in the autumn of 1977.

Berger has also given to me the name of Virginia Ionesko (living in Tirgeveshti, 21 Chakhlow street) - her brother spent 15 years in Soviet camps, returned to Rumania in 1978 and died shortly after. She spoke a lot with her brother about his camp experience and even made records of what he said. Therefore, she knows a lot about his meetings with other foreigners in Soviet camps. It is necessary to interview her and to ask whether her brother had mentioned R.Wallenberg among other names. *****

I first interviewed L.Berger in early spring of 1979, shortly after his arrival from the USSR. He then firmly declared that he knew absolutely nothing about Wallenberg and had never heard about him nor met him in Soviet camps. The entire interview was taped and can be presented if necessary. Berger remembers that he had then said so and explains this by the fact that he had the intention of going to Rumania for a visit and was afraid the Soviet authorities would persecute him if he reveals any information about Wallenberg. At the same time, when he came to Rumania in January, 1980, he went on his own initiative, as he says, to the Swedish ambassador to Rumania and gave him testimony concerning his alleged meetings with R.Wallenberg in the camps. This is a too obvious contradiction.

In the second interview (Febr.11, 1980) Berger told me: "It is very stupid on the part of the Soviets to lie about Wallenberg's alleged death in 1947, when in fact he died in 1964 in the prison of Gorkii". He says he had told so to the Swedish ambassador in Rumania too. When asked where is his information from, Berger said that he learned about Wallenberg's death from an overseer whose last name he does not know but names him "Vasya-shmenshik" which means in Russian "Vasya in charge of searches"; according to Berger this was in 1966 in the prison of Gorkii where he had been many times before and was, therefore, on friendly terms with "Vasya". As a fact which is, to Berger's mind, to make his testimony more vivid and trustworthy he gives a quotation from "Vasya" who had allegedly told Berger that he himself had given clean underwear for the dead Wallenberg. In fact, this sounds very contraversional because "Vasya" who was in charge of searches could in no case be at the same time in charge of store-room, as these are entirely different departments. Therefore, this whole reference to "Vasya" makes Berger's story very suspicious.

During my first meeting with Berger in 1979, he told me that prior to his departure from the USSR he had signed a paper for KGB allegedly promising "not to slander against the USSR". But knows what he signed indeed? In view of this fact another fact very interesting, i.e. Berger's meeting with the Soviet ambassa

in Rumania which he mentioned without previous intention, just out of his usual garrulity, and when asked why and how he had met the Soviet ambassador he answered that he had met him in the street. The entire story sounds quite incredible.

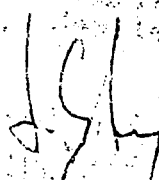
The above mentioned contradictions in Berger's testimony make it very unconvincing and even cause a suspicion that probably Berger testifies to having seen Wallenberg in 1961 and 1963 just in order to make the consequent story about Wallenberg's death in 1964 more credible.

Taking into account that there are too many witnesses who have seen Wallenberg after 1947, which is according to the Soviet authorities the year of Wallenberg's death - to whom can Berger's testimony be profitable? Isn't Berger fulfilling a task of these to whom such testimony can be profitable? This suspicion becomes even stronger in view of the forthcoming Sakharev's Hearing on Raoul Wallenberg's case.

The only person (except for M. Garsia whose evidence is to be checked yet) who testifies to having seen Wallenberg after 1964 without being personally interested in this, on the contrary - victimizing himself in order to draw attention of the Free World to R. Wallenberg's fate - is Yan Kaplan. His arrest, which followed immediately after his information had reached the West, is an additional proof of Wallenberg's being alive in 1979 - otherwise Yan Kaplan's testimony would not have bothered the Soviet authorities so much.

In view of the above, I repeat once again that it is necessary to start an international campaign demanding that Yan Kaplan must be allowed to be interviewed on this matter by the representatives of Western countries. It would be even more timely now, before Sakharev's Hearing in May, 1980, where Kaplan's testimony could not be overestimated.

Avraham Shifrin,
Executive Director.



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skr. nr. 1980 - 03-27 *Tunberg*
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UCLA—ALASKA LAW REVIEW
SCHOOL OF LAW
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

Reply to: Mark Jerome Seidenberg
Post Office Box 48601
Los Angeles, CA 90048
Telephone #: (213) 651-5429
23 March 1980

Ms. Bonnie D. Hahn
Teacher
Nome Beltz Jr. / Sr. High School
Box 131
Nome, Alaska 99762

RE: Errors on the Certificate of Death No. 0064 for Della Nayakik of
Wainwright, Alaska dated 9 February 1955. etc.

Dear Ms. Hahn:

I have been trying to track down a Bonnie D. Hahn that worked for
the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1955 as a teacher in Wainwright, Alaska.
If you are the same person than please read on.

In May, 1980 the Sakharov's Hearing on the fate of Raoul Wallenberg
will begin in Stockholm, Sweden. A corrected Certificate of Death for
Della Nayakik would help in getting certain documents released from the
United States Department of State about the "Gulags" at Wrangell Island
of the Arctic Ocean and additional information about the fate of Raoul
Wallenberg.

Raoul Wallenberg (Swedish Consul General to Budapest, Hungary during
World War II) was kidnapped by the Smert Shpionam (SMERSH) [SMERSH was
between 1941 and 1947 the Ninth Section 'for terror & diversion' of Soviet
State Political Administration - OGPU.]. Wallenberg was taken from the
office of the Soviet Army Commander at Budapest in 1945 after that Soviet
Army "liberated" Budapest and has been in the "Gulag Archipeigo" for alms
35 years. Wallenberg was responsible for saving some 30,000 Jews from
Nazi extermination by issuing protective passports stating that the bear
was awaiting emigration to Sweden and was under Swedish protection and
bought 32 buildings in Budapest where he housed the passport bearers.
Residents were protected by the Swedish flag that flew atop each buildin
and the Government of Adm. Miklos Horthy (head of state for Hungary duri
WWII until the Forenc Szalasi overthrew) recognized these protective
residences and passports. Because of Wallenberg other foreign legations
such as the Swiss, Portuguese and Spanish, set up similar protective
residences. Thereby an "international ghetto" ^{UNDER} extraterritorial immunity
was created and eventually saved 33,000 Jews from the deportation to Naz
death camps.

Mrs. Nina Lagergren of Stockholm, half-sister of Raoul Wallenberg, has been campaigning to get information about her half-brother's whereabouts all these years since his kidnapping in 1945. The Soviet Government has been maintaining that Wallenberg died in prison in July 1947. This is an outright lie. It is now known that Wallenberg has been seen alive in a Soviet Gulag in 1979 (32 years after the Soviets declared him dead). Manuel Garsia has testified on 1 February 1980 that he has seen Raoul Wallenberg in Camp #5 (at Leplai), Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic some time during the period of summer-autumn of 1977 [M. Garsia's present home address is: Terre dels Pardals #60, Barcelona, Spain.]. Yad Kaplan telephoned his daughter in Tel Aviv, Israel that Wallenberg was seen in 1979 at a Soviet Gulag by a high official in the KGB. Kaplan was a friend of the son of that KGB official. Kaplan was arrested by the KGB after that telephone call. Kaplan whereabouts have been unknown ever since his arrest.

On 1-2 February 1973, the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate discovered that the Soviets were already operating a special KGB camp for the training of foreign espionage agents, as well as having established three concentration camp zones for torturing Soviet and Non-Soviet political prisoners on Wrangell Island, Alaska (of the Arctic Ocean). During those hearings it came out that Raoul Wallenberg was seen there some time during the period of 1958 through 1962 in one of the concentration camp zones by an Italian prisoner-of-war.

As you may recall Della Nayakik was born on that same Wrangell Island that the Soviets are maintaining concentration camps. On 20 August 1924 the Soviet gun boat 'KRASNI OKTYABR' (Red October) armed with six pound cannon and Soviet soldiers landed at Wrangell Island, Alaska and kidnapped Mr. Charles Wells, manager of the Lomen Bros. Company and 13 Alaskan Eskimos. The ship took them to Vladivostok (by way of Cape North, Uelen, and Petropavlovsk) where Mr. Wells and one Eskimo were murdered by the Communists. Another Eskimo died enroute to the U.S. Consulate in Harbin, Manchuria. The remaining eleven Eskimos eventually made their way back to Alaska. [The brothers Billy & Hope Koonuknowruk were the two Eskimos that died in Asia with Charles Wells (of Uniontown, Pennsylvania).] The remaining eleven Eskimos consisted of Peter Koonuknowruk, Kippooanne Koonuknowruk (Peter's wife), Ester Koonuknowruk (Peter's daughter), Hilda Koonuknowruk (Peter's daughter, now known as Mrs. Hilda Weber of Point Hope, Alaska), John Adams, Ada Adams (John's wife), Mark Adams (John's son, listed on government documents as also Marc, Mac, and Max), Curtis Adams (John's son), Della Adams (John's daughter, also known as Mrs. Della Nayakik after her marriage to Walter Nayakik of Wainwright, Alaska, listed on the records of U. S. State Department as Tulla), Abraham Howarth (bachelor) and Roy Kobuk (bachelor). [emphasis added]

Captain Calvin L. Hooper, United States Revenue-Marine (USRM has been known since 28 January 1915 as the U.S. Coast Guard), commander of the Bering Sea Patrol [In 1877 Secretary of War George W. McCrary and Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman agreed that the District of Alaska should be under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department. Treasury administered Alaska until Congress passed the Alaskan Organic Act in 1884. The Secretary of the Treasury placed the duty of administering Alaska in the USRM. Hooper was placed in command of the Bering Sea Patrol thereby becoming the defacto governor of Alaska.], with a party from the USRM Steamer 'THOMAS CORWIN' landed on Wrangell Island of the Arctic Ocean on 12 August 1881.

took formal possession in the name of the United States Government based on the right of discovery by the New London, Connecticut whaler 'NILE' [Wrangell Island, Alaska is a large island in the Chukchi Sea about 270 miles northwest of Cape Lisburne. It was discovered by Captain Thomas Long on the American Barque 'NILE' and named by him in honor of Admiral Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell, IRN, on 14 August 1867.]

I need your help, documents on the "Gulags" at Wrangell Island, kept by the United States Government are at present classified. The Federal Government will not at present release any of these documents on Wrangell Island "Gulags", on the grounds that it is a matter of "foreign affairs". I contend that these documents the C.I.A. and State Department holds on Wrangell Island are domestic in nature, since the sovereign State of Alaska claims imperium over that island. If the documents on Wrangell Island are domestic in nature, then the C.I.A. and State Department are acting ultra vires by not supplying me with them, under the terms of the Freedom of Information Act, i.e., 5 USC 552. Since, you were the informant on Della Nayakik's Certificate of Death, I need an affidavit from you stating that you made errors on the original Certificate of Death and that the following changes should be made:

3. Della (aka, Tulla Adams) Nayakik
8. AGE (In years last birthday) 30
9. DATE OF BIRTH April 1, 1924
11. BIRTHPLACE Wrangell Island (aka, New Columbia Land) Alaska.
14. FATHER'S NAME John Adams
15. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME Ada Fox

Attached is a specimen affidavit. Please complete and return to me in S.A.R.E. Enclosed also are documents that can back up what I am saying.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Jerome Seidenberg

c.c. Daniel DeNardo
Box 8511
Anchorage, Alaska 99508

Avraham Shifrin
P. O. Box 32
Zikhron Yaacov, Israel

Dr. Efim Moshinsky
Drom Zahala (Heve Sharet)
Ahi Dakah Str. 14/14
Tel Aviv, Israel

Bil.....till gk:s i Los Angeles *lulu*

skr-nr 1980-03-28 *Timberg-Deegquist*,
Post Office Box 48601
Los Angeles, CA 90048
1 September 1979

Rt. Hon. Lord Emslie
Lord Justice General of Scotland
47 Heriot Row
Edinburgh, Scotland EH5 6EX

RE: The Wrangell Island Affair.

My Lord,

On 24 August 1979, a friend of yours by the name of William L. McKinlay wrote me a letter stating that "He [Lord Emslie] has no hesitation in advising me NOT to sign any such declaration, nor to be associated in any way with the activities of the group campaigning on the Wrangell Island issue."

As you may know from the documents sent by Wm McKinlay to you on the Wrangell Island affair, Raoul Wallenberg (the Swedish Consul General to Budapest, Hungary during World War II) was kidnapped by the Red Army in 1945 and has been in the "Gulag Archipeligo" ever since. Raoul Wallenberg was seen in a Gulag on Wrangell Island of the Arctic Ocean as late as 1962. Mrs. Nina Lagergren of Stockholm, half-sister of Raoul Wallenberg, has been campaigning to get information about Wallenberg's whereabouts during all these years since his kidnapping in 1945. The Soviet Government has been maintaining that Wallenberg died in prison in 1947. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel laureate, told the Wallenberg family that he believed Wallenberg to be alive and urged them to enlist the help of Jewish organizations in a public campaign to establish his fate.

I have been involved in such a campaign for the last six years or so, i.e., ever since I heard that the Soviets were using Wrangell Island, Alaska as the site of prison camps. I know for a fact that the United States C.I.A. has many documents on the "Gulag's" at Wrangell Island. The C.I.A. will not release any of their documents on Wrangell Island, on the grounds that it is a matter of "foreign affairs". I contend that documents the C.I.A. holds on Wrangell Island are domestic in nature, once the sovereign State of Alaska claims imperium over that island. If the documents on Wrangell Island are domestic, then the C. I. A. is acting ultra vires by not supplying me with them, under the terms of the Freedom of Information Act, i.e., 5 U.S.C. 552. I suggest you read a book, "The Feather in My Hand," by Carl-Frederick Palmstierns. This book goes into the fact that Wallenberg was held on Wrangell Island in the early 1960's, an island where its prisoners are declared "legally dead" by the Soviets.

Simon Wiesenthal, head of the Vienna Documentation Center, issued a

report that he had at least one reliable witness (an Austrian medical doctor, who was in a Soviet Gulag as a prisoner of war) to the fact that he treated Raoul Wallenberg medically after the Soviets declared Wallenberg "legally dead".

There is in Britain now a Free Wallenberg Committee, jointly headed by Greville Janner, QC, MP, and Winston Churchill, MP. The committee can use as much documents as possible on Wallenberg's confinement on Wrangell Island. Therefore, the declaration I asked William McKinlay to sign could help in getting Wallenberg out of the Soviet Union and with his loving family back in Sweden.

I am at a loss as to why you do not want William L. McKinlay to sign "any such declaration, nor to be associated in any way with the activities of the group campaigning on the Wrangell Island issue." Please send me your reason as to why McKinlay should not sign the corrected declaration nor associate with our group.

I am, sir,
your obedient servant,

Mark Jerome Seidenberg, D.C.S.(hon.)
California Director
Jewish Survival Legion
Post Office Box 48601
Los Angeles, California 90048
United States of America

Telephone number (213) 651-5429

cc. William L. McKinlay
Rabbi Marvin S. Antefmen
Rabbi Herbert Gilner
Mrs. Nina Lagergren
Alexander Solzhenitzen
Greville Janner, QC, MP.
Winston Churchill, MP
Avraham Shifrin

cc. Daniel P. Moynihan, MC
Frank Church, MC
Claiborne Pell, MC
Rudy Boschwitz, MC
Robert K. Dornan, MC
Richard Stone, MC
Simon Wiesenthal
Alan Stang

YMER

TIDSKRIFT

UTGIFVEN AF

SVENSKA SÄLLSKAPET FÖR ANTROPOLOGI OCH GEOGRAFI

ANDRA ÅRGÅNGEN

1882.

STOCKHOLM.

TRYCKT HOS A. L. NORMANS BOKTRYCKERI-ARTIFIKERLAG.

1882.

Bil.....⁴till gk:s i Los Angeles *liber*
skr. af..... 1980-03-28 *Turberg*
Beijquist

nerten. Proven, kapten Isaksen, den 8 juli 1881 något vester om Novaja Semlja.

Corwin seglade tidigt på våren från San Francisco och var redan i slutet af maj vid Serize Kamen, hvarest man kom i beröring med åtskilliga tschuktscher, som voro bland baron Nordenskiölds gamla vänner, bland andra en gammal man, som visade en silfvergaffel och en sked, hvilka han erhölet i present af »kapten Enshall», såsom de kallade N., för hvilken de allhyste mycken vänskap. — Här utskickades från Corwin en expedition på slädar, hvilken uppnådde kap Vankarema, 67° 52' lat. n. och 175° 30' long. vest, men fartyget sjelft återvände till Berings sund. Slädfärden varade i 28 dagar. Det lyckades de slädfarande att af tschuktscherna få flere saker, som tillhört Vigilant, hvilken hvalfångare jämte en annan, Nonnt Wollastone, blifvit infusen om hösten 1879 norr om Berings sund och skulle eftersökas af Corwin. De sammanträffade äfven med ett sällskap tschuktscher, som påträffat skrofvat af detta fartyg med fyra lik liggande deruti. Omkring den 1 juli gick Corwin norr ut, först till kap Lisburne på Alaskas kust, der den kolade från en grufva, och satte sedan kurs på Herald-ön. Denna uppnåddes den 31 juli. Vädret var nu ganska varmt. Termometern visade öfver 10°. Vattnets temperatur vid bottnen (på 27 famnar) var nära 5° och vid ytan nära 8°. Då man nåddes ön, var vattnets botten temperatur 2 till 3 grader, men vid ytan 9 1/2°. Året förut visade något dy, upptagen i samma grannskap, en temperatur af 0°. Med någon svårighet landsteg man och uppresle en cairn på en 1400 fot hög udde på öns nordöstra hörn. Så vitt jag vet, har endast kapten Kellet i engelska flottan förut landat på denna ö. Delta var 1849, då han upptäckte Herald-ön. Kapten Kellet så väl som Corwins besättning sågo derifrån Wrangels land. Här påträffades förutom otaliga fåglar endast en liten råf och en isbjörn, som dömlades. Redan samma dag lemnades ön under ganska stora svårigheter för att komma fri från isen, och kurs sattes på Wrangels land. Här var det dock omöjligt att landa; under tre dagar hindrades kapten Hooper af dimma och is, hvarför han styrde söder ut till Vankarema-floden på sibiriska kusten. Han seglade derefter längs denna kust och derpå åter norr ut, till dess han den 11 aug. trodde sig kunna framkomma till Wrangels land. På morgonen den 12 lyckades det slutligen att landa, då uppträdde Reynolds, en af officerarne, planterade Förenta Staternas flagga på en höjd i närheten af en omkring 300 fot bred flod. Denna benämndes Clark-floden efter chefen för Förenta Staternas tullmarin. På stranden funnos skelettet af en stor hvalfisk, en mängd drivved, en träkil, en asiatisk paddelåra, en tunnast, ett stycke af en båtspira och fragment af en bräddåra. Floden var djup och forsande, och från hög-

Amerikanska Beringssunds-expeditioner 1881 och kartläggningen af »Wrangels land».

Af Nere A. Elfving.

(Förelägg vid sammankomsten den 20 januari 1882.)

Som bekant seglade det amerikanska fartyget Jeannette den 8 juli 1879 från San Francisco för att genom Berings sund söka uppnå nordpolen. Det hade dessutom till uppgift att söka efter Nordenskiöld och, om så behöfdes, lemna honom den undsättning han kunde önska. Detta senare uppdrag blef dock onödigt, och sedan Jeannette besökt Unalaska och St. Lawrence bay, afgick hon norr ut och sågs sista gången den 2 sept. 1879 något ösligt och, som jag tror, sydligt om Herald-ön. Redan året derpå sändes tullkultern Corwin upp genom Berings sund för att samla underrättelser om Jeannette, men erhöill inga sådana och återvände efter en i det hela taget ganska betydelslös resa.

Det följande året 1881, då tvänne vintirar förgått utan underrättelser från Jeannette, och ehuru hon var provianterad för fulla tre år, utsändes flere expeditioner för att söka efter henne. Genom Berings sund sändes två fartyg, först den ofvan nämnda Corwin, under kapten Hooper, och Rodgers, under löjtnant Perry. I Atlantiska hafvet utsändes Förenta Staternas korvett Alliance under Commander Wadleigh för att kryssa mellan Spetsbergen och Grönland, för den händelse Jeannette verkligen uppnått polen och skulle söka komma ned denna väg. Dessutom afgingo under sommarn två andra expeditioner, hvilkas ändamål egentligen var att anställa meteorologiska inktagelser, men som derjämte skulle göra hvad de kunde, för att få reda på och understödn Jeannette. Den ena gick till Lady Franklin bay under befäl af löjtn. Greely, den andra till Point Barrow på Alaskas nordkust under löjtn. Kay. Båda dessa herrar äro officerare i Förenta Staternas armé, och expeditionerna skola kvarstanna i trenne år på dessa platser, dit en gång om året ett skepp skall gå upp med förråd.

En engelsman, mr Leigh Smith, har dessutom lofvat att under sin färd till Frans Josels land med yachten Eira hålla utkik efter Jeannette. Eira har ej återkommit, hvarför Britiska Geografiska Sällskapet ämnar inslunda de vär och sommar låta söka efter henne. Fartyget var provianteradt till aug. 1882 och sågs sista gången af norska sko-

den kunde man urskilja den bland belägen på en skäla af omkring 40 eng. mil. Klipporna, som nu saknade snö, tycktes vara bruna och nakna samt bestod af skiffer. En promenad på vid pass fem eller sex engelska mil ledde emellertid ej till några vidare upptäckter. I en af klipporna fanns ett lager af sandsten äfvensom quarz, hvilken innehöll jernkis. Några saxifragor, anemoner, gräs och svampar funnos ock der. Likaledes sågos hålor eller murneldjur samt spår af råfvar och björnar. På den korta landsstricka, som de besökte, påträffade de dock inga spår af Jeannette. Kapt. Hooper försäkrar, att kapl. Dallman från Bremen, som påstått sig hafva besökt Wrangels land 1866, aldrig varit der. I första rummet säger Dallman sig hafva sett och passerat Plover-ön, hvilken man nu vel ej existerar, och för det andra har han placerat landet mer än 20 mil söder om der det i verkligheten är beläget.

Corwin seglade sedan till Point Barrow, der den tog ombord besättningen från en förökyckad hvalfångare Daniel Webster, och vände derpå hem till San Francisco. Kapten Hooper har föreslagit namnet New Columbia i stället för Wrangels land.

Rodgers, ett fartyg om 420 tons, särskildt köpt och utrustadt för att uppsöka Jeannette, afseglade från San Francisco den 16 juni under befäl af löjtn. Robert M. Berry. Det ankom till Petropavlovsk, Kamtschatka, den 19 juli och till St. Lawrence bay den 18 aug. Redan den 19 afgick det härifrån och inseglade i arktiska hafvet i sällskap med ryska korvetten Strelock. Sedan löjtn. Berry landat vid Sertze Kamen för att erhålla underrättelser, gjorde han en kort undersökning af Herald-ön med en båt, hvars besättning sleg i land derstädes, och kastade den 25 aug. ankar inom en half eng. mil från Wrangels land, och kunskapen härnäst blefva till nytta för hvalfångare, som fastna i isen och drifva ned mot dessa ogästvänliga stränder.

Han hade först försökt att gå vester om Herald-ön, men fann sjön bryta öfver ett farligt reef omkring två eng. mil derifrån i sydvästlig riktning. Rodger låg derför bi vid pass tre mil från ön och skickade en hvälbat i land. Landstigningen utfördes nära vestra sidan, hvarvet den släcka stranden var skyddad af ett reef öfver hvilket sjön valdsamt slog. Ön befans vara en trång bergas ungefär tre fjerdingväg lång, men ej öfver en sextondels mil bred. Bergskammen på vestra delen af ön var så smal och trång, att man kunde sitta grense öfver den, medan den östra delen var lägre och mera rundad. Den del, som undersöktes, bestod af skiffer, men derjämte funnos ock några grunit-lager. Uppsligandet var särdeles svårt, men då atmosfären var synnerligen ren, kunde man se på mycket långt håll. Wrangels land

syntes tydligt, men ö land i norr. Ön är ej öfver 600 fot på sin högsta punkt. Kapt. Hooper uppger likväl, att han uppträttade en cairn på en 1400 fots höjd. — Att ålervända ombord befans mycket svårt, och sällskapet upptogs alldeles genomvåta. Några cairns syntes icke till, ehuru sedermera på Wrangels land påträffades kapl. Hoopers tillkännagivande, att han varit der.

Inloppet till Wrangels land gick genom is, som låg tätt packad på östra kusten och sträckte sig så långt i norr som ögat nådde. Slutligen kastades dock kl. 10 på aftonen den 25 aug. ankar på sju fannars vatten ungefär en half eng. mil från land. Följande morgon sändes en båt för att undersöka, huruvida en vik, belägen bakom en lång, låg sandrefvel, var tillräckligt djup för att låta ett så stort och tungt lastadt fartyg som Rodgers svänga med tidvattnet, och om den hade god ankarbotten. Fartyget ångade dit, och man började tillredelserna för en undersökning af ön.

Tre sällskap organiserades, ett under kapl. Berry för att öfver land gå till norra kusten eller något berg, hvarst en god utsigt öfver land och haf kunde erhållas, ett under löjtn. Varring för att med en hvalbåt färdas utelst östra kusten, och ett under löjtn. Hunt för att gå vester ut. De fingo femton dagars rationer och order att gå omkring ön; man var nämligen på grund af iakttagelser på Herald-ön temligen säker på, att det var en ö. Med kapl. Berry följde en sjöman, Frank Melms, som förut åtföljt löjtn. Schwatka under hans arktiska resa 1878—79—80, och Olof Peterson, en gammal örlogsmatros, som sannolikt är svensk. Befälet öfver Rodgers lemnades att löjtn. Putnam jämte uppdrag att göra magnetiska observationer, och löjtn. Stoney skulle uppmäta hamnen och den närliggande kusten.

Under hela vistelsen vid Wrangels land, hvilken varade i 19 dagar, rörde sig isen ständigt längs stranden; hade detta varit händelsen äfven den dagen då Rodgers ankrade, skulle det varit förgäfvets försökt inlöpa i hamnen.

När de gingo till kojs, kunde de understundom blott varseblifva packis så långt ögat nådde, men nästa morgon var endast öppet vattnet att se med ett och annat isstycke simmande på ytan. Och tvärtom sågo de emellanåt om morgonen endast packis, då hafvet aftonen förut varit isfritt.

Kapt. Berry återkom först den 8 sept. Han hade nått ett ställe omkring tre sv. mil in i landet, der han från en höjd om 2,500 fot (enl. barometerberäkning) kunde fritt skåda åt alla håll utom vester och sydydvest, hvarst en hög bergskedja stängde utsigten. Han fann, att tvänne bergsträckor följde kusten i norr och söder, och mellan dem ett lägre, kuperadt land med många bäckar, som matades af smäl-

tande snö. Af djurlif såg han ej ett spår och ej heller några andra växter än dem, som funnos nära stranden. Deremot påträffades en mängd mammutbetar.

Löjtn. Varring begaf sig den 29 aug. öster ut med hvalbåten och lägrade sig första natten vid kap Hawaii, ett namn gifvet af hvalfångare, som under föregående år siglat udden. Nästa dag fann han den cairn, som Corwins manskap uppfört, och kringfor den östligaste delen af ön, hvarest märktes en lodrät klippkolonn omkring 100 fot hög och belägen ungefär 150 fot från stranden. Här påträffades mycket is, hvilken ströckte sig öster ut så långt man kunde se. Nära land var den emellertid sönderfräkt och bruten, och en trång kanal gjorde det möjligt för båten att komma fram. Mot aftonen blef denna dock så smal, att man ej kunde framtränga längre, utan måste uppdraga båten på land. Följande dag var förhållandet detsamma, och löjtn. Varring, ledsagad af dr Castillo, uppsteg då till toppen af en kulle norr om lägret, från hvilken de hade en fri utsigt. Denna kulle befans utgöra öns yttersta nordöstra punkt, och intet land kunde skönjas i norr. Öns vestra del var föga höjd öfver hafvets yta och utlöpte i långa, låga uddar, som bildade vikar, inom hvilka isen var packad i låga massor. Morgonen derpå var vädret klart, och Herald-ön syntes tydligt från stranden. Isen öppnade sig nu något, så att Varring och hans män eller sex timmars hårdt arbete lyckades kringfara udden och komma fram ungefär fem eng. mil åt vester. Här blefvo de fullkomligt inslängda af isen och tvungna att öfvergifva båten. Den 7 sept. återkommo de till skeppet efter en svår resa under snöstorm öfver land.

Samtidigt med Varring begaf sig löjtn. Hunt åt vester. Vinden var motig, och under styf rodd tillryggelade expeditionen första dagen blott ungefär en sv. mil från fartyget. Andra dagen lyckte Hunt sig se en cairn, hvarpå han gick i land för att undersöka den. Denna prisvärda nyfikenhet var dock nära att stå honom mycket dyrt, ty innan han visste ordet af, befann han sig på ej mer än sex fots afstand från en stor hvilande isbjörn. De stirrade en stund på hvar. Under tiden reste sig björnen rusade till stranden och ropade på sitt gevär. Han efter några skott blef fäld, då Hunt slutligen fått sitt gevär. Tredje dagen kringseglade de sydvästra hörnet af ön och styrde nu åt norr. Vinden blåste häfsligt och borttog storsegelbommen, och då en stor myckenhet is var i vägen, kunde de ej komma långt. På detta sätt arbetade expeditionen sig fram, till dess den den 5 sept. uppnådde den nordligaste punkten af Wrangels land, hvarest den nordöstra udden tydligen kunde varseblifvas. Men samma svåra is, som

hindrat Varring, spärrade nu också vägen för den energiske unge officeren, så att intet annat återstod än att vända om. På fem dagar skedde hemfärden, hvarvid han fick tillfälle att verificera och korrigera de positioner han tagit på bortvägen. Låglandet löper ut i långa sanduddar, som bilda djupa vikar, der isen ligger packad i stora massor längs stranden. Härstädes funnos laguner, hvari summo talrika fåglar. Drifved låg längs stranden och bland den åtskilliga träredskap, sådana som brukas af sibiriska folkstammar, äfvensom ben af mammut.

Wrangels land hade nu blifvit utforskadt och utgjorde ej längre något mysterium. Det visade sig vara en ö, sex sv. mil bred (mellan 70' 50' och 71' 32' n. lat.) och tio mil lång, samt belägen på tolf mils afstand från närmaste punkt på sibiriska kusten. Herald-ön ligger fyra och två tredjedels mil öster om Wrangels land.

Sedan denna högeligen intressanta forskning blifvit fullbordad, utan att något spår af Jeannette påträffats, seglade kapt. Berry norr ut för att undersöka isen, och med detta farliga företag var han sysselsatt från den 14 till den 27 sept. Han styrde först kosan åt nordost, der isen bestod af stora fäll, och inträngde bland dessa till dess ogenomträngliga ismassor hindrade honom att fortskrida längre i denna riktning. Den väg, han på detta sätt tillryggelagt, utgjorde omkring femton eng. mil. Hans läge var numera så kritiskt, att det endast behöf blås sydlig vind för att fullkomligt skjuta ihop isfälten och göra det omöjligt att undkomma. Den högsta latitud, som han nu nått, var 73° 44' n. (171° 30' long. vest), eller 132 eng. mil norr om Wrangels land. Djupet var der 82 famnar. Detta är den högsta latitud, som uppnåtts i detta haf. Sir Richard Collinson var den 28 aug. 1850 på 73° 23' n. lat., på 164:e meridianen, d. v. s. ungefär 7" längre öster ut.

Rodgers återvände nu söder ut och lyckades upplaga hvalbåten, som blifvit lemnad på östra sidan af Wrangels land. Kapt. Berry seglade derpå öfver »Blevin bergen» och det vidsträckta land »med höga bergstoppar», som blifvit rapporterad af Corwin, och styrde denna gång rätt nordlig kurs från Wrangels land. På detta sätt nådde han 73° 28' lat. n. på 179° 52' long. vest och fann vattnet djupare, allt efter som han skred fram. På olvannämnda latitud, 116 eng. mil norr om Wrangels land, råkade emellertid Rodgers på en is, hvars tjocklek gjorde allt vidare framträngande omöjligt, hvarför han måste vända om. Utidessa »fickor», såsom kapt. Berry uttrycker sig, fann han alltid temperaturen vara flere grader lägre än i öppna sjön. Under denna färd sågos många hvalrossar. Vester ut var isen mycket tätt packad.

Mr Markham, sekreterare i Britiska Geografiska Sällskapet, är af den tanke, som han hufvudsakligen grundar på etnologiska betrak-

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

PARIS

1980-03-31 Nr 137

HP 1

Utrikesdepartementet

65 137

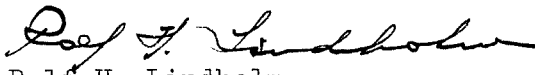
STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIG

Raoul Wallenberg-ärendet

101 A 1980-03-11

(1 bil.) ✓

I anslutning till ovanciterade skrivelse får jag härmed
översända en kopia av ett brev till mig från ambassadrådet
Jean Merleaud på franska utrikesministeriet. Såsom framgår
av texten har man bett franska ambassaden i Moskva undersöka
om det finns några uppgifter i arkivet om Raoul Wallenberg
eller om de två såsom Wallenberg-vittnen efterforska de
personerna Lucien Armand Gouazé och Miana Ferrié David.
Svaret från franska ambassaden i Moskva var tyvärr
negativt.


Rolf H. Lindholm

MB

DES
AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

PARIS, LE 26 MAR. 80-JUCCS66

PROTOCOLE

Le Sous-Directeur des
Privilèges et Immunités
consulaires

Mon Cher Collègue,

Je me réfère à votre visite du 14 février et à ma lettre du 5 mars 1980 concernant les recherches pour retrouver des témoins susceptibles de donner des renseignements sur la disparition de M. Raoul WALLENBERG.

Ainsi que je vous l'avais dit, j'avais interrogé à ce sujet l'Ambassade de France en URSS. Je lui avais demandé en particulier s'il lui était possible de retrouver, notamment dans ses archives, des éléments se rapportant soit à l'affaire WALLENBERG elle-même, soit aux deux ressortissants français mentionnés dans votre note et pouvant éventuellement permettre de les identifier.

Cette mission diplomatique vient de me répondre que les recherches auxquelles elle a procédé dans ses archives, les seules qu'il était possible de faire, n'ont pas permis de trouver d'éléments d'information sur les intéressés.

Veillez agréer, Mon Cher Collègue, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.



Monsieur Rolf LINDHOLM
Conseiller à l'Ambassade de Suède
17, rue Barbet-de-Jouy

75007 PARIS

Wallen Berg student



Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ätg: svarsbrev Leifland - Patient 1980-04-22

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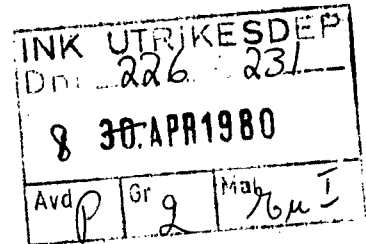
Nilsson AP/rn.

28th March, 1980.

exp 800422/ACF

P 2, Eu I

Mr. Leif Leifland,
Permanent Under Secretary of State,
Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs,
Stockholm,
Sweden.



Dear Mr Leifland

It was most enjoyable to meet you again and to have dinner with you and Mr. Nilsson at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Winter last week. I enjoyed the exchange of views.

As promised, here are the transcripts of Dr. Anna Bilder, Avram Kalinsky, Leonid Berger and Greville Wynne. I should emphasise that I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the transcripts word for word. Of course the Russian ones are only translations. But they should be fairly correct.

Mrs. Nina Lagergren phoned me today and told me that the various Swedish contributors had seen the film again and I am glad it was appreciated. I only hope that perhaps the film will create the right kind of momentum for more information to come forward. If I can help further in any way I shall of course be glad to do so. May I again, on behalf of the BBC, warmly thank you and the Swedish Foreign Ministry for all your kind assistance.

I look forward to meeting you again before long.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Patient

Alan Patient

Encl.

DR. ANNA BILDER
(not absolutely correct
transcript).

- 19 -

58/1

J.B: Anna how did your father become involved in the Wallenberg thing?

ANNA: He was in hospital in (?)
in Russia.....

58/2

J.B: Anna how did your father become involved in this Wallenberg thing?

ANNA: When he go outfrom prison he telephoned to I and I asked him how are you feeling and he said to me that he was not so bad because he so want Swedish men that 30 years in prison and that to feel good. But I didn't listen about one story and I didn't think about it. After 2 months he phoned once more to me and asked my you good understand everything that he was talking with me first time. I said yes, but I don't understand what he ask of me. I have no option of what he spoke and after that he want to send me a letter about Wallenberg's story. I didn't know about this nothing and only now in 1979 I received a letter from

my mother and she write to me everything what was the matter with my father and why they take him once more in prison.

J.B: What you are saying is that they locked your father up again after he had already been released from prison.

ANNA: Yes he was very ill and 5 doctors write that he was very ill and he cannot continue in prison. After that he go out from prison, and after some months they take him back.

J.B: Did your mother tell you in the letter that you received why they had put him back in prison?

ANNA: Only now in May '79 have they called her to there and they told her why my father is once more in prison. They told my mother that we have

J.B: What did the letter actually say from your mother?

59/1

J.B: Anna can you tell me how your father became involved in this Wallenberg case?

ANNA: When he was talking with me on telephone for first time in '77 and I asked him 'how are you, are you sick' he said to me not so good and not so bad, because he'd met one Swedish man in prison who had been there for 30 years, so he felt not so bad. I didn't know before about the Wallenberg story, and I didn't understand what my father wanted to say to me. After some time I was talking with him once more and he asked me you understand everything about what we were talking the first time. I said to him yes but I don't know what you want me to ^{say to me} ~~do~~ about it. After that as I only now know he wanted to send to me a letter about Wallenberg's story. After two days he had given a letter to a tourist, and they took him once more in prison.

J.B_: What you are saying is that the KGB arrested your father and put him back in prison because he tried to tell you about Wallenberg?

ANNA: Yes only now my mother sent me a letter and in this letter she said that in May '79 one man from (KGB) called her to there , and they spoke and he said to my mother that he was doing for her husband a very humanitarian thing to go get out from prison and he slandered our country .

J.B: They accused your father of slandering the Soviet Union?

ANNA_: Yes. Because of Wallenberg.

J.B: What else does your mother say in this letter?

ANNA: She said that she wants to see my father and they won't let her. Everytime I am talking with her she is crying. She doesn't know what to do she writes in the letter. But I must decide what to do. What to do about my father. To tell all this story or to do nothing. And what he write in this letter they said to my mother that I must be silent. If I am silent maybe ~~my mother will get to see my father.~~ *you can't see your husband back.*

J.B: Now that you have learned about the Wallenberg case , do you think that your

father really saw him alive in 1975?

ANNA: Yes I think so. Why did he tell me the first time and why did he send me this letter.

J.B: You are absolutely certain that the letter you received is genuine that your mother really wrote it.

ANNA: Yes.

J.B: It couldn't be a question of being a fraud or a fake?

ANNA: No

J.B: Why do you think your father is so anxious and has taken such a risk to make it known that Wallenberg is ~~still~~ alive?

ANNA: I think because it helped the character of my father.

J.B: The character of your father? Is it because he is Jewish?

ANNA: He is Jewish and he was a very strong man and who said to me you cannot live and be afraid everytime. It was only his character.

J.B: He's a man who believes hin speaking out?

ANNA: Yes

J.B: But I believe your mother said in her letter that your father ^{was never one} ~~wasn't a~~ man who took much interest in politics?

ANNA: Yes she is talking about this but I think my father is strong not in political things but in everything that he was doing he was a very strong man, with a very strong character, but who didn't want to be in conflict with the Government, political issues was not his problems. But now I don't know about him im prison and what he ~~xxxxxxx~~ decide.

J.B: Do you think it was because of what Wallenberg did to help the Jews and your father was trying to repay a debt?

ANNA: I think so, I think that my father heard some terrible things from Wallenberg and after that he decide that the man must be helped .

J.B: ~~xxxxx~~ Have you heard anything further from your mother since you got that letter?

ANNA: She said on the telephone that I can receive something from one of her friends

J.B: B ut she hasn't telephoned you since you got the letter?

ANNA: After that I received a telephone here from her friend and he was talking and I asked him if he can send me this letter because it is very difficult to visit her.

Project No 106459/9517

ROLL 9

60/1

INTERVIEW WITH ANNA BILDER CONTINUED

ANNA: There is a long letter after telephone call from my father who wrote to me about Wallenberg's story, he was meeting with Wallenberg in (^{Lubianka}?) in the hospital there. He want that some tourist send me this letter secretly. But
← 2 days after he gave this letter to the tourist, ^{KGB} ~~they~~ stopped this man in airport and after 2 days ^{KGB} ~~they~~ come to take my father back to prison. After that ~~th~~ my mother cannot understand why they took him back once more, and now in 'May '79 they called my mother and they talked to her that they were doing to her husband a very humanity thing to let him go out from prison and he slandered our country. And it will be better for your husband if your daughter remains silent.

J.B: So what you are saying is that all this misfortune happened to your father because he tried to tell you and the outside world about meeting Wallenberg?

ANNA: Yes I think so because Wallenberg say to him very interesting things about Jews that he helped during the war, and my father a Jewish man cannot be silent.

J.B: He felt that he had a duty to make in known that Wallenberg was there in the prison?

ANNA: Yes.

J.B: Was your father a political man?

ANNA: No, he never was a political man.

J.B: Why was he jailed in the first place by the Russians? *Why did the KGB put him in prison the first time?*

ANNA: ~~But~~ Because he want to go to Israel they did not want to allow him to go out..
And they do for him the provocation
..... and after that they took him to prison.

HAVE YOU REALLY BEEN 35 YEARS IN PRISON?

Thirty four years and six months.

HOW DO YOU MANAGE TO LOOK SO WELL, SO STRONG?

Physically, I am completely healthy. One can even say that I am not (one word)
That's why they let me out. I have an intestinal swelling. I had TB for 23
years. It's just my character that I look well. But that's all a deception.

WERE YOU JUST IN PRISONS OR WERE YOU IN WORK CAMPS, IN LABOUR CAMPS?

Out of the 34 years and six months I spent inside, I was 28 years less one month/ under lock and key: In prison, in a special camp, under pr son conditions.

I only spent just over six years in a camp. And most of that time in hospital, because I had TB. I suffered many years from TB. Almost two and

FIVE

a half decades.

WHAT IS THE SECRET OF SURVIVAL IN PRISON AND OF KEEPING YOU SANITY?

Well, I've got such a character. I didn't give up anywhere. In the camp I killed for one word: "Jewish mug". And therefore I forced many different nationalists, many anti-semites, forced them to behave towards me like they should. It seems that I am the only one among all the Jews in the world they say. They are Russians who have outstripped me: one can even say "spat further than me": they spent 36 years, some even 41 years inside. But there aren't all that many of those. I too have been many times at death's door. But...

DO YOU KNOW OF ANY OTHER PEOPLE WHO SERVED AS LONG AS YOU HAVE IN PRISON?

Yes I do, but not Jews. There was a certain Gorkov Tsedivanie who spent a ^{very} long time inside. Abram Shifrin has a photo of him in his book The Fourth Dimension. Shifrin too was inside with me in 61 and 62.

DID YOU ALL THE TIME YOU WERE IN PRISON EVER MEET OR HEAR OF A PRISONER CALLED RAOUL WALLENBERG, A SWEDE?

Of course. I was inside Vladimir prison at the very time when they caught Powers. I arrived on the 15th March in Vladimir and Powers was brought in at the end of August. He had been shot down on 1st May. Then I sat in the cell next to (Veen?). They wanted to shoot me as well. Wanted to very much. But they didn't manage it. I proved that they only wanted to shoot me because I was a Jew: Allegedly wherever I was in places of incarceration I opposed the measures of the Party and Government, aimed at re-educating and correcting the sentenced, and I also provoked prisoners to engage in mass disorders. AP: CAN WE CUT NOW. WHAT DID HE SAY?)

91 TAKE 1 ASK HIM DID HE EVER SEE OR HEAR OF RAOUL WALLENBERG WHILE HE WAS IN THE GULAG?)

Yes, of course. Most of all in Vladimir prison. Vladimir is a political prison. At that time there were very, very many people inside there: There were generals, German ones -fascists-, different people. There were also the Beria-ites: After

Stalin's death there were very many Beria-ites inside. After the month of August 1960 next to where sat a certain Gorgibereshvili.... he was a General in the Beria command..... under Stalin. He spoke of a Swedish diplomat, Wallenberg. Well, what did he say? He said that Wallenberg sat there, on the third floor, in the second block, in cell 53. Later I sat in that cell. But I sat there towards the end of 61. Powers himself was in cell 52. Well, what did they tell? They said that the Soviets kidnapped him abroad, sent him to a prison in Irkutsk. He sat in a "Central" in Irkutsk - that's in Siberia. Then he was somewhere else.

But when you are in the hands of the KGB you don't go for many walks. Incidentally, in Vladimir it was very easy to find out. This same Gorgibereshvili knew a lot about him. And he is very well known by many who sat in Vladimir prison. And Kuznetsov... and Suslinkki. They are all here in Israel. And Abram Shifrin knew Gorgibereshvili very well too. When they were being imprisoned by the KGB, they and their group knew..... but many of them wouldn't say much. But this Gen. Gorgibereshvil enjoyed bragging during walks. And then he told things about Wallenberg. And that is how it became known. I often walked with them. There was a 'diplomat', that was his nickname, Vorobley Vorobyev Vasily Fedorovich. He was inside for the Katyn Forest affair. I suppose you have heard of it. That was the affair of the shooting of 12.000 Polish officers. The Soviet authorities proved it was a Fascist provocation. And the Germans, though they had nothing to lose, because they had killed millions anyway, proved that it wasn't them, that it had been done by the Soviet in German uniforms. (ALLAN: FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE GULAG WOULD YOU SAY...) and it was from them that the talk about Wallenberg came. There is no doubt that he was in Vladimir. But one must find those who were there in 56 and 57. Very many of them are in Canada. Incidentally, there are some in the Vatican. That Cardinal (Slepi?) ~~also knows~~ also knows a lot about him. I too was inside with him. Not

SEVEN

a bad bloke.

FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE GULAG, WOULD YOU SAY IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR WALLENBERG TO HAVE SMUGGLED A MESSAGE OUT?

That can be done. That's not all that difficult. They aren't all that smart there and we are smarter than they are. Wallenberg could have been helped by.... I'll tell you his name in a moment..... a Latvian. He also sat with (Vean?). They shot Penkovsky and left the Englishman (Vean?), remember? And before that he sat together with, what's his name, also with Powers, who was shot down with the U2 or whatever its name. Well, it happened in the Sverdlovsk area. A good lad. I even sat together with him in the cinema. With Powers. He helped me to smoke. I wasn't supposed to, because I had TB. But he gave me some cigarettes, although that was against doctors' orders. Well, there are some. But they are here... they are in the Vatican. And there are many witnesses in Canada who could cast more light, you see. But I know their surnames. I know them all. And they know me too. It is therefore very difficult to deceive me. when somebody comes over here and tries to prove that he was inside over there for Zionism or for something or other. I tell him immediately: you are lying. I know all the Jews. And altogether I have thousands of surnames in my head. It seems there was nothing else to think about and therefore I remember everything as if it were yesterday.....twenty ... thirty years ago. I walk up to a person and say : "you", and remind him of every small detail. There was nothing else to do and all that has become engrave on my memory. (INTERPRETER: BUT PERSONALLY YOU HAVEN'T SEEN HIM?) I did not see Wallenberg. (INTERPRETER: YOU DID NOT DEE HIM IN PRISON?) No, not in Vladimir. They say that he was in Vladimir. I cannot guarantee that. But thay he was there is not a canard, as they say in the camps: not an invention. There was such a person. But where they have taken him to that is..... Incidentally, in Vladimir in the second block, the oddest things happen. You can be sitting on the ground floor and you will never know who is in there. It's not like that today. Today we are finding out.

END OF ONE SIDE OF CASSETTE.

8/11 WOULD YOU ASK MR. KALINSKI TO EXPLAIN ABOUT THESE TWO CARDS PLEASE?
Recently I had a phone call from the Belgian Embassy, from Mr. Felixstone... Felixman.....

