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February 28, 1983

Commander Dennis Blair  
c/o National Security Council  
Room 368  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Commander Blair,

In reference to our conversation in your office on February 25, I am sending you this written summary of those points which I feel are of greatest importance in finding Raoul Wallenberg.

In view of what has NOT happened in the past 38 years, I would like to begin with a quote from Goethe's "Faust": "Der Worte sind genug gewechselt, nun lasst uns endlich Taten sehen". This roughly translates into English: "Enough talk; now is the time for action".

According to my most recent information, Raoul is imprisoned in a place that is not a prison, a labor camp or a mental hospital, but is referred to as a "Stancia". These special places, known only by numbers, are located in sparsely populated and very isolated areas of the Soviet Union.

I understand that the US would be in a position to verify the existence of such "stancias" by satellite reconnaissance. Additional details from my sources can be revealed, once I can tell these sources that we can expect help from your country.

In fact, the above information is as recent as December 1982.

Please understand the tremendous importance of the complete confidentiality of this information. If anyone other than you or your people knew of this, it could prove absolutely disastrous, not only for Raoul, but for all involved. Do not be misled into assuming that the Swedes can be made privy to these facts - that would be a very great danger. The Swedes have actually counteracted efforts to help Raoul and can do so again. I cannot stress strongly enough how utterly secret this must be kept - or all can be lost. My sources made it a strict condition that none of this or any other information be shared with Sweden, whether individuals, organisations or the government itself. It must seem very strange to you that I speak this way about my country, but the dangers will become very clear to you once you have read the Swedish record in respect to Raoul's case. (See enclosed material). Besides, would I have come all this way to get America's help, if it could have been found at home?

Another possible approach to locating Raoul is to go directly to the source of all information on Soviet prisoners. In the spring of 1981 I spoke to a former KGB agent who had defected to the West. He told me that the files on Raoul Wallenberg were very extensive and as all other prisoners' files, were located at that time in the central prison archives in the basement of the KGB/Lubianka building. The former agent added that all these files were in the process of being computerized. He also said, "Of course none of this information will be given to you; you will have to go and GET it!" US intelligence certainly has the means and the methods to go and get it...

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
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DATE 2006

I am fully aware of the vicious circle that has entrapped Raoul for 38 years: without proof no help -- without help no proof. Is it not time to put an end to this everlasting hell to which Raoul has been so cruelly abandoned? It is natural to turn to you since it was a US mission which brought him to Budapest.

I know of still another avenue to pursue. There have been many Soviet prison officials (many of whom are now retired) who have had contact with Raoul. It is logical to assume that some of them know what has happened to him. Establishing contact with them could also lead to the information that we seek.

While these are the approaches I am familiar with, surely your people would know of many more.

Is not this the time to fulfill President Reagan's promise, "we're going to do everything in our power" to help Raoul.

Sincerely yours,

*Sanja Soucekfeld.*

P.S. Please contact me only at home, at number 8-42 51 67.  
If you have problems in reaching me there, please call  
Stuart Stein (at 978 9331), who will be able to find me.

Enclosures.

Encl. 1

## RAOUL WALLENBERG

### 1. US Responsibility

As you know, Raoul Wallenberg's mission in Budapest was undertaken on behalf of the American War Refugee Board. In sending him to Budapest, Sweden was complying with an American request, a request made by then Secretary of State Cordell Hull for President Roosevelt. Obviously, Raoul could not officially represent the US government because the US was at war with Hungary. Therefore, his mission had to be covert, as were almost all activities of the American War Refugee Board at this time. The representative of the WRB in Stockholm was also the representative of the OSS, although Raoul's dealings with him only involved the WRB. This covert action, however, is one that the United States has every reason to be proud of. When the bill granting Raoul honorary American citizenship was passed by the US House of Representatives, many congressmen made speeches. In these speeches many references were made with pride to the fact that the US had tried to save what was left of European Jewry by having Raoul sent to Budapest.

Both the WRB and OSS documents prove the extent of US responsibility for Raoul's mission. Iver C. Olsen, the WRB representative in Stockholm was responsible for choosing Raoul for this mission. The US government financed his activities and provided him with numerous contacts, suggestions and directions. The Swedish government provided his cover as a diplomat and gave him the authority necessary to carry out this special mission.

When Raoul was arrested by the Soviets on January 17, 1945, the immediate reaction of the American government, as expressed by then Ambassador Averill Harriman, was to offer all possible assistance to the Swedish government through then Ambassador Staffan Soderblom, who refused your help. Sweden blocked American efforts to help Raoul from the very beginning. Right after Mr. Harriman's offer was refused by Sweden, President Roosevelt died, and the US government had many important issues to deal with. The issue of Raoul Wallenberg's fate was set aside with the assumption that the Swedes would take action on their own. As stated, the Swedish government had effectively blocked US action. They then continued to do so for the next 38 years. By giving the world the false impression that they were trying to secure Raoul's freedom, they prevented anyone else from getting involved.