Felixman phoned and said he had been told that I could say something about the Belgians. Well, I don't know the surnames of the Belgians. But I remembered that Belgians were there. And I think I wrote about it to my sister. I went to Haifa, collected all the documents, all my letters from my sister. There were lots of them: there were letters, postcards..... standard Red Cross postcards... You are not allowed to make them in Israel. We used to get one postcard a month.... when I was allowed to get them. I got the first postcard illegally, from a German flier, Theodor Horst Muller, whom I can't find now. In fact he saved me. If it hadn't been for him, my fate would have been the same as Wallenberg's. But the Swedish Foreign Office promised me they would find him for me, but so far they haven't found him. And so, I wrote to my sister in one of these postcards..... I discovered that the censors didn't read those letters... I write in very tiny letters.... very tiny... So they couldn't read them. And apart from that I changed names. For instance, the Soviet Union I called "Leon". I had a Communist cousin who was called Leon. So that my sister understood that I was referring to the Soviet Union. And when I re-read the postcards, in two of them, I came across, I tell my sister, that all the Germans had been freed from prison, because of Adenauer's intervention, and only two Germans remained. One of them was (Pavlic?), but I didn't write his surname. He is a well known spy. And an Italian journalist remained. And an English journalist (Turner?). I didn't write his surname, but I remember it. An English Daily Herald journalist. There was such a Labour newspaper once. I knew (Turner) personally once, when we were free. He disappeared in Kuibyshev. They said he had drowned in the Volga and then I met him in prison. And I write... and one Swede, one Frenchman and two Belgians and I of the foreigners. And I write that after the death of, that is to say, I hint that after the death of Stalin nothing has changed in reality. Only the smiles were different. But they are paid for smiling. But that's their business. But in another postcard, in Polish, I write "en plein". My sister had written to me in one of her letters that she had never been to Russia and, just like many others, she had thought that there was justice in Russia, and logic. I wrote back that there was no logic and no justice with Leon:

PAGE B

That's my cousin - the Communist. There was no point looking for justice or logic. It would be easier for you to find last year's snow in the courtyard on Mount Carmel, than to find justice among them. For instance: they freed all the German~~s~~ murderers, the Hitlerite murderers: their assistants - the Russian Polizei. And only one Italian and one Swede, who saved thousands of Rumanian jews were kept behind. And that time I was making a mistake. I wrote "Rumanian" jews, but there wasn't another Swede~~d~~ who was saving Rumanian jews and it's clear that the man in question.... I wrote this postcard on 27th March 59. At that time I didn't know that they weren't going to let Wallenberg out. And I didn't know that there was going to be such a scandal as the Wallenberg affair. And ~~one~~ can't prepare such a document today. That can be established by experts.. the ink.... apart from that we haven't such.... that's not a ball pen.. that ink only in Russia you understand.. that pen holder... I remember a broken nib.. So, all that is not a forgery. And we only got one such postcard at a time and we had to hand them over. I couldn't have saved them, because.... and there was no pointsaving them, because I wanted to do the opposite: write to my sister twice a month and not to... So, this is not a document that can be disputed... Wallenberg lived 12 years after his so-called death in Lyubyanka.... after his heart attack in Lyubyanka. There was no other Swede. Particularly one who had saved thousands of Jews. And how did I know? I knew from Wedrowski, as I have already stated. I knew from Gugubridze. He (ED: Wallenberg) got 25 years for espionage, but in reality he was inside ~~f~~for saving Jews. He had comitted no other crime. And I write en plein that in that very hotel, I write hotel -in Polish- there remain one Italian, a Swede, who saved Jews from Rumania. And thousands of murderers from Germany (I write Yekeland) and their local assistants are already back home. And you look for logic and justice in Leon, that means among the Russians, the Soviets.

82 TAKE 1 COULD YOU TELL US EXACTLY HOW YOU CAME TO MEET WALLENBERG IN PRISON

I have never met his personally, face to face. As I have already said and written, I learnt of him... I saw him only from a window... many years running. From a window at a distance of a few meters, from the second floor, as he was walking below in the

courtyard. Apart from that I had known before that, that it was he. Because those who were inside with him were later inside with me. And I knew it was Wallenberg and I knew who he was inside with. He sat with Munters, the former Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then I saw him with Mamulov; then I saw him with Shariya... Mamulov was Beria's assistant, a KGB General. He too was inside. And Shariya, Secretary of the Georgian Central Committee. And then I saw him when we were being transported from one prison to another. This I describe in great detail in my articles about the Wallenberg case. But personally I could not have sat with him, because Wallenberg never sat with foreigners, with those who had the slightest chance of ever getting out. He sat only with Russians, with Soviet citizens. And then only with those who wouldn't betray the revolution, Soviet power. He sat with Beria's former assistant, Mamulov. with the former secretary of the Georgian Central Committee, Shariya; and with the former Latvian Foreign Minister, Munters, whom they also would not let out, when he was alive. But from them I found out all the details about him. And I used to see him. We used to greet each other from the window. And we knew. I Too sat in solitary. Everybody knew me. And when I met the Swedish foreign minister in New York, they had details about me. Germans, who didn't sit with me, passed my surname on. And that I was a Polish officer... a former one... was inside... inside for the Katyn affair.... that I had passed a letter to a Germ.... Sov... American diplomat, a first secretary in the Moscow Embassy, who worked with Harriman. And he had handed my letter over to the KGB. They all knew that because I had written about it everywhere, shouted from the window. I wanted everybody to know.... more publicity... and Wallenberg didn't try.... He behaved more decently. Did not break the rules. And that's why, you understand, things turned out the way they did.

83 WITH YOUR EXPERIENCE OF THE SOVIET PRISON SYSTEM, DO YOU FIND IT STRANGE THAT IN ALL THESE YEARS, IF HE IS STILL ALIVE, WALLENBERG HAS NEVER MANAGED TO GET A MESSAGE OUT? Firstly, judging by everything, when I saw him, what I heard about him, he is a very disciplined person. That is good, but not in Soviet prisons. I used every channel..... he was afraid (ALLAN INTERRUPTS)

83 TAKE 2 GIVEN YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOVIET PRISON SYSTEM, YOUR PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, DO YOU NOT FIND IT STRANGE THAT IN ALL THESE YEARS WALLENBERG, IF HE IS STILL ALIVE, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET A MESSAGE OUT?

The point is this: at the beginning, during the first years, Wallenberg hoped.... many foreigners were inside, sharing a common fate.... it's likely he didn't try. It's not that easy to try. Under Stalin there was no chance at all of passing anything on. There was no contact, nobody got out and nobody had hopes of getting out of Soviet prison. I personally too believed I would never be free. And then, when Stalin died, at first nothing changed. But ~~then~~ when Adenauer arrived and the Germans started to leave, then he had no opportunity. He sat only with Russians. As far as I know Wallenberg never sat with foreigners, with Germans. It wasn't possible for him to tell them ever~~y~~-thing in detail. But it is possible that they knew. Judging by everything, the Swiss Bruger, came and also reported. He correctly named the number of the cell, just as I, number 23. And block 2. He correctly named those with whom he (ED: WALLENBERG) sat. He was only wrong about the year. He made a mistake. Instead of 55 he said 54. But that's not all that important. Wallenberg could not pass letters. I too tried many times. And my fate would have been the same as Wallenberg's if a German hadn't given me a postcard which I sent to Vienna, to the Jewish Kultus-Gemeinde. And they want my sister in 55 and then they were forced to give me postcards. Before that, my sister had been officially informed by the Polish General Staff that I had fallen on the battlefield. It seems they were preparing the fate for me as Wallenberg's. But Wallenberg didn't manage it. But I ~~can't~~ understand that when he completed his 25 years, and that was in 70, why he wasn't let out. Many... the majority were let out... the overwhelming majority. They freed murderers, they freed the Hitlerite concentration camp people -those who killed people. They also freed Russian policemen, who had helped the Germans, Belorussians and Ukrainians. And they didn't let him out. There is no point looking for logic among the Soviets. Neither in their domestic nor in their foreign policy. That's difficult to understand. But Wallenberg was a very passive person, ~~by~~ by nature. Although I had no personal

contact with him, I observed him for four years from a window. He was disciplined. There were also Germans like that. Disciplined. I, all the time, broke the rules, shouted from the windows who I was, what I was inside for. And that got through. You see, the Germans came and told the Swedish Embassy, the Swedish Foreign Office, about me. That is what the Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister told me, that they had information about me. That means that my actions from the window, the row I was making, got through. And Wallenberg didn't do that. He was afraid that things might get worse. Just as people are now a raid of their policy.... how to avoid irritating the Kremlin. It seems he too was educated in the Swedish spirit, just as Erlander and Palme, who could have helped him at the time. And didn't want to irritate the Kremlin. And today, the present Swedish Government finds it difficult. One must wait till Gromyko and Brezhnev leave the stage and new ones appear. And they will make a gesture, just as Khrushchev did after Stalin. Perhaps. But I am convinced he is alive. The regime is such that you can live a long time. It is a different matter in the camps. It's tough in the camps... hard work.. a tough regime... they don't let you sleep... you have to get up at four... go to bed late. But in prison one can live. They don't feed you till you are full, but that's good for the body. Everybody is a bit hungry, but that does no harm. As you can see I sat 15 years five months and 17 days.... and I don't look all that bad.

END OF ONE SIDE OF CASSETTE.

ROLL 12: 84 TAKE 1

MR KERENSKY THEORISES THAT WALLENBERG MAY BE PASSIVE AND LACKING IN INITIATIVE, BUT THIS IS COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO EVERYTHING WE KNOW ABOUT WALLENBERG FROM HIS TIME IN BUDAPEST.

One cannot compare his situation in Budapest, when he was a diplomat and enjoyed immunity..... this question proves that Mr. Bierman, just as all Western people, don't know what it means to be processed by the KGB. A man changes, changes completely. He might have been a real hero, I read about him, he was no coward, but after he has been processed by the KGB, when a man fears that matters can get even worse - though if you think logically they can't get worse - then in Budapest it was no longer that same Wallenberg, Embassy secretary with immunity. It was Wallenberg after Lyubyanka. And not everyone can endure. And no one should be blamed for cowardice or for lack of courage after the KGB has processed you. Nobody who hasn't been inside there, knows what Lyubyanka is like. But I understood... I felt I had nothing to lose. Because with me it was so that, knowing Lyubyanka and the KGB well, I was convinced that I would never get out. I had nothing to lose. From whatever point of view you look at it, Wallenberg hadn't committed any crime at all. And he had something to lose. He was afraid to take risks: had he written something or handed over something to someone - and in prison too people are afraid of each other-. After being processed in Lyubyanka, Wallenberg was a different person. And that's not surprising. And though I wasn't braver than him, but I knew that I had nothing to lose: I won't ever be let out. If it weren't for that German Mule, and if ~~mm~~ I hadn't informed my sister that I was alive, they would have never let me out. And I was held for another 16 years after I was freed in Russia: I was not allowed out.

85 TAKE 1

PLEASE TELL US HOW YOU CAME TO SEE, TO MEET WALLENBERG IN PRISON.

In prison or in Vladimir prison? In prison I met (two words) but if you ask me about Vladimir prison, then I saw him three or four times a week, from a window. Personally, of course, I never met him at all.... face to face so to speak. But I saw him from a window and before that I had already seen him in the Vladimir...

no Verkhovals^K prison... from 51 to 53..... I met him on the way to the bath... I saw him during walks... and to me came former cell mates of Wallenberg, who showed me that this was Wallenberg, that same Swede who save^Dd Jews and who is inside for alleged espionage. In Vladimir I saw him from a window, three or four times a week. He share^Dd a cell only with Soviet citizens. At that time he sat with Mamulov, Gen. Mamulov was a former Assistant to Beria. Then he sat with Shariyev, Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, And then I saw him for the last time, two days before my release on 27th October 1959. And I even wrote about him to my sister, without of course mentioning his name, that all had left, and only one Swede, one Italian and two Belgians are still inside. So there is no doubt at all that that was Wallenberg, because Gogovoridze came into my cell and showed me that very Wallenberg with who he was inside.

HOW DID YOU KNOW THAT THIS MAN YOU COULD SEE TAKING EXERCISE WAS WALLENBERG?

Well, that is what I am talking about. First of all in the autumn of 1951 the Jewish writer Wedrowski came into my cell, straight from the cell he shared with Wallenberg and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Free Latvia, Munderson. And he told me of a very sympathetic Swede who was inside, he had been pinched in Budapest, who had made it his job to save Jews, but was being accused of espionage. Later we, with Wedrowski went to the shower (INTERRUPTED BY ALLAN)

86 TAKE 1

By the end of 1951, in the Verkhoral^{alsk} prison, the Jewish writer Wedrowski came into my prison cell. And he had come from that very cell in which he saw with Munters and Wallenberg. He had come to me and when I asked him where he had come from he told me there was a Swede inside, who had saved very many Jews, and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Latvia. And, of course, the Swede was not being accused of saving Jews, but of espionage. And then we saw this Swede... he showed him me from the window of the Verkhoral^{alsk} prison as he was taking a walk. And up to 1953... I several times a month.... we met them, Munters with the Swede. Sometimes on the way to the wash house. Only by accident, because we

THREE

weren't supposed to meet. In 53, after the death of Stalin, we transferred to the Alexandrov 'Central' (ED: 'Central' in Russian means an institution which is part of the Soviet 'central' prison system) This prison was, allegedly, being cleared for supporters of Beriya. And en route, he was taken through my coach.... I was travelling alone, by special conveyance, as I was considered to be a specially dangerous State criminal and therefore I travelled alone. And he walked through my compartment, the first compartment. I saw him, Munters, Gen. Kuprianov, a Catholic priest MMM Mikakevich, Gutmanus, Pristara, a Latvian pastor (named). And I also saw Wallenberg. I never saw him even once in the Alexandrov 'Central'. It is an old Tsarist prison. I sat in another block and there I did not see him even once. But in 55, when we were all, the same people, transferred to the (named) prison, I saw him again in the same company, the same Munters and others. that was in 55. And in Vladimir I started to see him again in 56, when the well-known Georgian Social-Democrat, who was kidnapped in Paris, a political emigre, Dogobaridze, came into my cell. He came and told me he had come from the cell which Wallenberg occupied. The Swede Wallenberg with Mamulov. They too had been transferred to that block, block 2. And, in fact, on that very same day we saw them walking in the courtyard. We were shown them from the window. And it was that same Wallenberg whom I had ~~not~~ not seen since 55, when we transferred to Vladimir. And there is no doubt that it was Wallenberg. I sat alone, but all the Germans knew that I was Kalinski. Proof that I, a former Polish officer Kalinski, was inside for passing a letter illegally through an American diplomat, Mr. Dudko. who turned out to be a Soviet agent. Everybody knew that, because I wrote about it, passed written messages, shouted from my ~~room~~ window. And everybody knew. Proof is that I was told by the Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Liefland, in New York, that they knew about me since 55. So there can be no doubt that I knew it was Wallenberg.

88 TAKE 1

DO YOU REALLY BELIEVE THAT WALLENBERG IS STILL ALIVE?

I have no doubt that he is alive. Because it is a fact that he was alive in

FOUR

75. That was not invented by Kaplan. Apart from that over there, in prison conditions, one can live for a long time. Because there are no excesses, the food too is limited, there is no alcohol, there are no women, there are no emotions which shorten a man's life. Apart from that, once he was alive in 59, and according to Gugubridze, in 67, why should he not be alive today. He isn't old. Today his age is 62.... 64. (INTERRUPTED BY ALLAN)

Take 2 WO LD YOU ASK MR. KALINSKI DOES HE REALLY BELIEVE THAT WALLENBERG CAN STILL BE ALIVE?

I don't only believe it, I am convinced he is alive. Because in prison the regime is such that one can live for a long time. Everybody who went to prison lived for 100 years. For instance, Vera Figher, also Morozev. Prison doesn't shorten life. It's camps that shorten life. If you are in a camp, work in a camp, get up at four, that's hard work.... exhaustion. You don't work in prison. You don't eat quite enough, but that too is good for the organism. And there are no reasons why you ~~should die~~ should die, but reasons to be healthy. I spent 15 years in prison. Do I look as if I'm ill? Perhaps physically it has even done me some good. Therefore I am convinced that he is alive. There is no doubt.

MAN ALIVE - WALLENBERG

SOUND ROLL 30

SHOT No. 215 TAKE 1

GREVILLE WYNNE:

It was er early 63, 1963 that I was in Lubianka on one occasion, taking exercise - they have several pens there and eh one morning as the guard was bringing a new man in he shouted taxi - now this might seem strange - er but the there's a horrible cage which they bring you up and take you down in and I think this is a kind of keeping your spirits up sense of humour. About 5 days later a similar thing happened as I was being led into my exercise pen - and I heard the word taxi and a discussion with the guard which I knew was not a German accent but seemed a Scandinavian accent. I shouted, I said, are you American and he said no, I'm Swedish and with that the guard put his hand over my mouth and pushed me into the er cage. So that's all I can tell you because I wasn't in direct contact with any soviet prisoners.

CUT:

SHOT 215 TAKE 2

GREVILLE WYNNE:

It was early 1963 when I was taken for exercise on the roof of Lubianka prison and er shortly having entered this compound I heard the cell the place next door - the door being opened and voices er calling taxi - now this is amusing because the taxi consists of a very rusty iron cage ...they drop you down to the cells from the top of the roof and I heard a conversation in Russian...mx obviously with the guard...there was an accent that I didn't quite recognise...I knew it wasn't German and er I started to think about it. 5 days later the similar thing happened...this time I was being taken in - to a cell again and this man shouted taxi again... so I shouted, are you American and he said no I'm Swedish and the guard at this time put his hand over my mouth and pushed me er against the corner of the cell..because you're not supposed to communicate with any prisoners. Er that's all I can tell you.

CUT:

SOUND ROLL 30

SHOT 215 TAKE 3

GREVILLE WYNNE:

It was in 1963 that I was being taken up to the roof of the exercise yards... I pushed....

It was in 1963 in Lubianka prison in Moscow....I was taken up one day to the cells on top of the roof where they exercise. I heard from the next cell. the door open and the guard come out with another prisoner and this man shouted taxi which seems rather strange in that situation as the taxi consisted of an old dirty rusty iron cage that led from the roof right the way down to the prison cells down below. This was his method of humour...I heard talking with the guards...guards being angry because you're not supposed to speak. About 5 days later a similar thing happened This time I was being led into into the exercise cell and having just about to close the door the other door opened and the same voice shouted taxi...so I shouted...I said are you American - he said..no I'm Swedish. And the guard grabbed me....put his hand over the mouth and eh that was that. I eh didn't hear of any more.

CUT:



**RAOUL WALLENBERG-
MISSING HERO**



The stranger-than-fiction story of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg is little known outside Sweden or Israel. In Sweden he is a national hero and in Israel he ranks highly among those they call "righteous Gentiles" - a title he earned by saving tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews from the Nazi gas chambers.

A member of the famous banking family, Wallenberg first became conscious of the plight of Jews in Nazi occupied countries when working in Palestine in 1936 on a banking apprenticeship. Here he first met victims of Nazi persecution - those lucky enough to have escaped.

Wallenberg became actively involved in the Jewish dilemma in 1944 when he left the safety of neutral Sweden for Budapest, Hungary, a city he had visited on business three times previously. But this visit was in a very different capacity. Under diplomatic status as a member of the Swedish Embassy (in Budapest), Wallenberg received financial backing from the American War Refugee Board. His mission? To save the Jews of Budapest by whatever means possible.



When Soviet troops reached Budapest towards the end of the war Wallenberg saw them as liberators and sought contact. Then, on January 17, 1945, he was seen leaving with a Russian military escort saying "I'm not sure if I'm going as a guest or a prisoner". Wallenberg never returned.

**A REPORT BY JOHN BIERMAN
PRODUCED BY ALAN PATIENT**

**A BBC TELEVISION
PRODUCTION
AVAILABLE FROM
BBC ENTERPRISES LTD
1x50 MINUTES (APPROX)**

This special 'Man Alive' report by John Bierman deals with the profound mystery surrounding Raoul Wallenberg's subsequent fate. At first the Russians told the Swedish Government that they had taken Wallenberg into protective custody for his own good. Then for 12 years the Russians denied any knowledge of the man. After persistent enquiries they admitted that Wallenberg had been their prisoner but that he had died of a heart attack in the Lubyanka prison in July 1947. But over the years numerous witnesses have testified to seeing him in other prisons after that date.

The Swedish Government has repeatedly challenged the Russian explanation since it was given 22 years ago. In recent years the affair has become an international concern with Wallenberg committees operating in many countries including America and Britain. Yet Russia still has not explained her contradictory versions of what happened to Wallenberg, nor produced any proof of his purported death. The question remains "Is this remarkable man still alive after 35 years in captivity?"

This powerful documentary is the first to be made on the subject. It includes unique interviews with Wallenberg's half-sister and half-brother; Per Anger, now Sweden's Ambassador to Canada and one of Wallenberg's helpers in Budapest; Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal who is investigating the Wallenberg mystery; several Jews who owe their lives to Wallenberg; eye-witness Avram Kalinski who says he saw Wallenberg in the Vladimir prison in 1959; and the daughter of Russian Jew Jan Kaplan - still a prisoner - who claims he saw Wallenberg as recently as 1975.



LONDON

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
1980-04-18 - ex t:
Fru Nina Lagergren
F justitierådet I Gärde-Widemar

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET



146

INKOM UD		
1980-04-08		
AVD.	GR.	MAL.
P	2	Ku

Brittisk reaktion efter TV-filmen om Wallenberg
\$ bilagor

Broder,

2 ✓
Tack för Ditt brev den 24 mars. En visning av Patients film på utbildningssektionen är verkligen en utmärkt idé.

Jag bifogar här dels en utskrift av John Biermans radio-program om Wallenberg, dels fotokopior av de många brev vi fått i anslutning till Wallenberg-programmen i brittiska radion och televisionen. Den röda tråden i dessa brev är den återkommande frågan "what can we do to help him get out of Russia". Man frågar om det finns Wallenberg-organisationer och om man kan lämna bidrag för den goda sakens skull. Några av breven är kritiska mot Sveriges agerande i Wallenberg-affären, och det talas om svensk "indifference and ineffectiveness".

Vi har besvarat breven så gott vi kan och hänvisat till den brittiska Wallenberg-kommittén.

J. Lagergren
A. Ch. Winter
D.M. Winter

gr

1980-03-25
Reumark, besv.

INFORMATION
AM 24 MRS 1980

21, Monmouth St.
CARDIFF
CF1 7SF

19/3/80

Dear Sir,

I wonder if you could tell me whether there is a Raoul Wallenberg
Society in Britain, and if so could you please send me
its name & address?

Yours sincerely,

Alex Hagan

(A.H. WGRAM.ES)

1980-03-26
Reumark, besv.

26
3

40, Brookfield,
5, Highgate West Hill,
LONDON, N6

The Ambassador,
The Swedish Embassy,
23, North Row,
LONDON, W1

25th March, 1980

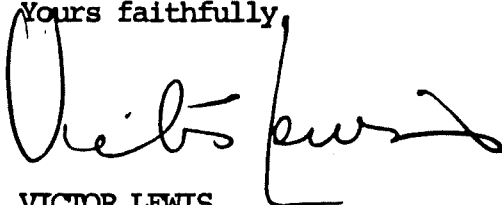
Your Excellency,

I was very distressed to see a recent television programme which told the story of Raoul Wallenberg.

It is incredible to think that this heroic man should still be in a Russian prison, so many years after the end of the War. I am writing to you because I would like to know whether there is anything which I, as an ordinary British citizen, can do, however insignificant, which might in some very minor way assist your Government in putting pressure on the Soviet Authorities to release this great man.

I look forward to your answer.

Yours faithfully,



VICTOR LEWIS

TEL: 021-777 5810

83. SMIRRELLS ROAD
HALL GREEN
BIRMINGHAM 28

26/3

21st March 80

The Swedish Ambassador,
Swedish Embassy,
London.

Rev. 26/3
W

Your Excellency,

Dear Sir

I, last night, watched on
television the wonderful story of
your great hero Raoul Wallenberg.

There is no way to express
my admiration other than to
write to you of this admiration.

I cannot thank Mr Wallenberg
for the inspiration I received but

as a representative of your country
I respectfully thank you.

Yours faithfully,
J. Wall (Mrs)

Press

15. Overy House, 28
Webster Row. 3
London. SE1.
24. 03. 80.

His Excellency
The Swedish Ambassador
to England.

1980-03-25
Reumark, besv.

Sir,

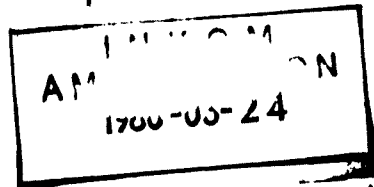
I regret the matter of the man Wallenberg,
and have today, sent orders to Moscow,
that he is to be returned to Sweden imme-
diately.

Owing to the attitude of the English
establishment who wish to bury their heads
in shame, for their past demeanours towards
my family, I am unaware of many of the
happenings in the Russias, and although
I still wield considerable power amongst
the Russian establishment, I am seldom called
upon to use it.

I trust, you will excuse me
for not knowing about the matter sooner,
and that he is restored to his family very
soon.

Yours sincerely
Gydw Alexander (A.I.)
Prince of the Russias,
The Tartar Prince.

P.2 EU



1980-03-25
Reunmark, best.

69 Chetwyn Avenue

Bromley Cross

Bolton BL7 9BW

Lancs

Monday 20 March 1980

Dear Sir,

I write after watching tonight's BBC 2 programme on Raoul Wallenberg to say 2 things.

1) I'm ashamed of my ignorance about such a man. I had heard of him before, but knew next to nothing of what he did.

I am a history teacher I will make sure my pupils know about such a hero.

2) If this doesn't seem too pretentious coming from an ordinary member of the public, I wish your government and people well in their efforts to find out what's happened

to him since 1945 - I hope you do find out.
It would be wonderful if he were still alive
after all this time in Soviet hands: even
better, if he could be released.

I'm sure you're very busy! - so please don't reply,
but good wishes in the quest for the truth.

Yours sincerely,

John Flood.

21st March 1980.
Friday.

1980-03-25
Reumark, besv.

From: Stuart Webster,
2. ORCHARD ROAD,
LEWES,
SUSSEX.

24
3

P9 Eu

TELECOM
AMEN LONDON
1980-03-24

TO THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

In this country the poet John Donne wrote "No man is an island" and also "do not send forth for whom the bell tolls: it tolls for you". No doubt in Sweden you have writers who have put the sentiment similarly. Therefore I must express my great admiration for Raoul Wallenberg. All the equivocations of politicians, all the fears of losing face of bureaucrats, all the cruelty of dictators can not stamp out the compassion and magnificent heroism of your countryman.

Stuart Webster.

1980-03-25/Reumark, besv.

25/3

- From: E. M. KENYON.
and Mrs M. S. KENYON.

21 March 1980.

Dear Mr. Ambassador

Subject. Mr Raoul Wallenberg.

My wife and I would like to
hear more about Mr. Wallenberg.
We should be pleased to know
if we can help in any way.

Having seen the T.V. programme last
night (Thursday 20 March B.B.C. 2)
we were very shocked and very
concerned about Mr. Wallenberg and
his family. What practical
help can we do to assist
in the release of this very
brave man? We know that

there are many others who are in
the same terrible plight.

Susanna and I look forward
to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Michael Kenyon.

1980-03-26
Reumark, besv.

INKOM
AMERIKAN
25 MRS 1980

29 Oldbury Orchard
Churchdown
Glos
20.3.80

Dear Sirs

I was under the impression until today that Swedes enjoyed an exceptionally high level of wealth and happiness, living well in a free country. Now I wonder.

Why does Sweden allow its most praiseworthy citizens to rot in Russian jails? Why is a man like Raoul Wallenberg allowed to be forgotten? Why hadn't I heard about him before he'd been locked away for 36 years, longer than I've been alive? Why hasn't he been given the Nobel prize for peace for his work before he was incarcerated? Why, why?

Do something

Now

M. Bryan

33 Selby Avenue
Nether Hall Estate
LEICESTER

26/3

25 March 1980

1980-03-27
Reumark, besv.

The Ambassador
The Swedish Embassy
North Row
LONDON

Dear Sir

Last week I watched B B Cs Man Alive programme and on Sunday evening I listened to Radio 4 and in both cases the programmes concerned a war time diplomat of yours Raoul Wallenberg. I do not feel the need to go into the details of the programmes as Wallenberg's heroism must be well known to you but should this brave man still be alive in Russian hands then surely after 35 years of guiltless captivity something must be done.

How ironic it was to watch I T Vs World in Action and see that the "land of the free" America who want to boycott the Olympics harbours so many Nazi war criminals whilst the poor but noble Wallenberg still possibly wastes in the hands of the Soviets.

As a private English citizen my voice is insignificant but Wallenberg must never be forgotten.

Yours faithfully

L Price

LEWIS PRICE

1980-03-27
Reumark, besv.

28/3

32 Perryfield Way,
Ham, Richmond,
Surrey. TW10 7SP.

21st. March 1980.

The Swedish Ambassador.

Dear Sir,

We watched this week's television programme about Raoul Wallenberg and were deeply moved by the story of this remarkable man. It is completely unacceptable that he should have suffered so much, and still be suffering, after his wonderful and heroic work during the war.

We would like to help any organisation to pressurise the Russians and secure Mr. Wallenburg's release from captivity. Could you please let us know of any such organisation to contact?

Thank you,
Yours sincerely,

Aubrey Marcus Frances Marcus.
Aubrey and Frances Marcus.

1980-03-27

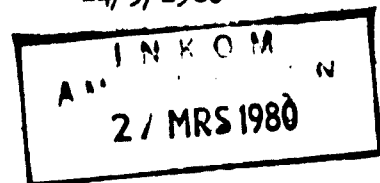
Reumark, besv o. brev vidarebefordrat

FLAT 9, 65 YORK ROAD, NEW BARNET, EN5 1LN

01-440 6081

24/3/1980

The Swedish Embassy,
29, Portland Place,
London W. 1.



*inkluderat
brev + £ 5*

Please be good enough to forward the enclosed to
the FREE WALLENBERG COMMITTEE. Thanking you⁺
in anticipation, I am

Yours faithfully,

Anna Stockdale

(Mes. Anna Stockdale)

1980-03-25
Reumark, besv.

25/3
13 Belvoir Crescent
Penny Lodge
Blantyre
Glasgow
G75 9LZ

20th March 1980

Dear Sir

It was with a great degree of sadness and a mixture of anger and shame that I witnessed on either of BBC Television's "Man Alive" devoted to the life and works of Raoul Wallenberg. His saving was the first occasion on which I had heard of this brave man's exploits in saving the lives of 100,000 human beings in Hungary in 1944/45.

As a person who is of the post-war generation I was ashamed that the Jews were so treated without the aid or intervention of "civilised" countries. Raoul Wallenberg's achievement is the more outstanding on account of his courage in threatening, painful even from a position of apparent weakness. He must have been a man of wonderful character. To have such a man as a contemporary must, indeed, be an honour.

However my sadness and shame spoke to insignificance in the light of the charge I felt at the callous treatment shown to this great human by the Soviet Govt. and by the indifference or ineffectiveness of the Swedish Government's interventions on Wallenberg's behalf.

While the moral failure of recent Swedish Governments is not a topic which can be cited as a comparison, I feel sure that were Raoul Wallenberg a U.K. citizen more intensive efforts would have been made to ascertain his whereabouts and indeed his release.

I pray that the publicity generated by the programme will increase the momentum of the campaign, worldwide, to ascertain the fate of this modern day hero and if alive obtain his immediate release.

Can I have your assurance that the Swedish Government will increase its efforts to this end?

Yours
Ken Davis

1980-03-25
Reumark, besv.

25/3

A. Goldman

284, Finchley Rd.,
Hampstead,
London, NW3 7AD

24th March, 1980.

The Swedish Embassy,
23 North Row,
London, W.1.

FOR THE ATTENTION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR

Sir,

No doubt you are familiar with the case of 'Raoul Wallenberg' after broadcasts on BBC 2 and on Radio 4 and articles in newspapers. I, as an ordinary bystander, am deeply moved. As a Neutral, Raoul Wallenberg was sent by his government to Budapest to work for refugee relief. Everybody acknowledged him as a true diplomat who sacrificed himself for others. It has been established that he is still alive. What I cannot understand is, that -although everybody praises him and speaks highly of him- nobody has come forward to say what will be done about it. Your Government let the case drag on and on. I always thought that a Swedish subject had the protection of his government. Your Government means to say that one life is not so important to them as to sever relationship with Russia. Surely Sweden has trade relations with Russia. In other cases pressure has been applied which proved to be successful. If Sweden cannot put up this pressure, surely they can unite with other countries in order to strengthen their demand: "we demand the release and return of our diplomat Raoul Wallenberg or else". What is it good to give him a Nobel prize. Should it happen that he dies now, will you erect a memorial in his honour and proclaim him a Saint?

Yours faithfully,

A. Goldman

1980-03-28
Reumark, besv.

3 fountain Terrace 28/3
brook Street
Great Bardfield
Braintree
Essex.

26.3.80

His Excellency the Ambassador of Sweden.
Swedish Embassy.
London.

Dear Sir, I was most concerned to learn of the probable plight of Raoul Wallenberg, Citizen of Sweden and prisoner of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I have written to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, urging him to release Mr Wallenberg on humanitarian grounds. If there is anything I can do to help bring about his release please advise me.

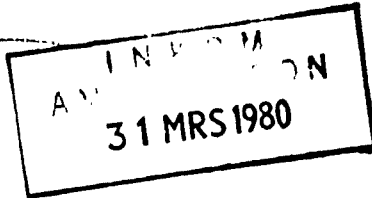
Yours faithfully

Peto Lyson

1980-04-01
Reumark, besv.

John Lind
55 King street
Arundel
West Sussex
BN 18 9 BN
Tel: Arundel 883021

The Swedish Embassy,
23 North road,
London W.I.



March 27th 1980.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I was very moved by the BBC 'Man Alive' T.V.
production viewed recently about your great hero Raoul Wallenberg.

Please would you advise me who I should contact
for a photograph of Raoul Wallenberg so that I may place a candle
in front of it and pray for justice.

Furthermore , if there is a Raoul Wallenberg fund
I and my wife shall be happy to send a small contribution.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

John R. Lind.

1980-04-01
Reumark, besv.

25.3.80

31 MRS 1980

58 St. Peters Street
South Croydon
CR2 7DE.

Dear Sir -

I am so disturbed to hear the radio programme of the story of Raoul Wallenberg that I was forced to write this letter to ask if the action previously taken by your authorities has been sufficient.

This is not motivated by any Jewish or Swedish contacts; merely that I find it appalling for want of a better word, that a possibility exists that a brave person such as he, has been imprisoned all these years for the lack of forceful enquiries from your government.

Surely, at the very least, this is owed to his family, who, one gathers, gives no credence to the document which was offered as an authentic death certificate.

This acceptance of the situation regarding a member of your diplomatic staff both surprises and puzzles me as I dare say it did for other people who heard the broadcast. I just cannot understand that your government has allowed all this time to pass when this strong doubt exists. May I respectfully ask that positive action be taken now.

Yours faithfully,
(Miss) K. Richardson.

'ASHCROFT' LARCH CLOSE, KINGSWOOD, SURREY.

MOGADOR 3281

27th March 1980

1980-04-01
Reumark, besv.

1/4

The Swedish Ambassador
to the United Kingdom,

Dear Sir,

After seeing the BBC TV documentary on the Swedish Diplomat MR RAOUL WAHLBERG, I felt compelled to write to you. I was shocked by the horrific story of this unique human being and appalled to learn that after 35 years, his true fate is still unknown.

May I most respectfully implore you to urge your government to exert all its power in rectifying this intolerable injustice, to one of Sweden's greatest sons.

With the deepest concern, I remain,
yours faithfully,

Sheila R. Sammonds. (Mrs)

1980-04-02
Reumark, besv.

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY CULTURAL DEPARTMENT	
Ank. 24	
Bet.	Dnr

92, Burton Road,
Derby.

March 29th 1980

Dear Sir,

After watching the television documentary concerning the noble work done by Raoul Wallenberg in the last war, I would be grateful if you could put me in touch with the organisation working for his release in Sweden.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,
Moira Flannett (Mrs.)

1980-04-02
Reumark, besv.

60, Silver Street,
Enfield,
Middlesex. EN1 3EP.

29. 3. 80.

2/4

The Swedish Ambassador,
Swedish Embassy,
London.

Dear Sir,

re: Raoul Wallenberg.

I was deeply distressed to learn the fate of this man from the B.B.C. programme "Man Alive". I had never before heard of him. I am a member of Anti-Apartheid and of the British Communist Party and I do not write about him because I am also a Jewess, but because, on

that account, I must feel a special and solemn obligation towards him. I only regret I knew nothing of him till now.

I wrote to thank your Chilean ambassador at the time of the Chilean junta 'take-over' for his humane act in helping as many as he was able by opening his Embassy to refugees. I know you are a humane country.

Please will you go on trying to discover if this man is still alive - and if not, who killed him and why. And if he is alive, to rescue him. Is there anything that an ordinary person such as myself can do to help?
Yours sincerely, Dorothy Grey.

*Amberline, AL
draft 210*

**SPEDEX
MONITORING
SERVICES**

Radio & TV Monitoring

Name MR. WINTER, PRESS COUNSELLOR
Address ROYAL EMBASSY OF SWEDEN
.....

Title PM PROGRAMME
Station BBC RADIO FOUR **Time** 1700BST **Date** 19.3.1980

A VERBATIM REPORT OF

JOHN BIERMAN'S REPORT ON WALLENBURG -
.....
.....
.....
.....

51 South Molton Street, London W.1 Telephone 01-629 5032 TELEX - 27932 - SPEDEX

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- P.M. PROGRAMME

BBC RADIO FOUR

1700 HOURS BST

MARCH 19 1980

PRESENTER:

There are those who tell us
that it's time the British
finally got rid of its

PRESENTER (CONT.):

pre-occupation with what happened in the Second World War.

It would be easier to do, were it not for the unresolved mysteries of that period, which keep cropping up every now and again.

One of the greatest of these mysteries is what's called "the Wallenberg affair". It's thirty-five years old, this mystery; yet nevertheless, in May, an international panel in Stockholm will be making yet another attempt to solve it.

The panel, ten people, will include two British MPs,

PRESENTER (CONT.):

Mr. Winston Churchill, and
Mr. Greville Janner, as well
as Mr. Simon Wiesenthal, the hunter
of nazi war criminals.

Some of the evidence to be
heard by that committee is
being previewed in a re-
markable edition of BBC 2's
Man Alive programme tomorrow.
It's called - Missing Hero.

Most of the research and the
interviews for the programme
was carried out by John Bierman,
a reporter who now operates from
Tel Aviv. He was in London
recently and he told me how in 1944
in a rather belated attempt to
say what was left of the European
Jews, President Roosevelt set up
an organization called the War
Refugee Board.

This board invited Raoul Wallenberg,
an eminent business man from
a very distinguished Swedish

PRESENTER (CONT.):

family, to become one of
a number of delegates sent
to neutral countries to set
up missions of mercy.

In fact Wallenberg went to
Hungary, with a diplomatic
cover of first Secretary to
the Swedish Legation in
Budapest.

JOHN BIERMAN:

By the time he got to Budapest,
which was in July, 1944, Adolf
Eikman the gestapo expert in
deportations sometimes somewhat
luridly, but nonetheless accurately
known as the great forwarding
agent of death, had already ex-
terminated the entire provincial jewish
population of the Hungarian provinces,
something like half a million
people had been sent to Auschwitz.
By the time Wallenburg arrived
only the Jews of Budapest were
left, about quarter of a million
of them, and they were in a state

JOHN BIERMAN (CONT.):

of some terror because the deportations were known to be about to begin in Budapest itself.

PRESENTER:

Hungary at that time was normally under the control of the regent Admiral Haughty.

Whilst an ally of Hitler, he was not himself eager to have the jews of Hungary exterminated. He was even less eager when after appeals by the Pope and the International Red Cross, Roosevelt said if ex-terminations were carried out then Haughty would be held personally responsible at the end of the war, which by then it was clear the allies would win.

Haughty ordered the ceasation of deportations, tried to establish contact with the advancing Russians, and the Germans found out. He was overthrown executed and the Hugarian

PRESENTER (CONT.):

Nazis. The Arrow Cross was put into power.

The deportation started all over again. The Jews of Budapest were made to walk one hundred and twenty miles in the terrible winter of 1944, to the border with Austria. There to be packed on trains.

JOHN BIERMAN:

This was when Wallenberg came into his own, and began to perform amazing feats of rescue. Going himself on the road to Heiganshir (phonetic) to the Austrian border. Actually taking women, children, old men out of this pathetic column of people marching to their death, many of them falling by the way-side those of them who couldn't get up getting sharp whipped, kicked to death or just merely dying of cold and hunger.

JOHN BIERMAN (CONT.):

He saved several hundred people
from those marches alone.

PRESENTER:

And he did by the simple expediant of issuing the marchers with special protective Swedish passports.

No one knows just how many he saved, certainly some thirty thousand jews. Perhaps more than a hundred thousand.

Some are still alive today, like Annette Lantos (phonetic), who now lives in California. She was saved by Wallenberg, so was her husband. They had never forgotten.

ANNETTE LANTOS:

For many many years we have been telling the legend of this great man, this Moses from the North.

MR. LANTOS:

He's what we call in our
tradition, the righteous
man, a christian who risked
his life to save jewish lives.

ANNETTE LANTOS:

Every little unknown jew
could go to him and say
litterally my brother was
caught on the street, or
my sister or whoever, and
he would surely go and risk
his life and go the house and
try to get the man out.

PRESENTER:

The present Director General of
the Israeli Broadcasting
Service is Mr. Tommy Lapid (phonetic).
Though a child of twelve then
he recalls that the two things
that kept the jews in the Swedish
protected areas of Budapest, going
at the time of the Arrow Cross
was the BBC and Wallenberg.

MR. LAPID:

One morning a group of these Hungarian fascists came into the house where we were staying with the Swedish flag, and said that all able bodied women had to come immediately. Because there were no abled bodied married jews left anywhere in Hungary.

And we knew what this meant, and my mother kissed me, and I cried and she cried and we knew that we were parting probably for ever. And she left me there an orphan for practice purposes.

And they left, and I don't remember exactly whether two or three hours passed and my mother returned, with another woman. It was a mirage, it was a miracle. The mother was there and she was alive and she was crying and hugging and kissing me. And she said Wallenberg. And I knew what it meant, because Wallenberg was a legend.

PRESENTER:

What had happened apparently was that Wallenberg came across this particular column as it started it's march towards Austria.

Though alone he got out of his car and told the Hungarian Nazi guards that the people, were some of anyhow under his protection. He argued he threatened, the nazis could have shot him down few would have known. But somehow Wallenberg with sheer force of personality got away with it.

Subsequently the Russians arrived in the city. They took Wallenberg into custody.

John Bierman takes up the story.

JOHN BIERMAN:

He was last seen as a free man on January 17th 1945, just after the Russians siezed the Eastern part of Budapest. Where he was operating.

JOHN BIERMAN (CONT.):

They took him away, and he
has not been seen again as I
say, as a free man since.

At first the Russian said -
it's alright he's under our
protection he's perfectly
safe. And then there was a
long silence.

PRESENTER:

Sweden was worried so was
Roosevelt. Protests were
made, requests for information.
Then the Russians decided they
didn't have Wallenberg at all.
They never had had him. Perhaps
had he been in the country in the
first place, he'd been killed by
the Hungarian fascists, or by robbers.

And, then twelve years later they
changed their story again.

JOHN BIERMAN:

Suddenly, quite incredibly in 1957,
that is to say twelve years after

JOHN BIERMAN (CONT.):

the disappearance of Wallenberg, Mr. Andre Gromyko, who was then the Soviet Deputy Foreign Secretary, suddenly announced that yes, there had been a mistake. That in fact Wallenberg had been a prisoner in Russian hands, but he had unfortunately, he had died ten years previously in 1947, of a heart attack in the Lubjanka prison.

But the story completely lacked credibility, there was absolutely no supporting documentary evidence of this strange assertion. And the Swedes didn't believe it, and neither did anybody else connected with the case.

And indeed by this time many German, Austrian and Italian prisoners of war, who had been released, but who had been in Russian prison camps, went to the Swedish government with tales of either having seen and having spoken to Wallenberg, or having received messages from him tapped on the cell wall in morse code or up water pipes, the usual

JOHN BIERMAN (CONT.):

way that prisoners communicate with each other, and so the inquiries and the protests went on, and the Russians stuck to their story, and through the years between that time and this, there have been extraordinary reports of sightings of him, many of them second hand, unfortunately.

But there is a disturbing amount of evidence to suggest that Raoul Wallenberg may, and I say MAY, and it's a big may, but may still be alive to this day.

PRESENTER:

One such sighting was made by Abram Kelinski (phonetic) a Polish jew who now lives in Israel.

ABRAM KELINSKI (English translation):

I saw him from the window and before that I'd already seen him in the Vadzimir (phonetic), no the Huveisk prison (phonetic), between fifty-one

ABRAM KELINSKI (CONT.):

and fifty-three. I met him on the way to the bath, I saw him during walks, and former cell mates of Wallenberg came to me and pointed out that this was Wallenberg, that same Swede that saved Jews, and who was inside for alleged espionage.

PRESENTER:

The convicted British spy Greville Win (phonetic) relates that in 1963 in the Lubjanka prison in Moscow, he heard a prisoner call out - taxi! Taxi! in English, he shouted out are you English? No came the reply I'm a Swede.

Win says he was bundled away by guards before further conversation could take place.

More substantial evidence comes from Yan Kaplin (phonetic) a Russian Jew in prison in Moscow. On release he phoned his daughter in Tel Aviv, and said he'd met a Swedish diplomat in prison in 1975, five years ago.

PRESENTER (CONT.):

John Bierman:-

JOHN BIERMAN:

Not long after this phone call he tried to smuggle a letter out to his daughter, giving more detail and actually naming this prisoner and saying who he was; Wallenberg. But the courier to whom he gave the letter, this was a tourist who was leaving, his luggage was searched at the airport, the letter was found and taken off him and the KGB came back and put Kaplin back in prison.

Later told Kaplin's wife the reason why he had been put back in was for spreading lies about Wallenberg, and there at the moment the matter rests.

PRESENTER:

There's lots more stories of sightings. Let me give you just one more.

In 1961 a Swedish physician Dr.

PRESENTER (CONT.):

Nona Swatz (phonetic) went to Moscow for a medical conference. In conversation with a Russian colleague Prof. Niashnekov (phonetic) she mentioned the Wallenberg case.

The professor then said he'd seen Wallenberg quite recently in a mental hospital in Russia. Dr. Swatz immediately sought official permission to visit the hospital, but was refused.

On her return to Sweden she told the authorities her story. They asked for information from Moscow. The Soviets replied; the good doctor must have misunderstood, it was easy to do, after all they were conversing in a third language; German.

Sometime later the Professor and the doctor met again. About that Wallenberg conversation, said the professor, I was sent for personally by Khrushchev, and reprimanded very firmly.

This then is the kind of evidence

PRESENTER (CONT.):

that that International pannel
is going to sift when it meets
in Stockholm in May.

(Ends.)

Avsändningsort

Kr Nilsson, UM:s kansli
(utskrift kops kansli/GO)

EN CLAIR-TELEGRAM

Datum
1980-04-08

Dnr 315

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Ku

Ärende

Wallenberg-
ärendet

Pol

Ex till Eva Wibäck, press

Adress

SVENSK
WASHINGTON

Text

Nr. 315. ✓ Ert 544. Bergquist från L-Å Nilsson.
Re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Den 31 januari i år frisläppte departementet dossiern
för åren 1944 till och med 1949. Det rör sig sålunda
inte om någon vitbok, utan snarare om fotokopior -
samlade i sju volymer - ur dossiern.

En uppsättning av dessa sju volymer flygpostar vi
till Dig.

CABINET

Dep Ubk 3230. 1975-05. 10 000 ex

Er Carlsson Varberg 751218

Ifylles av telegramexpeditören

Avskrift den

Klockan

Sign

1980-04-08 16:34

[Signature]

SVENSK WASHINGTON

KNR 30

1980-0409

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CABINET STOCKHOLM

PRESS

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[Signature]

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568. FOER PRESS- OCH INFORMATIONSENHETEN FRAAN ULVENSTAM
RE WALLENBERG-HEARINGEN I STOCKHOLMS FOLKETS HUS 2-4 MAJ 1980

*Heus
Lundberg*

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NAERMARE AEN SR ATT BESVARA:

P R I M O. SKER HEARINGEN GENOMGAAENDE PAA ENGELSKA ELLER I
ANNAT FALL: TOLKAS TILL ENGELSKA?

S E C U N D O. ORDNAS EN QUOTE POOL FEED UNQUOTE, SOM NAERVARANDE
RADIOREPORTRAR KONTINUERLIGT KAN AVLYSSNA OCH OMGAAENDE BEGAERA

SEKVENSER UR?

T E R T I O. AENNU BAETTRE: A L F A. KAN NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO
FAA EN LEDNING TILL ETT EGET AVSKILT BAAS, SAA ATT DE KAN TA UPP
HELA BRUTTOMATERIALET OCH SEDAN I LUGN OCH RO REDIGERA DETTA?
B E T A. ELLER MAASTE SR ORDNA DE TEKNISKA FACILITETERNA, SAA
VIDA DE NU ERBJUDER PUBLIC BROADCASTING SIN ASSISTENS?

VAENLIGEN TELEGRAMSVARA

KOPIA: HOEKBY

a. n. H

MACHTMEISTER

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

AA

Ärende:

Kopia till:

Kabs

Bitr Kabs

Polch

Pol

UHD

L.A. Nilsson

Ärend: (se regler på blankettkopia)

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

[REDACTED] svensk Canberra

1980-04-17

A	Z	86
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Svensk Canberra

1980-04-09 .

Cabinet Stockholm

Lars-Ake Nilsson från Ölander

Re. Wallenbergärendet

Australiska utrikesdepartementets konsulära avdelning igår meddelat man haft kontakt med David Rosenschweig. Denne är dock icke villig tala om sin tid i Sovjetunionen eller träffa företrädare för ambassaden, inte ens indirekt via utrikesdepartementet. Även om vi skulle kunna spåra honom, synes inget positivt därmed kunna uppnås.

Hedström

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Ärende:

Kopia till:

Kabs
Bitr Kabs
Polch
Pol
UHD

L. A. Nilsson

Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia)

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
[REDACTED] svensk Moskva 1980-04-17

P 2 EU

SVENSK MOSKVA

1980-04-09

CABINET STOCKHOLM

FOER L-AA NILSSON FRAAN LUNDAVIK RE WALLENBERG.

P R I M O. EFTER ATERKOMST FRAAN SEMESTER HAR JAG KONTAKTAT
BRITTERN OCH AUSTRALIERN. DE AV PYPE NAMNGIVNA PERSONERNA
AER KAENDA PAA RESPEKTIVE AMBASSADER OCH NUMERA FRIGIVNA.

S E C U N D O. BRITTERN SAEGER SIG INTE HA ADRESSUPPGIFTER
HAER UTAN HAR VAENT SIG TILL FCO MED BEGAERAN ATT UNDERSOEKA
OCH KONTAKTA AMBASSADEN I LONDON. SAA VITT MIN INTERLOKUTOER
MINDES HADE EN KONSULAER TJAENSTEMAN FAKTISKT FAATT RESA TILL
MORDVINIEN FOER SAMTAL MED FAANGARNA, MEN AEVEN DENNA TJAENSTE-
MAN BEFINNER SIG NUMERA I LONDON.

T E R T I O. ROSENZWEIG HADE FRIGIVITS I HOESTAS OCH OEVER-
LAEMNATS TILL SIN AMBASSAD HAER F.V.B. HEM. HAN HADE HOERTS
OM SINA UPPLEVELSER I LAEGRET MEN ICKE NAEMNT WALLENBERG.
HAN HADE UNDER STRAFTTIDEN HAFT REGELBUNDEN KONTAKT MED
AMBASSADEN MEN ALLTID FOERTS TILL MOSKVA FOER DETTA AENDAMAAL.
EN ANNAN AUSTRALIER VID NAMN PETER CHITTS HADE AEVEN FUNNITS
I LAEGRET VID DENNA TID.

Q U A R T O. MED IRRITATION OEVER MIN EGEN GLOEMSKA AATERFIN-
NER JAG WALTHER HAEFELIN I LAIMONS NIEDRES PROMEMORIA 195 U

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET	Ärende:
Kopio till: Kabs Bitr Kabs Polch Pol UHD	Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopier)

- 2 -

1979-09-20. DE DAER NAEMNDA AMERIKANERNA FOEREKOMMER LIKALEDES
 I PYPES UTSAGO. HAR DE HOERTS ELLER SKALL JAG KONTAKTA AMRIS
 HAER?

DE GEER

Handläggare: Kr L-Å Nilsson,
Utr.min:s kansli
Utskrift: kabs kansli/GO

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Mål
1980-04-09	73	P 2	Eu I

Ink+avg t amb Moskva
Tel Aviv

Ambassadrådet Bergquist

WASHINGTON

U. n.

FÖRTROLIGT

p 2 Eu I slå
Wallenberg-ärendet
hbr Bergquist-Nilsson 1980-04-01

Broder,

Med ovan citerade handbrev har Du vidarebefordrat en del material vilket Olle Tunberg i Los Angeles tillställts från Mark Seidenberg.

Min enda sakliga kommentar är att underställa Dig förslaget att Du ber Tunberg upplysa Seidenberg om att Garcia inte längre kan räknas som ett seriöst vittne i Wallenberg-ärendet. Som Du vet har medfångar till Garcia inte kunnat styrka dennes sensationella uppgift om att Raoul Wallenberg så sent som 1977 skulle ha hållits fängslad i lägret 385/5 i Mordvinien (jämför Seidenbergs brev 1980-03-23 till Ms. Bonnie D. Hahn). Jag är rädd för att utan ett tillrättaläggande från Tunberg kommer Seidenberg att bidra till att Garcias uppgifter ingår som en del i mytbildningen om Wallenberg.

Avraham Shifrins papper 1980-02-17 har vi tidigare tillställts genom Tel Aviv-ambassaden (hbr Wilkens-Nilsson 1980-02-20, numrerad delgivning 42 till Washington).

I övrigt kan väl sägas att Seidenbergs material främst har kuriositetsintresse.

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsänd med

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☐ utl kurlr

☐ luftpost

☐ vanlig post

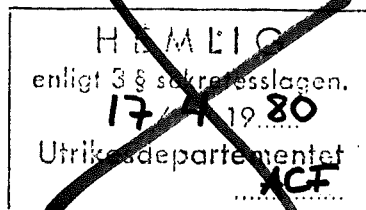
Avsändningsdatum

Sign

1980-04-02

Utr min kansli/kr
 Nilsson/ACF
 Åtg: Ö t amb Per
 Anger, Wallenberg
 kommittén för direkt
 besvarande till amb
 Lind, London

exp 800417
 /ACF



Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

147

INKOM UD		
1980-04-11		
AVD.	GR.	MAL.
P	2	Ku



FÖRTROLIGT

Raoul Wallenberg

Broder,

Jag uppsöktes idag av den sedan många år i England bosatta svenskfödda konstnärinnan Ann Bergson-Romyn (syster till Marit Gentele) och hennes man Conrad Romyn, även han konstnär. De är båda involverade i Wallenberg-aktionen här och av allt att döma god vän med Nina Lagergren och Ingrid Gärde Widemar.

De åtföljdes av en Mr John Gouriet, f.d. officer och ledare för den enligt vad jag har fått höra starkt högerorienterade organisationen "Campaign Against Soviet Oppression". Gouriet blev känd när han tillsammans med unge Winston Churchill för några år sedan tog initiativet till det omdiskuterade Katyn-monumentet på den polska kyrkogården i London.

Paret Romyn och Mr Gouriet sade sig vara bekymrade över sammansättningen av den brittiska Wallenberg-kommittén och förklarade att såväl labour-MP:n Greville Janner som kommitté sekreterare, Financial Times-redaktören Maurice Samuelson, voro högst olämpliga personer i Wallenberg-sammanhang. De påstod att Janner/Samuelson gick israeliska regeringens och judiska organisationers ärenden och att deras verksamhet i Wallenberg-kommittén var "präglad av antisvenska känslor". Gouriet karaktäriserade Janner och Samuelson som "notorious left-wingers as most of the British press" och antydde till min häpnad möjligheten av en "marxistisk konspiration för att tysta ned opinionen".

När detta var sagt kom Gouriet till sitt egentliga ärende: Han har, sade han, för avsikt att bli Wallenbergs "banérförare i England och internationellt". Hans "Campaign Against Soviet Oppression" skulle i en ny Wallenberg-aktion "väcka

världssamvetet och inte ge sig förrän ryssarna släppt Wallenberg". Förutsättningen för allt detta vore dock ett officiellt svenskt erkännande av hans insats. Han begärde därpå att hans förslag om ett "formellt svenskt stöd" skulle framföras till svenska regeringen. Det gällde ju, sade Gouriets, att "tvätta bort en fläck ur svenska flaggan".

Jag svarade att jag skulle informera min ambassadör om besöket och vidarebefordra såväl klagomålen som önskemålen till departementet.

Innan Romyns och Gouriets gick, berättade de att den brittiska stiftelsen "Ross McWhirter-Foundation" avsåg att utdela sin "Annual Award for Great Merits" till Raoul Wallenberg vid en ceremoni den 30 april, till vilken också Sveriges ambassadör kommer att inbjudas. Ross McWhirter var en känd publicist och förläggare samt redaktör för "The Guinness Book of Records", som mördades av IRA 1975. I styrelsen sitter lorderna Harris och Boyle samt RAF-hjälten Douglas Bader och Oxford-professorn i historia Max Beloff. Även förre Stockholmsambassadören Lord Hankey, som en gång tjänstgjorde i Budapest, skall övervara utdelningen av priset, £500, som skall överlämnas till Wallenberg-kommittén i Stockholm.

Jag vore tacksam om Du kunde låta mig veta hur vi skall besvara Mr Gouriets anklagelser mot Janner/Samuelson och hans begäran om ett svenskt stöd till "Campaign Against Soviet Oppression".

Hjälligtur L. Ljung

W. L. Ljung

D.M. Winter

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Artikel i L'Express om Raoul Wallenberg
(1 bil)

Bifogade artikel fanns införd i L'Express för
den 5 april.


Lars-Åke Nilsson

Document

Le Juste de Budapest

par Jacques Derogy

Le prochain prix Nobel de la Paix sera-t-il attribué à un héros disparu, le diplomate suédois Raoul Wallenberg ? Plus de cent députés britanniques le souhaitent.

La B.b.c. lui a consacré, la semaine dernière, un long reportage.

Wallenberg a sauvé 30 000 Juifs hongrois pendant la guerre. Le 17 janvier 1945, à 32 ans, il va à la rencontre de l'Armée rouge. Aucun de ses compagnons ne le reverra. A-t-il été victime des nazis en déroute, comme les Soviétiques l'ont d'abord affirmé ?

Est-il mort dans une prison en U.R.S.S., comme les Russes l'ont soutenu par la suite ?

Vit-il encore, comme le prétendent aujourd'hui des anciens du goulag ?

Dans ce cas, quels secrets inavouables se dissimulent derrière la détention de Wallenberg ?

Grâce à un dossier de 7 000 documents et à une enquête de Fred Kupferman et Ariane Misrachi, Jacques Derogy a reconstitué « Le Cas Wallenberg », à paraître le 15 avril aux éditions Ramsay.



Les recherches connaissent un rebondissement spectaculaire vers la fin de 1978, avec le témoignage d'Abraham Kalinski, un des rares capitaines juifs de l'armée polonaise, agent de liaison auprès du ministère soviétique de la Défense pendant la guerre. Arrêté à Moscou en 1944 par le N.k.v.d., il a passé quinze ans dans les prisons soviétiques. Il est arrivé en Israël en 1976. Il s'est installé à Naharya, station balnéaire proche de la frontière libanaise. Il n'a pris conscience de l'importance de l'affaire Wallenberg qu'à la lecture d'une déclaration récente du célèbre chasseur de nazis Simon Wiesenthal sur le cas du diplomate suédois disparu. Or, ce nom de Wallenberg ne lui est pas inconnu.

Kalinski en a entendu parler pour la première fois en 1951 ou en 1952 par son nouveau compagnon de cellule

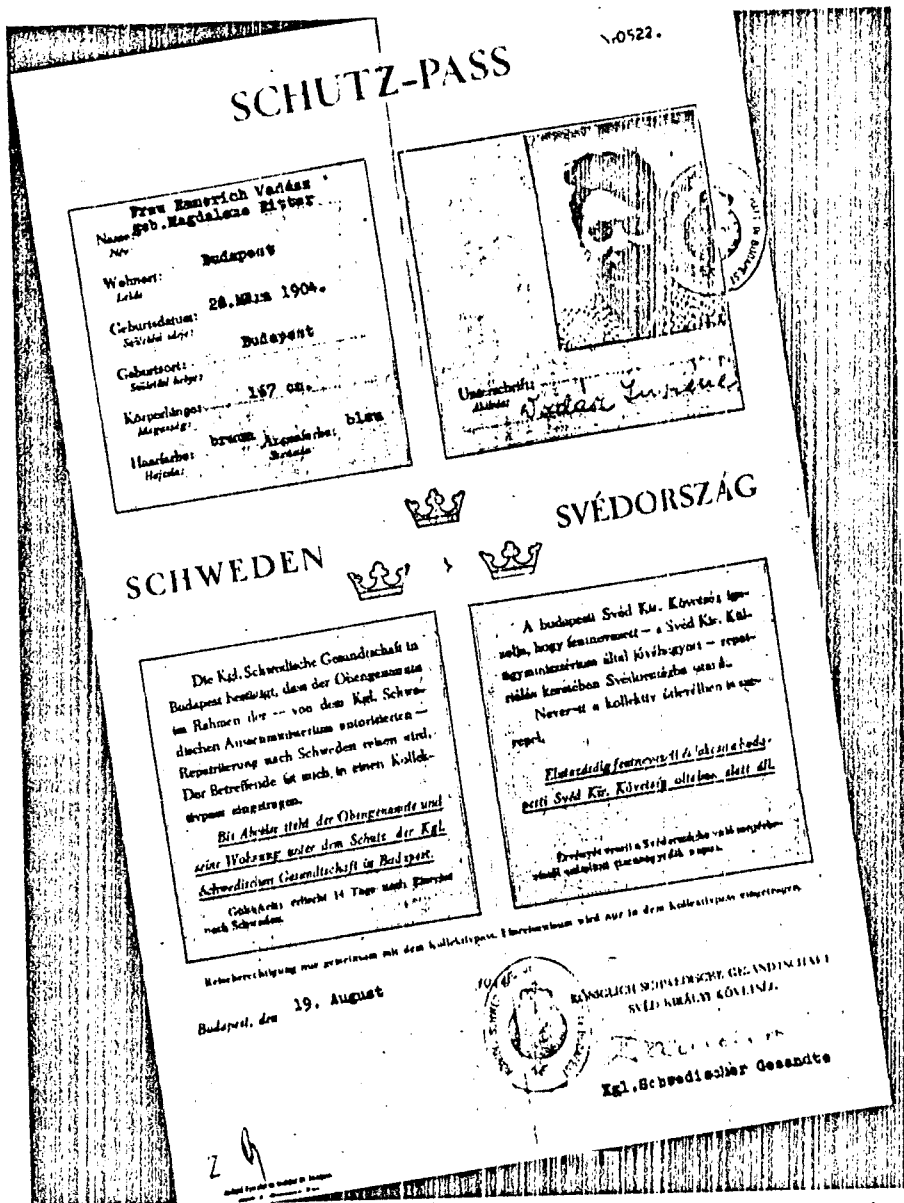


13 février 1945 : après deux mois de siège, les Soviétiques sont maîtres de Budapest.

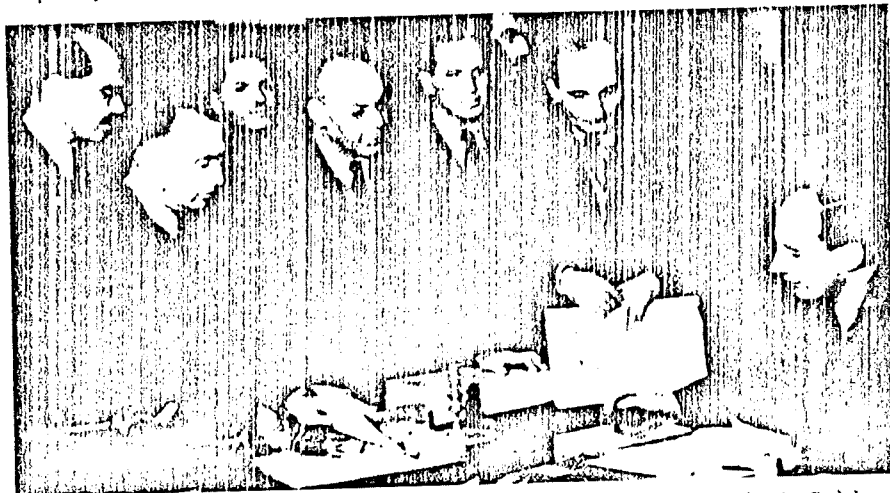


Le diplomate suédois Raoul Wallenberg à Budapest, le 26 novembre 1944.

WALLENBERG



Le passeport de protection suédois créé par Wallenberg pour les Juifs hongrois.



Wallenberg et ses collaborateurs de la section C à la Légation royale de Suède.

à la prison de Vicerhnei Ouralsk, près de Tchéliabinsk : « Un établissement de luxe pour détenus politiques », dit-il. Ce prisonnier était décrit comme « un Suédois noble et naïf qui ne comprenait pas pourquoi il était condamné comme espion ». Le compagnon de Kalinski a pu le voir de ses propres yeux, ajoute-t-il, lors d'un transfert collectif des prisonniers politiques à la prison centrale d'Alexandrovski, près d'Irkoutsk (Sibérie). C'était après la mort de Staline, en 1953, et il fallait faire de la place pour les collaborateurs tombés en disgrâce de Lavrenti Beria, le ministre de l'Intérieur. Le Suédois portait une veste mate assée brune. Il s'est engouffré dans un wagon de marchandises. Il aurait séjourné à Alexandrovski jusqu'en 1955, puis aurait été transféré à Vladimir. Kalinski y occupait déjà la cellule 21 du bloc n° 2. Il apprend bientôt, par un codétenu géorgien, Simon Gogoberidzé, que Wallenberg se trouve dans la cellule 23. Il prétend l'avoir aperçu un jour, par une fenêtre, dans la cour de promenade, en compagnie d'un ancien collaborateur de Beria, Maloumov, et de l'ancien secrétaire du Comité central de Géorgie, Charia. C'était le 29 octobre 1959.

Libéré ce jour-là, Kalinski a l'occasion de revoir à Tbilissi son ancien compagnon de cellule Gogoberidzé, élargi seulement en 1967. Ce dernier lui affirme que Wallenberg est toujours détenu à Vladimir quand il quitte la prison.

De passage à New York, le 20 décembre 1978, Kalinski confirme sa déposition devant deux hauts fonctionnaires du ministère suédois des Affaires étrangères. Il y ajoute une pièce à conviction : une carte postale qu'il a envoyée de Vladimir en 1959 à sa sœur déjà installée à Haïfa. Kalinski y écrit en yiddish cette phrase destinée à tromper la censure : « Ai rencontré un Suédois qui a sauvé des Juifs de Roumanie. » Sur ces entrefaites, il entend parler, à Detroit, d'une Juive d'U.R.S.S. immigrée en Israël dont le père, Jan Kaplan, vient de purger trois ans de prison à Boutyrki, de 1974 à 1977. A l'infirmerie, Kaplan y aurait rencontré, en 1975, un Suédois emprisonné depuis trente ans.

Pourquoi Kalinski croit-il qu'il s'agisse de Wallenberg ? Parce qu'il n'y a, à sa connaissance, qu'un autre Suédois détenu en U.R.S.S., Erik Andersson. Et celui-ci est fou : il l'a aussi rencontré. De plus, on survit mieux en prison que dans un camp.

Le 3 janvier 1979, le gouvernement suédois alerte les autorités soviétiques

sur l'existence d'un fait nouveau. Entre-temps, Kalinski, de retour en Israël, rencontre la fille de Kaplan, le Dr Anna Bilder, dont il a obtenu l'adresse par ses cousins de Detroit. C'est une grande jeune femme brune qui tient depuis six ans un cabinet de dentiste à Jaffa. Kalinski la met en rapport avec l'ambassade de Suède à Tel-Aviv.

Le Dr Bilder raconte qu'elle a reçu de Moscou un premier appel téléphonique de son père, en octobre 1977, à sa sortie de prison. Il avait été condamné en 1974 à huit ans de détention pour un prétendu trafic de diamants. En fait, on a voulu le punir d'avoir demandé un visa de sortie pour Israël. Souffrant de l'estomac et du foie, il a été incarcéré à l'infirmerie de Boutyrki. Puis il bénéficie d'une grâce médicale. Sa conversation téléphonique est bien celle qui a été rapportée à Kalinski. Anna Bilder a été relâchée par son père, le soir du réveil de fin d'année. Jan Kaplan lui a demandé si « elle avait bien compris pour le Suédois ». Ignorant de qui il s'agissait, l'allusion ne l'a pas frappée jusqu'à la correspondance échangée avec ses cousins d'Amérique.

**« Ma chère Anna.
J'ai été convoquée
à la Loubianka.
Ton père est en prison
depuis un an et demi.
J'ai perdu tout espoir... »**

En juillet 1979, Anna Bilder reçoit, par des voies détournées, une lettre clandestine de sa mère, Evguenia Kaplan, datée du 14 juin. Elle y apprend que son père a été arrêté peu après son coup de téléphone du 31 décembre 1977, parce qu'il a voulu lui écrire au sujet du Suédois. Depuis, il a disparu. Anna Bilder remet copie de cette lettre à l'ambassade de Suède à Tel-Aviv, qui fait aussitôt venir la demi-sœur de Wallenberg, Nina Lagergren : celle-ci, avec son frère, Guy von Dardel, a ranimé la flamme des Comités Wallenberg. La dentiste de Jaffa accepte de rendre public le texte de cette lettre :

« Ma chère Anna, je t'écris ce mot avec l'espoir qu'il te parviendra. La même chose est encore arrivée à ton

père. Il y a maintenant un an et demi qu'il est en prison. J'ai perdu tout espoir. Après avoir été convoquée par le K.g.b. à la Loubianka, on m'y a dit que tout cela était arrivé à cause d'une lettre concernant un Suisse ou un Suédois du nom de Wallenberg (sic) que ton père avait connu à l'infirmerie de la prison.

« Il avait écrit une lettre sur Wallenberg, et il tenta de la faire poster par l'intermédiaire d'un touriste. Tous les samedis, il allait à la synagogue pour essayer d'en trouver un. Mais tout le monde avait peur de prendre la lettre. Un samedi, il réussit à la remettre à un touriste qui lui promit de l'envoyer cette lettre par Vienne ou par l'Allemagne.

« Le vendredi 4 février (1978), notre maison fut perquisitionnée de fond en comble, et ils emmenèrent ton père avec eux. Depuis, il a été jeté dans les prisons de Lefortovo et de la Loubianka, et j'ai maintenant perdu tout espoir de le revoir un jour.

« Lorsque je fus convoquée en mai dernier à la Loubianka, un colonel très en colère me déclara, en criant, que les autorités soviétiques avaient fait

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→ preuve de beaucoup d'humanité, et avaient libéré ton père parce qu'il était malade, et que, pour tout remerciement, il avait envoyé en Israël une lettre anti-soviétique.

« Il me dit qu'en Israël tu t'étais lancée dans la propagande antisoviétique. Un peu plus tard, il baissa le ton : « Si votre fille souhaite revoir un jour son père, elle doit cesser toute cette campagne d'agitation contre sa patrie. » Il ajouta encore que ton père était en bonne santé, mais que son sort dépendait de ta conduite en Israël, autrement dit : que tu devais te taire.

« Je ne sais pas si je dois me taire ou parler. Il y a des gens qui disent que la presse peut nous aider. Je l'ignore. Ici, nous sommes comme des chiots aveugles, et tu peux certainement voir plus clair. J'ai peur de ne jamais vous revoir, ni toi ni tes enfants.

« Pourquoi ton père a-t-il cru devoir se mêler de cette affaire ? Il ne s'était jamais occupé de politique... »

La publication de cette lettre dans la presse israélienne et suédoise relance, en plein mois d'août 1979, la polémique avec les autorités soviétiques. Mais, surtout, elle mêle, cette fois, directement la diplomatie américaine aux protestations qui s'élèvent. Le département d'Etat demande pour la première fois des explications à Moscou. Le 25 août, le Premier suédois, Ola Ullstein, adresse la première requête officielle depuis quatorze ans à Alexei Kossyguine. Il exige un réexamen du dossier à la lumière des nouveaux témoignages. Il demande notamment à ce que le détenu Jan Kaplan, où qu'il se trouve, témoigne devant un représentant suédois.

« Nous présumons toujours que des citoyens disparus sont en vie jusqu'à réception de preuves convaincantes du contraire », déclare le ministre des Affaires étrangères.

Menahem Begin intervient personnellement auprès de Jimmy Carter pour que le problème soit abordé lors de sa prochaine rencontre avec Leonid Brejnev. Anna Bilder, elle, écrit à Begin, à Carter, au sénateur Kennedy, au roi de Suède, au Pape même, pour que l'on recherche, retrouve, sauve son père malade, âgé de 67 ans et disparu depuis plus de dix-huit mois. Le 17 janvier 1980, les comités Wallenberg, éclos un peu partout en Occident, célèbrent le trente-cinquième anniversaire de la disparition du Juste de Budapest. Désormais, l'affaire Wallenberg est aussi devenue l'affaire Kaplan.

A la fin de l'année 1979, l'ambassadeur de Suède au Canada a quitté son poste pour se consacrer à la cam-

pagne internationale lancée par le comité Wallenberg, à l'approche des jeux Olympiques de Moscou. Il s'agit de Per Anger. Ancien secrétaire de la légation de Budapest, il dirigea la section B, chargée de distribuer les premiers passeports de protection avant l'arrivée de Raoul Wallenberg. Après, il collabora avec lui jusqu'à ce que la ligne du front les sépare durant la bataille de Budapest.

Per Anger a publié ses Mémoires. Il y accuse sans ménagement excessif son gouvernement d'avoir sacrifié le disparu sur l'autel de la neutralité et de la détente à tout prix.

Il serait injuste, cependant, de reprocher aux autorités suédoises d'avoir manqué de constance dans leurs démarches pour retrouver le diplomate. Elles s'y sont employées dès le 14 janvier 1945, au lendemain de l'entrée de l'Armée rouge à Pest.

On peut néanmoins s'interroger sur les moyens utilisés. De 1945 à nos jours, la diplomatie suédoise s'est obstinée à envoyer des notes, sans jamais demander le concours d'autres gouvernements, dont celui des Etats-Unis, qui fut le véritable instigateur de la mission de sauvetage des Juifs de Hongrie confiée à Wallenberg. Il faut attendre les révélations israéliennes de 1979 pour que Stockholm sollicite ouvertement l'appui du président Carter et s'associe à une démarche parallèle de Jérusalem. Il semble même que les dirigeants suédois aient négligé de s'adresser à la Hongrie, qui, de 1945 à 1949, n'était pas encore une démocratie populaire et honorait officiellement le souvenir de Wallenberg comme celui d'un héros national.

On peut aussi s'étonner que Stockholm n'ait pas tenté de faire attribuer le prix Nobel de la Paix, en 1947, au sauveur de 30 000 Juifs de Budapest. Il aurait été possible d'associer à l'initiative le gouvernement hongrois de l'époque, les associations des rescapés de l'Holocauste, la Croix-Rouge, les institutions américaines, pour peser sur le choix du Parlement norvégien... Le scandale d'un prix Nobel décerné à un détenu du Goulag aurait singulièrement aidé à obtenir la libération de Wallenberg, qui, sans contestation possible, était encore en vie.

Après la mort de Staline, le gouvernement suédois n'a pas non plus utilisé à fond les chances offertes par le « dégel ». Bien des dossiers de la période 1945-1953 ont alors été révisés. Or, Moscou a exprimé des regrets, en annonçant la mort probable de Wallenberg, « injustement emprisonné, à l'insu des instances judiciaires »,

sans jamais montrer le dossier. Sans admettre l'explication soviétique, Stockholm s'est contenté de recourir à la méthode des notes diplomatiques.

A aucun moment, le gouvernement de Stockholm n'a envisagé le recours à la procédure de l'échange, alors qu'il détenait d'importants atouts, tels que l'officier de marine Ernst Hilding Anderson, arrêté le 21 septembre 1950 en flagrant délit d'espionnage pour le compte des services de renseignement soviétiques. Or, des diplomates suisses comme Fellen et Meier, arrêtés à Budapest en 1945 et incarcérés en Russie, des diplomates italiens comme le codétenu de Wallenberg, Claudio de Mohr, fait prisonnier par les troupes soviétiques, le 18 septembre 1944, à la frontière de la Bulgarie et de la Turquie, ont été échangés contre des personnalités communistes ou des agents soviétiques détenus en Suisse ou en Italie. C'est évidemment le moyen le plus efficace de récupérer des ressortissants en captivité : il ne nécessite ni campagnes de propagande, ni transmission de notes par la voie diplomatique, ni même un climat de détente. La Suède ne l'ignorait pas.

A aucun moment Stockholm n'a menacé d'utiliser l'arme économique, alors que la Suède n'est pas, pour l'U.R.S.S., un partenaire commercial négligeable. Le gouvernement suédois n'a jamais lié le cas Wallenberg aux pourparlers intéressant la diplomatie soviétique : l'aménagement de la Baltique en une zone de paix.

Pour arracher Wallenberg à un destin inconnu, on n'a compté que sur les bons sentiments, accordant la priorité au maintien des bonnes relations entre l'Est et l'Ouest. Pense-t-on le sauver en continuant d'utiliser des moyens dont l'inefficacité a été prouvée depuis trente-cinq ans ? C'est la question posée par Per Anger, l'ancien collègue de Wallenberg à Budapest, au terme de sa carrière diplomatique.

Mais l'affaire Wallenberg suscite bien d'autres interrogations. Pourquoi les Russes ont-ils emprisonné le diplomate suédois, au mépris des conventions internationales ? Pourquoi en ont-ils fait un « homme au masque de fer », alors que des centaines de milliers d'étrangers ont été libérés du Goulag ou autorisés à rentrer chez eux ? Dans un mémoire consacré à l'affaire, Frederik von Dardel, beau-père de Raoul Wallenberg, a essayé de répondre à ces deux questions.

Les motifs de l'arrestation n'ont jamais été révélés par les services qui semblaient le considérer comme une prise d'importance et qui l'ont, en tout

cas, traité comme tel. On sait seulement que, à Budapest, les officiers du Smersh (1) ont passé le mois de février 1945 à enquêter auprès de tous les collaborateurs de Wallenberg à la section C et de tout le personnel de la légation suédoise sur les agissements de deux diplomates soupçonnés d'espionnage : Wallenberg et Lars Berg. Les Russes paraissent nourrir les plus grands doutes sur les objectifs humanitaires de la mission confiée à Wallenberg, tout simplement parce que ces objectifs étaient pour eux inconcevables. D'après les questions que leurs enquêteurs ont posées à des détenus hongrois ou autrichiens, qui avaient été diplomates dans diverses capitales d'Europe centrale, plusieurs chefs d'accusation semblent avoir été envisagés.

1. Avec le système des passeports de protection qu'il avait mis au point, Wallenberg voulait aider les nazis hongrois à s'enfuir.

2. Sous prétexte d'aider les Juifs victimes du nazisme, Wallenberg cherchait à sauver le système capitaliste, qui menaçait de s'écrouler dans la Hongrie libérée par l'Armée rouge.

3. Les gages donnés en échange de la sauvegarde des Juifs de Budapest faisaient le jeu de Himmler : tentative de paix séparée avec l'Ouest, gel de la guerre en Italie du Nord et transfert des forces allemandes sur le front de l'Est, dévolution des biens juifs, comme l'usine d'armement Weiss-Chorin, au seul profit des SS. Wallenberg travaillait donc, en réalité, contre la cause alliée.

4. Les liens de Wallenberg avec des organisations humanitaires internationales (Joint américain ou Croix-Rouge) constituaient autant de preuves d'une « conspiration cosmopolite » aux buts mal définis...

A défaut de procès public, on ne sait même pas si, comme l'affirment certains témoins, une sentence quelconque a été prononcée. On peut, en fait, se demander si la popularité de Wallenberg en Hongrie, plus que le rôle louche que le N.k.v.d. a cherché à lui attribuer, n'est pas à l'origine de son incarcération. Par sa présence sur le terrain et la stature d'homme d'Etat occidental qu'il avait prise au moment où sombrait la souveraineté hongroise, ne risquait-il pas d'être un obstacle ou un frein à l'établissement d'une démocratie populaire ? L'escamotage en 1948 du monument érigé en son honneur est une manifestation de rancune

tenace. En outre, les dirigeants soviétiques n'ont jamais aimé qu'on rappelle le martyr juif et sa spécificité parmi toutes les horreurs de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Enfin, si neutre qu'il fût, le plan Wallenberg de reconstruction de la Hongrie risquait de faire renaître un nationalisme foncièrement hostile aux Russes.

On s'expliquerait alors la détention sans fin de Wallenberg par la peur d'un soulèvement hongrois, comme celui qui se produisit finalement en octobre 1956. On comprendrait également qu'il soit mort sans sépulture et que les successeurs de Staline, récusant cette part de l'héritage, aient émis des regrets inutiles...

Le cas Wallenberg serait transparent si était admise la version soviétique officielle d'un décès précoce et accidentel. Mais cette version a provoqué un scepticisme grandissant dans l'opinion suédoise face aux subterfuges utilisés par Moscou pour convaincre l'Occident et devant les refus de laisser enquêter en U.R.S.S. A côté des réponses officielles et contradictoires de Vychinski (1947) et de Gromyko (1957), il y a eu, au gré des circonstances, trop d'émissaires officieux, auprès de la famille et des autorités suédoises, pour rendre vraisemblable la thèse de la mort escamotée de Wallenberg.

Ainsi, le 22 mars 1955, un certain Koutouzof Tolstoï, ancien interprète auprès de la légation suédoise de Budapest, puis des autorités soviétiques d'occupation, à la libération de la Hongrie, prétend, dans une lettre officielle, que Wallenberg est tombé accidentellement sous les balles russes, ayant revêtu un uniforme allemand pour échapper aux poursuites des Croix fléchées (2). La lettre est postée de Dublin. Tolstoï réside en Irlande, où il travaille... pour les services soviétiques !

Au printemps 1956, un prisonnier estonien, Tavmelius, déporté dans le Grand Nord, a fait joindre l'ambassadeur de Suède à Moscou pour que, lors de sa visite en U.R.S.S., le Premier suédois Tage Erlander intercède en sa faveur. Libéré, le Balte vient dire, le 3 octobre 1956, à la famille von Dardel, qu'il a vu arriver Wallenberg en décembre 1947 au camp d'Inta, en très mauvais état. Le diplomate aurait été transféré peu après à la prison moscovite de Boutyrki, où il serait mort. Doit-on croire Tavmelius ? Quand on lui montre un jeu de photos, il désigne Wallenberg sur cinq d'entre elles. Or, aucune ne représente le diplomate !

A Hambourg, en février 1960, un agent soviétique qui sera démasqué a emprunté l'identité d'un baron hongrois déporté en U.R.S.S. pour révéler à la presse suédoise qu'il a assisté à l'agonie de Wallenberg au camp de Kasgobol, près d'Arkhangelsk en... 1950 !

En 1966, un Finlandais, libéré depuis onze ans d'un camp sibérien proche d'Irkoutsk, raconte qu'on lui a parlé de la présence d'un Suédois condamné à dix ans de travaux forcés pour espionnage. Sa mort daterait, selon lui, de l'été 1955. Pourquoi ce Finlandais n'a-t-il rien dit à son retour de captivité ?

Ne sort-on pas ce genre de témoignages pour affaiblir la portée d'autres dépositions, pour contrebalancer l'effet de leur publication, pour brouiller les pistes, en faisant mourir Wallenberg en des lieux différents et à des dates différentes, pour rendre incompréhensible la persévérance de sa famille et lasser la bonne volonté des autorités suédoises ?

De son beau-fils, von Dardel écrit en 1970 : « S'il vit encore, il a 57 ans. Physiquement et mentalement, il est très robuste. Je ne l'ai jamais connu malade. En temps normal, il aurait certainement dépassé la durée moyenne de vie, qui, en Suède, est d'environ 70 ans. Sans doute l'épreuve a-t-elle affecté sa santé. Mais on sait que, durant son séjour à la Loubianka et à Lefortovo, il n'a été ni maltraité ni torturé. A la prison Vladimir, en 1951, il touchait, selon l'un de ses compagnons, le Pr Rivo, un pécule plus élevé que les autres détenus, parce qu'il était diplomate. D'une certaine façon, les prisonniers sont protégés des stress de la vie moderne, et ils ont une chance de survie. Voyez Rudolf Hess, emprisonné depuis 1941. Même l'homme au masque de fer, à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, ne mourut qu'au bout de vingt-quatre ans de détention, à 62 ans ! »

Neuf ans plus tard, dans une petite maison d'Israël juchée sur les premières pentes du mont Carmel, Avraham Shifrin, un historien du Goulag, raconte la visite qu'il a reçue en mai 1979 d'un immigré moscovite clandestin de 21 ans. Cet homme aurait été l'ami du fils d'un colonel du K.g.b., responsable des archives, qui, en verve de confidences le soir de la Fête du travail, a cru bon de lui dire, pour étouffer ses velléités de quitter l'U.R.S.S. : « Pas de conneries : j'ai, dans mon fichier de Vladimir, un diplomate suédois embastillé depuis près de trente-cinq ans ! » ■

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(2) Croix fléchées : fascistes hongrois.

(1) Smersh : service de contre-espionnage soviétique. Le nom du service est la contraction des mots *Smerty Shpionam* (mort aux espions).

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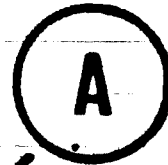
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HIS EXCELLENCY OLA ULLSTEN
SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER
STOCKHOLM

ROUL WALLENBERG ADDED GREAT HONOR TO THE REPUTATION OF HIS HOMELAND AT A TIME WHEN OTHER MEN IN OTHER LANDS TURNED INTO BEASTS. THIS GREAT HUMANITARIAN WAS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE RUSSIANS WHILE ON A MISSION FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD BE FITTING FOR THE SWEDISH FOREIGN OFFICE TO USE ALL POSSIBLE LEVERAGE IT CAN APPLY TO RUSSIA AT THE TIME OF THE OLYMPICS TO FREE THIS HONORABLE MAN FROM RUSSIAN PRISON

DR LOUIS BURGER

APR 17 1980 20:43:54

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SVENSK WASHINGTON 1980-04-14

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HAR EFTER UPPREPADE FOERSOEK IDAG FAATT TELEFON-
KONTAKT MED HAMMER. JAG FRAMFOERDE TILL HONOM REGERINGENS
UPPSKATTNING AV DET PERSONLIGA INTRESSE SOM HAN AEGNAR WALLEN-
BERGFRAAGAN OCH UTTRYCKTE FOERHOPPNINGEN ATT HAN VID SITT NAESTA
BESOEK I MOSKVA MAATTE FAA TILLFAELLE TA UPP FRAAGAN
PAA HOEGSTA NIVAA.

HAMMER TACKADE FOER PAARINGNINGEN OCH BAD MIG FOERSAEKRA
SVENSKA REGERINGEN ATT HAN SKULLE TA UPP AERENDET NAESTA GAANG
I MOSKVA. VID HANS FOERRA BESOEK HOS BRESJNEV HADE ATMOS-
FAEREN ENLIGT HANS BEDOEMNING INTE VARIT LAEMPAD FOER ATT BE-
GAERA EN FAVOER.

TIDPUNKTEN FOER NAESTA BESOEK I MOSKVA VAR AENNU INTE FAST-
STAELLD. F N VORE HAN SYSSELSATT MED ATT SOEKA ORDNA ETT
MOETE MELLAN VANCE OCH GROMYKO I WIEN. 'VI MAASTE JU SE TILL
ATT SAMTALSKONTAKTEN AATERUPPTAS. SA HAER KAN DET INTE FAA
FORTSAETTA. DET AER FOER FARLIGT.' JAG INSTAEMDE.

WACHTMEISTER

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DUBLIN

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Lars Åke Nilsson: 2

Ambassadören Lonaeus

Utrikesdepartementet

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u. u.
fr press

Raoul Wallenberg
(1 bil) ✓

Broder,

./.

För någon vecka sedan visade BBC 2 ett TV-program om Raoul Wallenberg som också sågs av många tittare här. Vi har fått några spontana tittarreaktioner. Jag närsluter den senaste som också innehåller förslag till en svensk protestaktion i samband med Moskva-olympiaden.

Med vänlig hälsning
L. Myrsten

L. Myrsten

CS

(IN)

P 2 L 2

15/123
80.04.08
P 1

Tudor House,
9 Oulton Road,
Clontarf,
Dublin 3.

3rd April, 1980.

Re: Raoul Wallenberg

Dear Sir,

On the 20th March 1980 a very interesting programme was shown on the "Man Alive" series on B.B.C. 2 television. The programme, as we later learnt, was appropriately titled "Missing Hero" and it concerned an investigation into the disappearance of your very brilliant Swedish Diplomat who had worked so courageously during the last year of World War 2 in Budapest, Hungary. At the same time an article appeared in the weekly paper "The Listener", a copy of which I enclose herewith.

From the facts as presented in both the programme and the article, it would appear to be a tragedy that neither the Swedish Government nor other interested parties have been able to bring in a successful manner, effective pressure on the Russian Government, so as to secure the release of Mr. Wallenberg. On the presumption that he is still alive and that the other conclusions drawn are accurate, then in my own opinion I would feel that if similar methods of pressure and diplomacy continue to be used, you will never see the release of this great gentleman.

To be successful, his story must be presented to a world audience. There would be one ideal opportunity for this. As I understand it, the Swedish Athletes will be participating in the Moscow Olympics. Naturally, there will be tremendous world attention focused on the opening ceremony. As you are aware each team will parade around the arena and the camera will focus and show each team as they enter the Stadium. I would just ask you to imagine the scene where you have a Swedish team of possibly say 100 Athletes or more

walking around the Stadium and each one of them holding up posters either alternatively showing a photo of Mr. Wallenberg or a poster with his name printed on it. Everyone will be asking who is this gentleman and why are the Swedes doing this. News Reporters and Commentators from every country in the World will be present. It would be reported that evening on every evening news show. There would be fantastic world curiosity.

You might ask how would this be arranged and surely the Russians would not permit you to walk into a Stadium with a 100 of these posters? I am confident that it would not be very difficult to think up of some ingenious method of sneaking in such posters. You would just have to apply yourselves to the problem. Your biggest obstacle might possibly be your lack of initiative and enthusiasm and alternatively there could very easily be facts which the general public are not aware of.

In any event, I leave you with my opinion for what it's worth and I would be obliged to hear your response.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Hughes

Michael Hughes.

Secretary,
Swedish Embassy,
31 Merrion Road,
Dublin 4.

Alan Patient

The Swedish Pimpernel

Alan Patient produced the 'Man Alive' programme, 'Missing Hero' (BBC2, 20 March), an investigation into the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who saved thousands of Hungarian Jews during the last year of World War Two, and who is believed to be still alive in a Soviet prison.

On 17 January 1945 Raoul Wallenberg was escorted by Soviet guards out of Budapest to their army headquarters. He told a friend that he did not know whether he was going as their guest or as their prisoner. He never came back. But the question everyone asks is: why would the Soviets want to take him away? Finding a motive for the Soviets' action in this mystery is perhaps the greatest puzzle.

The advancing Russians must have been surprised to encounter on the eastern side of Budapest, the Pest side, a sole Swedish diplomat looking after tens of thousands of Jews. Wallenberg had already successfully confronted the SS chief in Hungary, Adolf Eichmann, many other German officers, and countless more Hungarian Nazi 'Arrow Cross' thugs, thus saving 100,000 Jews from being sent to Auschwitz or from being slaughtered in the streets.

Dr Gideon Hausner, prosecutor of Eichmann, gives his view of the Soviets' action: 'Ultimately he fell victim to the incredulity of the Soviets who took Budapest then, who arrested him because they just couldn't believe that a Swedish diplomat would dedicate himself for months to this job. To them it must have looked a very silly and unconvincing cover for other activities.'

The desire to ascribe a comprehensible motive to the Russians is strong. It is a rather Western outlook—calculating a logical chain of events, looking for a credible cause of Russian behaviour, and therefore slotting into our pigeonholed minds the consequent conclusion. It is almost as though the immense tally of Soviet perfidy, established by approximately 50 witnesses, counts for nothing—simply because of difficulty in pinpointing a motive for the Russians.

Perhaps Arne Lundberg, a former civil servant at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, comes nearest to the Soviet mind when he says that the Russians 'could see no reason to send Wallenberg home': that they probably asked themselves, not why they should keep him, but whether they had any motive for sending him home.

When Wallenberg was taken away in January 1945 the Soviets immediately informed the Swedish government that he was in their safe custody. Leif Læifland, present Permanent Under-Secretary at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, recounts that the Swedes were relieved, because other Swedish diplomats 'had disappeared without

trace'. Lars Berg, a diplomatic colleague of Wallenberg's, says: 'My opinion is thus that Wallenberg told them that he wasn't only a Swedish diplomat, but he was sent by President Roosevelt himself. He was working with American money to save Jewish lives. I think that's why he disappeared, that it wasn't good at that time to declare that you worked for the Americans.'

Admiral Horthy's treaty with Hitler had meant that Eichmann could only start deporting Hungary's provincial Jews in 1944, when the Germans were clearly losing the war. The 200,000 Jews of Budapest were left until last. Wallenberg knew the city from business trips and was given neutral Swedish diplomatic status, but was financed by the American War Refugee Board. His success in negotiating thousands of safety passes was imitated by other neutrals, particularly the Swiss. Protected houses were set up in an international ghetto, crammed with about 20,000 people. Another 70,000 were forced into the general ghetto.

Naturally, Wallenberg evolved plans for the resettlement of these people and for the economic recovery of Budapest, anticipating peacetime; specific details of these plans have survived through friends. Very probably, Wallenberg put these plans to the Soviets. Very probably, the Soviets regarded them as a dangerous threat to their forthcoming Soviet Socialist Republic of Hungary. Besides, was Wallenberg not related to one of the wealthiest capitalist families of the West, in control of the largest bank in Scandinavia? Such a man, already a legendary hero in the capital city, could prove a menace if left to implement his own five-year redevelopment target.

Consider also the fate of other nationals taken by the Soviets: allies as well as enemies were swallowed up into the endless Soviet steppes and mines. Poles, Czechs, Slavs and Serbs—as well as Germans, Austrians and Hungarians—disappeared for ever. The fate of returning Ukrainians and Georgians is now well documented. Even their own soldiers, taken prisoners of war by the Germans while fighting for Mother Russia against the fascist beast, mysteriously disappeared on arrival home because they had been contaminated by the capitalist West. It is hardly surprising, then, that Avram Kalinsky, a Polish Jew, should report that his 1959 prison meeting with Wallenberg was with a man charged with alleged espionage.

What is greatly surprising, however, is the attitude of the Swedish government throughout all these years. After learning in mid-January 1945 that Wallenberg would be returned immediately, they did nothing but send diplomatic notes and arrange meetings until 1947, when the Russians started to deny all knowledge of him. Ten years later the Russians 'discovered' that

Wallenberg had died of a heart attack in 1947.

Meanwhile, the Swiss had successfully exchanged Soviet agents for two of their own diplomats seized by the Russians. The Belgians had done likewise. Per Anger, a colleague of Wallenberg's in Budapest and recently Swedish Ambassador to Canada, emphasises that 'with the Soviets you have to offer something'. The Swedes had Soviet spies after the war, he said, but they were expelled. 'We could have held them in prison until we had got Wallenberg back, but . . . it wasn't within their vocabulary, this way of acting.'

The Swedish government protests to this very day that Soviet spies with diplomatic immunity could not be exchanged. Neither could an important Soviet spy with Swedish citizenship, Colonel Stig Wennerström, be exchanged. That only leaves Soviet spies with Soviet citizenship—as long as they are not diplomats—and there are hardly a great many of those at large in Sweden!

Ironically, large numbers of Germans and Austrians were released in 1955 in response to Chancellor Adenauer's trade agreements with the Russians. Although numerous reports of Wallenberg's existence in the Russian prison system emerged, the Swedes still continued to behave as though they had learnt nothing from Adenauer's tough bargaining. Perhaps the possibility of bargaining had been lost as early as 1946 when Sweden's ambassador to Moscow, Söderblom, saw Stalin about Wallenberg. Papers recently released from the Stockholm Foreign Ministry archives show that Söderblom sold the pass by saying to Stalin that he personally thought Wallenberg had died at the end of the war. What a scoop for the KGB propaganda!

Most horrifying of all remains the probability that the Swedes deliberately chose not to exchange the Russian spy Wennerström for Wallenberg. Those who know the Soviets claim that they could have originally taken Wallenberg against the day when one of their agents might be discovered in Sweden. Unfortunately, the Swedes did not rise to the bait: Wennerström knew too much. If that is so, Sweden's greatest 20th-century hero was sacrificed against her meanest traitor.

For me the most fascinating explanation of Soviet motives arises from *The Gulag Archipelago*. Solzhenitsyn recalls meeting a proud Swede who bore the name Erik Arvid Andersen and who claimed to have wealthy relatives. The Russians had treated him well but had tried unsuccessfully to make him into a double agent until it became too late to return him to the West. Only later did Solzhenitsyn realise that maybe this Swede had been obliged by the authorities to assume a false name in order to avoid execution. After all, his death, like that of Wallenberg and many other living prisoners, had been announced to the world. One might surmise that, if Andersen was not his true name, then perhaps Swedish was not his true nationality. On the other hand, he might really have been Swedish.

One thing is certain: there is only one

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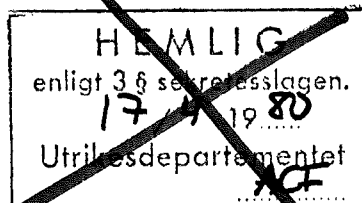
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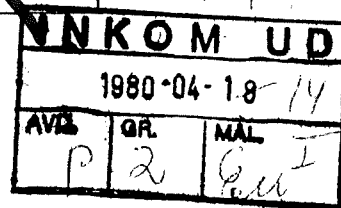
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Broder,

- Som Du föreslog i citerade handbrev har jag kontaktat Khronika Press och haft ett samtal med chefredaktör Valery Chalidze och dennes medarbetare Edward Kline. Från dem har jag för ett par dagar sedan mottagit adresserna till de båda advokaterna Dina Kaminskaya och Yudovich. De återges i bil 1. Som synes skall Kaminskaya vara bosatt i Arlington, Virginia och Yudovich i Garmisch-Partenkirchen i Västtyskland.

- Chalidze är rysk fysiker i 40-årsåldern, aktiv i den sovjetiska human rights-rörelsen. Han lämnade Sovjetunionen för 7-8 år sedan. Jag bifogar ett par broschyrer om Khronika Press.

I Wallenberg-ärendet hade de båda inget nytt att komma med. De sade sig uppskatta svenska regeringens oförtröttliga ansträngningar men önskade att man från svensk sida skulle göra mer när det gäller att protestera mot behandlingen av Andrei Sakharov och andra förkämpar för mänskliga rättigheter i Sovjetunionen. När det gäller Wallenberg var de skeptiska ifråga om de vittnesmål som framkommit på senare tid och sade sig tvivla på att han kunde vara i livet. Chalidze förklarade att om han skulle ge ett råd skulle det vara att Wallenbergs släktingar i Sverige borde stämma sovjetiska regeringen och kräva dem på skadestånd och redogörelse för vad som skett i fallet Wallenberg. Ryssarna kunde då tvingas att lägga vissa papper på bordet och de hade, menade han, alltid stor respekt för officiella juridiska förfaranden. I varje fall skulle det försätta dem i en obehaglig situation.

Din tillgång
Bengt Friedman

Dina Kominskaya

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Papers on Soviet Law. Published by the Institute of Socialist Law. Issue 1 (English). Edited by V. Chalidze and L. Lipson. 199 pages, \$10.00

Сборник Института социалистического права. Выпуск 1 (по-английски), под редакцией Л. Липсона и В. Чалидзе, 1977, 199 стр., цена — 10.00

This is a collection of articles which analyze various problems of Soviet and international law.

Documents on Soviet Criminal Procedure. Published by the Institute of Socialist Law. Edited by V. Chalidze and L. Lipson. (In preparation)

Сборник Института социалистического права. Выпуск 2 (на русском языке). Документы советского уголовного процесса. Под редакцией Л. Липсона и В. Чалидзе. В печати, цена — 15.00

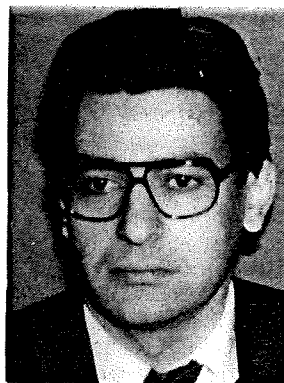
A collection of documents on Soviet criminal proceedings, including indictments, verdicts, appeals, resolutions of psychiatric and scientific-religious expertise. Documents on political cases are included in the collection.

Soviet Criminal Justice and Jewish Emigration. Telford Taylor and others. Translated from English, Alfred Knopf Publishers, 1977. 212 pages, \$6.95

Телфорд Тейлор и др. Советское правосудие и эмиграция евреев. Перевод с английского, издательство "Альфред Кноpf", 1977, 212 стр., цена — 6.95

This book illustrates American lawyers' efforts to appeal to the Soviet authorities in defense of repressed Soviet Jews, using Soviet judicial procedures.

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ABOUT
A CHRONICLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
IN THE USSR

THE NEW YORK TIMES
BOOK REVIEW

January 12th 1974

Much of the information in the *Chronicle* comes from inside the Soviet Union; one informant phones in reports by long distance from Moscow. Copies of the *Chronicle* (which is also published in Russian) have turned up in police searches inside Russia, indicating that it has a circulation there.

TIME, April 14, 1975

Chalidze and Litvinov do not think of themselves so much as anti-Communists as 'legalists'. They believe that the Soviet authorities must be admonished for violations of their own constitution, a high-minded document instituted under Stalin, which is honored mostly in the breach...

The New York *Chronicle's* editors consider themselves more journalists than ideologues.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

December 10, 1977

Khronika Press has reached the point now where the address on Ed Kline's business headquarters — 505 Eighth Avenue, in the garment district — is known to all sorts of Soviet citizens who each month sneak out in the mail hundreds of pages of reports and pleas. They come in the samizdat underground form of tightly packed, secretly typed, hungrily smudged onion skin reports, frail as leaves in the wind and just as autumnal in their hope of renewal...

The Case of Tverdokhlebov (Records from the trial), 1976, \$ 4.00.

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BOOKS BY OTHER PUBLISHERS

Proceedings of The Moscow Human Rights Committee. An International League for Human Rights publication, edited by John Carey. 1972. 251 pages, \$5.00

Документы Комитета прав человека. Издание Международной лиги прав человека под редакцией Джона Кери, 1972, 251 стр., цена — 5.00

This collection includes documents from the first year's activity of the Moscow Human Rights Committee (Sakharov, Tverdokhlebov, Chalidze, Shafarevich), including Chalidze's, Volpin's, and Medvedev's reports and Committee documents about forced psychiatric hospitalization on political grounds. John Carey's preface is in English.

from Akatyj from C.Y. Gessen, and M.S. Kogan's book 'Decembrist Lunin and his Times', Pushkin House Publishers under the Academy of Sciences, USSR, 1926.

Memory. A historical collection, Materials of Soviet History, No. 1. Moscow, 1976, New York, 1978. 600 pages, \$15.00

Память. Исторический сборник, выпуск 1, Москва 1976 — Нью Йорк — 1978, 600 стр., цена — 15.00

This most valuable historical collection contains, memoirs, essays and documents from the Soviet period of Russian history. Among the documents are: M.A. Voloshin's letter to Kamenev, two letters by N.Y. Mandelstam, a letter to Stalin from L.U. Brick. The collection contains much valuable evidence and reviews of historical sources.

Vladimir Prison. Selected documents and articles. Edited by Vladimir Bukovsky. 1977. 105 pages, \$4.50

Владимирская тюрьма. Сборник статей и документов под редакцией Владимира Буковского, 1977, 105 стр., цена — 4.50.

This collection contains documents on the political prisoner situation in Vladimir Prison with an appendix of official correspondence between V. Bukovsky and the authorities during his term in Vladimir Prison.

The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church. At the printers, \$ 8.00.

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Issues of 'The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church', a well-known journal which became the center of the Lithuanian people's struggle for national and religious independence, are in this collection. The author of the preface is the Lithuanian poet Tomas Venclova.

Brochures

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ALEXANDER NEKRICH. *The Punished Peoples*. 1978. 170 pages, \$ 7.00. Published in English by Norton.

Александр Некрич. *Наказанные народы*. 1978, 170 стр., цена — 7.00.

This historical work contains an analysis of events connected to the Soviet government's undertaking to resettle the people of the Northern Caucasus, the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. Alexander Nekrich, a recent immigrant to the USA, is widely known as the author of the book 'June 22, 1941', which analyzes the outbreak of war between Germany and the USSR.

MARIA IOFFE. *One Night*. 1978. 130 pages, \$7.00. To be published in English.

Мария Иоффе. *Одна ночь*. Повесть о правде. 1978. 130 стр., цена — 7.00.

Maria Ioffe — a political prisoner during Stalinist times is the wife of a well-known Soviet diplomat of the 20's, A. Ioffe. Maria Ioffe's memoirs are dedicated to her stay in political camps in the Far North. The book contains valuable historical information on the infamous 'Kashketin' executions: soon after these executions investigator Kashketin interrogated M. Ioffe.

Insights. An anthology of essays edited by P. Litvinov, M. Meyerson-Aksyonov, and B. Shragin. 1976. 320 pages, \$9.00

Самосознание. Сборник статей, составленный П. Литвиновым, М. Меерсоном-Аксеновым и Б. Шрагиным, 1976, 320 стр., цена — 9.00

An anthology of essays on various social problems, which in the authors' opinions are characterized by a liberal-democratic way of thought. The book contains essays by E. Barabanov, L. Kopelev, P. Litvinov, M. Meyerson-Aksyonov, D. Nelidov (pseudonym), R. Pipes, G. Pomerants, B. Shragin, Y. Orlov, and V. Turchin.

MIKHAIL LUNIN. *Essays and Letters*. 1976. 175 pages, \$10.00

Михаил Лунин. *Сочинения*, 1976, 175 стр., цена — 10.00

This book is the most complete collection of the Decembrist, Mikhail Lunin's, works. The edition is a reprint from the book 'Decembrist M.S. Lunin. Works and Letters', edited and with notes by S.Y. Streich, Petersburg, 1923, supplemented with Lunin's article 'A View on Polish Affairs, let

VALERY CHALIDZE. Criminal Russia. Essays on criminality in the USSR. 1977, 395 pages, \$ 12.00. Published by Random House in English.

Валерий Чалидзе. Уголовная Россия. Очерки преступности в СССР, 1977, 395 стр., цена — 12.00

This book discusses various sides of the problem of crime in the USSR. Contents: The Soviet criminal tradition; The world of thievery as a social institution (artels, thieves' artels, The law of thievery, thieves' cant, the aesthetics of the life of thievery, the decline of the life of thievery); Hooliganism; Radio-Hooliganism; Murder; Special instances of encroachment on life; Sexual offences; Bribery; Private enterprise; Embezzlement of Socialist property; Criminal Statistics: A Detective Story; Prospects for the future.

The appendix to the book contains the author's essay, 'On the Soviet Court's Independence' and 'The Dictionary of Thieves' Jargon', published in 1954 by the Kiev militia for official use.

A Workers' Movement in the USSR? Edited by Valery Chalidze, 1978. 166 pages, \$7.00

СССР — рабочее движение? Составитель В. Чалидзе, 1978, 166 стр., цена — 7.00

This collection contains testimony on the worker situation by A. Marchenko, V. Bukovsky and others; documents of the free worker trade union (with V. Chalidze's commentary); Chalidze's lectures about the workers' legal situation in the USSR; excerpts from Soviet laws and conventions of the International Labour Organization.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY (in preparation). **To Build a Castle.** 384 pages, \$ 12.00. Soon to be published in English by *Viking*.

Владимир Буковский. И возвращается ветер... В печати. 384 стр., цена — 12.00.

This is Vladimir Bukovsky's story about his public activity and his residence in Soviet psychiatric hospitals, prisons, and camps.

Vladimir Bukovsky, one of the most famous activists in the Soviet human rights movement, was repeatedly subjected to repressions in the Soviet Union; he was the first person to turn to Western psychiatrists with an appeal to decide on the legality of the use of psychiatry in political repressions within the USSR. In 1976 the Soviet government exchanged Bukovsky for the Chilean General Secretary of the Communist Party, Corvalan.

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ANDREI SAKHAROV. My Country and the World. Selected works, 1976. 184 pages, \$6.00, published in English by *Knopf*.

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Петр Григоренко. Сборник статей. 1977, 121 стр., цена — 6.00.

Petr Grigorenko is one of the most famous participants in the Soviet human rights movement and a former general in the Soviet army. In 1978 he was deprived of his Soviet citizenship just when visiting the USA. The book contains two open letters by Grigorenko dedicated to psychiatric repression in the USSR, and fragments from his book 'Our Working Days'.

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Анатолий Марченко. От Тарусы до Чуны. 1976, 124 стр., цена — 5.00.

Anatoly Marchenko, the author of a widely known book about Soviet political camps, 'My Testimony', describes his arrest and trial in 1975, and the tragic circumstances of his transportation to exile at the time of the hunger-strike in his book 'From Tarusa to Chuna'. Materials on Marchenko's trial are included in an appendix.

ANDREI TVERDOKHLEBOV. In Defense of Human Rights. Edited by Valery Chalidze. 1975, 160 pages, \$ 6.00.

Андрей Твердохлебов — в защиту прав человека. Составитель В. Чалидзе. 1975, 160 стр., цена — 6.00.

Andrei Tverdokhlebov's most important statements on public issues. Andrei Tverdokhlebov is a widely known Soviet human rights activist, one of the founders of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, and secretary of the Moscow group of Amnesty International.

VALERY CHALIDZE. Human Rights and the Soviet Union. 1974. 304 pages, \$8.00, Random House has published this in English under the title, 'To Defend These Rights'.

Валерий Чалидзе. Права человека и Советский Союз, 1974, 304 стр., цена — 8.00

This book states the basic legal problems which the Soviet human rights movement encounters, in sufficiently popular form. Contents: specifics of Soviet law; the Soviet Union and international conventions; the human rights movement in the USSR; freedom of speech, publication, meetings, association, freedom of movement; the price of freedom; minority rights; perspectives.

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Andrei Sakharov,
1975 Nobel Peace Laureate. See
pp. 49-52 for his message to the
International Sakharov Hearings.



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NO. 35

JULY - SEPTEMBER 1979



Tatiana Velikanova,
human rights advocate. See next
issue for information on her
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Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Article 19

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Edward Kuznetsov. *Mordovskii marfon* (Mordovian Marathon). "Moscow-Jerusalem", (P.O.B. 7045, Ramat-Gan, Israel), 1979. Notes on life in a special-regimen labor camp by the talented author of *Prison Diaries*, Stein and Day, New York, 1975. Kuznetsov has added a preface since his dramatic release and expulsion last April.

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David Grant. *Moscow 5000*. Holt Rinehart Winston, New York, 1979. Ukrainian separatists plan terror at the 1980 Olympics to advance their cause.

Howard Kaplan. *The Chopin Express*. Dutton, New York, 1978. A novel involving the smuggling of samizdat to and from the Jewish emigration movement in Moscow.

Charles McCarry. *The Secret Lovers*. Dutton, New York, 1978. An espionage novel about smuggling a samizdat manuscript out of Moscow.

Harrison Salisbury. *The Gates of Hell*. Random House, New York, 1975. A novel about a Soviet dissident author who resembles Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

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Russian-Language Publications

Nikita Khrushchev. *Memoirs*. Chaldize Publications, New York, 1979. This 300-page selection of excerpts was compiled by Valery Chaldize from the taped reminiscences of Khrushchev on deposit at the Columbia University Library.

Andrei Amalrik. *SSSR i zapad v odnoi lodke* (The USSR and the West in One Boat). Overseas Publications Interchange, London, 1978. Selected articles by the dissident historian who emigrated in 1976. Includes "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?" and a number of recent articles.

Alexander Nekrich. *Otreshis ot strakha* (Renounce Fear). Overseas Publications Interchange, London, 1979. The memoirs of the 59-year old historian, author of *June 22, 1941*, who emigrated in 1976.

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

A CHRONICLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR informs its readers of events related to Soviet and Western activities in defense of human rights and social minorities in the USSR, and of means by which Soviet authorities protect or violate human rights and rights of minority groups. Primary attention will be focused on the more typical violations of rights.

A CHRONICLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR takes no political positions and contains no editorial judgments of the events described. The principal criterion for selection of information is reliability, which, in the opinion of the editors, outweighs concern for the publication's impact or exhaustive coverage.

References to CCE in this publication indicate THE CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS; CHR indicates A CHRONICLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR. To avoid ambiguity the terms *ulitsa* (street), *oblast* (region) and *raion* (district) are sometimes retained in translation.

Limitations of space do not allow the editors to publish more comprehensive information about the many Western statements in defense of human rights in the USSR and about the movement of Soviet Jews to leave for Israel.

The publisher does not accept support from any government or political organization.

useful selection of statements and documents on human rights from John Locke to Andrei Sakharov.

Raymond Gastil, editor. *Freedom in the World, 1979*. Freedom House, New York, 1979. Contains articles and a discussion on liberalization in the Soviet Union. Contributors include: Bohdan Bociurkiw, Herbert Ellison and Lewis Feuer.

Egon Larsen. *A Flame in Barbed Wire: The Story of Amnesty International*. Norton, New York, 1979. Despite errors of omission and commission, this book by a German journalist gives some idea of Amnesty International's history and its activities on behalf of prisoners of conscience in the USSR and elsewhere.

Ronald Hingley. *Russian Writers and Soviet Society, 1917-1978*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, and Random House, New York, 1979. An English scholar and translator outlines the interaction between Russian writers and the Soviet environment.

Michael Bourdeaux. *Land of Crosses*. Augustine Publishing Company, Chumleigh (Devon, England), 1979. An extensive study of Catholics and dissidents in Lithuania covering the years 1939-1978 and including many documents from the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and other samizdat sources. By the director of the Keston College Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism.

Avital Shecharansky. *Next Year In Jerusalem*. Morrow, New York, 1979. The 1973 marriage of Avital and Anatoly Shecharansky, Avital's departure for Israel, Anatoly's struggle to join her, his arrest and trial. Includes excerpts of Anatoly's letters to Avital in Israel.

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A number of recent novels have employed Soviet dissident themes. These include:

David Lippincott. *Salt Mine*. Viking, New York, 1979. A group of Soviet dissidents use foreign tourists as hostages to publicize their goals.

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Solomon Volkov, editor. *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitry Shostakovich*. Harper & Row, New York, 1979. The late composer's frank comments on Soviet culture and politics as told to and edited by a Soviet musicologist who emigrated to the United States in June 1976.

Vladimir Voinovich. *In Plain Russian*. Farrar Straus Giroux, New York, 1979. A selection of the dissident author's stories of the 1960's and 1970's. His 1974 letter to the Writers' Union and three other open letters are included.

Roy Medvedev. *On Stalin and Stalinism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1979. A dissident historian reviews the personalities and policies of the Stalinist era. Well translated by Ellen de Kadt.

George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi. *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1979. A critique of the role of the intelligentsia in East European socialism by two Hungarian sociologists.

Charles Levinson. *Vodka Cola*. Gordon & Cremonest, London, 1979. An international labor union official examines cooperation between Western multi-national corporations and East European bureaucrats. The book presents a substantial amount of material on East-West economic cooperation, but it is marred by spelling and other errors, poor organization, and a strident political message.

What the Soviet Constitution Guarantees. Novosti, Moscow, 1978. Soviet officials explain how the 1977 Constitution defines and protects human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, editors. *The Human Rights Reader*. Meridian, New York, 1979. A somewhat haphazard but still

THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

August 1 was the fourth anniversary of the signing at Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

July 31 the Moscow and US Helsinki Watch Groups held simultaneous press conferences in Moscow and New York. A phone call placed by the American Group to the Moscow Group was interrupted after one minute. The Moscow and American Groups issued the following joint statement which had been drafted by the Moscow Group and then amended and translated by the American Group:

We note with satisfaction that public groups to promote observance of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords have been organized and are now functioning in the two largest countries which signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We deem it fitting to recall that Professor Yuri Orlov, a physicist and the founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group, supplied the impetus for the formation of such groups. Professor Orlov was tried in 1978 and convicted for the Moscow Group's activities; he is now a political prisoner in a Soviet labor camp in the Ural region.

We believe that nongovernmental Helsinki Watch groups should be organized in all countries which have signed the Final Act.

The 1977 Belgrade Conference demonstrated the importance of the involvement of individuals and groups of the participating states in promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We believe that contacts among our Groups, both face-to-face meetings and exchanges of information, authorized by the Helsinki Final Act, will assist people from different countries in coordinating their efforts to secure human rights throughout the world.

We believe that the development of such contacts represents a new form of cooperation among people from different countries, one which is based on common goals, principles and methods. This cooperation is expressly sanctioned by the Helsinki Final Act, as well as by other conventions and international agreements.

Convinced that respect for human rights, which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person, is an essential factor for freedom, justice and universal peace;

Convinced that violations of rights can never be justified by political, economic, ideological or other considerations;

Convinced by the history of the human race, and by the history of the twentieth century in particular, that human rights have intrinsic value, that they are inalienable, and that disregard of human rights leads to terrible social dislocations and to the physical and moral degradation of the individual and society;

Adopting the basic definition of these rights contained in the U.N. Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the Final Act;

Mindful that the States which signed the Helsinki Final Act have assumed an obligation to act in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration and with all provisions of the Covenants on Human Rights;

Recognizing the difficulty and, in some instances, the impossibility of eliminating all obstacles on the path to these goals;

We consider our primary and necessary task bringing to light and publicizing all human rights violations no matter whether they affect specific individuals or are more general in nature.

We believe that any country which has not yet ratified the Genocide Convention, the Covenants on Human Rights, including their Optional Protocol, or the international conventions forbidding various kinds of discrimination, forced labor and interference with freedom of association, should do so. We also consider necessary the adoption and ratification of conventions guaranteeing freedom of conscience and belief; freedom of movement within a country and between countries; the inviolability of the individual and the treatment of prisoners. Many of these human rights are specific undertakings of the signatories under the Final Act and other international agreements.

We believe that the domestic legislation of our countries must quickly be brought into complete accord with the international covenants and conventions on human rights.

We recommend and hope that in preparing for the Madrid Conference governmental delegations will use materials on human rights violations in the signatory states compiled and issued by nongovernmental groups as well as private individuals actively concerned with the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

We consider ourselves obliged to bring to public attention documentary evidence concerning any conflicts between our operative domestic laws or normative acts and international agreements as well as violations of our laws or other arbitrary actions resulting in infringements of human rights. We shall also inform world public opinion about all sorts of persecutions of persons who are engaged in defending the rights of others and who have acted within the bounds established by international human rights declarations, covenants and conventions.

We shall give priority to assuring contacts between our Groups so that we can consult about our activities and can circulate our documents to a large and varied audience in both countries.

We propose to circulate this document among existing European Helsinki Groups. We welcome contacts with them.

Members of the Moscow Group

Elena Bonner, Sofia Kalistratova, Malva Landa, Naum Meiman, Viktor Nekipelov, Tatiana Osipova, Yury Yarym-Agaev.

he had asked on the subject of the Tartars had not yet been answered, unless it was because he had expressed it badly. He would therefore try to frame the question more clearly, for he attached great importance to it because it concerned the rights of hundreds of thousands of people.

On 26 June 1946, the newspaper *Izvestia* had reported the promulgation of a decree the previous day whereby it had been decided that because the inhabitants of the Crimea had collaborated with the Germans, the Republic of the Crimea was henceforth dissolved and its inhabitants would be resettled in other regions of the USSR, where they would be given land and government aid. On 19 February 1954, the Crimea had been ceded to the Ukrainian SSR.

Petitions had been addressed to the Soviet Government. The President of the Presidium, in August 1965, and the Secretary of the Presidium, in March 1966, had received delegations of Tartars.

The newspaper *Pravda*, in its issue of 9 September 1977, had reported on a decree in which it was stated that after the liberation of the Crimea all the Tartar inhabitants of the region had been unjustly accused of collaboration, whereas that had been true of some of them only, and the wholesale accusations made were to be withdrawn.

He warmly commended the decision of the Soviet Government to absolve the Tartars of the unjust accusation made against them.

In the circumstances he would like to know why it had not been possible for the Tartars, who numbered 300,000 to 500,000 and had been scattered throughout the Soviet Union, to return to the Crimea, where they had lived for centuries, in keeping with the wishes they had so often expressed in petitions. Would that have given rise to insurmountable problems?

KOCHUBEI: pointed out that there was nothing in Ukrainian law to prevent a person from living wherever he wished, provided he could find accommodation and work. The Crimea was an area of coastal resorts and accommodation was not easily found. The situation was the same for the Tartars as for other Soviet citizens. There were, however, descendants of the Tartars living in the Crimea, notably at Aloupka, and they enjoyed exactly the same rights as the other inhabitants of the region.

BERNHARD GRAEFERATH (German Democratic Republic): said that the members of the Committee, in examining the report, should rely solely on official documents not on press reports.

BOUZRI: said that, in his opinion, examining a report did not mean taking into account only what was stated in the report but also, and more especially, what it did not say. So long as the members of the Committee were committed to the protection of human rights, they were fully entitled to speak of matters that were not dealt with in a report.

In any case, in asking a question about the Tartars, he had not based himself on press cuttings but had referred to Soviet Government decrees which had been published in the Soviet press.

community. In such cases, the desirability of hospitalization was first carefully considered by a panel of psychiatrists. The procedures for committal were clearly stated in the health legislation.

A number of questions had been asked about correctional labor legislation. The purpose of that legislation was not to sanction punitive labor; its objective was to set forth clearly the rights of individuals who had committed crimes and were being punished accordingly. The Correctional Labor Code contained provisions setting out the conditions in which the punishment would not only be a penalty for the offence committed but would reform and re-educate the offender. It was clearly stated that the aim was not to inflict physical suffering or degrade human dignity.

Under Article 74 of the Correctional Labor Code, persons serving a sentence in a correctional labor institution must enjoy conditions which conformed with the rules of hygiene and medical standards. The habitable area prescribed by the law was a minimum of 2 square metres in correctional institutions or 2.5 square metres for minors and in prisons. The convicts were entitled to a bed and a bed linen. They received clothing, underclothes and shoes suited to the season and climatic conditions. The clothing was provided free of charge to minors and disabled persons of the first and second category. Other detainees had to pay for their clothing by an automatic deduction from their wages.

Solitary confinement was generally imposed as a punishment in the case of a breach of the regulations. The penalties provided for under article 67 were a warning, a reprimand, deprivation of visits, stopping of parcels. Transfer to an individual cell, in other words subjection of a prisoner to solitary confinement, could not be imposed for more than six months, or a year in centres with special regulations where habitual offenders were usually detained. With regard to the medical service, article 76 of the Correctional Labor Code provided that correctional institutions should have essential medical facilities.

In the Soviet Union, the right of pardon appertained to the Supreme Soviet, namely, the permanent body of the highest organ of State. The right of pardon was mainly exercised for humanitarian reasons in the case of prisoners sentenced to death. An explanation had also been requested about a problem that was not directly connected with the Covenant — the death sentences which had been pronounced, according to the *Herald Tribune*, on four persons found guilty of grand larceny. The affair had been widely discussed in the Soviet Union because it concerned a number of republics. Although the offences had been mainly committed in the Ukraine, the persons implicated lived in Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Supreme Court had upheld the conviction, which was in conformity with the law, although for the last 15 years the role of the legislative provision invoked had mainly been that of a deterrent. The four condemned persons were entitled to seek pardon.

NEJIB BOUZIRI (Tunisia): said that he realized that the task of replying to the numerous questions put by the members of the Committee had given the Ukrainian delegation a great deal of work. That was possibly why the question

Members of the American Group

Robert Bernstein, John Carey, Adrian DeWind, Marvin Frankel, Jack Greenberg, Aryeh Neier, Orville Schell.

* * *

On August 1 President Jimmy Carter issued the following statement to mark the anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act:

On this day in 1975, the leaders of thirty-five states met in Helsinki to sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They pledged to build a future of peace and stability in Europe on the strong foundation of mutual understanding and respect for fundamental human rights.

In the years since Helsinki, we have witnessed conscientious efforts on the part of many signatory states to fulfill, fully and completely, their obligations under the Final Act. We have made progress in ensuring the freer flow of people and ideas.

Flagrant abuses of human rights no longer go unnoticed and unchallenged. The Final Act provision which calls for notification of large military maneuvers has worked well. The spirit of Helsinki is alive. But there have also been important setbacks. For example, in the German Democratic Republic, harsh new laws designed to restrict contact with foreigners will take effect today, on the anniversary of Helsinki. In Czechoslovakia, members of the Charter 77 Movement remain in prison facing trial for their dedication to basic human freedoms. In the Soviet Union, organizations established to monitor compliance with the Helsinki agreement have been harassed and their members jailed. Acts like these are totally inconsistent with pledges made at Helsinki.

On the Anniversary of the Helsinki Accords, I rededicate this administration and this nation to strive tirelessly for full implementation of the Final Act. We will continue to review our own record in preparation for the meeting of CSCE states at Madrid in 1980. And we call upon other signatory states to work with us so that we may mutually fulfill the obligations undertaken at Helsinki to Peace, Security, and Human Rights.

NOTES FROM THE PERM LABOR CAMPS

The Moscow Helsinki Watch Group released on April 25 Document 87, a report on camp conditions compiled by Yury Orlov, Mykola Matusevich, Zinoviy Antonyuk and Valery Marchenko, prisoners of conscience convicted for anti-Soviet propaganda and now serving their sentences in the Perm labor camps. (The complete document has been published in Russian in *Kontinent* 20, and a condensed English-language translation is available from the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington.) In an introduction, Orlov estimates that the number of persons under detention in the USSR (including prisons, labor camps, juvenile reformatories, and facilities for the compulsory treatment of alcoholics) exceeds three million, and the grand total of all persons engaged in compulsory labor (this includes persons paroled conditionally and assigned to hard labor, and those assigned to correctional tasks as well as those under detention) exceeds five million, or roughly 2% of the population. He observes that a great many crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol and speculates that the high crime rate may be in part due to the alienation of young people who have few legal outlets for individual initiative and who have lost faith in the official ideology. The conditions in the labor camps lead to a high rate of recidivism. The policies of the USSR with respect to national minorities are responsible for the disproportionate number of political prisoners from the Ukraine and the Baltic republics. (Orlov estimates that in the Mordovian and Perm camps, about 40% of the political prisoners are Ukrainians, 30% from the Baltic republics, and less than 30% Russians.)

Sections of the report deal with the nature of forced labor in the camps, the administration's attitude toward the prisoners, medical care for prisoners, and the transport of prisoners.

* * *

On August 21, Irina Orlov was allowed a 24-hour visit with her husband in Perm Camp 37. Orlov told his wife of his concern for

tional group or nation, those terms being used to describe either small or large groups of people with the same language, culture and historical background, living within the broader framework of the Republic or the Union.

Mr. BOURCHAK (Ukrainian SSR): A number of members had asked what was meant by socialist legality. Socialist legality was a legal regime in which the activities of State and public organs and of citizens were subject to the law. A number of questions had been asked about the implementation of article 6 of the Covenant. In the Ukrainian SSR, every effort was made to preserve and maintain human life. Under article 40 of the Constitution citizens had the right to health protection. That right was ensured by free, qualified medical care provided by State health institutions; by extension of the network of therapeutic and health-building institutions; by the development and improvement of safety and hygiene in industry; by carrying out broad prophylactic measures; by measures to improve the environment; by special care for the health of the rising generation, including prohibition of child labor, except for the work done by children as part of the school curriculum; and by developing research to prevent and reduce the incidence of disease and ensure citizens a long and active life. The State did everything in its power to implement the provisions of that article. There were 17,000 practising doctors and a further 8,500 were receiving training.

The legislation of the Republic provided special measures for the protection of human life. Article 24 of the Criminal Code stressed that the death penalty was an exceptional measure of punishment in the case of premeditated murder in extreme circumstances and a number of other very serious crimes. The question of the possibility of abolishing the death penalty was under consideration, but for the time being it was necessary to retain that punishment for very serious crimes.

With regard to the question of the defense counsel, article 44 of the Code of Criminal Procedure specified that the defense counsel could participate in a case when the investigation was completed, but when minors or individuals with physical or psychological handicaps were involved, the defense counsel was called in when the charges were first brought. The accused person enjoyed certain rights established in article 263 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. They included the right to a defense counsel, the right to file any petitions that might be necessary, and the right to call witnesses and experts, as required by the case. The accused was entitled to seek explanations and ask questions of others.

A question had been asked about deprivation of liberty on grounds other than the commission of a criminal act. Article 55 of the Law on Health provided that, in the interests of the health and safety of the population, the authorities were empowered to order individuals suffering from tuberculosis, venereal disease, alcoholic problems and psychic disorders to receive treatment in medical establishments. Persons suffering from psychic disorders could only be committed to psychiatric institutions if they presented a real danger to the

overstepped the boundaries of the law and undertook a specific activity which threatened to disrupt the security of the State. In answer to a question put by Mr. Prado Vallej6, he said that it was the courts which decided whether freedom of speech was being exercised against the interests of the people, and if it was, imposed punishment accordingly.

Several members of the Committee had asked questions relating to the implementation of article 22 of the Covenant, concerning the right to freedom of association and to form and join trade unions. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR did not limit the number of social organizations which might exist but recognized the great variety of such organizations in general, and of trade unions in particular. As article 7 of the Constitution made clear, no one had a monopoly of political activity: members of trade unions, co-operatives and other public organizations had a right to participate in deciding political and other matters. Consequently, those elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies and even to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic included a percentage who were not members of the Communist Party. In reply to Mr. Janca's question about article 243 of the Ukrainian Labor Code, he said that the fact that trade unions were not required to register with State bodies was designed to ensure the free and voluntary creation and functioning of trade union organizations. The trade unions undertook various activities in defense of the interests of the workers, and had many means at their disposal for seeking a solution to problems. He was aware that under other social systems virtually the only remedy available was that of a strike: in Ukrainian society, strikes had long been abandoned as a method of defending the interests of the workers. As regards the right to mass action, article 48 of the Constitution guaranteed workers freedom of assembly, freedom to hold meetings and freedom to conduct street processions and demonstrations.

In relation to article 27 of the Covenant, questions had been asked about the position of national minorities in the Ukrainian SSR, and their right to education in their own languages. The equality of rights of all Soviet citizens of whatever nationality was a principle enshrined in the Constitutions both of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian SSR. As articles 34 and 43 of the Ukrainian Constitution clearly showed, all citizens had the right to education in their own language. That applied also to Jewish communities in the Ukrainian SSR, which had the right, if they wished, to open their own schools. As a rule, court proceedings were conducted in the Ukrainian language, but they could be conducted in the language of the majority of the people of the locality in question. Anyone participating in the proceedings who did not understand the language in which they were being conducted had the right to the services of an interpreter and the right to address the court in his own language, in accordance with article 157 of the Constitution. It was an important principle of the entire Constitution that any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on grounds of race or nationality was punishable by law. In the Ukrainian SSR, as in the USSR in general, "nationality" meant the fact of belonging to a distinct na-

Merab Kostava, a musicologist and member of the Georgian Helsinki Watch Group serving a three year sentence for anti-Soviet slander in Camp 37 and suffering harassment by the camp authorities.

Yuri Orlov asked his wife to pass on the following message which he had been unable to transmit in time for the third anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group:

I am convinced that our sacrifices have not been in vain!

The Democratic Movement has several major accomplishments to its credit: It has forced changes in the language used by officials, an achievement which will influence the next generation;

It has stimulated the growing sympathy among workers for efforts to promote civil and political liberties.

I am proud of our past accomplishments. I look to the future with optimism.

Yuri Orlov asked his wife to report also that he favors the conclusion of the SALT II agreement, since ratification of that agreement is vital. The question of peace affects everyone, and must take priority. Rapprochement is better than confrontation.

* * *

Sergei Kovalev discontinued the hunger strike (which he had begun on June 15) after he was permitted to meet with his lawyer on July 11. Kovalev was permitted a 48-hour visit with his wife Ludmilla Boitsova on August 8-10. Kovalev informed her that on June 12 he had submitted a petition to Leonid Brezhnev renouncing his Soviet citizenship.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FREE TRADE UNION

By Evgeny Nikolayev

Evgeny Nikolayev, born in 1939 and educated as a scientist, participated in the founding of both Klebanov's Free Trade Union and its successor, the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT). Nikolayev was forcibly confined in a psychiatric hospital in September 1970 for refusal to accept socialist obligations in honor of the 21st Party Congress. Since that time, Nikolayev has several times been interned in psychiatric hospitals for varying periods of time, notably in February 1978 after helping to publicize the Free Trade Union. See CHR 11-12 for a 1974 dialogue between Nikolayev and a psychiatrist, and CCE 48 for additional information on Nikolayev and his 1978 hospitalization.

The following note on the origin of the Free Trade Union was probably written by Nikolayev in early February 1978.

* * *

The Free Trade Union came into being spontaneously in early 1978. Its founding was preceded by the events recounted here.

A fairly large number of people came to Moscow from different parts of the country, independently of one another, each with an individual problem which he or she had not succeeded in getting straightened out locally. Some had been unlawfully discharged from their jobs, others had no place to live, and still others had problems of a different kind. They came to Moscow only because it had proven impossible to settle those matters by dealing with local authorities.

In Moscow they visited the Procurator's Office, the waiting rooms of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Everywhere, however, they were received coldly and impolitely. Party and State officials refused to look into the case of any petitioner or to help him. These people, who had come from various parts of the country, experienced in Moscow the same kind of callous treatment they had encountered at home. In some cases those who visited the waiting-rooms were arrested and sentenced to 15 days for petty hooliganism, placed in psychiatric hospitals, etc.

of religious services was nothing other than religious propaganda. Propaganda also took place through religious literature, the publication and receipt of which were perfectly legal. The Uniate Church had ceased to function in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR after the Lvov Assembly of 1946, at which it had been decided to unite it with the Russian Orthodox Church. It was true that persons who were active members of any religious group could not become members of the Communist Party since, under the Party's statutes, its members were required to adhere to the philosophy of materialism. A religious training institution in the Ukrainian SSR was the Odessa religious seminary, which took persons from the age of 18 years. Under Soviet legislation, the religious education of children took place privately, in the family, and there was no ban on the participation of children in religious services. In view of the fact that article 18 of the Covenant allowed for the possibility of certain limitations on the right to freedom of belief, there was no conflict between that article and the legislation and practice of the Ukrainian SSR in that sphere.

Turning to article 19 of the Covenant, on which a number of questions had been asked by members of the Committee, he said that in the Ukrainian SSR no citizen was held accountable before the law for his views or opinions. He was punished only if those views were converted into specific actions which constituted crimes infringing socialist order, such as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. The Republic's laws in the matter were very simple; they were designed to protect the interests of citizens and of society as a whole, and were fully in accordance with article 19, paragraph 3 (b), of the Covenant. Punishment in such cases depended on the gravity of the crime against the security of the State. The relevant decisions were taken by the courts and concerned such matters as slandering the State or individual citizens, the dissemination of pornography, the conduct of war propaganda, provocation of racial or national hatred, and incitement to violence, many of which matters had been referred to in the declaration adopted by UNESCO, at the most recent session of its General Conference, on the role of the mass media. Article 37 of the Ukrainian Constitution clearly stated that the enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of society or the State or infringe the rights of other citizens. At the same time, citizens had the right to criticize shortcomings and, as article 47 of the Constitution stated, persecution for criticism was prohibited. Article 44 guaranteed access to information through the broad development of the press, radio and television, through publications and through the expansion of cultural exchanges with other countries.

Mr. Tomuschat had asked what would happen to any groups of citizens who might take it upon themselves to monitor the implementation of the Covenant: the answer was that nothing would happen to them if they acted within the framework of the law. Mr. Tomuschat had further asked whether the ban on all anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was not incompatible with the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of the political opinions of individuals. Again, the individual could hold an opinion and was only brought to justice if he

of the Constitution guaranteed the inviolability of the home; no one could, without lawful grounds, enter a home against the will of those residing in it.

Questions relating to article 8 of the Covenant had concerned the possibility of conflicts between the interests of the individual and those of society in the Ukrainian SSR. He did not think that the provisions of article 53 of the Constitution, which required every citizen as a matter of duty and honor to engage in socially useful work, were in any way incompatible with the Covenant. Systematic parasitism was punishable in the Ukrainian SSR because it was unjustified, since there was no unemployment in the Republic and the possibility existed for every individual to do interesting work in accordance with his abilities. The requirement that work should be socially useful was not a limitation on the right to work, since all the work offered in his country was socially useful. Writers and artists, of course, were in a special category.

A number of members of the Committee had asked questions about the freedom of Ukrainians to choose their domicile. There was no legal limitation, but merely a factual limitation of that freedom, since in order to live in a certain place it was necessary to have a job and a dwelling there. In reply to the question put about the Crimean Tatars, he said that they now lived in Kazakhstan, where they had all that they required to meet their needs.

Tourism, about which Mr. Bouziri had asked, was increasing annually: thousands of persons now visited his country every year and every provision was made for them. They were allowed a sufficient amount of currency to meet their needs but a limit had to be set because the Soviet currency was not convertible. The travel of Ukrainian citizens abroad was subject to certain procedures, but was not subject to any restrictions except as provided for in article 12, paragraph 3, of the Covenant. The proportion of requests for permission to travel abroad which were refused currently amounted to no more than 2 per cent.

A number of members of the Committee had put questions relating to the implementation of article 18 of the Covenant, on freedom of conscience. Under article 50 of the Constitution, citizens of the Ukrainian SSR were guaranteed freedom of conscience, in other words, the right to profess or not to profess any religion. No pressure was put on anyone to be either a believer or an atheist; the matter was entirely up to the individual. All religious societies were registered with the Council of Religious Affairs and there were in fact at present some 7,000 religious groups of all kinds functioning in the Ukrainian SSR. Those groups were entirely free to run their own affairs and to hold whatever services they wished so long as such meetings did not disrupt public order and did not entail the infringement of the rights of other citizens or incitement of the adherents of one religious faith against those of another. Anyone attempting to violate the rights of believers could be brought to justice. Believers and non-believers were equal before the law in the Ukrainian SSR. There appeared to be some misunderstanding among members of the Committee as to the meaning of certain provisions of article 50 of the Constitution. In fact, Ukrainian laws did not prohibit religious propaganda – indeed, the holding

Such was the way in which Soviet State and Party officials reacted to the complaints of people who had been subjected to administrative harassment at home.

In the waiting-rooms they got to know one another; and gradually they arrived at the realization that it is futile to try to secure one's rights by individual action.

Vladimir Klebanov was among those who were most energetic and had a talent for organization. In the summer of 1977, he and a few other petitioners had made one of the first attempts to contact Western correspondents and tell them of their difficult position.

The petitioners began to send not individual but collective appeals to various Soviet, trade-union and Party agencies, and two appeals were sent to Western correspondents. One was signed by about thirty persons, and another by forty-three. In November 1977, fifteen persons from the group renounced their Soviet citizenship.

But the authorities took no steps to alleviate the difficulties of these people: to help them solve their employment, housing, and other problems.

A press conference attended by Western correspondents was held in Moscow on November 25, 1977 at which persons related their complaints. On this occasion, Western correspondents were handed a new appeal signed by seventy-two persons. That press conference received extensive coverage in the Western press and in the broadcasts of Western radio stations.

Shortly thereafter twenty or thirty persons who had signed the most recent appeal, visited the waiting-room at the KGB headquarters.

"We have done nothing wrong," Klebanov said. "We are not against the Soviet regime. We are only defending our rights. Nothing should be done to us because of our press conference."

At the KGB office the petitioners were received very politely; but, contrary to their expectations, instead of a discussion with all of them together, each one was interviewed individually. As they were leaving, they were promised that each one's individual problem would be solved, and everything would be taken care of. In exchange for this, they were asked not to undertake any more actions such as press conferences.

These people believed the false promises of the Soviet Secret Police and began patiently to wait for their cases to be resolved. They complied with the KGB's demands: they did not meet with Western correspondents, and did not compose group petitions. But the KGB made no haste to fulfill its promises. The petitioners got together again, and in small groups of five or ten they again visited the KGB office and asked that their problems be solved. Each time they were politely reassured that the promise made earlier by the KGB would be kept.

Only a short time later, however, the KGB initiated repressions against those who had signed the group appeal (seventy-two persons). These people often gathered at the Moscow Central Telegraph Office where they picked up their mail at the General Delivery window. The Telegraph Office was staked out, and

the petition-signers who came there were seized, sent to psychiatric hospitals, sentenced to fifteen day prison terms, expelled from Moscow under armed guard, or made to sign a written promise to leave within three days.

On December 19 Vladimir Klebanov was confined in Psychiatric Hospital 7. After that, the signers no longer felt bound by the promise they had made to the KGB.

In early January 1978 the signers (including Klebanov, who by that time had been released from the psychiatric hospital), organized a second press conference. This time they told not only of their difficult financial position but of the repressions they had been subjected to after the first press conference. (These people, unemployed and in a strange city, had no means of subsistence or housing.)

The stake-out of the Telegraph Office was continued.

In late January 1978, the founding of the Free Trade Union was announced. Immediately thereafter the authorities began a round-up of those people, who in their opinion, had been active in organizing the Free Trade Union. The names of the seventy-two persons who had signed the petition to the KGB were used to identify suspects. About twenty persons were arrested at the Telegraph Office in one operation right after the Union was announced.

Klebanov was arrested in early February. His present whereabouts is not known.

These petitioners, who were trying to exercise their rights, were not "disidents" in the generally-accepted meaning of that word. They were ordinary Soviet citizens whose only aim was to restore their violated rights. They were trying to get back into the official Soviet way of life, from which they had been displaced by the arbitrary actions of local authorities. They had no intention of engaging in human rights activities or politics on a national or international scale. But the arbitrary actions of local authorities, supported in turn by high officials in Moscow, compelled those people to come together and announce the founding of a Free Trade Union. The authorities responded by stepping up the repressions. Not a single one of the individual problems of these petitioners was settled in a positive way by the authorities.

THE TRIALS OF KULESHOV AND KUKOBABA

The Moscow Helsinki Watch Group has issued Document 97, Political Trials of Workers in the USSR (July 8, signed by Bonner, Landa, Nekipelov, Meiman, Osipova, Yarym-Agaev):

Two workers taking part in the human rights movement and charged with circulating "information known to be false which defames the Soviet social and

of a will which claimed to express the will of the people but which was nevertheless very specific in nature? If the people were unable to change the men in power by means of direct elections, there was no real possibility of participating in public affairs and the situation was in fact akin to a kind of dictatorship. Could it not be said that the principle, as established, made it possible for a sort of oligarchy to grasp the reins of power and to remain permanently in office?

ANSWERS

Mr. KOCHUBEI (Ukrainian SSR): In connection with the question which had been asked concerning the role of the Communist Party in the Ukrainian SSR, he drew attention to article 6 of the Constitution, which stated that all Party organizations must function within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR. Members of the Communist Party therefore had the same rights and duties as all other citizens. In reply to a question which had been raised regarding the relationship between domestic and international law, he said that international instruments were implemented through legal enactments and administrative decisions; in case of a conflict, the international instrument took precedence. In the case of the Covenant, its provisions had been fully incorporated into Ukrainian law.

Turning to the questions which had been raised regarding specific articles of the Covenant, he said that Mr. Tarnopolsky had asked, in connection with article 1, whether the Ukrainian SSR could secede from the USSR. The Constitution provided for that possibility, but secession had never been proposed or discussed. If it were to be, article 5 of the Constitution would doubtless apply. The benefits of unity were obvious to all, however, and the Ukrainian SSR had no wish to secede from the Union, of which it was proud to be a member. There was no need for special protective measures to prevent assimilation of Ukrainians. Ukrainian language and culture were amply protected. Most schools in the Republic were Ukrainian, and the study of the Ukrainian language was mandatory in all. Approximately 70 per cent of all publications in the Republic were in the Ukrainian language. Nor were any special measures required to protect the rights of Ukrainian citizens in other Republics, because the rights of Soviet citizens were the same in all the Republics. Mr. Opsahl had asked whether Ukrainian nationalism existed. Ukrainians were patriots and resisted all attempts to sow discord among them, they were resolutely opposed to all those who had collaborated with the Fascists in the Second World War many of whom were now in the West, where they were continuing their efforts to sow discord.

With respect to article 17 of the Covenant, Mr. Tomuschat had asked about the possible seizure of correspondence, for example, confiscation of a letter containing the text of the Covenant. The privacy of correspondence and communications was protected by law in the Ukrainian SSR under article 54 of the Constitution and in the Code of Criminal Procedure. Similarly, article 53

In connection with article 8, he agreed with the statement in the report that none of the economic, political or legal preconditions for slavery or the slave trade were present in the Soviet system. However, in order to clear up a misunderstanding which had arisen in connection with his question concerning the USSR report considered in 1978, he wished to point out that the Covenant prohibited not only slavery but also "forced or compulsory labor". He therefore wished again to draw attention to the distinction which must be drawn between slavery and "compulsory labor", and to ask how the duty to work referred to in article 58 of the Constitution was understood and applied. In his opinion, the duty to work was not contrary to the Covenant, but the Committee must interpret the prohibition in the Covenant in such a way that it became acceptable under different social and economic systems. He therefore wished to know what guarantees were provided in the Ukrainian SSR to prevent the duty to do socially useful work from becoming compulsory labor and, in particular, what were the present meaning and practice of provisions against "parasitism", if such provisions existed in the Ukrainian SSR as in other Soviet republics. Also, was it possible to leave a collective farm without the agreement of the management committee?

ABDULAYE DIEYE (Senegal): Expressed appreciation for the calibre of the report (CCPR/C/1/Add.34) submitted by the Ukrainian SSR. However, he had certain comments to make on the document. First of all, the protection of human rights could not be assured unless, as article 14 of the Covenant required, the judicial system was independent of the executive and of all pressure groups. That concept was set out in article 153 of the Ukrainian Constitution. Was it possible, however, to speak of the independence of justice in a country where the administration of justice had to follow a particular ideological line of thought? In a country where the judiciary derived its existence from the State apparatus in general, which was itself the embodiment of a political ideology, could judges take decisions that were not in keeping with the interests of the Party? Could one speak of the independence of the judicial system when the judges were controlled by the political apparatus, reported to it and could be removed from office by it at any time?

According to the report by the Ukrainian SSR, punishment consisted in deprivation of liberty in the course of which offenders were given correctional treatment in prison in order to bring about their social rehabilitation and to discourage recidivism. The question arose, however, whether the re-education through work referred to in the report was not simply another name for forced labor.

He further wondered whether it was possible, under the political system prevailing in the Ukrainian SSR, for citizens to express their opinions freely and to be represented by other persons who were freely elected by them. He had the impression that the changes taking place in the conduct of the country's affairs did not directly reflect the wishes of the people but those of the system. Might it not be said that the voice of the people was muffled in the interests

State 'system' (Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) were tried separately in the USSR in the month of June, 1979. On June 4, Eduard Kuleshov, forty-three, a drill operator at the Taganrog Combine Plant, was tried in Rostov-on-the-Don. On June 20-21, Mikhail Kukobaka, forty-three, a loader who had recently been confined for six years in psychiatric hospitals for his opinions, was tried in Bobruisk, Byelorussian SSR. In each case, the defendant was given the maximum sentence under Article 190-1: three years in a corrective-labor camp. Both trials bore only the outward appearance of legality, and were in effect punishment for holding opinions and exercising freedom of speech. At his trial, Mikhail Kukobaka said: "I want to call attention to the fact that my trial contravenes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Kukobaka's indictment was based on the fact that he had written an article titled "Detente and Human Rights," and an essay called "The Stolen Motherland," affirming the right to emigrate. It is known that in April 1977, as a result of unremitting repressions (discharge from employment, confinement in a psychiatric hospital), Kukobaka had renounced his Soviet citizenship and requested an exit visa. The response to this request was new repressions and, finally, arrest.

Kuleshov was convicted on charges of having written the rough draft (!) of a statement in defense of his friend Eduard Buzimkov, convicted in 1978; of having made tape recordings of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, from radio broadcasts; and of "slander". After three witnesses had disowned, in court, the testimony they had given previously, the indictment had nothing left to support it but the testimony of a single witness. It was so weak that even the State defender, a lawyer from Taganrog by the name of Sishtanov, asked that Kuleshov be found not guilty on the grounds that the indictment was not substantiated. (This is something very rare in Soviet political trials.)

Procedural rules were grossly violated in both trials. Neither Kuleshov nor Kukobaka was allowed to call the witnesses whose appearance they had requested. In Rostov-on-the-Don, Judge Rebrov rudely interrupted Kuleshov, and violated his right to defense. In Bobruisk, Judge Ivanov shouted at the witnesses, and got from them the kind of testimony he needed by means of leading questions.

Both defendants patiently and courageously parried the charges brought against them, showing how untenable they were. Mikhail Kukobaka convincingly showed that in the USSR human rights are violated, and democratic freedoms are lacking. Moreover, he set forth a broad program for the democratization of the country. It was in fact just such things – the defendants' firmness and ability to defend their convictions, their knowledge of the law and their erudition, plus their moral superiority in comparison to their accusers – that provoked the undisguised irritation of the judges, and resulted in their being given the maximum sentence.

The trials of Kuleshov and Kukobaka go beyond the framework of individual, "provincial" reprisals for dissent. They belong in the same category

with the suppression of independent trade unions in the USSR, the arrest of Vladimir Klebanov, the conviction (in 1978) of Eduard Buzinikov, a blue-collar worker from Byelorussia, and the recent trial in Leningrad of Lev Volokhonsky, one of the founders of the unofficial union SMOT.

The significance of these trials lies in the fact that they symbolize a heightened awareness of legal rights among workers, and their realization of the necessity for democratizing the society and carrying out broad social reforms in this country.

We wish to bring these trials to the attention of the governments of those countries signatory to the Helsinki Act, and to the public and trade unions in those countries – in particular, the AFL-CIO in the United States. We hope they will speak out in defense of Mikhail Kukobaka, Eduard Kuleshov, and other convicted workers.

Finally, we ask that other attempts to repress the workers' movement in the USSR not be disregarded.

Members of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group:

*Elena Bonner, Malva Landa, Victor Nekipelov,
Naum Meiman, Tatyana Osipova, Yury Yarym-Agayev*

serious problems. Nevertheless, there were many intermediate solutions between the principle of strict unity and the situation in which two workers could claim to constitute a union. If he had understood the report correctly, the possibility of forming and joining trade unions outside the existing trade-union structure was not provided for in the legislation of the Ukrainian SSR. Unless he was mistaken, that situation had been criticized by another international body, the ILO Committee of Experts, which had even recommended that existing legislation should be amended in order to recognize clearly the right of workers to set up unions of their own choice and enjoying the same status as the existing trade-union committees.

Much interesting information had been provided in connection with article 27, but it did not seem clear whether the rights of minorities had been defined in a legislative enactment or whether the description merely reflected a factual situation. What was the basis, for instance, of the proposition contained in page 31 of the report that national groups undertook to "develop a socialist culture which is undivided in its spirit and basic content and at the same time national in form"? Furthermore, how was a nationality or minority defined? Was the Jewish population, for instance, recognized as enjoying the same rights? What about schools? The report was explicit in that respect, but it did not specify whether it was describing a factual situation or a legally entrenched one. Did national minorities have the legally-vested right of establishing a school for their children if they so wished? Here information seemed to be required in that respect.

TORKEL OPSAHL (Norway): Turning to the implementation of specific articles of the Covenant, he would like to know, in connection with article 1, whether there was any feeling of nationalism in the Ukrainian SSR, and if not why not. Although the right of self-determination was a collective rather than individual right, it would seem that the individual should be able to advocate the exercise of that right, and he would like to know whether Ukrainian citizens were able to do that and whether they could express nationalist views.

In connection with article 6, the report stated that the death penalty in the Ukrainian SSR was an exceptional measure applied, pending its abolition, only for the most serious crimes. He therefore wished to know whether abolition was in fact envisaged and to have a complete list of the crimes in respect of which the death penalty was applied. How many executions had taken place in recent years? He had heard for example, that as recently as in July 1979 at least four death sentences had been confirmed by the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. If that was correct, he would like to know exactly what offences had been involved, and what was the ethnic origin of the persons sentenced? Had their crimes involved violence? Could pardon be granted by any higher authority, for example as a result of an appeal to the President of the USSR? The report contained no information on how the death penalty was carried out, and he would like some clarification in relation to article 7 of the Covenant. Who was present at executions and how were executions prepared? Were they publicized?

With regard to article 17, he wished to have some clarifications regarding remedies. If letters were confiscated by the police, what remedies were at the disposal of the aggrieved individual? If a telephone was disconnected, would the person involved have the right to challenge the decision? He would also be grateful for confirmation that a letter from abroad containing, for instance, nothing more than the text of the Covenant would not be considered as violating Ukrainian public order and would not thereby be subject to confiscation.

Turning to article 18, he said that he found highly commendable the provision under which any religious or atheistic activities were limited by the religious feelings or rights of other persons. On the other hand, the report clearly revealed a number of far-reaching prohibitions which should be given very careful scrutiny. If he had correctly understood the situation, religious communities were not allowed to engage in activities which were deemed to be the purview of State organizations. However, the Convention explicitly spoke of the right to manifest one's religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching. Religious communities, therefore, were not confined to worship in a narrow sense.

He shared the concern of those who found it difficult to reconcile with the requirements of the Convention the fact that atheistic propaganda should be privileged with regard to religious propaganda, which did not enjoy the protection of the Constitution. Page 21 of the report referred to the rules concerning religious education. It bluntly stated that the teaching of any kind of religious dogma in educational establishments was prohibited, the only alternative being to study religion privately. Could that be reconciled with article 18, paragraph 4, of the Covenant? He doubted it. Since parents had been granted the right to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions, they must also be given the means of enjoying that right. Obviously, any community needed collective forms of expression in order to survive, as was borne out by article 27. Parents alone were not in a position to ensure the religious upbringing of their children if they were prevented from organizing joint teaching facilities. Furthermore, it would appear that those restrictions applied only to religious activities. He would like to have information about the legal regime in force and about its justification.

He would also like to draw the attention of the Ukrainian representative to the fact that art in all its forms was also protected by article 19. Was there any specific legal regime for artists? Did an artist enjoy full freedom to present his work to the public? Was membership of an official association of artists necessary for the effective exercise of artistic freedom? The report was silent on those points, but article 45 of the Constitution seemed to indicate that artists had been assigned the function of contributing to the building of communism.

The main point with regard to article 22 was whether some measure of pluralism had to be granted by States parties. He did not disregard the fact that excessive fragmentation of the trade-union movement was likely to give rise to

THE CONTINUING HARASSMENT OF CRIMEAN TATARS

The USSR Council of Ministers passed Decree 700, dated August 15, 1978, and titled "Supplementary Measures to Strengthen the Passport System in the Crimean Oblast," from which the following excerpt is reprinted. This Decree seems clearly designed to inhibit the return to their homeland of the Crimean Tatars who were deported from the Crimea in 1944 and forcibly resettled in Central Asia.

The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the following temporary measure, effective October 15, 1978:

Persons who have arrived in the Crimean Oblast in an unofficial way and who are living there without passports, on inoperative passports or without the required permits and registration despite the administrative penalties imposed on them for violation of the passport regulations, on request by municipal or raion executive committees of Soviets of People's Deputies, are to be expelled from the Oblast by the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

Citizens who are owners of buildings, tenants or sub-tenants of dwellings, or residing in hostels, who have provided accommodations for persons without passports, with inoperative passports or without the required permits and registration, and who for such violations have twice in the course of one year been subjected to administrative fines, are to be banished from the Crimean Oblast for a period of up to two years by resolution of municipal or raion executive committees of Soviets of People's Deputies.

(This decree was cited in an official warning addressed to Enver Ametov, who was living in the settlement of Kurskoye, Belogorsk raion, Crimean oblast. On Ametov, see CCE 47.)

* * *

A samizdat bulletin on the continuing harassment of Crimean Tatars reports that Tatar activist Eldar Shabanov was arrested on March 27, tried on trumped up charges of malicious hooliganism, and sentenced on May 4 by a Belogorsk court to three years' strict regimen labor camp. Tatar activist Mamed Chobanov was arrested on April 3, charged with slander of the Soviet system, and sentenced by a Simferopol court on July 12 to three years' labor camp. Mustafa

Dzhernilev, sentenced in March to four years' internal exile, has been sent to the Kolyrna region of Siberia. The trial of Reshat Dzhernilev who was arrested April 4 and charged with slander of the Soviet system was postponed by a Tashkent court in August and again in September. On September 22 the Tashkent newspaper *Pravda Vostoeka* published an article attacking Crimean Tatar Rollan Kadiyev, a distinguished physicist at Samarkand University who earlier served a three year labor camp term for his activities on behalf of the Crimean Tatar people.

clearly inherent in the dignity and worth of the human person and were essential to the full development of his personality. Those rights, including freedom of the press, were among the most important in a democratic society. They of course applied across the whole range of human experience, but they were not least important in the political field. They enabled the human being to take steps to ensure the enjoyment of all his rights and to canvass his ideas for the improvement of the society in which he lived. That was why article 19 of the Covenant stated that they should be subject only to such restrictions as were necessary for respect of the rights or reputations of others or for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals.

The individual should be free to express his views, offer his criticisms and canvass his ideas for change and improvement in the society in which he lived, provided he did so by peaceful means. All were aware that in the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainian SSR, so-called "dissidents" had been tried and sentenced to extremely long terms of imprisonment. It was not easy to see the necessity for the severe treatment apparently meted out to some of those people. They were not men of violence seeking to propagate their ideas by violent means. He was bound to say that people in other countries found it difficult to understand that treatment and to reconcile it with the provisions of the Covenant. It would seem that in so far as the ideas of the so-called "dissidents" had any validity, they should be listened to and in so far as they had no validity, it should be sufficient to answer them in public debate. He would welcome the observations of the representative of the Ukrainian SSR on that aspect of article 19.

CHRISTIAN TOMUSCHAT (Federal Republic of Germany): Did the Government of the Ukrainian SSR agree that to invoke the Covenant was permissible and should not entail any negative consequences? How would the Ukrainian Government judge the activities of a group of private citizens intending to monitor on their own behalf the respect for the Covenant shown by the Ukrainian Government? By stating that any person claiming that his or her rights had been infringed should have a remedy, the Covenant clearly recognized a procedure which the aggrieved individual could set in motion on his own initiative, without having to rely on anyone's consent or approval. Objective procedures, which the individual could not influence, were thus only supplementary.

In connection with article 8, he would like to know whether there was any penal provision which made so-called "parasitism" a punishable offence. That might give rise to the question of compulsory or forced labor. Was there not only a right, but a duty, to work? The report merely referred to dependent labor. But what about a self-employed person, such as an artist or a painter who did not wish to tie himself to a specific employer? Could he run the risk of criminal prosecution for parasitism if the competent State organ deemed him not to be "socially useful". Further enlightenment should be given on that point.

ALEXANDER GODUNOV REQUESTS POLITICAL ASYLUM

On August 22, Alexander Godunov, a principal dancer with the Bolshoi ballet, requested political asylum in New York. He asked American authorities to ascertain whether his wife, Bolshoi soloist Ludmila Vlasova, wished to remain in the United States with him. On August 23 Vlasova left the Mayflower Hotel where the Bolshoi troupe was staying and was taken to the Soviet UN Mission. On August 24 Vlasova was escorted aboard the 5 p.m. Aeroflot flight for Moscow by Soviet diplomats and security personnel despite what American officials considered an understanding that Vlasova would be made available to American officials for questioning prior to her departure from the country. Believing that Soviet behavior gave grounds for a reasonable doubt as to Vlasova's wishes, the US State Department ordered that the departure of the Aeroflot jet be delayed until Vlasova could be interviewed in noncoercive surroundings and the principle of not permitting forced repatriation upheld. On August 27 Donald McHenry, deputy US Ambassador to the United Nations, interviewed Vlasova for twenty minutes in a mobile lounge attached to the Aeroflot jet in the presence of Godunov's lawyer Orville Schell and American and Soviet officials and with the assistance of an interpreter supplied by the US State Department. Satisfied that Vlasova wished to return to Moscow under the circumstances which had developed, Ambassador McHenry authorized the departure of the flight 72 hours behind schedule. Vlasova was praised for her decision and behavior by the Soviet press after her return to Moscow, and American agents were accused of seducing Godunov with gold and Scotch whiskey and of harassing Vlasova.

The Bolshoi ballet continued its US tour making scheduled appearances in Chicago and Los Angeles. On September 16, the final day of the tour, Bolshoi dancers Leonid and Valentina Kozlov requested political asylum in Los Angeles.

On September 24 Swiss authorities announced that Soviet figure skaters Oleg Protopopov and his wife Ludmila Belousova had requested asylum while on a European tour. The couple had won Olympic gold medals for their skating in 1964 and 1968.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE UKRAINE'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD

The Human Rights Committee (established under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR)) considered at its seventh session held in Geneva the written report submitted by the Ukrainian SSR concerning its implementation of the CCPR.

Mr. Kochubei (of the Ukrainian SSR) made a statement before the Committee on July 31 introducing the report. Members of the Committee addressed questions on the report to the Ukrainian representative at meetings held on July 31 and August 1, and Mr. Kochubei and Mr. Bourchak replied on August 3 to the questions raised by the Committee.

We publish below an abridged selection of the questions and answers as printed in the Summary Records of the 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 159th and 160th meetings of the Human Rights Committee.

(An article on the Committee's review of the USSR report was published in CHR 32, pp. 33-44.)

* * *

QUESTIONS

Sir VINCENT EVANS (United Kingdom): The report was not very informative in respect of the implementation of article 12. What restrictions were in fact imposed on the movement of persons within the Ukrainian SSR and what controls were exercised? Was any permission required if a person wished to change his residence and what restrictions were placed on the right to travel abroad and the right to emigrate? What proportion of persons who wished to go abroad were refused permission and for what kind of reason? How were such controls justified as being in accordance with article 12 of the Covenant?

Article 19 of the Covenant set forth the right to hold opinions without interference and the complementary rights of freedom of expression and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds. Those rights were

On September 20 Soviet officials ordered the closing seven weeks ahead of schedule of "The Art of Russia: 1800-1850", an exchange exhibition on display at Washington's Renwick Gallery. A US State Department official attributed the show's early closing to a scheduled concert at the Renwick Gallery by Renata Babak, a Ukrainian singer who defected in 1973.

On September 24, Samuel Niefeld of Columbia Artists Management, which had booked a five week American tour of the Moscow State Symphony with Maxim Shostakovich conducting, was summoned to Moscow. Niefeld reportedly was asked to give assurances that no defections from the tour would be permitted. Press reports indicate that this Soviet request was relayed to the State Department in Washington which refused to enter into negotiations on this subject. In any event, the tour was cancelled one week before the scheduled October 3 opening at New York's Carnegie Hall.

The Scandinavian tour of Moscow's Sovremennik Theatre scheduled for October was also cancelled on short notice.

This period encompasses the public activity of Andrei Sakharov in its entirety, as we know it, and my affair, starting with the Writers' Congress, and ending with my forcible expatriation. The courageous seven who demonstrated on Red Square were seized and sentenced, have served their terms and have been released. But Ogurtsov, who did not commit even a minor action, is still in prison.

How many names of threatened, persecuted and arrested persons in the USSR – Sinjavsky, Daniel, Amatrik, – have swept over the West, have transfixed the world's attention and evoked energetic protests – protests which have fortunately helped again and again.

A powerful public campaign long ago freed Plyushch, who was imprisoned five years after Ogurtsov. Worldwide support has brought liberty to Sten, arrested eight years after Ogurtsov. Grigorenko, Silva Zalmanson, Bukovsky, Moroz, Vins, Ginzburg and others have all been wrested from imprisonment and general oppression. How many names there are, who were denied emigration, or who were persecuted in the Soviet Union – the Panovs, Levich, various separated married couples or persons long refused exit visas – who have attained liberty in far briefer periods. But all these years, all these years, Igor Ogurtsov has remained a prisoner, and only recently has his name begun to appear sporadically.

Some prison terms are bearable in comparison to the length of our lives. Some are unbearable. The thirteenth in Vladimir Prison alternating with incarceration in a strict-regime labor camp is no longer an occasion for relatives to feel anxiety about the prisoner's health: it is murder, almost brought to completion. Coldly, methodically, the Communists are killing their ideological foe. Seven and a half years in various combinations still remain in Ogurtsov's sentence, but they will not be needed: He will be finished off before this time elapses. At the moment this letter is being written, he is once again in prison, in Chistopol, for protesting in camp, and all too many such increases in severity can be invented in the future.

A pitiless and irreversible destruction of Ogurtsov's organism is taking place: Atrophy of the internal organs, progressive loss of eyesight, the loss of hair and teeth. Let everyone who reads these lines apply this hopeless, desperately long duration to himself.

I call upon the Hearings to speak out resolutely in defense of Ogurtsov's life. Not everyone in the West shares his social-Christian views, which have led him to incarceration, but it is precisely cases such as these which serve to test the dedication to the principle that every human creature without exception must be defended.

(Igor Ogurtsov, b.1937, graduated from the Far Eastern Faculty of Leningrad University in 1966. Founded the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People" in 1964. Arrested in February 1967, tried in December and sentenced under Article 64 to fifteen years' imprisonment to be followed by five years in exile.)

violations we implicitly indict the persons responsible for those violations and the political system which has spawned them. We emphasize, however, the defense of rights, understanding that accusation and punishment are not our functions. We appeal to humanitarian impulses and not to political passions. Our movement made this philosophical choice from its very inception. I am hoping that this ethical spirit will prevail during the four days of the Sakharov Hearings. That approach will be in harmony with the activity of the remarkable man in whose honor these hearings are named.

* * *

Natalia Solzhenitsyn read her husband Alexander Solzhenitsyn's statement to the Hearings on behalf of Igor Ogurtsov on Saturday afternoon, September 29.

Two years ago I asked the participants of the Sakharov Hearings in Rome to devote particular attention to those who were serving long-term sentences. The years march on and on, and for them they are most destructive.

At the brink of death is Igor Ogurtsov, a tortured Christian thinker, a scholar early torn away from his work, an outstanding son of Russia, who was condemned unjustly, inhumanely, and is now in his thirteenth year of captivity. Those who were first graders when Igor Ogurtsov was arrested are now graduating from university. But Igor Ogurtsov is still in prison.

Almost the entire Brezhnev era fits into this time interval. In the United States three presidential elections have come and gone, and a fourth one is in preparation. The entire Vietnamese upheaval falls within this time frame. China has turned from the rampage of the cultural revolution to cooperation with the West. But Ogurtsov has exchanged only his cell for solitary confinement, his prison for strict-regime labor camps, and once again, for prison.

The entire Czechoslovak "spring" and the ensuing icy winter occurred during this period. Portugal and Spain have changed. Euro-communism appeared on the horizon, attained notoriety and then sank from view. The third center of world Communism - Cuba - has stepped into Central America and roams over Africa. New states have sprung up, some toward freedom, others towards new occupiers. Dozens of governments far and near have been replaced. Yet, Ogurtsov is still in prison.

The drama of all space explorations that gripped mankind have also occurred during these same thirteen years. The apprehensions about Daniel Ellsberg and Angela Davis have flared up, died down, and are forgotten. Yet Ogurtsov is still in prison.

He was already eight years into his term when the Helsinki Declaration was signed amid great publicity, beckoning the West with visions of an era of freedom in the East. And it too, has had time to fade and grow tattered, even for the most gullible. Yet Ogurtsov is still in prison.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Arrests and Trials

* Cronid Lubarsky's semi-monthly Russian-language *Information Bulletin* (published by: Cahiers du Samizdat, 105 dreve du Duc, Brussels, Belgium) has reported that Georgy Mikhailov was sentenced by a Leningrad court on September 18 to four years' labor camp on charges of acting as a commercial middleman (Article 153 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and of engaging in a prohibited trade (Article 162). Mikhailov, a physicist and teacher in a school for gifted children, was arrested on February 21. Mikhailov is a collector of non-conformist art. He had helped unofficial Leningrad artists stage exhibitions of their works, and had prepared color slides of their paintings for them. Judge Kovalenko presided over Mikhailov's trial which began on August 27. A complaint was lodged with UNESCO protesting Mikhailov's arrest.

* According to Moscow Helsinki Watch Group Document 99, former political prisoner Petr Sichko and his son Vasil Sichko, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group, were arrested on July 5 in Dolina on charges of anti-Soviet slander. Petr Sichko is under interrogation at the KGB investigation prison in Lvov while his son has been sent for forensic psychiatric examination. A third member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group, 45-year-old former political prisoner Yury Litvin was arrested in Kiev on August 6. Still another member of the Ukrainian Group, radiologist Vladimir Malinkovich, was sentenced to 15 days administrative arrest in Kiev on August 2.

Document 99 also reports the arrest on August 4 in Leningrad on charges of slandering the Soviet system of 30-year-old driver Nikolai Nikitin, a founding member of the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT). On August 4, two other members of SMOT, Vladimir Borisov and Albina Yakoreva were sentenced to 15 days administrative arrest. On August 7 a search was conducted at the home of Vsevolod Kuvakin, a Moscow lawyer who earlier worked

for the union of oil and gas workers and who has recently provided legal advice to dissident workers.

* Mark Morozov, a computer programmer who had been active in the formation of SMOT, was arrested in Moscow last November 1. Morozov was tried in late June on charges of anti-Soviet activity (Article 70), and, in view of his cooperation with the investigating authorities, was sentenced to the comparatively light punishment of five years' internal exile.

* Vladimir Poreh, a participant in Alexander Ogorodnikov's Orthodox seminar in Moscow and a related Leningrad seminar, and a contributor to the Orthodox samizdat journal *Obshina* (Community), was arrested on August 1 in Leningrad on charges of slandering the Soviet system. Poreh (born 1949) worked as a bibliographer in a Leningrad library after graduating from Leningrad University; he is married and has a two-year-old daughter. Searches in connection with the case against the journal *Obshina* were conducted at several homes in Moscow and Leningrad including the home of the poet Oleg Okhupkin. Tatiana Shipkova, a language teacher at the Smolensk Pedagogical Institute until 1978 when she was fired for her membership in the Ogorodnikov seminar, was reportedly taken into custody on September 9 on charges of hooliganism. These charges stemmed from an incident which occurred on February 10 when police raided a session of the Orthodox seminar which Shipkova was attending in Moscow. Cronid Lubarsky's *Information Bulletin* reports that a search was conducted at the Moscow home of Father Gleb Yakunin on September 28 in connection with the Poreh case. Khronika Press has received a copy of a report which Yakunin completed on August 15 about the current situation of the Russian Orthodox Church.

* Sergei Ermolaev, 20-years-old, and Igor Polyakov, 22-years-old, both participants in Alexander Ogorodnikov's unofficial Russian Orthodox seminar, were arrested on January 14 after shouting anti-Soviet slogans ("The Communist Party is a pack of scoundrels!") in the Moscow subway. After eight months of detention in Butyrka Prison and psychiatric facilities, they were tried (Moscow, September 24; judge: Natalia Orlova) on charges of malicious hooliganism

lectuals and Jews are always grumbling about something, but they insist that workers and collective farmers are well off in the Soviet Union. We have learned, however, that fundamental freedoms are as necessary for workers as for intellectuals. The freedom to travel and also to emigrate is not the concern of Jews alone. Workers are affected by curbs on religious liberty as well as intellectuals.

It is true that the Soviet Union offers free education and medical care. But the cost of free education is its standardization, its complete subordination to the state ideology with disastrous consequences for the social sciences and often for the natural sciences as well. We have learned that students lack all rights, and that they must pay for their free education by compulsory participation in "work seminars." We have learned that priests have been imprisoned for providing religious instruction for children and that children have been taken away from parents who insist on their religious education.

We have learned that one price paid for free medical care is censorship of health statistics, and this means something in light of the Soviet habit of publicizing their successes. Discrimination and privilege persist in the health care system. Doctors take an oath to uphold Communist morality rather than universal ethical principles; they are expected to serve the interests of the state before those of their patients.

Soviet propaganda has long boasted of its protection of the rights of labor. It is true that fairly elaborate labor legislation has been adopted and that worker can often defend himself against arbitrary actions of local management. But he has no defense against the central administration. And collective farmers lack the elementary right to leave their kolkhoz. Workers are deprived of any opportunity for the collective defense of their interests: the trade unions are subordinated to the Communist Party and the administration.

I have commented on some aspects of economic and social rights which are the focus of today's session. The selection of subject is significant in itself since economic and social rights have received little attention in the past. Our human rights movement has defended the rights of all, of the whole nation, but we have tried to accomplish our purpose by assisting those groups which have offered themselves as examples. I am glad to learn about workers in the Soviet Union who are ready to fight for their own rights. I would like to mention with respect the name of Vladimir Kiebanov, the organizer of the first unofficial trade union. We cannot yet say that a workers movement exists in the Soviet Union, but recent events suggest that such a movement could well develop.

During these Hearings we will be discussing violation of human rights in the Soviet Union. What lends credibility to these proceedings? It is quite usual for political exiles and emigres who have gained asylum in a free country to denounce the government of their native land and to accuse their oppressors. Why do people believe us? And more than believe. We have received sufficient public support so that it is now possible to speak of an international movement for the defense of human rights in the USSR. I believe we have been successful in pleading our case because we have followed the tradition of our movement. We defend; we do not accuse. By the very act of speaking about human rights

the USSR have almost no contacts with the other participants in this struggle, but we always sense the similarity of our ideas, we understand their difficulties, and we sympathize with their victims. Through this letter I greet our friends in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, East Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary.

We are fascinated by the fragmentary information which reaches us regarding the fledgling human rights movement in China.

My gratitude should be conveyed to all those persons in the West who are working on behalf of victims of injustice in the USSR and Eastern Europe, and to those who have contributed to the organization of the Hearings.

I wish the participants in the Hearings success in their difficult and responsible task.

* * *

Valery Chalidze delivered the following introductory remarks on September 26, the morning the Hearings opened:

Why have we gathered here to discuss human rights in the Soviet Union? Why in the Soviet Union instead of in Iran or Argentina, in China or Angola? Do they shoot people in the USSR without investigation or trial? Have you seen people dying of hunger on the streets of Moscow? No. Such horrors do not exist in the Soviet Union, while they do occur in other countries. Why, then, have we tried to persuade the world that the defense of human rights in the Soviet Union is the most critical international human rights issue? Is it because the Soviet Union as a superpower can threaten the peace of the world? More and more people have become aware of the dependence of international security on the protection of human rights, and the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe recognized that link.

I believe that the main reason for according priority to developments in the Soviet Union is its role in formulating and propagating the ideological justification for human rights violations. It has taken the lead in calling systematic and gross violations of rights the best means of protecting them. It has used the full might of its propaganda apparatus to convince people that they need not those rights which a person endowed with common sense wants but some other sort of rights discovered by Communists. Soviet propaganda maintains, for instance, that the individual has no need for freedom of speech; it stresses instead expression of the collective will. And civil liberties in general are termed a bourgeois fraud and entirely superfluous.

The idea that economic and social rights take precedence over civil rights is a crucial thesis in the ideological justification of human rights violations. This thesis has been adopted by the governments of many developing countries and has even begun to influence international law. Soviet propagandists have often resorted to this idea in order to rebuff their critics. They will argue that intel-

and resisting arrest (Article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code), convicted, and Ermolaev sentenced to four years' and Polyakov to 3½ years' labor camp. On September 25, Adel Naidenovich issued a statement describing the scene at the court where the friends of Ermolaev and Polyakov were denied entrance to the supposedly open trial.

* Eduard Arutyunian, an economist by profession and a member of the Armenian Helsinki Watch Group, was reportedly arrested on July 13 in Erevan. On the eve of his arrest, Arutyunian had submitted an appeal to Armenian Patriarch Vazgen I asking his cooperation in seeking the release of all Armenian political prisoners detained in the USSR.

* Yury Badzyo, an Ukrainian historian formerly employed by the Literary Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a former member of the Communist Party, was reportedly arrested on April 23 and is under investigation in a Kiev prison on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. Badzyo has criticized Soviet policies from a Ukrainian nationalist, democratic socialist perspective.

* Three Seventh Day Adventists were convicted (Stavropol; June 25) of slander defaming the Soviet system and other charges stemming from their publication of unofficial religious literature. Richard Spalin was sentenced to seven years' labor camp, and Anatoly Ryskal and Yakov Dolgoter were each sentenced to four years' labor camp.

* Igor Guberman, author of popular books on psychiatry and other scientific topics, was arrested in the Moscow suburb of Dmitrov in mid-August and reportedly charged with having purchased icons stolen from the Dmitrov church (Article 208 of the RSFSR Criminal Code: Purchase of property known to have been criminally acquired). Guberman, a contributor to the samizdat journal *Jews in the USSR*, had applied in December 1978 for permission to emigrate to Israel with his wife and two children. Guberman's satirical verse has been published in Israel.

A search was conducted on September 25 at the home of Victor Brailovsky, current editor-in-chief of *Jews in the USSR*.

Alexander Voronel and Victor Yakhot served as coeditors of the first number of *Jews in the USSR* in October 1972. Since that date 19 numbers have appeared containing a wide variety of materials bearing on the life of Jews in the Soviet Union. (Numbers 1-15 have been reprinted by Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in the series *Jewish Samizdat*.) The arrest of Guberman and the search of Brailovsky's apartment may be another attempt by the Soviet authorities to suppress this durable periodical.

Other News

* Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group and other samizdat materials were confiscated on August 26 during a search of the home (Kameshkov, Vladimir oblast) of Victor Nekipelov (born Harbin, 1928), a pharmacologist, member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, and former prisoner of conscience. On August 14, an article by Nekipelov on the revival of a Stalin cult in the USSR had been published on the Op Ed page of the *New York Times*. Another article by Nekipelov written together with his wife Nina Komarova and titled "About our Searches" was published in September in *Freedom Appeals*, Number 1. (*Freedom Appeals* is a new bimonthly publication of samizdat documents from repressive countries around the world. It can be ordered from Freedom House, 20 W. 40 St., New York, N.Y. 10018.) Nekipelov's book *Institute of Fools* about the Serbsky Institute is scheduled for spring 1980 publication by Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York. Nekipelov, who has written numerous appeals in defense of Mikhail Kukobaka, Evgeny Buzinikov and other prisoners of conscience, has recently been denied permission to emigrate (he has been invited to the United States by Roger Straus), and informed circles have warned that he may face additional harassment.

* *Information Bulletins* 17 (June 22) and 18 (August 12) have been issued by the Working Commission to Investigate the Misuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes (members are: Vyacheslav Bakhtin,

certain non-violent crimes, is a violation of the right to life. Soviet laws limit the free exchange of information and freedom of movement. They punish people for their way of life (the "anti-parasite" law). They make possible the persecution of people for their religious beliefs or for performing socially useful work (the article on "illegal enterprise"). Many provisions of the Corrective Labor Code, which governs the Soviet penitentiary system, do not conform to generally accepted international standards and to humanitarian requirements. Other negative characteristics of the Soviet system include: the gap between words and reality; a false facade of well-being; elitism; and the low ethical standards of Soviet society. After decades of Stalin's arbitrary rule, after the Nuremberg trials condemning the judges who pronounced unjust sentences, we should recognize the special danger to society of crimes committed in the name of the law. Innocent people must not be convicted on charges of any kind, no matter whether criminal, political, economic or moral. The existing level of criminal trial procedures is extremely primitive in our country. People under investigation are subjected to beatings and torture. I receive dozens of letters from the victims of such abuse and from their relatives, and can do nothing. The fabrication of criminal charges used as political reprisals is intolerable. (The most common accusations in such cases are hooliganism and resistance to authority.)

At these Hearings the case of Zatikian, Bagdasarian, and Stepanian will be discussed. The absence of an open trial and of officially published proof of their guilt in allegedly having committed a frightening and senseless crime should alarm world public opinion.

Persons who use publicity in order to defend human rights must not be condemned. Persons must not be condemned for their beliefs, for their desire to emigrate, or for their participation in legal associations which are independent of the regime.

I hope that these subjects will be discussed objectively and in depth during the course of these Hearings and will attract public attention to the fate of many victims of injustice, including K ovalet, Orlov, Shecharansky, Shelkov, Lukyanenko, Petkus, Rudenko, Tikhy, Marinovich, Matusevich, Gajauskas, Shakhverdian, Nazarian, Airtkian, Bolonkin, Zagrobain, Gluzman, Zisels, Podabinek, Tsurok, Kukobaka, Plakhotnyuk, Shukhevich, Ogurtsov, Shumuk, Antonyuk, Svetlichny, Pronyuk, Osipov, Romanuk, Mustafa Dzhenilev, Reshat Dzhenilev, Slepak, Ida Nudel, Irina Senik, Mendelevich, Fedorov, Murzhenko, and many others. (Every time that I list names, I feel guilty for not mentioning dozens of persons who are equally deserving and whose fates are equally tragic.)

I hope that the mass media, including Western radio stations broadcasting to the Soviet Union, will cover the Hearings and will convey detailed information about them to people living in the West, in the USSR, and in Eastern Europe.

In all of the countries of Eastern Europe a difficult struggle for human rights is being waged, one which requires great courage and initiative. We in

serious problems. But I am certain that this is not so. Two contradictory and opposing trends in the development of societies characterize our epoch: one leads toward economic, cultural and ideological pluralism, the other toward totalitarianism, dictatorship and cruelty. The expansion of totalitarianism is a clear and present danger. The tragic events mentioned above are incidents of this expansion. I believe that the main front in the struggle against totalitarianism lies in the international defense of human rights, wherever those rights are violated.

Two principles are of particular importance. First, the same standards should be applied for all regions, for all countries, for people of all nationalities, opinions and beliefs: in other words, political and ideological impartiality. Second, only non-violent means should be used as a matter of principle, with publicity the main weapon in the defense of human rights.

I have always hoped that such principles may serve as a basis for uniting people of different opinions who recognize the right of others to disagree. We can see that the defense of human rights is becoming just this kind of unifying international ideology. The conference, which I have the honor to greet today, should become yet another proof of this.

These Hearings cannot encompass all the problems of human rights violations in the USSR and the Eastern Europe. Some questions have already been examined at the 1975 and 1977 Hearings. But the current Hearings will deal with topics of major importance.

Freedom of movement inside the country: For many years free emigration has been a principal issue in our struggle for human rights; and this is undoubtedly just and right. But limitations of the right to free movement inside our country also constitute a serious violation. These limitations, embodied in the passport system and its secret decrees and regulations, afflict millions of collective farmers, former prisoners, and many other Soviet citizens. The tragedy of the Crimean Tatars is one of the most shocking violations of the right to free movement and an example of discrimination. I have written the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on this matter twice this year but so far I have received no answer. I ask that a copy of the second of these letters be included in the Hearings' materials.

The rights of all working people: Included among these are: a fair wage; the right to organize independent trade unions; the right to strike; management's enforcement of safety regulations; the right to satisfaction of basic social needs, including decent pensions, education, up-to-date medical care, vacations, care for invalids, etc. I hope that an objective and thoughtful analysis will be made at the Hearings of the violations of these basic rights that affect millions of working people. In our closed, hypocritical society, with its caste system, such rights are exercised in a totally distorted way. I suggest that the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group's Documents 36, 37 and 38 which deal with these problems, be included in the Hearings' materials.

Soviet legality: Is Soviet legality compatible with respect for human rights? Serious violations of human rights are inherent in the very laws of the Soviet state. The death penalty, which the Soviet Criminal Code permits even for

Alexander Podrabinek (in internal exile); Felix Serebrov; and Leonard Ternovsky). *Bulletin* 18 reports that Boris Evdokimov, a journalist arrested in 1971 for publishing articles in the emigre press, declared nonaccountable, and confined for many years in prison psychiatric hospitals, was released from detention in April of this year after he was discovered to be suffering from advanced cancer, but was refused permission to go abroad for medical treatment. (Evdokimov, 56-years-old, died in Leningrad in early October.)

* Vyacheslav Bakhmin in a letter published in *Psychiatric News* (June 15) discusses the most effective methods for combating abuses of psychiatry in the Soviet Union:

To those who favor "quiet diplomacy" and private professional contacts I must say that in my view this approach calls for many caveats. First, it is not effective unless there is already a broad and vigorous public campaign. The authorities — who are accustomed to lying and hypocrisy and who try to spread their influence all over the world — are very sensitive to world opinion, even if they do not appear so on the surface. Only under pressure from broad campaigns of pressure or out of the desire to prevent their development do the authorities make concessions to "quiet diplomacy." ... In our opinion, one of the most effective methods is for psychiatrists to send various sorts of official and private inquiries, letters, and petitions, professionally composed and relating to each specific known case. These letters and petitions are best sent to those particular organizations and individuals who are directly responsible for the abuses. At the same time, it is essential to inform psychiatrists and the public about both the letters and replies to them...

Bakhmin was fired from his job as a computer specialist in late June.

* Dr. Etyl Kazanetz, a research psychiatrist at Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, has published (*Archives of General Psychiatry*, Chicago, July, 1979) an article "Differentiating Exogenous Psychiatric Illness from Schizophrenia" calling for more precision in the definition and diagnosis of schizophrenia in the USSR. He notes that "prolonged retention of individuals on psychiatric dispensary lists long after their recovery infringes on rights and influences a great many things such as fitness for military service."

* Forty-five Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians issued a statement on August 23, the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the

Molotov-Ribbentrop Nonaggression Pact, asking that the Soviet and German governments, the states which subscribed to the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations void the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and grant the Baltic nations an opportunity for self-determination. Antanas Terleckas, Erik Udam and Virgilijus Jaugelis were among those signing the declaration which was distributed to foreign correspondents at a Moscow press conference. Malva Landa, Victor Nekipelov, Tatiana Velikanova, Andrei Sakharov and Arina Ginzburg issued the following statement in support of the Baltic appeal on August 23:

The Baltic Republics – Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia – have been incorporated in the USSR without regard for the will of the peoples of those countries. In essence, the absorption of those countries resulted from their occupation by Soviet armed forces.

Dedicated to the principles of equality and self-determination of nations, respecting the right of each nation to direct its own destiny, we believe that in the current historical situation, the question of the self-determination of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia should be decided by referendums, conducted in each one of those countries under conditions ensuring the free expression of the popular will...

* A joint appeal on behalf of imprisoned Czech and Slovak members of Charter 77 was issued by the Polish Self-Defense Committee (KOR which includes Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik) and by the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group. Andrei Sakharov, Alexander Lavut, Georgy Vladimov and Tatiana Velikanova were among other human rights activists who signed the appeal. The appeal states:

We, the undersigned Polish and Soviet human rights advocates, who are waging a common struggle for the observance of human rights, appeal to our Czech and Slovak friends, to people of goodwill everywhere, and to the government of all states. We urge you to speak out in defense of those Czech and Slovak human rights advocates who have been unlawfully arrested by the Czechoslovak regime after they signed Charter 77... We believe that the ideas which are the object of the current persecution of Charter 77 members and of other persons working on behalf of human rights in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland and other East European countries, are the very ideas which will win the hearts of our compatriots and reconcile our peoples despite the policies of our governments. We are convinced that only the force of public opinion can secure the release of our friends who were arrested this May in Czechoslovakia...

The flavor of the Hearings can be gleaned from a September 27 *Washington Post* story:

The corridor of the Dirksen Senate Office Building was full of people shouting at each other in Russian, TV crews tortuously interviewing people in Russian, listeners propped against the walls, lost in what their headsets were telling them. Inside the big hearing room, a succession of Russian emigres – engineers, tool-makers, miners, union officials, chauffeurs and carpenters – were giving witness to the life of the worker in the Soviet Union. ... Everybody seemed to know everybody else (“the whole Russian community is here,” one press observer muttered)... As the session wore on, people prowled continuously around the rear of the big room or whispered urgently.

The Hearings were recorded, and the Executive Committee is planning to publish materials from the Hearings in Russian and other languages. (Inquiries should be directed to: International Sakharov Hearings, 20 W. 40 St., New York, N.Y. 10018.)

* * *

Andrei Sakharov's message (dated September 5) to the Hearings was read at the opening session on September 26:

Message to the 1979 Sakharov Hearings

Tragedy abounds in today's world. The self-genocide perpetrated by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in Cambodia is an ineradicable reproach to the conscience of mankind. The tragedy of the Vietnamese refugees, who deem the mortal risk of emigrating in small junks a lesser evil than the threat of persecution, starvation and annihilation in their own country, demands massive and disinterested assistance from all more fortunate countries. Instead of halting this exodus, free, secure emigration should be assured with guarantees of political asylum and assimilation in other countries.

Blood is being shed in the Middle East, Latin America, Southern Africa, Northern Ireland, Ethiopia, Iran and Afghanistan. In many of these places covert competition between the superpowers encourages a senseless struggle. Courage, tolerance, wisdom, and altruism are needed in order to stabilize these dangerous situations. Hunger, the companion of war and destruction, threatens Cambodia and many other countries.

In such circumstances, a discussion of the violations of civil rights in the USSR and in Eastern Europe may appear a minor distraction from more

THE INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV HEARINGS

The third session of the International Sakharov Hearings was held in Washington, D.C., from September 26 to 29. Earlier sessions of the Sakharov Hearings were held in Copenhagen (1975) and Rome (1977).

The Washington hearings were funded by the AFL-CIO and the Smith Richardson Foundation. They were organized by an Executive Committee comprised of Patricia Barnes, Mario Corti, Albert Shanker, and Efrem Yankelevich with the assistance of an Advisory Board which included Roger Baldwin, Winston S. Churchill, Dante Fascell, Arthur Koestler, George Meany, Bayard Rustin, Harrison Salisbury and Telford Taylor.

Testimony and reports were heard on three topics: "The Worker's Question: Economic and Social Rights of Soviet Citizens" (witnesses included Ambartsum Khlgatian, Pavel Litvinov, Friedrich Ruppel, Viktoria Schweitzer, Boris Weil, Andrei Amalrik, Vladimir Bukovsky, Eduard Kuznetsov and Nikolai Scharegin); "Freedom of Movement Inside the USSR" (witnesses included Cronid Lubarsky, Aishe Seytmuratova, Alexander Ginzburg, Arkady Polishchuk and Mikhail Meerson-Aksionov); and "Socialist Legality" (witnesses included Alexander Volpin, Konstantin Simis, Lev Yudovich, Ilya Levin, Dina Kaminskaya, Galina Salova, Yuri Luryi, Tatiana Khodorovich, Natalia Gorbanevskaya, Petr Grigorenko, and Julia Zaks). On September 29 statements were heard on behalf of: Yuri Orlov (by Kurt Gottfried and Robert Bernstein); Anatoly Shcharansky (by Joseph Pomerant); Mykola Rudenko (by Ramsey Clark); Viktoras Petkus (by Thomas Venclova); Lev Lukyanenko (by Petr Vins); Sergei Kovalev (by Avram Rozhansky); and other prisoners of conscience in the USSR.

Members of the commission hearing the testimony and questioning the witnesses included Lane Kirkland, Simon Wiesenthal, Tom Stoppard, Tim Greve, Thomas Whitney, Robert Conquest and Leon Lipson.

* *The Death Penalty*, a report published by Amnesty International and released at a New York press conference on September 26, contains a 10-page section on Soviet use of capital punishment. The report notes that "Amendments in 1961 and 1962 also made a number of economic offenses punishable by death... Amnesty International knows of 17 reported cases of death sentences passed in 1974-1976 on people convicted of economic crimes not involving any use of violence."

On July 16 Amnesty International appealed to Leonid Brezhnev to commute the death sentences passed by a Donetsk court against Rafael Adjiahtvili, Elia Mikhailishvili, Gabriel Spashvili and a certain Abasov, four Jews convicted of speculating in stolen textiles.

* Valentin Moroz and Petr Vins testified on July 19 before the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Petr Vins called for support for the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and reminded his audience that the emigration issue was not limited to the question of Jewish emigration:

...The Soviet authorities are attempting to impose (on their Helsinki partners, as on their own citizens) their own narrow interpretation of this right. They would reduce the problem to one of family reunification and would further restrict it on the basis of ethnic origin. The right to choose one's country of residence is a fundamental human right. The extent to which this right is observed in a given country is an accurate measure of the overall status of human rights there. All Soviet citizens, not just those who wish to leave the country, have a stake in the observance of this right, for the overall quality of life in a country hinges on genuine freedom of emigration.

* On August 5, writers Edward Albee, Arthur Miller, William Styron, John Updike and Kurt Vonnegut sent a letter to Felix Kuznetsov, chairman of the Moscow branch of the Writers' Union, protesting the censorship of *Metropol* (CHR 33, pp.22-23) and expressing their solidarity with the Soviet contributors to that journal. Their letter concluded:

Metropol was a brave attempt to establish a beachhead for free expression on the bleak terrain of official Soviet censorship and repression. It is ironic that in contributing their works to *Metropol* the twenty-three writers had actually

implemented the provisions of the Brezhnev constitution on freedom of expression. We wish to express our deepest concern over this matter and our hope that the writers in question will receive treatment consonant with standards of justice and dignity.

In a reply published by the *New York Times* on September 8 (in an abbreviated form), Kuznetsov observed that a number of authoritative Soviet writers found that *Metropol* contained slight literary value at best, and questioned the competence of the American writers to judge a work which appeared only in Russian. While denying that major reprisals had been taken against the *Metropol* authors, he justified the decision not to publish *Metropol* in the USSR by the following:

All it suggests is not lack of "free expression" but the good literary taste of our editors and publishers. And this is not a woe, but our good luck. A lack of good taste and demanding standards and a downgrading of ethical and esthetic criteria result in the destruction of literature as an artistic value, and in complete moral and esthetic permissiveness and dispiritedness.

* Malcolm Toon, US Ambassador to the USSR, delivered the following statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 25:

The considerable resources of the Soviet Union are now, and will continue to be for the foreseeable future, effectively mobilized in support of a distinctive, and in my view, distorted historical world outlook. The Soviet regime does not accept and will not tolerate ideas of free expression and of free individual choice. It will try to vindicate its ideology by stifling dissent at home and often by supporting abroad various repressive regimes which proclaim themselves Marxist-Leninist....

The same passion for security extends to the Soviet domestic scene, although here some striking changes have taken place since my first tour in Moscow in the early 1950's. Stalinst terror has ceased. Nonetheless, organized dissent still meets with official hostility, especially when it poses a direct challenge to the Party's official line. Yet I am inclined to believe that domestic repression would be much more severe if the Soviet Union were to give up its policy of detente -- because then it would be even less concerned about world public opinion...

Over the past decade Soviet leaders have, out of their own self-interest, modified the way they deal with their own people. And as I mentioned, they are not indifferent to world public opinion... Bringing about any basic changes in the Soviet system must be viewed as a very long-term proposition. But the prospect for change, slight though it may be, is better served if there is some degree of engagement between our two countries. And in my view it is equally

with Alexander Lerner and Anatoly Shcharansky's brother Leonid to visit Shcharansky's parents at their home in Isra in the Moscow suburbs. Despite oral assurances from an Intourist agent that such a trip would cause no problem, Lerner's car was stopped on the way to Isra by Soviet police. Cotler was taken first to a police station where he was informed that he had violated local travel regulations for foreigners, then back to his hotel where he was given five minutes to pack his belongings, and finally to the airport where he was put aboard a Japan Airlines flight to London. In the course of Cotler's expulsion, a thorough search was made of his baggage and luggage and all documents bearing on the Shcharansky case were confiscated. Cotler was denied permission to contact the Canadian Embassy or Soviet IPSA officials prior to his expulsion.

had any bearing on issues of Soviet security and all of it was simply packed in her luggage or her purse along with other Congress material.

Our taxi was one of the last to arrive at our hotel to take us to the airport Sunday morning, August 19. We went through the passport control to the Customs desk. Immediately, three men replaced the woman at the counter and asked us to open our luggage, beginning with Scoble's briefcase. Scoble's briefcase contained nothing illicit. It did, however, contain some copies of our conference paper on human rights; copies of other conference papers we had picked up; his handwritten notes for revising our manuscript, on the work of the Soviet who had originally been scheduled to serve as discussant on our panel, and on the panels we attended; some literature we had brought in to read; and some fliers on the Human Rights Internet, which is currently the base of our operations. They immediately confiscated all of his handwritten notes over our protests. They then went through his wallet, removing every credit card and searching out every pocket. They also went through his check book. Then they went through his suitcase, and finally through Wiseberg's suitcase. Everything was dumped onto the counter. When they discovered the manuscript in Russian, and some of the other papers in Wiseberg's suitcase, they immediately confiscated that. They, then, carefully went through Wiseberg's purse and confiscated her notebook -- with all the notes she had taken during her various panel meetings, visits with the dissidents and refusniks, and personal notes. Over our protests, they refused to permit us to examine the material they were taking away. Instead, they presented us with a document, in Russian (which we did not understand), apparently telling us how many pages of English and Russian text they were confiscating. We protested again but, finally because we were afraid of missing the plane, Scoble signed the form (which we did not get a copy of) indicating that he did not understand what it was he was signing for.

The final insult occurred a few minutes later. When we passed through the airport security barrier, the bell rang for both Wiseberg and Scoble, although Wiseberg had nothing on her person which should have set it off. Each was then, separately, taken to booths and searched. In Scoble's case, his wallet was once again gone through item by item, and his pockets emptied, in addition to a general body search. Wiseberg was stripped down to her underwear with each item of clothing carefully examined. We were then permitted to board the plane.

* * *

Irwin Cotler, a law professor from McGill University, Montreal, who had attended the IPSA Congress, was expelled from the USSR on August 19 for violating travel restrictions. Cotler, at the request of Anatoly Shcharansky's family, had prepared an 800-page brief on behalf of Shcharansky and intended to meet with Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court A.K. Orlov. Cotler set out together

mistaken to question, as many are doing today, the value of trying to cooperate with Moscow at all.

Thomas Watson Jr., former chairman of IBM, has been nominated by President Carter to succeed Ambassador Toon, and is expected to take charge of the Moscow Embassy in mid-October.

* A Soviet team declined to participate in the World Archery Tournament held in West Berlin because of the International Archery Federation's decision to permit teams from the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia enter the competition.

A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS - No.52 Moscow - March 1, 1979

Issue number 52 includes information on: the conviction of Zatikian, Stepanian and Bagdasarian for the 1977 Moscow Metro explosion; the death of Gely Snegirov; the trial of Vasily Ovsienko; the arrests of Iosif Zisels, Eduard Kuleshov and Victor Monblanov; harassment of the journals *Poiski* and *Jews in the USSR*; prisons, labor camps, psychiatric hospitals and internal exile; after release; the arrest of Seidamet Memetov and of Mustafa Dzhemilev and other harassment of Crimean Tatars; the arrest of Romas Ragaisis and other events in Lithuania; the cases of Vladimir Shelkov and Alexander Ogorodnikov and other persecutions of Russian Orthodox, Adventists, Baptists and Pentecostals; the right to emigrate; the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Invalids; the *Metropol* affair; Human Rights Day; the Khamshels; documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group; news of Russian-language, Lithuanian and Estonian samizdat; documents on the interrogation of Shagen Arutyunian, on an anti-religious campaign in Tiraspol, and on ex-convicts; corrections to earlier numbers.

* * *

English-language editions of *A Chronicle of Current Events* are published by Amnesty International and distributed by Routledge Journals (Broadway House, Newton Road, Henley on Thames, Oxon RG9 1EN, England, or 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass. 02108, USA). Russian-language editions of numbers 28-51 are available from Khronika Press.

THE SECOND MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR

The second Moscow International Book Fair was held from September 4 to 10 under the slogan: "The Book Serves Peace and Progress." (For a report on the first Moscow Book Fair held in September 1977, see CHR 27, pp. 31-34.)

The Soviet Union refused visas to Carl and Ellendea Proffer, the editors of Ardis, a publishing house located in Ann Arbor, Michigan, which specializes in Russian literature. Ardis had been permitted to exhibit at the first Moscow Book Fair.

On August 23 the Soviet Union revoked the visa of Robert Bernstein, Chairman of Random House and also of the US Helsinki Watch (see his interview in CHR 34, pp. 49-55). To protest this Soviet action, Random House withdrew its delegation but not its exhibit at the Fair, and the US Embassy cancelled a planned reception at the urging of the Association of American Publishers (AAP).

The International Publishers Association protested the Soviet refusal to rent an exhibition stand to South Korea on grounds of "lack of space."

Ten out of fourteen Israelis who applied were refused visas to attend the Fair, but nevertheless there was a large exhibition from Israel.

After long delay, the Soviet Union granted visas to publisher Lawrence Hughes and Jeri Laber of the AAP's International Freedom to Publish Committee, but no action was taken on the visa request of Voice of America's Ludmilla Foster, effectively denying her a chance to attend the Fair.

United Nations Deputy Secretary General Bogdan Levandovsky and UNESCO Director General Amadou M'Bow attended the Fair and made speeches commemorating the event. Approximately 150,000 books from more than 70 countries were displayed on 1,200 stands. More than 100,000 Soviet citizens visited the Fair.

The AAP mounted a special exhibition of 300 books at the Fair entitled "America Through American Eyes" and distributed catalogs of the exhibition in both English and Russian.

Soviet censors confiscated more than fifty books from American exhibitors, and books were also confiscated from Swedish, Italian

human rights in the Soviet Union to discuss their concern with members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group and other dissidents. We talked about the situation of political prisoners in the USSR, the right of Jews and others to emigrate, the state of religious liberty and persecution in the Soviet Union, academic freedom, the harassment of dissenters, and the strategies that might be most effective in aiding the human rights movements in Eastern Europe.

On that same Friday evening, a seminar was organized at Aleksandr Lerner's home, where he read a paper on "Cybernetics and Politics" and at least thirty people attended. Here we met Masha Slepak, whose husband is serving a five year exile in Siberia because the Slepak's dared to unfurl a banner demanding their right to emigrate to Israel. Just back from four months in Siberia herself, she described the brutality of isolating a 52 year old communications engineer in a tiny village, where no vegetation breaks up the stone and sand landscape, and assigning him as his work the repair of power lines in the severity of the Siberian climate. We met Lev Blitshtein, a technology engineer of the beef and poultry industry, who has since 1974 been denied permission to emigrate due to "regime considerations"; after he divorced his wife in 1975, she was given permission to leave, both for herself and her children, but he remains refused and is unable to be reunited with his family. We met Viktor and Batsheva Elistratov, an aeronautic engineer and a seamstress respectively, refused since 1972 on the ground of the "secret classification" of Viktor's former work. He resigned from his job before applying for an emigration application and since late 1972 has been unable to continue his professional work. Employed as an unskilled laborer at a communal enterprise, he and his wife have been subjected to constant KGB harassment and persecution and, during the month of August 1979 - following a visit he made to the Pentecostals in Nahotka - his home was searched and he was threatened that proceedings might be opened against him. During that meeting, and other visits with refuseniks and dissidents, we met physicists, chemists, a dentist, and other professionals - either unemployed or working at menial tasks because they dared to exercise their right to freedom of expression.

Prior to our visit to the Soviet Union, we were always hesitant to speak out about persecution in the USSR or elsewhere in Eastern Europe for fear that such protest would be used by those who wished to reopen the Cold War and undermine detente or the SALT negotiations. We still do not want to reopen the Cold War, undermine detente or SALT. Yet, we have become acutely conscious of the human tragedy that results from Soviet persecution. We have also become acutely conscious of our responsibility, as social scientists, to express our solidarity with, and come to the defense of, colleagues persecuted for challenging an unjust order or established orthodoxy.

As a consequence, Wiseberg accepted responsibility for taking our a 39-page manuscript, in Russian, given to her by several refusenik scientists, containing information about the cases of four refuseniks largely undocumented in the West. She also agreed to take out some personal letters and statements given to her by various Soviet citizens who she met. None of this material

during the Congress. One example will suffice. Harold Berman, Professor of Law, Harvard University, in his paper "American and Soviet Perspectives on Human Rights" presented to the Helsinki panel, made mention (in a footnote) of the recent sentencing of 83 year old Vladimir Shelkov, to 5 years of strict regime labor camp. Shelkov, the leader of the Faithful and Free Adventists since 1949, was charged with dissemination of fabrications defaming the Soviet state and infringement of the rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites. (*A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, No.33, January-March 1979). He has already spent 24 years of his life in prison for advocating religious freedom. A Soviet colleague, S.L. Zivs, from the Institute of State and Law, challenged Berman's information. "Do we have any idea who this Shelkov is who Berman is defending?" After a long discursive introduction concerning the U.S. Presidential Commission on the Holocaust's visit to the USSR, and the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, he came to the point. Shelkov - held up as an advocate of religious freedom in the West - was a Nazi collaborator. We could read about it in *Izvestia*. How does one respond to this? World War II ended in 1945. This is 1979. If Shelkov had, in fact, been a Nazi collaborator, the Soviet government has had 34 years to muster its evidence against Shelkov. Over the past 34 years, he has never been convicted as a war criminal or a Nazi collaborator. Wiseberg had the occasion to discuss the Shelkov case with Zivs several days after the panel, over a cup of tea. When she made the argument above, Zivs shifted his ground. "You do not understand what kind of a person this is," he explained. "You know about Guyana and Jonestown. How can we permit someone like Jones to go freely about in the USSR?"

A Final Violation

One of the most rewarding aspects of the XIth World Congress was the opportunity it provided us to meet with Soviet dissidents - particularly Academician Andrei Sakharov, his wife Elena Bonner, other members of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, and two members of the Working Group on the Abuse of Psychiatry - and with Soviet refuseniks. We found them, almost all, to be gentle, courageous, and warm people who welcomed us into their homes and who spoke honestly and openly about their struggles.

We must acknowledge the fact that, once we were in Moscow, no efforts were made to prevent us from visiting anyone we chose to visit with in Moscow. No doubt we were under surveillance, but it was not obvious and did not restrict our freedom of movement. The public transportation system in Moscow is excellent and easy to use and taxis were generally plentiful. As a consequence, we were not only able to visit Sakharov and Lerner on our own, but we were able to help organize seminars at their homes and to bring other members of the Congress to these seminars. The seminar at Sakharov's home took place on Friday afternoon with close to twenty people participating. It provided an opportunity for members of the Congress concerned with the question of

and French stands. Asked at a news conference about the confiscated books, Boris Stukalin, chairman of the State Committee on Publishing responded:

We have legislation forbidding certain books. We ban books propagandizing war and racism, books of an anti-Soviet character, pornography and books insulting the dignity of participating countries. The great majority are observing these conditions. There are only a few who have brought in books that contradict our legislation. Under our law these books are not going to be allowed.

It is not correct to say that this is a violation of freedom of speech. It is the highest affirmation of freedom of speech, since freedom to propagandize fascism is the kind of freedom that all honest people in our country and in other countries must oppose. Books of that nature do not bring peoples closer together and do not serve the cause of detente. Instead, they stir up hatred and hostility between people and hamper the process of detente.

The AAP hosted a reception for Soviet writers at the Aragvi Restaurant on September 7. Among the authors attending were: Vasily Aksenov, Andrei Bitov, Victor Erofejev, Fazil Iskander, Lev Kopelev, Anatoly Marchenko, Roy Medvedev, Andrei Sakharov, Georgy Vladimov and Vladimir Voinovich. Herbert Lottman (*Publishers Weekly*, October 1) termed this reception "the most impressive single event" of the Moscow Fair.

Nicole Zand, a reporter for *Le Monde* who covered the book fair, missed her return flight to Paris on September 10 when she was detained for three hours at the Moscow airport by Soviet officials and subjected to a body search.

* * *

The following exchange of letters appeared in *Publishers Weekly*:

From Ramaz Mchedlidze, First Deputy Director-General of Moscow's International Book Fair

I attentively read the article "Soviets Cancel Bernstein's Visa for Moscow Book Fair," (*Publishers Weekly*, September 3) and only want to say that all the American firms which wanted to participate in this year's fair did participate. As a matter of fact, it was attended by over three times as many American exhibitors as the first fair held in 1977. Mr. Bernstein's firm, Random House, also displayed its books. As for Mr. Bernstein himself, we know that

on the eve of the fair he said he was not going to work there. He was aware that visas were issued only to the participants.

Why then the accusation of the Soviet side for nonexistent sins and violations of the Helsinki accord? It is Mr. Bernstein who virtually violates the Helsinki provision on the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of other states, which is hardly befitting a man who poses as a champion of the Helsinki accords.

The handful of American books that were not permitted to be exhibited at Moscow's fair were mostly propagating national chauvinism, fascism and traitors. Such books defy Soviet laws and the conditions of participation in the fair, which were made known to the participants well in advance and to which they all agreed. What aims were pursued by those publishers who, being aware of all this, nonetheless brought certain questions of "cultural values" to Moscow? Were they just going to raise a fuss about "severe Soviet censorship" after hearing the legitimate reproaches of the fair's sponsors and blackmail them by threats to revise the future attitude of American publishers to Moscow's book fairs.

The fair is over and its success is unquestionable. Hundreds of mutually advantageous contracts were signed, for instance, between Soviet and American publishers to the tune of millions of dollars. Mr. Bernstein claims: "In dealing with the Soviets, good faith is not enough." I think those American publishers who have been fruitfully cooperating with their Soviet counterparts will not agree with him. Thus, Plenum Publishing Corporation has been doing business with the Russians for 30 years and, according to its president, Martin Tash, has been quite satisfied so far.

Representatives of Macmillan, Prentice-Hall, Times-Mirror and other big firms said in Moscow that they were satisfied with the conditions of the book display, the organization of the fair and its commercial results. They expressed their intention to take part in the next book fair in Moscow. Is this not the best proof that the reproaches of Mr. Bernstein and some people like him are utterly unfounded?

* * *

From *Robert Bernstein, Chairman of the Board, Random House*

It is good of *Publishers Weekly* (PW) to give me the opportunity to answer Mr. Mehedlidze's letter in the same issue. Simultaneous publication will certainly help clarify our differences. But this exchange of ideas should not take place only in the American press. As the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights both call for the increased flow of information and the exchange of ideas, I ask that PW inquire of its closest Soviet counterpart if it will print this response with comments by Mr. Mehedlidze. I am sure readers of PW will be interested in the outcome.

I believe Mr. Mehedlidze's letter contains some errors of fact.

cipate in an international scientific congress that lends considerable legitimacy to the regime of the country acting as host, there is a moral right to speak out when scientific freedom and the human rights of scientists are being violated. If IPSA had a forum – a business meeting, a general assembly, some open meeting – in which individual members could voice their concerns, then it would not be necessary to use one's panel as a forum. As it was, there was no other place to speak out. Since our paper was concerned with human rights and the role and importance of groups like the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Committee, since we were using up our own allotted time, Treni's exercise of the powers of censorship was a violation of Wiseberg's freedom of expression. It was, thus, also a violation of the principles that IPSA adopted at Rio de Janeiro which included "no interference with discussions at the Congress itself or with papers presented at the Congress".

To conclude the narrative, Wiseberg – vibrating with anger – threw aside her protest statement and made a two minute introduction to our paper. Scoble then proceeded with the presentation. At its conclusion, the floor was opened to questions, several of which took the form of attacks on the "unscientific" emotionalism "of that lady"; another was an attack on Amnesty International, described as a tool of Western propaganda (predictable, perhaps, in the light of a vicious article on Amnesty International and GINETTA Sagan's "International Committee for Human Rights" which appeared on July 18, 1979, in the Moscow *Literaturnyya Gazeta*); and still others were statements about the extent to which human rights were enshrined in the constitutions of Eastern Europe and how misinformed we were about the so-called dissidents because we did not read Soviet sources which would reveal the truth about these people. The "questions" had gone on for about 10 minutes when, about 4:30, Helge Bergesen appeared with the program chairman, coming in person to assure our Soviet delegates that his substitution had in fact been approved and that he could proceed with his paper. The Soviets acquiesced only after one more attempt at obstructionism: now they wanted to finish the questions on the first two papers before permitting Bergesen to present his research. The chair ruled this out of order and Bergesen gave his paper. Much of the question time that was left was then devoted to attacks on his presentation – his facts could not be right because Bergesen did not use Soviet-language sources; his methodology could not be right because it was not Marxism-Leninism, etc.

The subsequent two panels on human rights were far more orderly. Yet, again, they were each scheduled in very small rooms with thirty or more people unable to gain access, crowded in the doorways. Again, the Soviets, accompanied by translators, arrived well before the scheduled panel and occupied the "best" seats. Again, the discussions were dominated by lengthy statements rather than critical comment on the papers. However, perhaps the Soviets – who appear to be the only ones to have gotten copies of the human rights papers – will take the time to read and seriously reflect on the questions raised after the Congress. Our judgment is that, with respect to the panels on human rights, there was ideological confrontation but very little scientific discourse

sent out in search of the Chairman of the Program Committee among the 1,500 delegates in Moscow State University, and Sharma was finally able to begin his own presentation – on "Inequality in Rural India and World Order." It was about 3:40 p.m. when he concluded, because of the consecutive translation. He then attempted to introduce Wiseberg who was to begin the presentation on our joint paper. And, once again, the Soviet was on his feet. There should be a question period following each paper. If we had both papers and then the questions, we would forget the first paper by the time we came to the end of the second. Pandemonium broke out again.

As it happened, John Trent, the Secretary General of IPSA, happened (we assume by chance) to be passing by the room. Forcing his way through the crowd in the doorway, he sized up the situation and took command. He called upon the standing Soviet to identify himself, as he was not wearing his name-tag. He insisted that Vladimir M. Tshikvadze former Director of the Institute of State and Law, sit down and permit the panel to proceed. There would be no more consecutive translation. The questions would come after the paper. He turned the floor over to Wiseberg. And Trent took over the Chair.

By this point, Wiseberg was very angry. She was angry because Lerner's participation in the Congress had been rejected. She was angry because Sakharov, and the others we had invited – who we felt would have given serious and critical thought to the paper we had written – were not in the audience. She was angry because the Soviets who were in the audience only seemed interested in disrupting the panel and appeared totally unwilling to engage in a serious discussion of human rights (as evidenced in their dismissal of Bergensen). And that anger undoubtedly came through as she began her presentation. She was, however, only able to complete two sentences before she was called to order by John Trent, assuming the Chair. "Our paper is on the role of non-governmental organizations in the promotion and protection of human rights. Given the focus of our research, we thought it right and proper to invite several members of Soviet human rights organizations to attend our panel. We would, therefore, like to protest the fact that Andrei Sakharov..." The room was in an uproar once again and Trent was on his feet. "There will be no protest! Either you read your paper or you sit down!"

In the heat of the moment, Wiseberg argued that this was the introduction to her paper and that she should be permitted to finish her statement. Trent rejected that out of hand. "There will be no protest!" In retrospect, Wiseberg may have been tactically wrong. The protest might have been accepted had it been interwoven into the substance of her remarks instead of prefacing them. And, one can sympathize with John Trent's position. The atmosphere in the room was volatile and he was concerned with the preservation of the International Political Science Association. Yet, there was another issue at stake: freedom of expression. The argument can, of course, be made that freedom of expression does not give a person the right to yell "fire" in a crowded theatre. But the analogy, we think, is a false one. We were not the ones who created the volatility in the room. We were not the ones who created the atmosphere that made it impossible to engage in open intercourse. And when we parti-

All the American firms which wanted to participate in the Moscow Book Fair did not. Ardis Publishers, headed by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Proffer, were not allowed into the Soviet Union. Random House's participation was severely crippled by the withdrawal of my visa. It is true our books were exhibited, but, under the circumstances, it was impossible for any Random House representatives to attend the fair in good conscience.

The number of American exhibitors increased dramatically because the Association of American Publishers had a combined exhibit (partially funded by a U.S. government contribution of \$15,000) which allowed publishers to send fifty books each at a small charge. I believe that the number of individual American publishers exhibiting increased only marginally, if at all.

I never said I was not going to the Soviet Union to work. I intended to work very hard. I had written many letters – including some to leading Soviet government officials – to present publishing ideas. Random House was sending the largest single delegation to the Fair: John Beauchamp, in charge of international sales for Random House, Knopf, Pantheon and Ballantine; Carolyn Reidy, to handle subsidiary rights; Andre Schiffman, managing director of Pantheon; Toni Morrison, a Random House editor; and myself. We had carefully assembled our ideas for books to be developed for the American market. We also were anxious to talk to authors whom we already publish, like Andrei Sakharov and Roy Medvedev.

Regarding the second paragraph of Mr. Mchedlidze's letter about Helsinki I would make two points. First, I believe the imprisonment of Yuri Orlov, the writer Mykola Rudenko and other Helsinki monitors, including Anatoly Shcharansky, stands as a symbol of the Soviet Union's non-compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Their severe sentences serve as a message from the Soviet government to its people and to others that they fear allowing their citizens to discuss the Helsinki pact. The Final Act says that individuals – not governments – "must know and act upon their rights." The release of Orlov and all the Helsinki monitors would improve the security and prestige of the USSR more than the Soviet government could possibly imagine. More than any other act, it would be taken as a new symbol by intelligent people everywhere that an age of reason had begun.

Second, the Helsinki Final Act is an international document, and citizens of all the countries who have signed it have the right to discuss compliance. More importantly, reputable international jurists have never considered verbal comment and written expression of opinion as interference in the internal affairs of another nation. Indeed, over 40,000 Soviet citizens wrote President Carter about the Johnny Harris case. Many others have sent letters about the Wilmington 10.

Mr. Mchedlidze's third paragraph discusses censorship. In principle, I am opposed to censorship. I certainly do not believe that American publishers should have voluntarily censored books that were to be shown at the Moscow Fair because they feared that these books might have upset Soviet officials. While I am aware that the Soviet Union claims the authority to impose censorship, I fail to understand how Soviet officials can expect foreign publishers

to comply with censorship, regulations which are unpublished and not available. Furthermore, it is difficult for me to understand which of Mr. Mchedlidze's categories – "national chauvinism, fascism and traitors" – apply to such confiscated books as *The Arts of David Levine*, George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Abba Eban's *My Country*, *Barshnikov at Work* and John Berger's *Art and Revolution* to name a few.

It should be remembered that books sent to the Moscow Book Fair were not being published in the Soviet Union. One, perhaps two copies, in English, were to be exhibited for *one week*, in *one hall*, in *one city* in the USSR and then shipped out again or bought by Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, the Soviet wholesaler. That is why I believe the whole process is ludicrous. But if the Soviets insist on censorship, then they should not be embarrassed by the public attention it arouses.

Finally, Mr. Mchedlidze seems to question why I said that good faith is not enough in dealing with the Soviets. The reason is clear. When Random House applied for the Book Fair and for our visas months in advance, the Soviets knew how I felt about their political trials. My views had been published, and expressed by me directly to Soviet delegations in the USSR and the USA. Therefore, it was an unethical business practice to lead us to believe that all was well – to encourage us to prepare our exhibit, to allow us to spend the money on the booth, to ship our materials to Moscow and to allow us to carefully block out the time to go. And then to withdraw my visa, without explanation, on the eve of my departure.

I thank you again for allowing me to make my position clear.

* * *

Washington Post correspondent Kevin Klose reported that Andrei Sakharov had remarked in an interview that "fifteen years ago such a fair would have been unimaginable", and that despite the problems of censorship, "the lives of Muscovites had been enriched by the Fair."

Unfortunately, the Moscow organizing committee did not realize how much interest there would be in human rights in that the room assigned for our panel had only 32 seats. Shortly after 2:00, when we entered our room, there were already some 20 occupied seats, almost all of them taken by Soviet political scientists and their accompanying translators. By 2:30, when the panel was due to start, there were about 50 people variously perched on window ledges, on additional chairs filling the aisles, and perhaps another 30 crowded in the doorway seeking to come in.

To add to the confusion, neither our Nigerian Chairman nor our Soviet discussant attended the panel. Nor had the Chairman informed the IPSA program committee that he was unable to attend the Congress because he could not get his anticipated funding. That meant that, in addition to ourselves, there were two other panelists, an Indian and a Norwegian, and the Norwegian was in fact replacing an Irishman who was listed in the program but was also unable to come to Moscow. Amongst ourselves, we therefore agreed that Sharma (from India) would act as chairman, that we would each take 20 minutes for our presentation following the order noted in the program, and that thereafter the floor would be opened to questions. With the shuffling of chairs and the suffling of bodies providing a background hum, Sharma opened the session.

Immediately, a Soviet member of the audience occupying a seat in the center of the room rose to his feet on a point of order. Speaking through a young translator who was accompanying him, he asked that Sharma permit consecutive translation because many members of the audience did not understand English. There was a hub-bub, as some members of the audience said yes and some said no; as one Russian sat down, another got up to speak to the point; and after some ten minutes, Sharma – wishing to accommodate the audience – agreed to the consecutive translation. This immediately cut a two-and-a-half hour panel to an hour-and-a-quarter and was a violation of IPSA rules (that none of us seemed conversant with), which state that English or French can be used at IPSA meetings but that no consecutive translation is permitted. Sharma, then, made another attempt to open the panel – with the translator pleading with him to pause after each sentence to repeat in Russian – and got as far as stating that there would be three papers presented, his paper, our paper, and that of the Norwegian (Bergesen). Again, the Soviet occupying the center seat was on his feet with a point of order. "Who was this Bergesen who was to give a paper on 'Human Rights – The Property of the Nation State or a Concern for the International Community? A Study of Soviet Positions Concerning the Protection of Civil and Political Rights Since 1975'?" He was not listed in the program and there was no evidence that his paper was accepted as a substitute for the Irishman who did not come." Bergesen's participation created an up-roar in the room. Despite the fact that there was a member of the Executive Committee in attendance at the panel, despite the fact that the other panelists accepted Bergesen's participation, despite Bergesen's statements that his substitution was accepted by the program committee, the Soviets in the audience were adamantly against his giving his paper. Twenty minutes later, the up-shot was that Bergesen was

allowed to participate in the work of the Congress, but my speech would be read (by Alker). This decision, in my opinion, is absolutely unacceptable."

To begin with, the so-called participation by default is absurd in as much as I would be deprived of any exchanges with my fellow panelists or any of my academic colleagues at the Session and, secondly, the fact that a person, whose name is in the Programme, is deprived of contacts with Congress participants is an act of unprecedented discrimination in that it makes me a kind of "Untouchable," this being a direct violation of elementary norms of conducting international scientific conferences."

And there was one final chapter to the Lerner story that merits mention. On Friday afternoon, when Alker's panel on "Quantitative and Mathematical Approaches to Politics" convened, a Dutch delegate arose to ask why Lerner was not present. As the *New York Times* reported it (August 19, 1979), "Dr. Alker, tense and angry, shouted him down and said that the discussion must be confined to the scientific subject at hand." This was not the only time during the Congress that freedom of expression for Congress delegates was severely transgressed. Alker was prepared to discuss the Lerner case only in a closed business meeting of his Research Committee that would convene after his panel and he exercised the right to exclude anyone who could not prove his mathematical competence. It was, thus, not even possible to make a public announcement that because Lerner was being barred from the Congress, there would be a seminar on Cybernetics and Politics organized that evening at Lerner's home, where he would – and did – read a paper on that subject.

Issues of Freedom of Speech and Free Scholarly Exchange

We wish to touch on one final cluster of issues bearing on the opportunities that the Moscow Congress offered for freedom of speech and free scholarly exchange. Our observations derive from our participation as paper-givers on the panel "Human Rights and World Order," and our participation as members of the audience at two other panels which focused on human rights.

The panel in which we participated as paper-givers took place on Tuesday afternoon, August 14, and was the first of three panels which focused exclusively on human rights. We, like other Congress participants, had brought over 40 copies of our paper to Moscow, to be made available to other delegates. (Each delegate had a right to 10 free papers.) We turned in our papers at registration on Sunday morning. Distribution of papers began the following morning. And that Monday morning, at 11:00 a.m., one of us went to peruse the papers and to pick up those we were interested in. Clearly, the human rights panels were very popular for there was not a single copy of our own paper still available, and of the other eight relevant papers, we were able to get exactly one paper – and that was the last available copy located in a pile of miscellaneous manuscripts.

Chemical and Engineering News (August 27) printed a full English-language, translation of an article first published in *Pravda* (April 23) "Scientific Exchange for Progress" and signed by Y. Ovchinnikov and four other members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, together with a reply submitted to *Pravda* on July 12 by five Nobel laureates. We publish below excerpts from this interchange.

* * *

"Scientific Exchange for Progress", *Pravda*, April 23.

... The Soviet Union and the U.S. have very powerful scientific potentials, and successes of science in our countries are exercising a tremendous influence on scientific and technical progress in the world. The constant strengthening and expansion of our scientific ties facilitate the creation of a climate of mutual understanding and trust.

It has to be said, however, that certain circles in the U.S. are hampering cooperation between scientists of our countries and are striving to curtail ties or end them altogether. Attempts are being made to pressure U.S. scientists to sign all sorts of "petitions" and "appeals". Participants in campaigns of this kind are themselves most often unconnected with Soviet-U.S. scientific links and only try to place barriers in the way of pooling the efforts of men of science from the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.

It is to be supposed that positive trends and a sensible approach will after all gain the upper hand here. What are the grounds for thinking so? One of the most important of them is the great and ever-growing scientific and technical potential of our country and the leading place of Soviet science in the development of many topical problems of the science dealing with nature and society. It is just impossible to disregard that. Further, exchanges going on in the field of science and technology have no relevance to philanthropy, but are based on mutual benefit. This is understood by every sober-minded scientist, including many men of science in the U.S. And if those who are now opposed to contacts between Soviet and U.S. scientists hope in this way to harm the science of our country, their calculations are not destined to materialize. The history of our socialist state has convincingly confirmed this.

Scientists have a prominent and honorable place in society. Their prestige and contributions to the economic and cultural development of their countries and to the improvement of the international situation are quite weighty. They can and must use their influence for promoting mutual understanding among peoples, deepening the process of detente, and seeing to it that scientific and technical advance is directed toward the good of the peoples, toward the solution of mankind's pressing problems.

"Scientific Ties and Human Rights", an open letter signed by Christian Anfinsen, Owen Chamberlain, Max Delbruck, Paul Flory and Edwin McMillan.

In stark contrast to the professions of our Soviet colleagues, the Soviet government has pursued policies that thwart cooperation and communication between our scientific communities. Anti-Semitism, as documented recently by eminent members of the American Mathematical Society, continues to poison the atmosphere of cooperation. The Soviet authorities have systematically imposed political restrictions on the selection of Soviet scientists who are allowed to participate in international meetings and exchanges. It is common knowledge that the coveted privilege to attend scientific meetings abroad is under the control of the KGB. Soviet scientists whose contributions have earned them worldwide recognition all too often are disqualified on political grounds. In their stead, persons with mediocre scientific credentials typically comprise a substantial fraction of the Soviet delegation. Our invitations to distinguished Soviet scientists to deliver lectures or receive prestigious awards have repeatedly been interdicted by the Soviet authorities. Secret police escorts have become customary adjuncts to Soviet scientific delegations abroad. These practices have corrupted the very concept of scientific cooperation.

In spite of the policies enforced by the Soviet authorities, most of us were willing to enter into cooperative endeavors with our Soviet colleagues, many of whom we hold in the highest regard. It was our abiding hope that through personal contacts the oppressive policies would somehow be ameliorated. This hope was dashed by the convictions and harsh sentences of Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Scharansky in 1978 for the "crime" of advocating basic, inalienable human rights. Their names were thus added to the list, already long, of dissidents imprisoned or committed to psychiatric hospitals.

In a recent broadcast (May 19), noted Soviet radio commentator Valentin Zorin has castigated us for threatening disruption of scientific ties without "having a way of learning the true circumstances of the (Orlov and Scharansky) cases." Indeed, the records of the court proceedings are not at our disposal. Does Zorin have access to them? If so, he should disclose them in fulfillment of the responsibilities of his profession. The secrecy surrounding the trials is disturbingly reminiscent of the infamous trials of the Stalin era, trials that the Soviet government itself eventually exposed as shams.

Formal agreements on scientific cooperation are doomed to failure if leading scientists choose not to participate. If the Soviet government is genuinely eager to cultivate scientific ties and to engage the cooperation of scientists in the world at large, it must foster a climate free of political, ethnic, and racial prejudice and persecution.

adopted and published by the Program Committee of the IPSA. Since the organizing committee in Moscow refused to permit him to register as a delegate, Lerner - who holds dual citizenship, as an Israeli as well as a Soviet - was certified as a member of the Israeli Political Science Association, and had his application for registration forwarded, with the required registration fee, to Ottawa. At this point, information becomes hazy. Lerner, and many others, believe that Lerner was duly registered in Ottawa. We have been told that the IPSA Secretary General, John Trent, unwilling to accept the responsibility for registering Lerner, forwarded his application to Moscow, where it was denied. In any event, what then transpired was in clear violation of ICSU rules concerning "Freedom of Circulation of Scientists."

When the final copy of the program - and we have seen that final copy - was sent to Moscow for printing, Lerner was included in the program as a discussant on Aker's panel. When the final program was printed by the Moscow organizing committee, Lerner's name was expunged from the program and a V. Gelovani of the Institute for Systems Research, Moscow, substituted in his stead. To the best of our knowledge, this arbitrary action by the Soviet Political Science Association was taken without consultation with, or informing, either Aker, the Program Committee of IPSA, or the Executive Committee of the association. Lerner was an invited delegate to the Congress. He had forwarded his documents and registration fee of \$50 to the IPSA. Yet, with a stroke of the pen, Professor William Shinnov, Secretary-General of the Soviet Political Science Association (who was highly praised for his hard work at the closing session of the Congress), denied Lerner access to the Congress.

On Tuesday, August 14, the IPSA Council considered the question of Alexander Lerner. In closed session and by a vote of 16 - 33, the Council decided not to permit Lerner to participate in the Congress. This incredible decision generated significant protest particularly among Dutch and Canadian participants. The Canadian petition - which sought not mass signatures but key signatures of eminent political scientists from a large number of national delegations - did get prestigious scholars from nine national delegations to protest the Council's decision. The petitions of protest were introduced by the Dutch member of the Executive Committee at its meeting on Wednesday, August 15. The Executive Committee voted as the Council had done: to deny Lerner the right to be an accredited delegate. Simultaneously, behind the scenes, a shabby attempt at compromise was attempted by Hayward Alker and by IPSA officials - a compromise which failed because it was totally unacceptable to Aleksandr Lerner and to others concerned with maintaining the principle of the integrity of free scientific exchange. Lerner, in an "Open Letter to the President of IPSA, Professor Karl Deutsch" - which received very little notice because there was no xeroxing equipment, other duplicating facilities, or even typewriters, available to delegates (although it was picked up by the New York Times) wrote, on August 13, 1979:

"As far as I know, the Executive Committee of IPSA agreed that, although my name would be restored in the Program, I would not be

such, we felt it both appropriate and important to ask members of Soviet human rights organizations to attend our panel as "invited observers." Moreover, the American Political Science Association, in its 1978 "Resolution on Participation in the IPSA XI World Congress," both supported IPSA's Executive Council statement of August 26, 1978, that it would seek to assure freedom of access to the IPSA Congress, and adopted the guidelines on the "Freedom of Circulation of Scientists" issued by the International Congress of Scientific Unions (ICSU). The ICSU guidelines (Res.12 of the XIV General Assembly of ICSU of 1972) concerning the Free Circulation of Scientists specifically state:

"... in holding ICSU meetings and meetings of ICSU scientific and special committees, the Council shall take all measures within its power to ensure the fundamental rights of participation, without any political discrimination of the representatives of every member of ICSU concerned and of invited observers, ..." (Emphasis added.)

We, consequently, sought information on the procedures that were necessary to get official invitations for those whom we wished to have attend our panel as our "invited observers," and indicated our readiness to pay whatever reasonable fee was determined for such observers. The information we finally received was entirely unsatisfactory from our standpoint: namely, that such permission would have to come from the Soviet Political Science Association, hosting the Conference; that only panel chairpersons could invite observers; and that Academician Andrei Sakharov (of the Moscow Human Rights Committee), Vyacheslav Bakhmin and Leonard Ternovsky (of the Working Group on the Abuse of Psychiatry), and Viktor Kapitanchuk and Father Gleb Yakunin (of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR) would, of course, never be given permission to attend the Congress.

We, therefore, cabled and then wrote the President of IPSA to express how deeply disturbed we were by this information.

The Case of Aleksandr Lerner

The closed nature of the Congress was poignantly brought home in the case of Aleksandr Lerner that became a focal point for much of the protest mobilized during the meeting. Aleksandr Lerner is a refusenik, a Soviet Jew who eight years ago applied for emigration to Israel and who is still refused permission to emigrate. Lerner, a cyberneticist (dismissed from his job after he applied for an emigration visa and one who has been active in the refuseniks' weekly scientific seminars, in which many visiting foreign scientists have participated) was invited by Professor Hayward Alker of M.I.T., to serve as discussant on his panel on quantitative and mathematical approaches to politics. With his mathematical training and his interest in political science, Lerner was eminently qualified to serve as discussant on that panel. He, therefore, agreed to participate and his name was included in the preliminary program of the Congress,

THE ELEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

By *Laurie Wiseberg* and *Harry Scoble*

The International Political Science Association (IPSA) held its Eleventh World Congress in Moscow from August 12 through August 18.

IPSA was established in 1949 as a confederation of national political science associations with the objective of promoting "the advancement of political science throughout the world."

The idea of holding IPSA's 1979 Congress in Moscow was reportedly first discussed during the 1973 Congress. Seymour Lipset, Gabriel Almond, Alex Inkeles, Arnold Beichman and a number of other American and Canadian political scientists criticized the location of the proposed Congress, and this controversy intensified after the dissident trials of the summer of 1978.

G. Shakhnazarov president of the Soviet Association of Political Science and Deputy Chief of the Central Committee's Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries, wrote in *Pravda* on January 17, 1979:

For the first time since IPSA came into existence researchers into political processes will be meeting in a socialist country for their forum. This is a manifestation of the growing prestige of Marxist-Leninist social theory. The practice of building socialism and communism, and the course of events in the world constantly supply proof that this theory provides a correct picture of historical development and serves as a reliable instrument for knowing and transforming existing reality for the sake of a better future for mankind.

The IPSA Executive Committee had issued the following statement in 1978 in reply to critics of the decision to hold the 1979 Congress in Moscow:

The question has been raised as to whether it is appropriate to hold the 1979 World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Moscow at a time when the world is conscious of the trials and incarceration of political

disenters in the Soviet Union on issues many consider to be tied to basic problems of human rights.

The question is of international moral, political, and institutional significance. It will also affect the very future of the International Association. Mindful that the IPSA represents nearly 40 countries from North and South, East and West, the Executive Committee is aware of its world-wide responsibilities and of the international ramifications of its judgment on this question.

The Executive Committee is of the firm opinion that the response to the question must be based on consideration of the nature and objectives of international scholarly association. Those of us working in the IPSA believe that the role of the International Association is to develop the study of political science throughout the world through the building of contacts among political scientists of all countries and the exchange and spread of political knowledge. In no discipline is the quest for boundary-crossing, comparative study and knowledge of greater importance than in political science.

Secondly, we believe the pursuit of these objectives will eventually have some influence on the growth of international dialogue and the increasing of levels of mutual knowledge, tolerance, and the reduction of extreme aspects of ethnocentrism. In time it should contribute to the building of bridges of trust and confidence between different societies, ideologies and political systems...

At the time of our invitation to hold the World Congress in Moscow, the International Association sought and received assurance from our Soviet colleagues that we would be able to accomplish our scholarly objectives in the same manner as at past Congresses. We, as an Association, have continually taken a strong position that we must be assured of freedom of access to the Congress for all bona fide political scientists and that there must be the normal freedom of speech, debate and communication associated with our Congresses. We have no reason to doubt that these conditions will indeed exist as they have for numerous congresses of other academic disciplines held in the Soviet Union in recent years. Nevertheless, we have let it be known, as we have in the case of all Congresses, that the IPSA's sanction of the meeting will be withdrawn immediately if the conditions of freedom of access, communication, speech and debate are not adhered to.

As is normal with all our Congresses, the program and meetings have been organized and will be run by the IPSA. The scholarly meetings of the Congress include topics from the area of human rights, as well as other controversial subjects. On all these, the IPSA has always striven to promote discussion and dialogue among different viewpoints rather than boycotts and escalating conflicts.

Because the Executive Committee expects that all the traditional academic conditions of our Congress will be met in Moscow, thus permitting us to attain our scholarly objectives which we believe have broad, long-term socio-political impact, we do not believe it would be appropriate for the IPSA, as an international association, to withdraw its 1979 World Congress from the Soviet Union.

While some individual scholars and even national associations may consider not attending we hope they will first give strong consideration to the nature and objectives of the International Political Science Association.

Laure Wiseberg and Harry Scoble, editors of the *Human Rights Internet Newsletter* (1502 Ogden St, NW, Washington, DC 20010), attended the Moscow Congress and have written a report on their experiences. We regret that because of space limitations, we can publish only excerpts from their full report:

The Closed Nature of the Congress

The first issue, and one that we were deeply involved with, was the closed nature of the Congress. With the exception of the opening and closing sessions, the World Congress took place at Moscow State University. Delegates to the Congress were housed at either the University itself or one of two Intourist hotels. Upon registering at the Congress on Sunday morning, August 12, each delegate received a Congress badge. Without that badge, it was impossible to enter Moscow State University and without that badge (or a room-card), it was impossible to enter the delegates' hotels. At the University, guards with colored armbands (who may have been coopted students) were at the main doors, in front of the meeting rooms, the book exhibit and the room where conference papers were distributed. Anyone who did not have proper credentials was barred. How, then, could one become a delegate or an "invited observer" to the World Congress? There were, as it happens, two different routes to registration: anyone who wished to participate in the World Congress who was a citizen of a country in the ruble bloc, registered by sending their forms and fees to Moscow; anyone who wished to participate from a country outside the ruble bloc, sent their forms and fees to IPSA headquarters in Ottawa. While, on first glance, this appeared purely a matter of currency convertibility, it meant that the Soviet Political Science Association exercised a veto over any East European citizen who wished to attend the meeting.

What the Soviets could not control was the participation of bona fide political scientists from the rest of the world and this was the sole issue on which the IPSA took a firm stand. It was one of the conditions – the major condition, in retrospect – that IPSA had laid down for going to Moscow. Most contentious, in this regard, was the participation of Israeli political scientists. If the Israelis were not granted their visas, the Congress would be called off. While two weeks before the Congress it was still not clear that all Israelis would get their visas, in fact they all did. And in Moscow – although not before – the Israelis were also given post-Congress visas if they wanted to take advantage of the tours organized for delegates.

Our concern about the closed nature of the Congress first developed because the paper we were to read at the World Congress was on the role of non-governmental organizations in the protection and promotion of human rights. As

SVERIGES GENERALKONSULAT
SYDNEY

1980-04-10

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Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Åtg: hbr Nilsson-Wilkens, Tel
Aviv 1980-04-18

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson
Utrikesdepartementet

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FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet
Hbr. Nilsson-Andersson 1980-03-24

Broder,

Den adress som Dr. Jerzy Trau har till Jakob Moshie Holender
är: Kibbutz Goaton, Galilee, Israel. ✓

Dr. Trau har vidare uppgivit att Holender lämnat denna kibbutz
och att det ej gått att utröna Holenders nuvarande vistelseort.
Holender lär ha varit i fångenskap i Sovjetunionen men fri-
givits under år 1946.

Karl-Erik Andersson
Karl-Erik Andersson

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Avghende telegram

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SVENSK WASHINGTON 1980-04-15
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Datum

1980-04-16

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Svensk BONN

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Wingstrand från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tacksam om Du kunde söka kontakt med en tidigare sovjetisk advokat, L Yudovich, bosatt vid 6 von Brugster i Garmisch Partenkirchen. Vederbörande har i Sovjetunionen försvarat dissidenter och kan möjligen ha något för Wallenberg-ärendet intressant att berätta.

Cabinet

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Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

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SVENSK DUBLIN 1980-04-17

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ANDRA AEMNA SAETTA UPP CIT AN AD HOC COMMITTEE IN DUBLIN
TO PUBLICISE THIS TRAGIC CASE BY WRITING TO PAPERS IN
IRELAND AND BY PICKETING THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY HERE
WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WALLEMBERG MEETS
IN SWEDEN IN MAY. WE WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL FOR ANY
INFORMATION YOU COULD SUPPLY TO HELP US IN OUR TASK CIT

2. VI TAENKER GIVETVIS TACKA BREVSKRIVAREN FOER HANS
INTRESSE FOER WALLEMBERGS OEDE OCH DAERVID SAEGA NAAGOT
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MYRSTEN

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10590A UDSTH S
4384 SWED EI

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Arende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

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Adress

Svensk CANBERRA

Text

. Ölander från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tack Ditt ovan citerade telegram, som jag tagit del av först torsdag efter återkomst tjänsteresa. Tror Du inte att Rosenschweig ens skulle vilja svara på en fråga via australiska utrikesministeriet, ifall han under sin tid i lägret 385/5 sett eller hört talas om Raoul Wallenberg². Skulle Rosenschweig vägra svara får vi naturligtvis avskriva honom.

Tacksam om Du ville komplettera framställningen hos australiska utrikesministeriet med en annan australisk medborgare, Peter Chitts, som även han lär ha suttit i 385/5.

Cabinet

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Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

Avd

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Adress

Svensk MOSKVA

Text

Lundvik från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Följande har 1980-04-14 inberättats från Wachtmeister, Washington:

Cit: Har efter upprepade försök idag fått....

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.... Det är för farligt". Jag instämde. - Slutcit.

Cabinet

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Leifland
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Berg Pol I
Liljegren Pol II
Elmér Pol I
Wrigstad Pol II
Belfrage Pol III

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

Avd

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Eu^I

Adress

Svensk MOSKVA

Text

Lundvik från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tack Ditt ovan citerade telegram, vilket jag läst först torsdag efter återkomst tjänsteresa. Jag har bett Canberra-ambassaden att fråga Rosenzweig (Ditt tertio), om han sett eller hört talas om Raoul Wallenberg. Kompletterar nu även med Chitts.

Såvitt jag förstår har vi via Washington lyckats spåra de av Pype nämnda amerikanerna (Ditt quarto). Du behöver sålunda för tillfället inte kontakta amris i Moskva.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Nilsson

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

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Adress

Svensk WASHINGTON
MOSKVA

Text

Bergquist (Washington) från L-Å Nilsson
Lundvik (Moskva) från L-Å Nilsson
re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Har mottagit följande brev 1980-04-09 från politiska
rådet Breisky vid den amerikanska Stockholms-ambassa-
den:

Cit - When we talked last month....

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.... to make clear our views. - Slutcit.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol II

Liljegren Pol II

Elmér Pol I

Wrigstad Pol II

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

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Adress

Svensk WASHINGTON

Text

Bergquist från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tacksam om Du ville kontakt Dina Kaminskaya, en före detta sovjetisk advokat, bosatt 4811, N 20th Place, Arlington, Virginia 22207, för att höra om hon kan ha något i Wallenberg-ärendet intressant att berätta. Kaminskaya försvarade innan hon tvangs lämna Sovjetunionen ett antal dissidenter.

Cabinet

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Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-17

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Adress

Svensk NEW YORK

Text

Friedman från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tack Ditt handbrev 1980-04-11. Har bett ambassaderna i Washington och Bonn att kontakta Kaminskaya respektive Yudovitch.

Chalidzes och Klines tips om rättegångsförfarande har jag för vad det kan vara värt vidarebefordrat till Ingrid Gärde-Widemar i Wallenberg-kommittén.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

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Berg Pol I

I Gärde-Widemar, Wallenberg-kommittén

Kabsus. Kansu

NNNNUNZ

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Åtg: tel 360 t svensk Washington 1980-04-18
samt hbr Nilsson-Bergquist 1980-04-18

ORIGINAL TELEGRAM
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CABINET STOCKHOLM

617. FOER L AA NILSSON UTR MIN KANSLI FRAAN BERGQUIST ANG
WALLENBERG.

TACKSAM ERHAALLA INFORMATIONER OM SAMMANSAETTNING, ORGANISA-
TIONSBAKGRUND, VITTNEN, FINANSIERING M M AV TRIBUNALEN I MAJ.

WACHTMEISTER

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1980-04-17 07:00

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SVENSK LOS ANGELES 1980-04-17

CABINET STOCKHOLM

Enk Pierre:

NR 81 FOER LARS-AAKE NILSSON OCH BO LUNDBERG FRAAN
LARS MALMSTROEM RE TAECKNING AV WALLENBERG SVITTESMAALEN

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ATT INGAA I EN 1 TIMMES DOKUMENTAERFILM OM WALLENBERG.

TACKSAM PRESSBYRAAN KUNDE BE AINA BELLIS PAA FILMINSTITUTET
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TUNBERG

SVENSK LOS ANGELES

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SVENSK I SA

SWEDISH CONSULATE-GENERAL

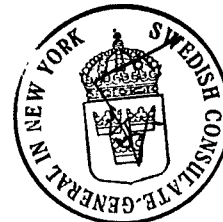
P2 Su I



aa
80-04-11

Överlämnas av generalkonsulatet i
New York till Pol I, utrikesdepartementet
för kännedom.

New York 1980-04-11



March 30, 1980

Swedish Mission to the
United Nations
825 3d Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Kungl. Svenska Gen. Kons. i New York	
NO:	APR - 9 1980
FILE:	P 2 R.W

ingen adress på
Kuvertet / lch

181
Gentlemen:

I just finished, with tears in my eyes the story in today's New York Times Magazine of Raoul Wallenberg, a man and a Swede. To do what he did, to take the risks he took, when so many or most Europeans did nothing or even worse, collaborated, he must have been a GIANT. Such a man is not only ~~a~~ one of the "greatest Swedes of our time" but one of the greatest, heroic human beings of any time, embodying in the way he lived his life, all those traits and attributes with which we associate saints and prophets of biblical stature.

However, it was with profound grief and anger that I read of the cowardice and smallness of spirit with which the Swedish Government has pressed the Soviets

for information on Wallenberg's fate. In effect, it appears that the great man's own government has evidently betrayed all that Wallenberg lived and worked for and perhaps was imprisoned and died for.

I beseech, urge, beg, demand that your Government do all that it should have done in 1945 but didn't to demand of the Soviet government a full accounting of the fate of Raoul Wallenberg and if he is still alive, obtain his immediate release from prison. In the name of the pure humanity, compassion, heroism and ^{greatness} ~~greatest~~ of human spirit that Raoul Wallenberg lived and worked for, please, save this man or at least put his spirit to rest.

With great sorrow,

Michael H. Goldstein, Esq.

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

EN CLAIR-TELEGRAM

Ärendes

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-18

Dir

29

Art

P

Grupp

2

Med

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk DUBLIN

Text

29 ✓
.....

Ert 41. Ambassadören från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Föreslår att Du uppmanar brevskrivare att kontakta The Raoul Wallenberg Association, Box 16076, 10322 STOCKHOLM, 08-23 37 90, Chairman Ingrid Gärde-Widemar.

Cabinet

ex t: (ink + avg)

Amb Per Anger

Fyllas av telegramexpeditionen

Avgift den 18/4

Klockan 17.21

Sign.

Per 18/4

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

EN CLAIR-TELEGRAM

Ärendes		Datum	
Wallenberg-ärendet		1980-04-18	
		316	
Avd	Grupp	MÅN	
P	2	Eu ^I	

Adress

Svensk LONDON

Text

316.

Winter från L-Å Nilsson re Ditt handbrev 1980-04-02 i Wallenberg-ärendet. P 2.

PRIMO:

De synpunkter på den brittiska Wallenberg-kommittén, som Du refererar i ovan citerade handbrev, har under hand delgivits med ambassadör Anger. Denne kontaktar, som Du vet, direkt ambassadör Lind för diskussion om prisutdelningsceremonin i London den 30 april.

SECUNDO:

Vill passa på tillfället nämna att vi erfarit att TV 1 för visning den 3 maj köpt in BBC-filmen om Wallenberg.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I

Väljes av telegrafexpeditionen		
Avskickat den	Klockan	Sign.
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Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

EN CLAIR-TELEGRAM

L. nr	1980-04-18		360
	Avt	Grupp	Mål
	P	2	Eu ^I

Adress

Svensk WASHINGTON

Text

360
.....

Ert 617. Bergquist från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-
ärendet.

Översänder med nästa veckas lägenhet exemplar av
inbjudan till hearingen 2-4 maj. De av Dig begärda
upplysningarna framgår av dokumentet. Såvitt jag
förstår finansieras hearingen helt genom insamlade
medel.

Cabinet

Fyller av telegramexpeditören		
År	Månad	Dag
18/4/80	17	25

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Utrikesministerns kansli

Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-18

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Mål
44	P	2	Eu ^I

Ambassadrådet Wilkens

TEL AVIV

FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

Hbr Nilsson-Wilkens 1980-03-11

(1 bil)

U. n.

Broder,

./. Informationerna i närslutna handbrev från Andersson i Sydney kan möjligen hjälpa Dig att spåra Holender ?

Lars-Ake Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

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kurir

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utl kurir

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vanlig post

Avsänds datum

2/4 80

Sign

2

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
Utrikesministerns kansli
Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-18	Der 78	Avd P	Grupp 2	M&I Eu ^I
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Ambassadrådet Bergquist

WASHINGTON

U. n.

Wallenberg-hearingen i Stockholm
(1 bil)

Broder,

./. Närslutet återfinner Du exemplar av inbjudan till
rubricerade evenemang.

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

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Avsändningsdatum

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2

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING

STOCKHOLM May 2-4 1980

arranged by the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Association
in cooperation with the International Sakharov Committee, Copenhagen

I N B J U D A N

till

RAOUL WALLENBERG-HEARINGEN

i Kongresshallen på Folkets Hus, Barnhusgatan 14,
Stockholm den 2 - 4 maj.

Med vänlig hälsning

RAOUL WALLENBERGFÖRENINGEN

Program bifogas

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG ASSOCIATION
Box 16076, 103 22 STOCKHOLM
National Giro Account 90 02 52-8
Chairman Ingrid Gärde Widemar
Executive secretary Gustaf Follin

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING

STOCKHOLM May 2-4 1980

arranged by the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Association
in cooperation with the International Sakharov Committee, Copenhagen

P R O G R A M

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING
will take place in
FOLKETS HUS, Congress Hall, Barnhusgatan
STOCKHOLM, on May 2-4, 1980

Friday, May 2: 10 a.m. - 1 p.m.
2 p.m. -

- Opening remarks: Ingrid Gärde Widemar, Justice
Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Association, Sweden
Ojvind Feldsted Andresen
Chairman of International Sakharov Committee, Denmark
- Introduction: Guy von Dardel, Professor, Nuclear Physicist, Sweden,
brother of Raoul Wallenberg
- Greetings: André Lwoff, Professor, Nobel Prize in Medicine,
Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Committee, France
Greville Janner, Q.C., M.P.
Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Committee, Great Britain
Gideon Hausner, Dr
Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Committee, Israel
Elie Wiesel, Professor, USA
Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust
Elizabeth Moynihan, Secretary of the Senators'
Free Raoul Wallenberg Committee, USA
Annette Lantos and John Berenyi, USA, representing
Hungarian Jews, saved by Raoul Wallenberg
- Members of the Panel: Simon Wiesenthal, Documentation Center, Austria
André Lwoff, France
Greville Janner, Great Britain
Gideon Hausner, Israel
Pierre Grégoire, President of Parliament, Luxembourg
Elie Wiesel, USA
Y.I. Luryi, Professor, Legal Adviser, Canada
Jouri Novikov, Dr, Psychiatrist, West-Germany

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG ASSOCIATION

Box 16076, 103 22 STOCKHOLM
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Per Anger, Ambassador, Sweden

Guy von Dardel, Sweden

Gustaf Petrén, Justice, Sweden

Harald Wigforss, Editor-in-Chief, Sweden

Chairmen of the Panel:

Simon Wiesenthal
Gideon Hausner
Greville Janner
Gustaf Petrén

Presiding:

Ingrid Gärde Widemar

Witnesses:

The Panel will hear the witnesses about
Raoul Wallenberg's imprisonment in the USSR

In order to protect the witnesses, their names
not to be published yet.

Written statements:

Reading of officially given evidence by witnesses
being unable to attend the hearing.

Experts:

Reports by experts on conditions in Soviet prisons
and mental hospitals

Final remarks for the day

Saturday, May 3: 10 a.m. -

Proceedings continue with hearing of
witnesses and experts

Presiding:

Ojvind Feldsted Andresen

Final remarks for the day

Sunday, May 4:

9-11 a.m.

Panel members in closed session

11 a.m. - 1 p.m.

The Panel presents Summing-up and Conclusions

Press Conference

For your information: the documentary film on Raoul Wallenberg
MAN ALIVE, by John Bierman, produced by Alan Patient, BBC,
will be shown on Swedish Television, channel 1, Saturday, May 3,
at 9.15 p.m.

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

BONN

1980-04-17

R 189

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
1980-04-22 - åtg:

ex a + b t:

amb P Anger, Wallenberg-
föreningen

Kanslirådet L-Å Nilsson

Utrikesdepartementet

132

KOM UD		
1980-04-21		
AVD.	GR.	MAL.
P	2	En I

Ang Raoul Wallenberg
(2 bil) ✓

Broder,

./1-2

Härmed får jag överlämna kopior av dels vår note till Auswärtiges Amt, dels det tyska utrikesministeriets svar i frågan om återinresetillstånd för Yuri Belov. Som framgår meddelar AA att spörsmålet visserligen faller under vederbörande delstatsmyndighet men att AA icke desto mindre ställer sig helhjärtat bakom vår begäran. AA meddelade vidare att det haft kontakt med vederbörande myndighet i Frankfurt, som utlovat välvillig prövning inom ramen för sina möjligheter. AA föreslog att her Below därför ånyo skulle vända sig dit.

Vi har framfört ovanstående till herr Below.

Hjärtligaste hälsningar

från Lilqvist

John W.
John Wingstrand

CHM

Dnr	Avd.	Grupp	Mål
17/61			

Nr. 61

(1 Anlage)

Verbalnote

Die Königl. Schwedische Botschaft beehrt sich an das Auswärtige Amt mit der Bitte um ihre gefällige Mitwirkung in der folgenden Angelegenheit heranzutreten.

Eine "Raoul Wallenberg Hearing", unter Veranstaltung von der "Raoul Wallenberg Association, Stockholm" in Zusammenarbeit mit "The International Sakharov Committee, Copenhagen", wird in Stockholm in der Zeit vom 2. bis 3. Mai 1980 stattfinden. Zu den "Hearings" möchte die Raoul Wallenberg Association Herrn Yuri Below einladen. Herr Below, der am 8.11.1979 aus der UdSSR emigriert ist, befindet sich seit Dezember 1979 in der Bundesrepublik, wo er nunmehr bei der Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte in Frankfurt (Kaiserstr. 40, tel. 0611-236971-72) tätig ist. Herr Below hat am 14. Januar 1980 einen Antrag auf Gewährung für politisches Asyl in der Bundesrepublik an das Ordnungsamt der Stadt Frankfurt eingereicht. Eine Kopie seines Asylantrages wird beigelegt.

./.

Da die Sache ziemlich dringend ist, wäre die Botschaft dankbar, wenn das Auswärtige Amt sich dafür einsetzen könnte, dass Herr Below baldmöglichst, und bevor die Hearings in Stockholm anfangen, eine Genehmigung von den zuständigen deutschen Behörden erhalten könnte, dass er nach den Hearings wieder in die Bundesrepublik einreisen und sich hier bis zur endgültigen Entscheidung bezüglich seines Asylantrages aufhalten darf.

Die Königl. Schwedische Botschaft benutzt diesen Anlass, das Auswärtige Amt erneut ihrer ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu versichern.

Bonn, den 8. April 1980

An das
Auswärtige Amt
B o n n

L.S.

Ifylles av postexp

Avsänd med

☐ telex☐ brev☐ fax☒ elektronisk

Avsänd datum

9/4-80

S g

10/4/80

Auswärtiges Amt
510-516 WL Below

Doppel

Bil. handbrev Wingstrand
Nilsson d. 80-04-17

P 2 cm

V e r b a l n o t e

Das Auswärtige Amt beehrt sich, der Königlich Schwedischen Botschaft unter Bezugnahme auf ihre Verbalnote vom 08.04.1980 Nr. 61 betreffend Wiedereinreise des Herrn Below in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland folgendes mitzuteilen:

Nach der verfassungsrechtlich festgelegten Aufgabenverteilung zwischen Bund und Ländern obliegt die Durchführung des Ausländergesetzes und damit zusammenhängende Bestimmungen den Behörden der Bundesländer. Die Entscheidung darüber, ob einem Ausländer, der sich bereits in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aufhält und diese verläßt, die Wiedereinreise gestattet wird, fällt daher in die ausschließliche Zuständigkeit der Ausländerbehörden der Bundesländer. Das Auswärtige Amt kann als Bundesbehörde keinen Einfluß auf die Entscheidungen der Ausländerbehörden nehmen.

Das Auswärtige Amt unterstützt jedoch das Petitum der Schwedischen Botschaft nachdrücklich und möchte Herrn Below empfehlen, sich mit seinem Anliegen an die Ausländerbehörde Frankfurt zu wenden, die auf fernmündliche Rückfrage vom 11.04.1980 zugesagt hat, diese im Rahmen ihrer Möglichkeiten wohlwollend zu prüfen.

Das Auswärtige Amt benutzt diesen Anlaß, der Königlich Schwedischen Botschaft erneut seiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu versichern.

Bonn, den 14. April 1980

L. S.

An die
Königlich Schwedische
Botschaft

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

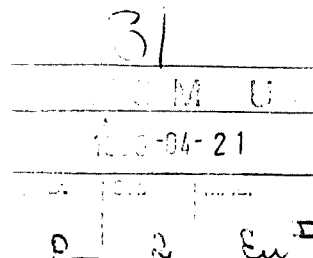
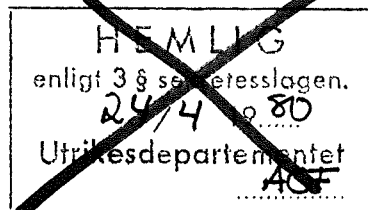
HAVANNA

1980-04-17

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Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Åtg: ch tel t svensk Havanna
1980-04-24
hbr Nilsson-Linton, Wien
1980-04-24
hbr Nilsson-Lundvik, Moskva
1980-04-24
ex t:
Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson
Utrikesdepartementet



FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

Hbr Nilsson-Sandström 1980-02-27

Broder,

Mexicanarens namn är Evelio Badillo Martínez. Han avled
dessvärre endast några få år efter hemkomsten. Badillo
släpptes den 5/10 1955. Avresan från Moskva skedde den
12/10. Min kollega följde honom till Mexico via Wien.

Namnet på den österrikiske f d fången kommer min kollega
här ej ihåg. Österrikaren kan mycket väl vara i livet.

Bakgrundsteckningen är i korthet följande. Badillo anlände
till Sovjetunionen 1939 som studerande för att gå i marxis-
tisk skola. Han talade inte ryska men fängslades trots
detta för föregiven trotskistisk verksamhet efter några
månader. Mexicanska kommunistpartiet droppade omgående
fallet. I september 1947 dök han upp på mexicanska ambas-
saden i Moskva. Han hade dessförinnan flyttats mellan
ett stort antal fängelser och senast varit förvisad till
byn "Suchinsky" i Kazakstan. De mexicanska myndigheterna
försummade möjligheten att "utnämna" honom till tjänste-
man på ambassaden. De sovjetiska myndigheterna förklarade
att han skulle beviljas utresetillstånd men att han själv
måste söka detta från den avlägsna by där han sist varit
"förlagd". Efter tvekan begav Badillo åter sig dit och
uppslukades på nytt i åtta år av den sovjetiska säkerhets-
apparaten. Min kollega sökte in i det sista följa honom
men varnades allvarligt av sovjetiska säkerhetstjänstemän
vid stationen.

Tre månader före den slutliga utresan till Mexico (1955)
hade den österrikiske medfångens brev (jfr mitt hbr
1980-02-14) av en slump nått fram till mexicanska ambas-
saden i Moskva. Redan dessförinnan hade Kuznetsov (som

POSTADRESS:
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APARTADO POSTAL 10-726
MEXICO, D.F.
MEXICO

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ENTRE 14 Y 18
MIRAMAR
LA HABANA
CUBA

TELEFON
2-6891
2-6892
2-6893

TELEGRAM:
SVENSK

TELEX:
51-208

min kollega därefter årligen utbytt ett personligt artighetstelegram med) förklarat följande i ärendet: "död är han inte men levande hittar vi honom inte". Kuznetsov hade tillagt att antalet "försvunna" från olika länder dessutom var oerhört omfattande, sovjetmedborgare oräknat.

Kuznetsovs svar baserades dock tydligen på en grundlig undersökning. Han konfronterades hur som helst tre månader senare med ett exakt mexicanskt angivande var Badillo befann sig plus försäkran från ambassaden att Badillo helt klart inte hade den ringaste lust att begå självmord. Kuznetsov lät förstå att inrikesministeriet "i det förflutna" tydligen ej hållit Mid tillräckligt informerat och grep snabbt tag i fallet igen med resultat som ovan framgått. Både Kuznetsov och Malenkov hade före fallets upplösning även fått notera ett starkt mexicanskt understrykande av att det endast fanns en enda försvunnen mexicansk medborgare i Sovjetunionen och det var Badillo.

Jag pressade min kollega något mer på det uttryck han använt vid vårt första samtal för att beskriva fängelse-lokalen i Vladimir. Det var intressant att tänka att mer än ett fängelse för politiska fångar kunde ha funnits i Vladimir. Tyvärr var han ej lika fast i anden nu utan stannade närmast för att Badillo befunnit sig i special-fängelset för politiska fångar i Vladimir.

Vad slutligen gäller den österrikare vars namn ambassadör Madero Vasquez inte kommer ihåg hade hans deal med Badillo i fängelset varit följande: Du lär mig spanska och jag talar om var Du är om jag kommer ut först.

Hoppas detaljerna åtminstone skall underlätta att identifiera österrikaren.

Är du helt säker!
Tuff
Anders Sandström
Anders Sandström

KUNGL.
SVENSKA AMBASSADEN

WARSZAWA

1980-04-16

R 18

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Ätg: ch tel t svensk Warszawa
1980-04-23
ex t:
Kab sekr

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet
hbr Nilsson/Westerlund 1980-03-11

Broder,

Jag vill bara med dessa rader tala om att jag inte glömt bort Ditt ärende. Ärendets känsliga karaktär har naturligtvis nödvändiggjort stor försiktighet och stort tålamod, men jag tror att jag nu har hittat den person som, om någon, kan fastställa om Vorobjev-Vorobjov finns i Polen och vad han i så fall har att berätta om Wallenberg. Min kontaktperson heter Władysław Bartoszewski och är en framstående katolsk författare och historiker med förflutet som AK-officer och krigshjälte. Han har i sitt författarskap och sin forskning intresserat sig speciellt för judarnas situation under andra världskriget samt för massakern i Katyn. Under Stalin-tiden satt han sex år i fängelse (1948-54) för att sedan rehabiliteras. Bartoszewski står den katolska intelligentian i Kraków mycket nära och har därigenom förvärvat många inflytelserika vänner i väst, bl a påven och Zbigniew Brzezinski, något som säkert bidragit till att han länge kunnat verka i dissidentsammanhang utan att känna av en alltför kraftig reaktion från myndigheterna. I höstas blev Bartoszewski emellertid arresterad när han skulle hålla ett historiskt föredrag för det flygande universitetet, dissidenternas al-

alternativ till den officiella högskoleundervisningen. Han släpptes visserligen efter 48 timmar, men händelsen väckte visst genljud i massmedia i väst och har väl knappast gjort Bartoszewski bättre anskrivnen på officiellt håll.

Det rör sig således om en person som vi fått lov att nalkas med viss försiktighet. Genom vissa kulturprojekt (besök av en delegation från Norstedts samt besök av DN:s litteraturkritiker Bengt Holmqvist) har jag dock fått osökt anledning till kontakt eftersom Bartoszewski också är generalsekreterare i polska PEN-klubben. I den egenskapen var han häromdagen inbjuden till en lunch på ambassaden för Norstedt-delegationen, i vilken även ingick svenska PEN-klubbens ordförande Thomas von Vegesack. Jag satt bredvid Bartoszewski och under samtalsgången framgick att han väl kände till och djupt respekterade Wallenbergs insatser för judar i Budapest under krigsslutet. Under kaffet, som intogs utomhus och rimligen utom hörhåll för avlyssning, redogjorde jag för de ledtrådar vi hade rörande Vorobej-Vorobjov och frågade om han kunde ge mig ett råd. Bartoszewski lovade utan vidare att själv forska i ärendet. Han tänkte börja med att genom sina kanaler i kyrkan göra efterforskningar i kyrkobokföringen för att lokalisera Vorobej-Vorobjov. Sedan fick man se om och hur vederbörande skulle approcheras. Bartoszewski försäkrade att han skulle gå fram ytterst diskret. För honom, som själv suttit i fängelse för sin övertygelse, var detta ett hedersuppdrag som han med glädje åtog sig.

Man får väl se vad Bartoszewski kan uträtta. I vilket fall har vi nu fått löfte om hjälp av en person, som genom sin bakgrund och personliga integritet torde lämna sig ovanligt väl för detta uppdrag.

Hjärtliga hälsningar!
Sällqvist,

Percy Westerlund

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
Utrikesministerns kansli
Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

PROMEMORIA ✓

P 2 Eu^I

1980-04-21

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Washington
Bonn
Tel Aviv
Bryssel
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London

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San Francisco

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EXPEDIERA:	
med	den
sv. kurir	23/4 1980
utl. kurir	
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Wallenberg-hearingen i Stockholm den 2 till 4 maj
(1 bil)

Den svenska Raoul Wallenberg-föreningen distribuerar
närslutna inbjudan till sin hearing i Stockholm den
2 till 4 maj 1980.

L-8 ✓
Lars-Åke Nilsson

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING

STOCKHOLM May 2-4 1980

arranged by the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Association
in cooperation with the International Sakharov Committee, Copenhagen

I N B J U D A N

till

RAOUL WALLENBERG-HEARINGEN

i Kongresshallen på Folkets Hus, Barnhusgatan 14,
Stockholm den 2 - 4 maj.

Med vänlig hälsning

RAOUL WALLENBERGFÖRENINGEN

Program bifogas

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG ASSOCIATION

Box 16076, 103 22 STOCKHOLM

National Giro Account 90 02 52-8

Chairman Ingrid Gärde Widemar

Executive secretary Gustaf Follin

THE RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING

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2 p.m. -

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Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Committee, Great Britain
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Chairman of Raoul Wallenberg Committee, Israel
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Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust
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- Members of the Panel: Simon Wiesenthal, Documentation Center, Austria
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Gideon Hausner, Israel
Pierre Grégoire, President of Parliament, Luxembourg
Elie Wiesel, USA
Y.I. Luryi, Professor, Legal Adviser, Canada
Jouri Novikov, Dr, Psychiatrist, West-Germany

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Per Anger, Ambassador, Sweden
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Experts:

Reports by experts on conditions in Soviet prisons
and mental hospitals

Final remarks for the day

Saturday, May 3: 10 a.m. -

Proceedings continue with hearing of
witnesses and experts

Presiding:

Ojvind Feldsted Andresen

Final remarks for the day

Sunday, May 4:

9-11 a.m.

Panel members in closed session

11 a.m. - 1 p.m.

The Panel presents Summing-up and Conclusions

Press Conference

For your information: the documentary film on Raoul Wallenberg
MAN ALIVE, by John Bierman, produced by Alan Patient, BBC,
will be shown on Swedish Television, channel 1, Saturday, May 3,
at 9.15 p.m.

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Utrikesministerns kansli

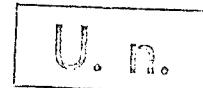
Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-21

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Mål
74	P	2	Eu ^I

Generalkonsuln Friedman

NEW YORK



Wallenberg-hearingen i Stockholm 2-4 maj

(2 bil)

Broder,

Som ett undantagsfall har vi i departementet samtyckt till att kurirbefordra två försändelser till New York för Wallenberg-föreningens räkning. De båda kuverten närsluts härmed. Innehållet har anknytning till Wallenberg-hearingen i Stockholm 2-4 maj.

:/1-2

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

☒ av kurir

☐ uti kurir

☐ luftpost

☐ vanlig post

Avsändt datum

24/4 80

Sign

[Signature]

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET PB		Ärende:	
Kopia till: Kabs Bitr Kabs L-Å Nilsson Polch Pol UHD		Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia) 92 80-04-23	

13	2	Ell
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SVENSK WASHINGTON 1980-04-22

CABINET STOCKHOLM

FOER L AA NILSSON UTR MIN KANSLI FRAAN BERGQUIST ANG
WALLENBERGAERENDET.

HARIVIA STATE DEPARTMENT FAATT KONTAKT MED KAMINSKAYA,
SOM FOERKLARAT SIG VILLIG TALA MED OSS. JAG AVSER TRAEFFA
HENNE OCH HENNES MAN MAANDAG MOEJLIGEN I SAELLSKAP MED
RYSKSPRAAKIG KOLLEGA (GRUNDITZ).

WACHTMEISTER

MINISTRY

FOR

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Permanent Under-Secretary of State

Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

Arkivexemplar

April 22, 1980

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Mål
298	P	2	Eu ^I

Mr. Alan Patient

British Broadcasting Corporation
Kensington House, Richmond Way
LONDON W14 0AX

ex a + b av ink:

Fru Nina Lagergren
F justitierådet I
Gärde-Widemar
amb Washington onumr
amb Moskva onumr
amb Tel Aviv onumr
Berg Pol I
Nilsson

exp 800422
/ACF

Dear Mr. Patient,

On my return from a trip to the Far East I was very pleased to find your letter of March 28. I have to thank you for your kind assistance in sending me the transcripts from the interviews with Anna Bilder, Kalinsky, Berger and Wynne. The transcripts are most valuable for me and my collaborators.

I was also very pleased to hear that your film now has been bought by the Swedish television and will be shown on channel 1, May 3. If you come to Stockholm do not hesitate to call on me.

Yours sincerely,

Leif Leifland

Ifylles av postexp

Avsänt med

☐ av kurlr

☐ utl kurlr

☒ luftpost

☐ vanlig post

Avsändn datum

800422

Sign

ACF

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-23

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk WARSZAWA

Text

Westerlund från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Tack Ditt intressanta handbrev 1980-04-16. Avvaktar
med intresse vad Du får fram.

Cabinet

ex t: (ink + avg)

Leifland

SVERIGES AMBASSAD

TEL AVIV

1980-04-23

[Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Åtg: hbr Nilsson - Wilkens
1980-08-21

Kanslirådet L-Å Nilsson
Utrikesdepartementet

STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIGT

Kalinskis kort
(3 bil.)

Broder,

6/

KOM UL		
1980-04-24		
VD.	GR.	MAL.
P	2	Eu I

Kalinskis kort har av mig återbördats till rätter ägare i samband med att vår vän idag besökte kansliet. I nästa vecka far han som Du vet till Stockholm för hearingen.

So far, so good. En omständighet som dock oroar mig, är att korten synes ha anlant hit i brutet kuvert. Omständigheterna är följande.

Assistenten Elisabeth Eklind öppnade helt enligt rutinerna kurirsäcken torsdag morgon den 3 april. Hennes minnesbild - på vilken hon är ganska säker - är att Ditt hbr 1980-03-26 jämte korten var inneslutna i blått plastomslag, vederbörligen förseglat. Inne i detta omslag låg det bruna, sigillerade kuvert som innehöll kortbunten brutet, dessutom på ett i-ögonfallande slarvigt sätt. I kuvertet, som hölls ihop av ett gummiband, låg, förutom kortbunten, av någon anledning det "smörpapper" som troligen suttit

- ./1 bakpå den adresslapp som åsatts kuvertet. Kuvert och
- ./2 smörpapper bifogas, det förra i det skick det alltså
- ./3 anlände hit. Fotokopia av Ditt åtföljande brev biläggs likaså (närmast för stämplarnas skull).

Kurirsäckens skick, och det övriga innehållets, har inte givit anledning till några misstankar om manipulation. Det bruna kuvertet innehållande korten torde alltså ha brutits på departementet, innan säcken packades.

Kanske slår jag in öppna dörrar, okunnig som jag är om detaljerna i postrutinerna på departementet, men jag har ändå velat rapportera om förhållandet, eftersom det förefaller mig märkligt att ett i speciell ordning sigillförsatt kuvert bryts utan anteckning om när, av vem och varför. Innehållets art bidrar naturligtvis också till att jag känt speciell olust.

Håkan Wilkens

Di tilläggs
Vog W.

PS Tilläggas bör, att själva korten föreföll intakta. De två om Wallenberg låg i god ordning överst i bunten.

1-2
Bil/handbrev Widows -
Nelson den 23/4 1980

UTRIKES

DEPARTEMENTET

Utrikesministerns kansli UTRIKES NEN

Bil./handbrev W. Wilkens -

Nilsson den 23/4 1980

1980-03-26

INK. AMB. TEL AVIV		
D. N:o <u>2/16</u>		
19 <u>80</u> - <u>04</u> - <u>03</u>		
AVD.	GR.	MAL.
<u>R</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>Wallenberg</u>

Ambassadrådet Wilkens

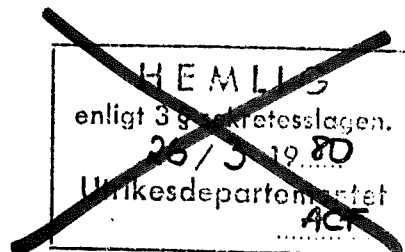
TEL AVIV

FÖRTROLIGT

Kalinskis brevkort

(§ bil)

Broder,



Sent omsider kan jag nu för vidarebefordran till Kalinski återsända hans brevkort. I samlingen saknas tre kort - i sig förmodligen helt ointressanta - vilka blivit illa tilltygade vid Träforskningsinstitutets undersökningar. Detta faktum har Du kanske ingen anledning att skriva Kalinski på näsan. Skulle han emellertid efterlysa de saknade korten, återfinns dessa hos Rikspolisstyrelsen och kan efter anfordran översändas till Dig.

Resultaten från undersökningarna redovisas i en promemoria som tillställts ambassaden såsom numrerad delgivning (nr 24). Min högst allmänna kommentar i sammanhanget blir närmast den, att det nu får anses vara fastställt att korten är "äkta". Mycket längre lär vi inte komma.

Handwritten signature: Lars-Åke Nilsson

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ävsändningsort

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende Wallenberg-ärendet	Datum 1980-04-24	
	Avd P	Grupp 2 Mål Eu ^I

Adress

Svensk BERLIN

Text

Jerneck från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet.

Från Wallenberg-föreningen har vi erfarit att Sacharo kommittén i Danmark kontaktats av en i Berlin bosatt person, I Miller, som uppger att han i ett fängelse i Sovjetunionen 1948 träffat Raoul Wallenberg. Miller tog kontakten med Sacharov-kommittén efter att nylige ha läst om Wallenberg i en sovjetisk emigranttidskrif

Såvitt jag förstår kommer Miller att inom kort uppsök Er. Ni bör söka anställa preliminärt förhör med honom samt om möjligt bilda Er en uppfattning om hans trovärdighet.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Avsändningsort

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-24

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk HAVANNA

Text

Ambassadören från L-Å Nilsson re Ditt handbrev
1980-04-17 i Wallenberg-ärendet.

Vill nämna att jag bett Linton i Wien och Lundvi
i Moskva (österrikiska ambassaden där) söka spår
den av Dig omtalade österrikaren.

Cabinet

ex t:
Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I

Ärendet		Datum		Dag	
Wallenberg-ärendet		1980-04-24			
		Ard		Alld	
		P		Eu I	

Adress	X Svensk WASHINGTON	Nr 381 ✓	47
	X " MOSKVA	" 151 ✓	
	X " OTTAWA	" 145 ✓	
Text	X " LONDON	" 336 ✓	
	X " TEL AVIV	" 91 ✓	
	X " PARIS	" 260 ✓	
	X " BONN	" 214 ✓	
	X " WIEN	" 174 ✓	
	X " BRYSEL	" 112 ✓	
	X " HAAG	" 114 ✓	
	X " KÖPENHAMN	" 141 ✓	
	X " DUBLIN	" 33 ✓	
	X " HELSINGFORS	" 170 ✓	
	X " NEW YORK	" 283 ✓	
	X " SAN FRANCISCO	" 98 ✓	
	X " FRANKFURT	" 31 ✓	

Från L-Å Nilsson.

På grund av konflikthotet på den svenska arbetsmarknaden har Wallenberg-föreningen blivit nödsakad att uppskjuta den till 2 och 3 maj planerade hearingen.

Tacksam Ni i den mån Ni bedömer erforderligt orienterar de som varit i kontakt med Er i denna angelägenhet.

Cabinet

ex t:
Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I
Pierre Press

Fyllas av telegramexpeditionen		
Ärendet	Klockan	Sign
24/4-80	18 20	✓
Dag Uda 27		

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
 Utrikesministerns kansli
 Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-24

53

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Möt
	P	2	Eu ^I

ex ink + avg t:

Ministern Lundvik

MOSKVA

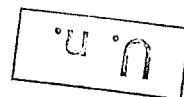
Leifland
 Eckerberg
 Berg Pol I

exp 800424/ACF

FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

(1 bil)



Broder,

./.

Sandström i Havanna har som framgår av i kopia närslutna handbrev fått korn på en mexikansk och en österrikisk medborgare, vilka släpptes under inte helt ointressanta omständigheter 1955 i Moskva. Tror Du att Österrikes beskickning i Moskva, med hjälp av de informationer Sandström lämnar, skulle kunna ge oss namnet på den i sammanhanget aktuella österrikaren?

Jag ställer samma fråga till Linton i Wien, men jag antar att österrikarnas Moskva-arkiv är mer hanterligt.

Lars-Åke Nilsson

Dep U 328

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

☒ av kurlr☐ till kurlr☐ luftpost☐ vanlig post

Avsändn datum

25/4 80

Sign

RL

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
 Utrikesministerns kansli
 Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-24

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26	P	2	Eu ^I

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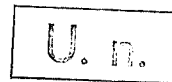
Ministern Linton

Leifland
 Eckerberg
 Berg Pol I

WIEN

exp 800424/ACF

FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

(1 bil)

Broder,

./.

Sandström i Havanna har som framgår av i kopia
 närslutna handbrev fått korn på en mexikansk
 och en österrikisk medborgare, vilka släpptes
 under inte helt ointressanta omständigheter 1955
 i Moskva. Tror Du att man i utrikesministeriet
 i Wien kan identifiera den i sammanhanget aktuella
 österrikaren med hjälp av de av Sandström lämnade
 uppgifterna ?

Jag har även bett Lundvik i Moskva att kontakta
 österrikarna där med tanke på att besöks-
 arkivet förmodligen är mer lättillgängligt.

Lars-Ake Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med



sv kurir



ull kurir



luftpost



vanlig post

Avsändn datum

25/4 80

Sign

RF

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Ärende:

JOA

Kopia till:

Kabs

Bitr Kabs

Polch

Pol I

UHD L. Å. Nilsson

Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia)

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ätg: [REDACTED] Bonn

1980-04-28

9 2 E

SVENSK BONN 1980-04-25

CABINET STOCKHOLM

FOER L-AA NILSSON FRAAN WINGSTRAND ANG WALLENBERG-AERENDET.

JAG HAR VARIT I TELEFONFOERBINDELSE MED LEV YUDOVICH, SOM
LAET MYCKET VEDERHAEFTIG OCH VAR MYCKET SAMARBETSVILLIG.
HAN HADE IBLAND PROBLEM MED SIN TYSKA. HANS HUSTRU TOLKADE
DAA PAA NAESTAN REN AMERIKANSKA.

YUDOVICH BERAETTADE ATT HAN AV SOVJETISKA ADVOKATKOLLEGER HOERT
TALAS OM WALLENBERG I SLUTET AV 1960-TALET OCH ATT WALLENBERG
DAA SKULLE HA BEFUNNIT SIG I ETT LAEGER I NAERHETEN AV
KRASNOJARSK. NAAGRA MERA KONKRETA UPPGIFTER AEN SAA HADE
HAN ICKE. HAN HADE ALDRIG SJAEV RAAKAT WALLENBERG. HAN
NAEMNDE ATT HAN TIDIGARE TILLFRAAGATS AV WIESENTHAL.

I SAMMANHANGET UPPLYSTE HAN ATT DET PAA SIN TID FOERELAAG EN
FOERORDNING (BEFEHL) AV SOVJETS JUSTITIEMINISTER DATERAD
DEN 18 AUGUSTI 1972 OCH MED NUMMER 29/2C, ENLIGT VARS
ARTIKLAR 44 OCH 46 ALLA UPPLYSNINGAR OM DELS DOEDSSTRAFF
SOM UTDOEMTS VID RAETTEGAANGAR BAKOM LYCKTA DOERRAR, DELS
STRAFF MOT UTLAENNINGAR SAASOM FAENGELSE, INTERNERING ETC
OCH UTLAENNINGARS FRISLAEPPANDE EFTER AVTJAENAT STRAFF SKALL
VARA STRAENGT SEKRETESSBELAGDA OCH FOELJAKTLIGEN FOERBJUDNA
ATT AATERGES AV ELLER TILL SOVJETISKA MEDBORGARE ELLER MYNDIG-
HETER MED MINDRE SAERSKILT TILLSTAAND INHAEMTATS I VARJE
ENSKILT FALL AV DIREKT BEHOERIG MYNDIGHET. I VAD MAAN DENNA
FOERORDNING AENDRATS EFTER HANS EGEN UTRESA UR SOVJET VISSTE
YUDOVICH ICKE.

LIC O-2042 20.000x6 1979-08 (10.000x6 på bärband)

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Ärende:

Kopia till:

Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia)

Kabs
Bitr Kabs
Polch
Pol
UHD

- 2 -

NAAGOT ANNAT FRAMKOM EJ VID VAARA TELEFONSAMTAL. JAG TROR
HAN SKULLE KUNNA GE AATSKILLIGA VAERDEFULLA UPPLYSNINGAR, IFALL
NI SKULLE OENSKA BELYDNING AV SPECIFIKA FRAAGOR ELLER FOER-
HALLANDEN.

BACKLUND

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

PB

Ärende:

Kopia till:

Kabs

~~BUKKE~~

Polch

Pol 4

~~KH~~ L-Å Nilsson

Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopier)

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

swedeleg New York

1980-04-28

SWEDELEG NEW YORK 1980-04-25

CABINET STOCKHOLM

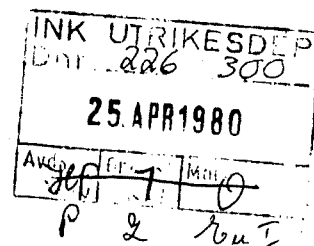
FOER KABINETTSSEKRETERAREN OCH
KETTIS

RE WALLENBERG.

SOM BEKANT FINNS HAER I USA STARKA ENSKILDA INTRESSEN SOM PAA
SISTONE BEDRIVIT AVSEVAERD AKTIVITET I WALLENBERG-FRAAGAN. JAG
APPROCHERADES FOER NAAGRA DAGAR SEDAN AV EN SVENSKA LEN CAPLAN
SOM AER DOTTER TILL GUNNAR BIOERCK MED EN FRAAGA OM INTE AEREN-
DET KUNDE ANHAENGIGGOERAS I FN:S ORGAN FOER MAENSKLIGA RAETTIG-
HETER. JAG GAV ETT UNDVIKADE SVAR MED HAENVISNING TILL ATT FN
JU SOM REGEL SOEKER AGERA FOER PRINCIPER SNARARE AEN FOER EN-
SKILDA PERSONER. DET SYNES MIG EMELLERTID INTE OMOEJLIGT ATT
DE NAEMNDA INTRESSEGRUPPERNA TAR INITIATIV FOER ATT SOEKA DRIVA
FRAAGAN I FN OCH ATT SVENSKA REGERINGEN KAN VARA EN SANNOLIK
ADRESSAT FOER SAADANA ANSTRAENGNINGAR. DETTA STAEMMER JU Vael
MED VAD FRIEDMAN SOM JAG SJAELVFALLET SAMRAATT MED TIDIGARE RAP-
PORTERAT TILL ER BETRAEFFANDE SAABVEL WALLENBERG SOM SAKHAROV.

THUNBORG

Olla Ullsten
Swedish Foreign Minister
Box 16121
S 10323
Stockholm, Sweden



Your Excellency:

I am a survivor of the Holocaust thanks to Raoul Wallenberg.

Much to my dismay, I learned that the Swedish Government, instead of pressing the U.S.S.R. for the release of Mr. Wallenberg, decided to participate in the Olympics.

I myself and thousands of others are outraged at the conspiracy of silence that has surrounded the fate of this symbol of man's humanity to man, for the longest time. I was sincerely hoping that the present Swedish Government will not repeat the inexcusable failures of past Swedish Governments with inaction. I was hoping that the present Swedish Government - by boycotting it - will use the Olympic Games as a tool to exert more information or obtain the release of Raoul Wallenberg.

Your Excellency, I urge you in the strongest terms to stand up for our Hero, for your Hero, otherwise the whole world will judge you and condemn you for your meekness!

We are anxiously following every step you are taking.

Yours truly,

Peromna Benches
205 W 95th ST
NEW YORK, N.Y.

10025

V. BERTINAS
205 W 95th St -
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10025



OLLA VLESTEN
SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER

PAR AVION
VIA AIR MAIL
VIA AEREA

Box 16121
S 10323
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

EUROPE

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Atg: besv m stombrev 1980-04-29

Louis Sheaffer
5 Montague Terrace
Brooklyn Heights, N.Y.
11201

12 April 1980

The Hon. Ulla Ullsten,
Box 16121
S10323
Stockholm, Sweden

INK UTRIKESDEP
Dnr 226 27/A
25 APR 1980
Avd 1 1 0
P 2 bu?

Dear Mr. Ullsten:

It is a terrible commentary on our times that good, heroic persons are made to suffer because of their goodness and their heroism. I particularly have in mind that saintly countryman of yours, Raoul Wallenberg. My interest in him was first aroused a few months ago by a small advertisement in The New York Times. The bare brief facts were enough to tell that this was a man of exceptional nobility. I began at the time to contribute what funds I could and to write letters supporting the campaign on his behalf.

Now that I have read the article about him in the New York Times magazine section of March 30th, I feel more strongly than ever that no effort should be spared to locate and free him.

Till now, I have always admired Sweden as one of the most civilized and decent nations in the world, but after the Times article, I have been shocked by the shameful indifference of past Swedish governments to Mr. Wallenberg's tragic case. I have begun to have doubts about your country, as I am sure vast numbers of others have begun to feel also. Sweden can clear its reputation only by using all its ~~own~~ prestige and influence to rescue Mr. Wallenberg. And now, when your government has decided to send athletes to the Olympics in Moscow is the time to make the maximum effort. Nothing less can remove this shameful blot from Sweden's name.

Sincerely,

Louis Sheaffer

AIRMAIL



The Honorable Olla Ullsten

Box 16121

S10323

Stockholm 16, Sweden

LOUIS SHEAFFER
5 MONTAGUE TERRACE
BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, N.Y. 11201

SWEDISH CONSULATE-GENERAL

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
1980-04-28 - ex t:

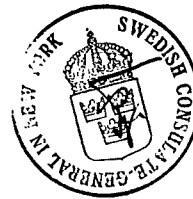
Leifland
Berg Pol I
Nina Lagergren, Wallenberg-
föreningen
Ingrid Gärde-Widemar, Wallenberg-
föreningen
amb Moskva onumr



P 2 Lu I

Överlämnas av generalkonsulatet i
New York till Utrikesdepartementet,
Pol I, för kännedom.

New York 1980-04-18.



APRIL, 1980

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
825 3rd AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR SIR:

WE THE UNDEPSIGNED PETITION THE USSR AUTHORITIES TO FREE RAOUL
WALLENBERG FROM INPRISONMENT OR SIBERIAN EXILE. RAOUL WALLENBERG WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN SAVING THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS DURING THE HOLOCAUST
OF WORLD WAR 11, AND HAS MISTAKENLY AND UNJUSTLY BEEN DETAINED BY RUSSIAN
AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Melbe Freund	8 Buckingham Circle, Pine Brook, N.J.	07058
Gil Friedman	11 Hooper Avenue, West Orange, N.J.	07052
Barry Gladstein	41 Windsor Drive, Pine Brook, N.J.	07058
Guy Mercurator	19 Palumbo St Passaic, N.J.	07055
Sam Kang	35 Orange St Bklyn NY	11201
John P. Levine	115 Old Short Hills Rd W. Orange	07052
Jean Melton-Levine	" "	"
Peter J & Wm	Sand Spring Rd Morrisstown	
Beverly L. Levine	Redwood Rd Springfield NJ	07081
Shirley Sturling	Cypress Ave Vauxhall NJ	07004
Al W. Bl	198 Hecuba Rd Livingston	
Don and Linda	Levinson Dr	
Opalce Levine	51 N. Baum's Ct, Livingston NJ	07039
George Levine	51 N Baum's Livingston, N.J.	
Art Levinson	465 Baldwin Rd Maplewood	
Belle Osoffsky	7-11 Crest Ridge	W.O.
Alvin Flom	10 Gladrick Rd Livingston NJ	07039
Shula Yudenberg	231 Kings Rd. Rockaway, NJ	

APRIL, 1980

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
825 3rd AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR SIR:

WE THE UNDERSIGNED PETITION THE USSR AUTHORITIES TO FREE RAOUL
WALLENBERG FROM INPRISONMENT OR SIBERIAN EXILE. RAOUL WALLENBERG WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN SAVING THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS DURING THE HOLOCAUST
OF WORLD WAR 11, AND HAS MISTAKENLY AND UNJUSTLY BEEN DETAINED BY RUSSIAN
AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
<i>Robertson</i>	6 Vista Terr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
<i>Robertson</i>	30 Hampton Terr Livingston, N.J.	07039
<i>Cecil Seab</i>	" " "	" "
<i>David Slauitt</i>	35 Wingate Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
<i>Gail Reichstein</i>	23 Jameson Pl. W. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
<i>Shirley M. Finch</i>	674 Scotland Rd. Orange, N.J.	07050
<i>Virginia E. Bass</i>	674 Scotland Road Orange, N.J.	07050
<i>Alma L. Friedman</i>	233 Murray St Elizabeth, N.J.	
<i>Rosanne Rabinowitz</i>	167 Abbe Lane, Clifton, N.J.	
<i>Frances Tobin</i>	268 Norma Ave. Clifton, N.J.	
<i>Mr. & Mrs. Kon. Heum</i>	181 Long Hill Rd. Little Falls, N.J.	
<i>Mr. & Mrs. Howard Katz</i>	West Orange, N.J.	07052
<i>Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth Loeb</i>	104 Demarest Ave. Bldg. 07003	
<i>Harry Schner</i>	104 Demarest Ave. Bldg. 07003	
<i>Donald Nechers</i>	454 Brook Ave. Passaic, N.J.	07055
<i>Josephine</i>	473 Matilda Ave. Teaneck, N.J.	07666
<i>Philip Siegel</i>	473 Matilda Ave. Teaneck, N.J.	07666
<i>Martin Smith</i>	45 Edgemont Pl. Teaneck, N.J.	07666
<i>Joe Smith</i>	220 Cresson Pl. Teaneck, N.J.	07666
<i>Stanley S. Soman</i>	274 Carlton Terr. Teaneck, N.J.	

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
825 3rd AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR SIR:

WE THE UNDEPSIGNED PETITION THE USSR AUTHORITIES TO FREE RAOUL
WALLENBERG FROM INPRISONMENT OR SIBERIAN EXILE. RAOUL WALLENBERG WAS
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OF WORLD WAR 11, AND HAS MISTAKENLY AND UNJUSTLY BEEN DETAINED BY RUSSIAN
AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Alan Richstein	73 Fairway Ave	07044
Sally Jacob	76 Forest Rd CO	07009
Robert Smith	32 Darling Ave	Bloomfield, N.J. 07003
Sandra Kresser	97 Vere Terrace	07039
Sharon Solomon	12 Orchard La	Livingston
Robert Rosenberg	43 Coddington Terr	Livingston N.J. 07039
Mara Haretnick	2 Decker Dr	West Orange, N.J. 07052
Lou Mannheim	78 Nicholas Ave	W.O. N.J. 07052
Debbie Rupp	10 Curtis Ave	W.O. N.J. 07052
Gwyn Schloss	164 Forest Hill Rd	W.O. N.J. 07052
Lesley Broomall	11 Greenwood Ave	W.O., N.J. 07052
Jodie Roth	31 Greenwood Ave	W.O., N.J. 07052
Mike Soliman	41 Willowbrook Dr	N.C. NJ 07006
Carol Glassman	11 Ellis Rd	W. Caldwell, N.J. 07006
Janine Ruff	14 Brandon Ave	Livingston N.J. 07039
Mindy Davis	2 Dalebrook Rd	Bloomfield, N.J. 07003
Andrew Mytelka	56 Chestnut Street	Millburn, New Jersey 07041
Sam Gershenitz	116 Welton St	Livingston

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Leonard Seaton	17 Buckingham Ave	07058
Alan Prager	12 Symoty Rd.	07006
M. Labul	Valdwin Drive	07006
Pam Weiss	209 E. Mt Pleasant Ave. Liv, NJ	07039
David M. Kerner	26 Sunset rd. W. Caldwell, NJ	07006
RENÉE KASDAN	106 W. MT. PLEASANT AVE. LIVINGSTON NJ	07039
Andrew Camp	30 Holiday Drive West Caldwell NJ	07006
Gutchen Michael	21 Kramer Ave W. Caldwell NJ	07006
Jonathan Mell	11 Fairmount Rd W. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Martin Goldberg	9 Notting Place, West Caldwell, NJ	07006
Wong, Zi	89 Conforti AVE, West Orange	07052
Robin Rosenberg	29 Beverly Road West Caldwell	07006
Bob Shubin	21 Robert Hill Road, North Caldwell	07006
Ally Miller	31 Cedar Drive Westfield NJ	07091
Stacy Sepinwall	5 Stuart Court Pine Brook, NJ	
Fredy Bromberg	36 Porter Road West Orange	07052
Greg Sepinwall	5 Stuart Ct. Pine Brook NJ	
Harry Tuber	8 Heather Lane Lempert NJ	

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Marla Zikes	6 Arlington Ave. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Mindy Epstein	20 Edgemere Rd. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Josie Berman	4 Oak Terrace W. Orange	07052
Cindy Iron	2 Westmont Rd. West Orange, N.J.	07052
Sharon Zischorn	10 Elkin Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Laurie Lipsky	10 Flanders Dr. Pine Brook, N.J.	07058
Judy Deitch	8 Cedars R. D. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Aron Jordan	28 Evergreen Dr. N. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Debra East	7 Brookdale Gardens Bloomfield, N.J.	07001
Sue Wolman	16 Miller Dr. Short Hills, N.J.	07078
Paula Dumbroff	5 Sheridan W. Orange, N.J.	07052
Suzanne Schwartz	248 Elmwood Drive Parsippany, N.J.	07054
Sharon Lipp	10 Curtis Ave West Orange, N.J.	07052
Robert Gerstein	90 Fellswood Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Debbie Ludwig	50 Cobblewood Rd. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Alan Moskowitz	9 Tuscan Rd. Livingston, N.J.	07039
David Glicksman	48 Ashwood Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Craig Coopersmith	37 Shrewsbury Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Stacey Sepina	5 Stuart Court, Pine Brook, N.J.	07006
Rita Miller	31 Cedar Dr West Fairfield, N.J.	07006

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Pam Mund	6 Tangewood Rd. W. Caldwell	07006
Neimok	Tracting 721 Sagamore Rd. Millburn N.J.	07041
Stacey Edelman	5 Van Ness Place W. Caldwell	07006
Karen Japper	20 Knollwood Terrace Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Laura Wolff	69 Brian Rd. West Caldwell N.J.	07006
Julie Garland	256 Park Avenue, North Caldwell, New Jersey	07006
Suzette Jacobowitz	9 West Drive Fairfield, N.J.	07006
Jacky Hertz	44 Brian Road West Caldwell	07006
Alison Reichstein	23 Jamison Place, W. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Michael Gagnete	20 Fairview Av. Verona, N.J.	07044
Howard Palmer	32 Ellis Rd. W. Caldwell N.J.	07006
Langford	5 Rutgers Court Roseland N.J.	07068
Jan Weker	106 S. Ashby Ave Livingston N.J.	07039
Daniel Mytko	56 Chestnut St. Millburn, N.J.	07041
Stephen Pasternak	27 Hickory Rd. Short Hills N.J.	07078
David Steinman	46 Glendale Ave Livingston N.J.	07039
Wendy Zisman	17 Lombard Drive West Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Lisa Olsen	3 Highland Drive Livingston, N.J.	07039
Wendy Grossman	506 Watchung Ave. Bloomfield N.J.	07003
Rachel Waldstein	87 Morningside Rd., Verona, N.J.	07044

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AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME Jenny May ADDRESS 8 MacRae Court W. Caldwell N.J. ZIP CODE 07006
Aeyssa Dassa 64 Montclair Ave Montclair 0104
Susan Schuckman 30 Elston Rd. Up. Montclair NJ. 0704
FELICE MARANZ 2 Pittsfield Ct. Livingston, NJ. 07039
Stephanie Hirsch 94 Vere Terr. Livingston, NJ. 07039
New York 122 Hater Ave. Montclair NJ 07042
Sandy Brownstein 26 Ferncliff R.d. Bloomfield, N.J.
Julie Skimelstein Livingston, New Jersey 07003
David Slavitt 55 Wingate Dr. Livingston, N.J.
Audrey Fisch 55 Springbrook Rd LN. INT 07039
Carla Freeling 15 Cherry Hill Rd. Livingston, N.J. 07039
DAVE FELTON 36 Woodland Rd W. Caldwell, N.J. 07006
Wayne Mitchell 17 Essex St. Irvington NJ 07111
Debbie Schuckman 15 Rosemere Avenue W. Caldwell, New Jersey
Michael Schofel 6 Allwood Terr. Livingston, N.J. 07039
Steven Saltzman 13 Efen Drive North Caldwell, N.J. 07006
Mitch Orlowsky 90 Vere Terr. Livingston, N.J. 07039
LINDA FEINBERG 15 Natalie Drive W. Caldwell 07006
Heather Rosenstein #12 Aldrin Drive West Caldwell, N.J. 07006
MARK EISENBERG 22 Blackstone Drive Livingston NJ 07039
BARRY MARKS 91 Fair Brook Dr. Short Hills, N.J. 07078
MARVIN J. SILVERMAN 5 Beechwood Terr. West Orange, N.J. 07052

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
David Brandy	5 Torrance Dr Livingston NJ	07039
Richard Gledberg	4 Nutting Place W. Caldwell N.J.	07006
David Shapiro	17 Rosemere Ave. W.C. NJ.	07006
Raul Saul Gledberg	4 Nutting Pl. W.C. N.J.	07006
Sandy Lieberman	1 Dellmead Dr. Livingston N.J.	07039
Michael Goldberger	24 Francis Drive West Orange NJ	07052
Michael Frank	7 Cleveland Terrace West Orange N.J.	07052
Daniel S. Bromberg	521 Pleasant ^{Valley} Way W. Orange NJ	07052
Hekine Harte	27 Westmont Drive. Livingston, NJ.	07039
Michael Silverman	32 Cherry Hill Rd Livingston N.J.	07039
Stuart Weinroth	27 Prospect Rd Livingston N.J.	07039
LARRY BRENNER	677 RIDGEWOOD AVE. UP. MONT. NJ.	07043
Marc Steinman	46 Glendale Ave. Livingston New Jersey	07039
Samuel Weinstein	46 Addison, Fairfield N.J.	07006
Jeffrey Zisman	17 Lombard Drive West Caldwell N.J.	07006
Sara Galtzman	13 Eton Drive W. Caldwell NJ	07006
Robin Sidner	9 Sheffield Rd. W. Caldwell, NJ.	07006
Jill Rubin	18 Eton Dr. W. Caldwell, NJ	07006
Julie Stone	33 Ellis Rd. W. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Mindi Schuman	12 Stanford Ave. W.O. NJ	07006
Denny Nathanson	37 Roosevelt St Roseland N.J.	07068

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Jenny Ficker	6 Mt. Vernon Ct. Livingston N.J.	07039
Phil Chernack	29 Ellis Rd., West Caldwell N.J.	07006
Samuel Lippold	67 Palmer Dr. Livingston, New Jersey	07039
Kathie Axel	82 Palmer Dr. Livingston N.J.	07039
Dave Denenberg	70 Glendale Ave Livingston N.J.	07039
Gregg LePlein	19 Stonewall Dr. Livingston New Jersey	07039
Conn Weinberg	116 Hanford Place Coll. NJ	07006
Mark Zuckowitz	1 Thurston Dr. Livingston N.J.	07039
Robert E. Quinn	92 Hanover Terrace, Cedar Grove N.J.	07009
Paul Rothman	31 N. Hillside Ave., Livingston N.J.	07039
Peter Labbaner	76 Springbrook Rd., Livingston N.J.	07039
Brin Schwechter	46 Evergreen Rd. West Caldwell N.J.	07006
John Silverstein	20 Fairmount Rd. " " " "	" " " "
Ferry Shinkens	2 Robin Rd North	11111
Zsuzsanna Rosen	10 cedar Roseland N.J	07068
Jonathan Schwechter	46 Evergreen Rd. West Caldwell N.J.	07006
Gill Rubin	18 Eton Dr. N.C. N.J.	07006
Joel Milberg	3 Balsam Ct. Roseland N.J.	07068
Paul Rosen	46 Sunset Rd. West Caldwell N.J.	07006

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Penny Nathanson	37 Roosevelt St. Roseland N.J.	07068
Marvin J. J.	23 Cleveland Terr. W. Orange N.J.	07075
Kim Seidman	28 Evergreen Drive N. Caldwell, N.J.	07006
Willi K. K.	122 Lakes Ave Montclair N.J.	07042
David Robinson	53 Rockledge Drive, Livingston, N.J.	07039
Howard Kurtz	16 Garnet Terrace, Livingston, N.J.	07039
Brian Egger	65 Roosevelt Street Roseland, N.J.	07068
Wendy Ludwig	22 Suburban Dr., W. Orange, N.J.	07052
Steve Cooperant	37 Shrewsbury Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Alina J. J.	17 Canal Rd. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Jane Bloomfeld	40 Wingate Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Leslie Rabbino	76 Springbrook Rd. Liv. N.J.	07039
Haris N. N.	22 Goodhart Dr. Livingston, N.J.	07039
Paul Nathanson	37 Roosevelt St Roseland N.J.	07068
Carol Edelman	41 Willowbrook Dr. N. Caldwell N.J.	07010
Lisa Zimmer	83 N. Mitchell Ave Livingston, N.J.	07039
Stephanie Zimmer	83 N. Mitchell Ave Livingston, N.J.	07039
Ali Zinbaig	5 Hurdwell Rd. Short Hills, N.J.	07078
Garnet Kurtz	16 Garnet Terrace Livingston, N.J.	07039

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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
229 WILMUR RD	LITTLE FALLS N.J.	07424
25 BRONX RD	MONTCLAIR N.J.	07042
Cynthia Lemley	25 Trinity Pl #302 Montclair	07042
ALON EGZEL	89 Conforti AVE.	07052
Gil Friedman	11 Hooper Avenue West Orange	07052
Isaac Fugham	" "	" "
Marcia Kucina	12 Sepulch Way Hicksville	07046

APRIL, 1980

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
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NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Benjamin J. J. J.	23 CLEVELAND TERR	WEST ORANGE
Susan C. J. J.	47 N. Fullerton Ave	Montclair
Don. J. J.	47 N. Fullerton Ave	Montclair, NJ 07042
David J. J.	12 BROAD CIRCLE	SHORT HILLS, N.J. 07078
John J. J.	20 LEAS RD.	SHORT HILLS, N.J. 07078
James J. J.	521 Pleasant View Way	W.D.
Bernard J. J.	17 N. J. J.	N. J.
John J. J.	20 Sterling Dr.	Livingston, NJ
Barbara Fisher	261 Magnolia Lane	Newark, NJ
Mindy Seiden	30 Hampton Terr.	Livingston, N.J.
Lotte Holzman	489 Linden Place	Orange, N.J.
Pepi Seiden	580 Washington Avenue	Belleville, N.J.
Rina Geller	17 Conant Road	Livingston, N.J.
Stuart Waver	580 Innkeeper Ave	Hillside, NJ
Karen Warner	" " " "	" " " "
Margie Brenner	677 Ridgewood Ave	Upper Montclair, N.J.
Lois Luth	10 Mellen Ave	West Orange, NJ

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET		Ärende:	
BM			
Kopia till:	L-Å Nilsson	Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopio)	
Kabs		Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF	
Bitr Kabs		[REDACTED] MOSKVA 80-04-30	
Polch			
Pol			
UHD			
SVENSK MOSKVA		1980-04-29	

P 2 Eu

CABINET STOCKHOLM

L
FOER L-AA NILSSON FRAAN LUNDAVIK RE WALLENBERG.

LIC O-2042 20.000x6 1979.08 (10.000x6 på bärbara)

P R I M O. MIN KANADENISKE KOLLEGA BERAETTER ATT HAN MAANDAGEN DEN 21 APRIL I TV SAAG ETT SOVJETISKT DOKUMENTAERPROGRAM BETITLAT ''VINTERN OCH VAAREN 1945'', I VILKET SEGERN OEVER TYSKLAND OCH DESS UTRIKESPOLITISKA BAKGRUND SKILDRADES. STORT UTRYMME AEGNADES VAESTMAKTERNAS PAASTAADDA TREVARE OM EN SEPARATFRED MED TYSKLAND, VILKA BL.A. PAASTODS HA FOERETAGITS VIA FOLKE BERNADOTTE OCH ROEDA KORSET. EFTER HAENVISNINGEN TILL BERNADOTTE SADE SPEAKERN NAAGOT SOM KANADENSAREN UPPFATTADE PAA FOELJANDE SAETT: ''AND THE BANKER WALLENBERG WAS INVOLVED IN SIMILAR CONTACTS''.

S E C U N D O. FOERMODLIGEN AVSES HAERMED MARCUS WALLENBERG, VILKEN SOM BEKANT FLERA GAANGER UNDER KRIGET FOERHANDLADE AA SVERIGES VAEGNAR MED VAESTMAKTERNA. HELT KAN DET DOCK INTE UTESLUTAS ATT PROGRAMFOERFATTAREN HAFT RAOUL WALLENBERG I TANKARNA, EFTERSOM DENNE LIKSOM BERNADOTTE SYSSLADE MED EN HUMANITAER VERKSAMHET AV FOER RYSSARNA SVAARBEGRIPLIGT SLAG. I VILKET FALL SOM HELST GER ASSOCIATIONEN VAESTLIG SEPARATFRED - BERNADOTTE - WALLENBERG EN ANTYDAN OM VAD SOM KAN HA FOERANLETT RAOUL WALLENBERGS FAENGSLANDE.

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET BM	Ärende:			
Kopia till: Kabs Bitr Kabs Polch Pol UHD	Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia)			

- 2 -

T E R T I O. PROGRAMMET HAR AEVEN UPPMAERKSAMMATS AV AMERI-
 KANSKA JOURNALISTER, SOM BEGAERT EN PROGRAMUTSKRIFT FRAAN
 ■ SOVJETISKA TELEVISIONEN. JAG HAALLER KONTAKT MED DEM I AERENDET.

DE GEER

bärbara)

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET		Ärende:
JOA		
Kopia till:	Åtgärd: (se regler på blankettkopia)	
Kabs	L-Å Nilsson	Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Bitr Kabs		hbr Nilsson-gk Andersson, gk Sydne
Polch		1980-04-29
Pol		
UHD		

A 2 Euf

SVENSK TEL AVIV 1980 04 28

CABINET STOCKHOLM

FOER L-AA NILSSON FRAAN WILKENS RE WALLENBERG-AERENDET.

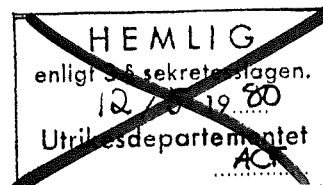
HAR LYCKATS SPAARA JAKOB HOENDER (DITT HBR 1980-03-11),
SOM NUMERA BOR I STADEN REHOVOT. DENNE UPPGAV VID TELE-
FONSAMTAL IDAG ATT HAN INTE HADE NAAGOT AV INTRESSE ATT
BERAETTA OM WALLENBERG. HAN HADE ALDRIG TRAEFFAT ELLER
HAFT ANNAN KONTAKT MED WALLENBERG , VARE SIG I BUDAPEST
ELLER UNDER SIN LAEGERVISTELSE I ARKANGELSK 1945-46.

OERN

KUNGL.
SVENSKA GENERALKONSULATET

SAN FRANCISCO

1980-04-21



Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
Åtg: hbr Nilsson - Grestad,
gk San Francisco, Wilkens,
amb Tel Aviv samt Lundvik,
Moskva 1980-05-12

Kanslirådet Lars-Åke Nilsson

Utrikesdepartementet

ex ink + avg t:

Leifland
Eckerberg
Berg Pol I
Bergquist, amb Washington
Göransson, amb Madrid

exp 800512/ACF

12

IN KOM UD		
1980-04-28		
AVD.	GR.	MAL.
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STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIGT

W
Wallenberg-ärendet
(1 bil) ✓

Broder,

Åberopande Ditt handbrev 1980-04-01 får
jag härmed insända min promemoria
1980-04-21 avseende samtal med amerikanske
medborgaren Paul Brawer.

Bergquist i Washington erhåller direkt genom-
slag av detta brev jämte bilaga.

Mycket vänligt hälsningar!
Din hustru

Per Grestad

Per Grestad

P2601

KUNGL.
SVENSKA GENERALKONSULATET
SAN FRANCISCO

PROMEMORIA
1980-04-21

Handläggare:
Konsul Per Grestad

STRÄNGT FÖRTROLIG

Samtal i Las Vegas, Nevada den 15 april 1980
med Paul Brawer i Wallenberg-ärendet

Enligt mottagen instruktion har jag den 15 april 1980 i Las Vegas, Nevada sammanträffat med amerikanske medborgaren Paul Brawer. Denne hade den 18 februari 1980 frigivits efter en fängelsevistelse i Sovjetunionen sedan den 26 juni 1976. Han återkom till hemmet i Las Vegas den 1 mars 1980.

Det bör här genast konstateras att Brawer - med undantag av de fyra första månaderna då han satt i isoleringscell i Moskva - säger sig ha tillbringat resterande tid inom femte lägerpunkten (385/5) i det stora läger- och fängelsekomplexet i Mordvinien samt att han därigenom erbjuder särskilt intresse i Wallenberg-ärendet.

Paul Brawer är en relativt ung man, född den 23 maj 1945 i Pittston, Pennsylvania. Han tillhörde den grupp om tre amerikaner som under uppseendeväckande former arresterades på Moskvas internationella flygplats den 26 juni 1976.

Postadress
1960 Jackson Street
San Francisco
California 94 109

Telefon
415/775 - 6104

Telegram
Svensk

Telex
27331

Trion hade samma dag med ryska Aeroflot lämnat Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia för resa via Moskva till Paris. Vid flygbyte i Moskva gjorde tullen en extra kontroll av passagerarnas bagage. Hos de tre amerikanerna hittade man i specialgjorda resväskor (falska bottnar) totalt närmare 30 kilo heroin. Marknadsvärdet på gatan i ett västland beräknades till två à tre miljoner dollar. Sovjetunionen hade skärpt kontrollen av transitpassagerare i Moskva sedan narkotikakurirer upptäckt en ny resroute, "The Moscow connection", i stället för tidigare anlitade smuggelvägar till Syd- och Västeuropa där bevakningen blivit hårdare. Vid den följande rättegången i Moskva mot de tre amerikanerna var förhandlingarna öppna och utländska journalister tilläts delta, även med tv-upptagningar som kunde visas i utlandet. Saken uppmärksammades i världspressen. Propagandaeffekten torde ha varit betydelsefull för de sovjetiska myndigheterna.

Brawer fick ett tidsbestämt straff om fem år i fångläger. Han benådades efter drygt tre år och åtta månader. De två andra amerikanerna, Gerald Amster och Dennis Burn, fick åtta respektive sju år och är fortfarande kvar i Sovjetunionen.

- - - - -

Vid min utfrågning av Brawer omnämnde denne självmant svensken Liamons Niedre (Brawers stavning). Enligt Brawer träffade han Niedre nära nog dagligen under dennes tid i lägret 385/5. Brawer vill minnas att Niedre anlände dit omkring den 18 januari 1979 och lämnade den 26 mars samma år. Brawer sökte moraliskt stödja Niedre, som var sjuklig och

i övrigt i ett slags permanent chocktillstånd. De kommunicerade bl a med tillhjälp av en ordbok (svenska, engelska). Boken hade ryktesvis tillhört en ung svensk, med förnamnet Rolf, eller liknande, fängslad för narkotikabrott. Denne hade redan lämnat lägret före Brawers ankomst. Kvar efter honom fanns också en roman på svenska. Nedre talade i lägret aldrig om Wallenberg. Det är först efter återkomsten till USA som Brawer för första gången i sitt liv hört namnet Raoul Wallenberg. Nedre hade vid telefonsamtal från Sverige med Brawers far i USA lämnat namnuppgiften för vidare befordran till sonen som då var på väg mot friheten (februari 1980). Brawer har upplyst att han efter frigivningen korresponderar med Nedre från vilken han mottagit totalt sex brev. I ett av dessa meddelar Nedre att Brawer skulle komma att kontaktas av en officiell svensk representant. Jag utgår från att Nedre beredes tillfälle kommentera Brawers uppgifter.

Enligt Brawer fanns under hans tid i lägret 385/5 inga politiska fångar, med två undantag: Nedre och belgaren Antony Pye (Brawers stavning; Brawers fonetiska uttal av efternamnet: Peppi). Även med den sistnämnde hade Brawer haft goda relationer. Sålunda hade Pye efter sin frigivning hos ett internationellt kyrkosamfund förmedlat Brawers adress i fånglägret. Från medlemmar av samfundet hade Brawer därefter fått en rad brev som varit uppmuntrande och utgjort ett gott moraliskt stöd.

Vid det fortsatta samtalet framkom att Brawer, som under en längre period tjänstgjorde som sjukvårdare ("Male Nurse" eller t o m "Doctor"), vid flera

tillfällen å det för hela komplexet 385 gemensamma centralsjukhuset fått obehörig tillgång till sjukjournaler för de utländska fångarna. De anteckningar han såg gick så långt tillbaka i tiden som mitten av 50-talet. Han hade påträffat namnet Anderson, möjligen med förnamnet Willy. Denne skulle vara svensk eller i varje fall skandinav, som skulle ha vistats i 385 ett trettiotal år, dömd för spioneri (samarbete med tyskarna under kriget). Brawer har aldrig samtalat med Anderson men sett honom en gång - förmodligen juni eller juli 1977 - från en hög utsiktspunkt över ett plank till lägerpunkten 385/19 där Anderson var internerad som politisk fånge. Brawer kan inte lämna annan beskrivning än att Anderson verkade vara i 60-årsåldern, med glesnande hår, inte direkt vithårig. Enligt hörsägen hade Anderson endast ett öga varom Brawer i övrigt saknar detaljer.

Enligt vad som uppgivits för mig i annat sammanhang skall Aleksander Solzhenitsyn i "The Gulag Archipelago" ha omnämnt ett sammanträffande i ett fängelse med en svensk, Erik Arvid Andersen. Brawer förklarade bestämt på min fråga att den av honom åsyftade Anderson (eller Andersen) inte var känd som Erik eller Arvid.

I övrigt sade sig Brawer inte ha träffat eller sett någon annan svensk under sin fångenskap i Sovjetunionen. Han återgav en andrahandsupplysning (källa okänd) som han erhållit i fånglägret under senare hälften av 1979. På en gata i Moskva skulle en man, klädd som en ryss och i övrigt "completely russified", ha tilltalat en person som han uppenbarligen uppfattat

som västerlänning på grund av klädseln och bett om hjälp. Han var gatsopare, sade sig vara en tidigare svensk diplomat som mot sin vilja hade kvarhållits i Sovjetunionen mycket länge. Mannen var i sextioårsåldern och gav intryck att vara något mentalt störd ("seemingly somewhat deranged"). Den tilltalade, en ryss, lär ha ryckt på axlarna och gått sin väg. Incidenten skulle enligt Brawer ha inträffat på "Vernacky Prospekt" i Moskva, tidpunkt okänd.

Jag frågade Brawer om han i lägret hade mött någon spanjor. Brawer svarade att han träffat flera men att han i första hand tänkte på Manuel García, en man med lång vistelse i Sovjetunionen, in och ut ur fängelser och arbetsläger, kriminellt hårt belastad. Brawer kände García mycket väl, García lyste med idel dåliga karaktärsegenskaper. Han var en notorisk lögnare och en vaneförbrytare av lägsta slag som ofta råkade i svårigheter genom egen förskyllan. Brawer visste att García nu var fri och förmodligen vistades i sitt hemland Spanien. Brawer gick så långt att han inte höll det för uteslutet att García - förutom genom spanska myndigheters förmodade intervention efter diplomatiska förbindelsers återupptagande - kunde ha nått sin frihet genom att acceptera rollen som ett verktyg i utlandet för den sovjetiska säkerhetstjänsten. (Man hade försökt få Brawer att acceptera samma roll före frigivningen men Brawer sade sig bestämt ha tillbakavisat förslaget).

Brawer anser att García ljugar när han säger att han under vistelse i 385/5 varit i kontakt med en svensk (politisk fånge) med namnet Wallenberg, i lägret kallad Pjotr.

Då jag försiktigt hörde mig för om den utrymning av hela lägerpunkten 385/5 som enligt García skulle ha ägt rum i oktober 1977 betecknade Brawer detta såsom helt felaktigt. Någoting ovanligt hade dock skett under månaden ifråga: en hungerstrejk bland en mindre grupp fångar, bland dem Brawer som deltagare.

Enligt vad García först uppgivit skulle två medfångar, schweizaren Walther och britten Brooke, ha träffat Wallenberg, en uppgift som García senare tog tillbaka. Brooke hade redan lämnat lägret före Brawers ankomst. Walther hette - enligt Brawer - Walther Heffling (?). Denne hade i lägret varit sjukvårdsbiträde närmast före Brawer och de båda kände varandra väl. Han hade varit möbelhandlare i Moskva, möjligen med egen tillverkning. Han torde nu vara på fri fot. Bland övriga av García nämnda fångar kände Brawer också britten Wilson, dömd för narkotikabrott, Michael David Wilson enligt Brawer. Belgaren Antoine Pyp eller - Brawers version - Antony Pype är redan tidigare nämnd i denna rapport såsom en av de två enda politiska fångarna i lägerpunkten 385/5, under Brawers tid och enligt hans uppfattning.

Bland andra utlänningar som Brawer träffat i 385 nämnde han ungraren eller rumänen Berger, med lång internering i Sovjetunionen. Den Berger som Brawer åsyftar nämnde aldrig för Brawer namnet Raoul Wallenberg eller någonting om någon svensk diplomat som skulle ha försvunnit i Sovjetunionen. Berger kände definitivt ovannämnde Willy (?) Anderson. Berger och Anderson hade ryktesvis ingen större sympati för varandra enligt Brawer ("they

disliked each other"). Själv var Brawer rent allmänt något skeptisk i fråga om Berger.

Brawer har heller aldrig sett eller ens hört talas om den polske "diplomaten" Vorobjev-Vorobjov, omnämnd i skilda vittnesutsagor inför svenska myndigheter. Namnet Jan Kaplan var okänt för Brawer.

På detta stadium i vårt samtal visade jag Brawer den sektion av söndagsnumret 30 mars 1980 av The New York Times, innehållande en lång artikel om den försvunne Raoul Wallenberg med foto på första omslagssidan. Jag hade medfört tidningsbilagan till mötet i Las Vegas och utgår från att den är känd i Stockholm. Brawer uppgav sig sakna kännedom om artikeln. Han fick ta del därav i min närvaro och läste givetvis med stort intresse.

- - - - -

Brawer gör ett sympatiskt intryck, han är intelligent och vaken, allmänintresserad. Humoristisk och fast i sättet. Han är mycket berest och verkar ha en äventyrlig läggning. Trots den korta tiden i frihet var han välnärd, åtminstone skenbart vid god fysik samt efter vad jag kan bedöma i god psykisk balans.

Han äger enligt egen uppgift en rad småfastigheter, sysslar i övrigt med fastighetsaffärer och har möjligen god ekonomi. Jag såg hans hem, ganska enkelt, mötte hans fru och tre av de fyra barnen. Det rådde påtagligen ett gott förhållande mellan de båda makarna.

Paul Brawer måste vara en intressant person för State Department i Washington och de amerikanska säkerhetsmyndigheterna.

Han synes angelägen vara svenska myndigheter till hjälp i efterforskningarna av Raoul Wallenberg. Enligt min uppfattning har han i samtalen med mig visat långtgående trovärdighet. Det verkliga värdet av utredningen i Las Vegas kan givetvis bäst bedömas centralt i Stockholm.


Per Grestad

Ärende

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-28

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk BONN

Text

Wingstrand från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-
ärendet.

Det vore onekligen intressant om Du kunde förmå Lev
Yudovich att precisera hur han erhållit uppgifterna
om att Raoul Wallenberg i slutet av 1960-talet skulle
ha befunnit sig i ett läger vid Krasnojarsk. Vidare
skulle det vara värdefullt att få del av de uppslag
Yudovich kan ha om hur vi bör driva ärendet vidare.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Avsändningsort

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Ärende

Wallenberg ärendet

Datum

1980-04-28

Avd

P

Grupp

2

Mål

Eu I

Adress

Swedeleg NEW YORK

Text

Thunborg från L-Å Nilsson. Re Wallenberg-
ärendet.

Härifrån ingen erinran Ditt resonemang.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Kettis

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

EN CLAIR-TELEGRAM

Ärendet

Wallenberg-ärendet

Datum

1980-04-28

Dest

91

Arv

P

Grupper

2

Klass

Eu^I

Adress

Svensk LOS ANGELES

Text

91✓
.....

Från L-Å Nilsson.

På grund av konflikthotet på den svenska arbetsmarkna-
den har Wallenberg-föreningen blivit nödsakad att upp-
skjuta den till 2 och 3 maj planerade hearingen.

Tacksam Ni i den mån Ni bedömer erforderligt orienterar
de som varit i kontakt med Er i denna angelägenhet.

Cabinet

ex t:

Leifland

Eckerberg

Berg Pol I

Pierre Press

Stylles av telegramexpeditören

Avskickat den

20.04.28

Klockan

12/15

Sign

RF

NEW YORK

Handläggare: Lars G. Carlsson

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
ex a + b t:

Utrikesdepartementet

Fru Nina Lagergren, Wallenberg-föreningen
F justitierådet Ingrid Gärde-Widemar,
Wallenberg-föreningen
Per Anger, Wallenberg-föreningenLeifland
Berg Pol I
amb Washington onumr
amb Moskva onumr
amb Tel Aviv onumr

INK UTRIKESDEP		
Dnr. 118. / 210		
1980-04-29		
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Raoul Wallenberg
195 Gk 1980-03-31

I anslutning till vad generalkonsulatet tidigare inberättat om bildandet av en "Free Wallenberg Committee" får jag meddela att Stanley E. Michels kommer att föreslå att stadsfullmäktige i New York uppkallar en lekplats, belägen i korsningen av 189:e och Amsterdam Avenue, efter Raoul Wallenberg.

Kopia av en pressrelease från Councilman Stanley E. Michels bifogas.

[Signature]
Bengt Friedman

For Immediate Release
Sunday , March 30 , 1980

Contact: Jim Meyer
566-1322

Councilman Stanley E. Michels and Special Assistant to the Mayor Herbert P. Rickman announced today that legislation will be introduced in the City Council next week to create a permanent memorial to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat whose heroic efforts helped save thousands of Hungarian Jews from Nazi death camps.

The legislation will rename a playground in Washington Heights -- a neighborhood with one of the largest concentrations of Holocaust survivors in the city -- after the legendary

hero. The playground is located at West 189th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, adjacent to the main campus of Yeshiva University, one of the city's major Jewish institutions.

Wallenberg was sent to Hungary in 1944 to direct the work of saving persecuted Jews from the Nazi death camps. He succeeded in saving countless thousands of Jews in Budapest by providing them with protective passports and through other efforts.

When Russian troops invaded Budapest in January 1945, Wallenberg was taken prisoner. Despite reports from Soviet officials claiming that he died in 1947, it is believed that he may, in fact, still be alive in a Russian prison.

"With the exception of a single street in Budapest named after him, there is no permanent memorial to this courageous man who suffered so much for saving so many lives," Mr. Rickman said.

"Since New York City has become the home for so many survivors of the Holocaust who bear witness to his heroism," Councilman Michels said, "it is only fitting that we pay tribute to him in this way."

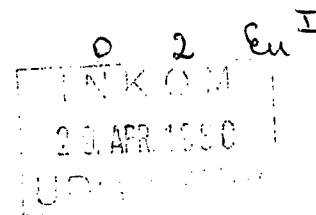
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SWEDISH CONSULATE-GENERAL

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
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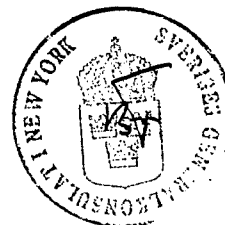
Wallenberg-föreningen
amb Moskva onumr

exp 800430/ACF



Överlämnas av generalkonsulatet i
New York till utrikesdepartementet,
Pol I, för kännedom.

New York 1980-04-22



APRIL, 1980

APR 22 1980

P L R W

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
825 3rd AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR SIR:

WE THE UNDERSIGNED PETITION THE USSR AUTHORITIES TO FREE RAOUL
WALLENBERG FROM INPRISONMENT OR SIBERIAN EXILE. RAOUL WALLENBERG WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN SAVING THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS DURING THE HOLOCAUST
OF WORLD WAR 11, AND HAS MISTAKENLY AND UNJUSTLY BEEN DETAINED BY RUSSIAN
AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Laura Schlossberg	2 Ridgeview Ave. N.Y.	07974
Michelle Lenny & Gallinson	Dr. Hill	07974
Leborah Fleischer	51 Evergreen Ave New Brunswick	07102
Elizabeth Weiner	24 Northview Road New Br	07102
Randy Borad	26 Sherbrooke Dr, Park, Chatham Park N.D.	07104
Meredith Schmitt	387 Mountain Ave. Murray Hill	07126
Rebbecca Gaumit	178 Maple Ave. Berkeley	94702
Laura Skolnick	63 Sagamore St. N.Y.	10016
Stephanie Skolnick	63 Sagamore St. N.Y.	10016
Lisa Linder	325 Summit St. Berkeley	94702
Todd Fruchtman	40 Cinnamon Tree Ln. Berkeley	94702
Eileen Shapiro	1010 Burlington Rd. Murray Hill	N.Y.
John Hoff	130 Summit, N.Y.	07901
Sara Raab	19 Laurel Ave. Summit, N.Y.	07901
Michael Engelhart	66 San Mill Dr. Berkeley	94702
Sam Meyer	20 Cambridge Dr. Berkeley	94702
Eger Sagal	29 Cinnamon Tree Lane Berkeley	94702
Richard Rosenberg	31 Westminster Rd. Chatham	07104
Jeffrey Lax	64 Thornley Dr. Chatham	07104
Seth Roosa		

APRIL, 1980

SWEDISH CONSULATE GENERAL
825 3rd AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR SIR:

WE THE UNDEPSIGNED PETITION THE USSR AUTHORITIES TO FREE RAOUL
WALLENBERG FROM INPRISONMENT OR SIBERIAN EXILE. RAOUL WALLENBERG WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN SAVING THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS DURING THE HOLOCAUST
OF WORLD WAR 11, AND HAS MISTAKENLY AND UNJUSTLY BEEN DETAINED BY RUSSIAN
AUTHORITIES FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS.

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE
Betsy Engelhart	60 Saw Mill Dr Berkeley Hts NJ	07922
Liana Berman	160 Springfield Ave. Berkeley Hts NJ	07922
Liana Hanksy	116 Gallinson Dr. New Prov. N.J.	07974
Amy Barrows	205 Spring Ridge Dr. Berkeley Hts. N.J.	07922
DEBBY SUSSMAN	72 LAWRENCE DRIVE, BERKELEY HEIGHTS NJ	07922
Karen Sanders	30 Surrey Lane Berkeley Heights NJ	07922
Charna Mayer	20 Cambridge Dr. Berkeley Hts NJ	07922
Robert Lavitt	21 Peppermill Rd Chatham NJ	07925
Marc Seifelman	81 Forest Rd New Providence N.J.	07973
Kim Wilson	16 Laurel Ave Summit N.J.	07901
Rachel Goldberg	41 Laurel Ave Summit NJ	07901
David Young	25 Green ave. Madison NJ	07940
John Smith	25 Green ave. Madison NJ	07940
Steven Barrows	205 Spring Ridge Drive Berkeley Hts. NJ	07922
Barbara Link	125 Greenwood Avenue NJ	07901
Richard Goldhoff	23 Belknap Pl. Summit NJ	07901
Edith Hochman	196 Kent Place Boulevard Summit NJ	07901

Summit
New
Jersey

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CABINET STHLM 1980-04-29

SVENSK WASHINGTON

397 FOER ULVENSTAM FRAAN EHRENPREIS RE WALLENBERGHEARINGENA

EBBA VON ECKERMAN PAA WALLENBERG-FOERENINGEN HAR MEDDELAT ALLA JOURNALISTER ACKREDITERADE TILL RAOUL WALLENBERGHEARINGEN I STHLM -DAERIBLAND MADELENE LUNDBERG- ATT DENNA NU INTE BLIR AV DEN 2-4 MAJ P G A RAADANDE ARBETSMARKNADSKONFLIKT I SVERIGE. (MAN HOPPAS DOCK ATT KUNNA HAALLA DEN I HOEST)
ALLT HAR SKETT MYCKET SNABBT HAER OCH VI HYSER ORO FOER ATT MADELENE LUNDBERG INTE HAR NAETTS AV AETERBUDET. VILL DU VARA VAENLIG ATT FOERSOKA NAA HENNE OM HON MOT FOERMODAN FORTFARANDE BEFINNER SIG I U S A OCH MEDDELA HENNE DETTA.

CABINET

CABINET STHLM KL. 11.30

PRESSRUMMET, PIA EHRENPREIS

PR 6

V

Arkivexemplar

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET
Utrikesministerns kansli
Handläggare: kr Nilsson/ACF

1980-04-29

Dnr	Avd	Grupp	Mål
1980-04-29	P	2	Eu ^I

Generalkonsuln Andersson

SYDNEY

FÖRTROLIGT

Wallenberg-ärendet

Broder,

En rad för att säga Dig att Tel Aviv-ambassaden lyckats få kontakt med den i vår korrespondens tidigare aktuelle Jakob Holender. Denne hade emellertid intet att berätta om Raoul Wallenberg.


Lars-Åke Nilsson

Ifylles av postexp

Avsändt med

☒

sv kurlr

☐

utl kurlr

☐

luftpost

☐

vanlig post

Avsändn datum

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Sign

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

Ärende:

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Kopia till:

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Äggsd: se regler på blankettkopia

L-A Nilsson

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF

Moskva 80-05-05

Svensk Canberra

1980-04-30-

Cabinet Stockholm

För Lars-Åke Nilsson från

Olander re Wallenberg-ärendet.

P R I M O. På min begäran har australiska Utrikesdepartementet frågat David Rosenschweig om han vore beredd tala om sin tid i Sovjet med ambassaden eller Departementet. Denne svarat han över huvud icke önskar tala härom.

S E C U N D O. Jag fick igår tag på Peter Chitts på telefon. Denne uppgivit han tillbringade 19 månader från juni 1976 i fänglägret Leplay sydost om Moskva till vilket man kom per järnväg via Rezan och Ptma. I området låg 22 fängläger. Han vistades i Leplay, som endast hade utländska fångar. Under sin tid i lägret varken träffade eller hörde han talas om någon svensk. En av medfångarna var en statslös bulgar vid namn Bresjnev som hade vistats i läger sedan andra världskriget. I övrigt kom Chitts i kontakt med ett par rumäner och några andra västerlänningar.

Hedström

UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET

P2

Kabs

Btr Kabs

Polch

Pol

UHD

L-Å Nilsson

Ärend. se regler på blankettkopie

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
 ch tel t svensk Paris samt svensk.
 Washington 1980-05-06

SVENSK WASHINGTON 1980-04-30

CABINET STOCKHOLM

FOER L ÅA NILSSON UTRIKMIN KANSLI FRAAN BERGQUIST ANG
 WALLENGERGAERENDET. ERT CHIFFER 315, VAART 237.

MAARTEN BRUNDITZ SOM RYSKTALANDE OCH JAG BESOEKTE IDAG MR
 KAMINSKAYA OCH HENNES MAN KONSTANTIN SIMES, FOER ATT TALA OM
 W. DET VISADE SIG ATT DE INTE HOERT TALAS OM W SLEDEN, TRODDE DE,
 SLUTET AV 1940-TALET, DAA EN KUSIN TILL HONOM VARIT I UNDERN
 MED ROEDA ARMEN NAEMNT HANS NAMN. DE REKOMMENDERADE KONTAKT
 MED ANDREV SINJAVSKIJ OCH ALEXANDER GINZBURG VILKA NI VAE
 SJAELVA TAENKT PAA. SAERSKILT DEN FOERRE HAR JU GJORT SIG
 NOEDA ATT LAERA KAENNA LAEGREN OCH FAANGARNA DAER. S BOR JU
 NUMERA I PARIS OCH AER VERKSAM VID SORBONNE, G I NY. PARIT
 NAEMNDE OCKSAA EN VIKTOR ALEXANDER BALASHOV, SOM RELEGERATS
 FRAAN SUVAROVAKADEMIN OCH DOERTS TILL TIO AARS LAEGER. S BOR
 NUMERA I WASHINGTON OCH KAN VAE LOKALISERAS VIA STATE DEPARTMENT
 ELLER VIA PARET SIMES-KAMINSKAYA.

ARLOE

RETTIG
SVEDESKA AMBASADEN

BRASILIA

Handläggare: L Berg

1980-04-22 Nr 79

Utr min kansli/kr Nilsson/ACF
ex a + b t:

Utrikesdepartementet

[Fru Nina Lagergren
F justitierådet I Gärde-
Widemar
Amb P Anger
Leifland
Berg Pol I
amb Moskva onumr
amb Washington onumr
amb Tel Aviv onumr

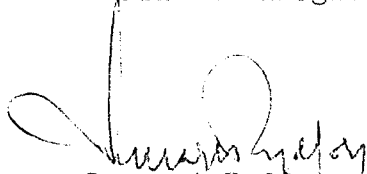
} Wallenberg-
föreningen

Raoul Wallenberg i brasiliansk press
(1 bil i 2 ex)

Den stora dagstidningen "Jornal do Brasil" i Rio de Janeiro med spridning över hela landet hade den 12 april en helsida om Raoul Wallenberg. Sidan hade dels ett väl illustrerat sammandrag av "New York Times Magazines" artikel den 30 mars om Wallenberg dels en intervju med ambassadrådet Berg här i Brasília.

./.

Helsidan bifogas i urklipp.


Lennart Rydfors

lj



DIAS NEGROS

Luiz Barbosa

AFS?

— Sim.
— Aqui é Wallenberg. Estou num aperto e você pode me ajudar.
— As ordens. Mas como?

— Obersturmbahlführer Adolf Eichmann e seu ajudante-ordens estão aqui em casa. Acabaram de chegar. Vem para jantar. Eu não esqueci do convite que havia feito. Veja, simplesmente esqueci. Agora a minha empregada está de folga e não tenho mais nada para oferecer além de uns docinhos. Vou levá-los para a sua casa. Você cuida desse jantar.

De mangas de camisa, no seu elegante gabinete de trabalho na Embaixada da Suécia, o Conselheiro Lars Berg rememora como, há 30 anos, pelo telefone, foi transformado em anfitrião do chefe supremo das SS em Budapeste e incumbido de promover um jantar que, na verdade, tinha como finalidade tentar a salvação de mais alguns milhares de judeus húngaros cuja sorte em campos de extermínio poloneses ou austriacos já estava decidida por Berlim.

Lars Berg foi durante o ano de 1944 e começo de 45 um dos muitos coadjutores privilegiados da tarefa heróica de Raoul Wallenberg de salvar o maior número possível de judeus húngaros da fúria homicida dos nazistas.

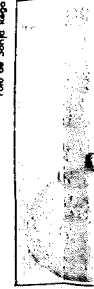
— Meus caminhos e os de Wallenberg se cruzavam permanentemente: eu cuidava da seção B da legação, ou seja, de todos os interesses dos países que haviam confiado a representação de seus negócios na Hungria à Suécia, e ele exclusivamente de salvar os judeus húngaros.

Ironicamente, entre os diversos países que haviam confiado seus interesses à legação sueca, através da sua seção B, (além do Brasil) estava a União Soviética, cujas tropas se encarregaram de aprisionar e fazer desaparecer Wallenberg, pouco depois de tomar Budapeste, entre dezembro de 44 e janeiro de 45.

— Aparentemente, eles tinham, ou melhor, o Estado-Maior soviético tinha o nome de Wallenberg, como o meu, o do Ministro Danilov e de meu colega Per Anger e de outros numa lista. Mas só se interessava em saber de Wallenberg. Por que estava em Budapeste? Onde conseguia tantos recursos para seu trabalho? Como, sendo diplomata de um país neutro, podia envolver-se com os nazistas para salvar cidadãos judeus? — conta Lars Berg.

A ideia de que Wallenberg pudesse ser um simpatizante dos alemães ou mesmo um espião nazista se desfez com a própria constatação da sua tarefa básica de salvar judeus. O fato de que havia, realmente, sido responsável pela salvação de 80 mil dentre cerca de 100 mil que conseguiram escapar dos campos de extermínio, punha fim a qualquer dúvida sobre suas convicções. O Conselheiro Berg, então solteiro, mero terceiro-secretário da legação sueca, admite que o interesse dos russos em Wallenberg tenha relação com o

Foto de Sotelo Bago



QUEM SALVARÁ WALLEMBERG, O SALVADOR DE JUDEUS?

Wallenberg e disse: "Não pense que você é imune só porque é um diplomata e em que todas as pessoas de posse deles deveriam ter permissão de sair do trem."

Alguns dias depois, o carro de Wallenberg, que era neutro, com suas próprias mãos, puxou prisioneiros das "marchas da morte" para a muito conhecido em Budapeste.



The New York Times Magazine

O final de 1944, cinco homens sentaram-se para jantar na residência de Lars Berg, diplomata sueco em Budapeste.

Alguns dias depois, o filho de Wallenberg, que era muito conhecido em Budapeste, foi esmagalhado por um caminhão alemão. Wallenberg não estava dentro dele. Quando falou com Eichmann sobre o incidente, recebeu a seguinte resposta: "Tentaremos de novo".

Raoul Wallenberg incorreu na ira do dirigente alemão porque sua missão em Budapeste consistia diretamente com a de Eichmann.

Com suas próprias mãos, puxou prisioneiros das "câmaras da morte" para a fronteira austríaca ou lhes trouxe pão, sopa, remédios no meio da noite, quando não mais tinha passaportes para distribuir.

Wallenberg não se parecia com um herói. Lembra-se mais um homem de negócios, voz suave, baixa estatura, ao contrário dos outros suecos. Os alemães nunca o paralisaram, mas os russos aparentemente tentaram.

Sentiam immediate circumdare me

que o interesse dos russos em Wallenberg tenha relação com o apoio que recebia de organizações norte-americanas e do próprio Governo dos Estados Unidos para sua tarefa humanitária.

— Ninguém sabia naquela ocasião, porém, que a guerra fria entre a União So-

dos Unidos já estava declarada pelas disputas sobre Viena, sobre Berlim e outras tantas áreas de influência. Essa pode ter sido, afinal, a razão pela qual eles levaram Wallenberg.

Lars Berg se lembra pouco da última vez que avistou seu colega.

— Ele tinha se-
Danúbio, em Pestã.
No momento em
soviéticos, coment

Depois disso, quando já se encerra o teleograma da Chaw Wallenberg quando

Tão frio quanto o aço, o juiz pondera que havia feito o melhor possível, com o poder de vida e morte, e também notabilizou-se para retrair judeus e muçulmanos, metros que separa a entrada da saída. Proteção, algo que não tinha nenhum valor, qualidade, com as três coroas em respeito aos chefes, limitada a 5 mil ex-

proteção aos judeus entregues aos perseguidores, sendo transportados em diferentes idiomas, da Suécia". Isso en-

Wallenberg aprendeu alemão, impressionou o capitão, julgava esse fosse coronel, que conseguiu resolver a dificuldade. "A dificuldade não respeitavam nem os fascistas nas ruas

Da sorte final do homem de negócios extraordinário negro ex-doutor dos chefes nãda. Apenas acompanhando de que ele, ora Lubianka, em 47, on

— Creio que os Wallenberg e agora disso, o mantêm d soltarem Wallenbergs vai fazer perguntas. terá 68 anos.

Alto, com cerca de 1,80 m, tem 12 filhos, o Conselho Municipal de sua missão em Brasília, e serve como encarnar a Coréia do Sul. Ele nasceu em Rio de Janeiro, onde

Alguns dias depois, o carro de Wallenberg, que muito conhecido em Budapest, foi esmigalhado por um caminhão alemão. Wallenberg não estava dentro dele. Quando foi encontrado, ele estava morto.

chmann sobre o incidente, obteve a seguinte resposta: "Tentaremos de novo".

Produto de uma das mais ilustres famílias do seu país, frequentemente chamada de "os Rockefellers da Suécia", Wallenberg foi enviado a Budapesteste no dia 9 de julho pelo Governo sueco em missão especial para salvar ju-

deus. Os nazistas, evidentemente, estavam obcecados com os judeus que ainda mantinham o controle. Tentativas desesperadas para salvar os prisioneiros e dois comandos com base em uma Palestina desceram para a Jugoslávia, num esforço para chegar à Hungria para resgatar uma missão fracassou. Joel Pliskowitz, esquerdista húngaro, viu os nazistas trocar camuflagem.

carra furioso com o fato de serem judeus na Hungria, um tempo depois da "solução" que liquidara 900 mil. Então, em 1944, mandou tropas para a Polónia e o ex-germão de suco-concealogo Eichmann de suicídio deportados para a morte em câmaras de gás em Auschwitz e outros 300 mil ficaram em campos de concentração. Em Budapeste com a estrela, 200 mil judeus em guetos, esperando a

ro de 1945, Raoul Wallenberg
massaportes suecos para, pelo
mil judeus em Budapeste e
mil deles em casas "seguras",
r Wallenberg e com a bandei-
sses 20 mil judeus ficaram
proteção do Governo sueco e
raram do massacre de 90 mil
ste.

Ele ficou em cima de um de deportados distribuindo suco para todos que con-

Raoul Wallenberg, pouco antes de ser enviado à Hungria para salvar a vida de judeus

O final de 1944, cinco homens sentaram-se para fazer uma reunião com o ministro da Educação, Adolf Eichmann, estava presente, com um auxiliar. Os outros eram o professor Wallenberg, 32 anos, então um judeu especial da legação sueca, e mais dois diplomatas suecos. Um jantar estranhamente civilizado para uma época

"Parecia um jantar comum, agradável", lembrou-se Berg recentemente. "Tomamos brandy. Ninguém falava alto. E podíamos ver o fogo da artilharia da nossa janela". Berg lembra-se uma barganha entre o jovem Wallenberg e Eichmann, que mais parecia uma inversa banal.

“Veja”, disse Wallenberg, “você tem que enfrentar isso. Perdeu a guerra. Por que não desistir agora?” Berg se lembra que Eichmann dissera que sabia do que aconteceria ao próximo, mas que continuaria a fazer o trabalho ainda que provavelmente se morresse. Então, Eichmann encarou



Abril 80

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Wallenberg-ärendet

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Avd

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Adress

Svensk MOSKVA

Text

Lundvik från L-Å Nilsson re Wallenberg-ärendet

Speakern i det aktuella TV-programmet har förmodligen
- som Du själv säger - avsett någon av bröderna Jacob
och Marcus Wallenberg. Inte desto mindre vore det
givetvis intressant att få del av en utskrift.

Cabinet