### 2. Sweden's Role

It is difficult to imagine how a government could abandon one of its most outstanding citizens. Not only was Raoul a Swedish citizen but an official representative of a neutral nation entitled to full diplomatic immunity. To understand how something like this could happen, you must understand the mentality of the Swedish people, or at least one important facet of it. After so many years of isolation and neutrality the Swedes have become very self-absorbed, to the degree of not even being willing to stand up for one of their own.

I have read about 13,500 pages of official Swedish documents concerning Raoul Wallenberg which were released in May 1982. The inaction of the Swedish government becomes painfully obvious when you read them. Following are some of the most outrageous of the missed opportunities revealed in those documents. One of the most tragic and crucial blunders occurred on June 15, 1945 (4 months after Raoul's arrest), when Mr. Soderblom was received by Josef Stalin. Overwhelmed by the "honor" of this "audience" Mr. Soderblom was not willing to upset the great man by making any fuss about Raoul's case. He merely mentioned politely the Swedish government's concern for their compatriot Raoul Wallenberg, adding confidentially, "Between us, Generalissimo, I think he is dead, the

victim of a road accident or bandits". This is the same Staffan Soderblom who had refused Harriman's offer of American help.

The Soviets stalled until August 18, 1947, when then Soviet Senior Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky said, "Wallenberg is not in the Soviet Union and is unknown to us". The first Raoul Wallenberg Committee tried to explain to then Swedish Foreign Minister Osten Unden (known to be pro-Soviet) that Vishinsky's statement was as false as previous Soviet communications. Unden's answer was, "You dare to imply that Mr. Vishinsky is lying!"

In Swedish parliament it was suggested to exchange Raoul Wallenberg for Soviet agents or diplomats. It was known that the Soviets had seized two Swiss diplomats who eventually were exchanged for a number of Soviet diplomats, seized by the Swiss for that very purpose. Unden's reply to this suggestion was, "We Swedes do not trade in human beings!". Things have not changed: Remember what Foreign Minister Ola Ullsten said when they asked him to exchange the crew of the stranded Soviet submarine? He stated, "We Swedes don't do such things!"

Although the Swedes do not trade in human beings, they were quite willing to hand over a large number of Baltic refugees to a certain death at the hands of the Soviets. With my own eyes I saw how they were dragged on board the ship, so desperate that many tried to kill themselves. This was done only to please the Soviets - the Swedes asked for nothing in return.

The Swedes were eager to grant huge trade credits to the Soviets, while never bothering to ask for their diplomat Raoul Wallenberg in return.

Their activities over the years was to exchange ineffective diplomatic notes with the Soviets. At the same time the Swedes made it clear that the Soviet-Swedish relations took precedence over any concerns they may have for Raoul.

#### Gromyko's Note of February 6, 1957

In 1956 then Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander prepared for a meeting in Moscow with Nikita Krushchev. On his agenda was the case of Raoul Wallenberg. When discussing strategy with experienced cabinet officials he was warned not to hand over any specific dates since the Soviets were known to use such evidence for a declaration of death. Erlander, who was now convinced that Raoul was being held by the Soviets, decided to disregard the warning and handed over written evidence containing specific dates. Thus, Nikita Krushchev received a note from Tage Erlander, stating that Raoul Wallenberg was alive as late as the first half of 1947.

The Soviet answer did not come until February 6, 1957, signed by then Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Since this is the answer they have maintained over the years, it is important that I explain why it is totally false. For your convenience I am enclosing a copy of the official US State Department translation of the Gromyko note and the Swedish reply of February 7, 1957.

Two famous experts on Soviet prison systems, Mr. Lubarski and Mr. Lurij, examined the Soviet note. Their immediate reaction was, "What a joke; how could anyone take this seriously?" They especially referred to the so called declaration of death contained in the Soviet note, pointing out among other things that a Soviet prison doctor would not even dream of addressing himself directly to the Minister of State Security. He would, of course, report to the prison director instead.

To give "heart attack" as the phony cause of death had become standard procedure.

It is unlikely that a prisoner is referred to by his family name only, with no initials or first name and father's name used. Since Raoul's father's name also was Raoul, he would have been referred to as Raoul Raoulevitch Wallenberg, especially in a declaration of death. A further proof of the falsification is the

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lack of Raoul's date of birth.

Perhaps the most ridiculous statement of all was that the body was cremated. Cremation of prisoners was absolutely unheard of.

Concerning the rest of the Soviet note, it is out of the question that no other information could be found. Even if the central file on Raoul had been destroyed by Abakumov (Head of State Security), there would still be a tremendous number of documents containing references to Raoul.

Is it not strange that the Swedes in their reply to the Soviet note would not ask for the original so called Smoltsov report? When the Swedish government was questioned about this omission, their response was, "It is not diplomatic custom to ask for proof. We just trust each other". A great comfort, indeed!

As I have remarked on the enclosed document, of course, the Soviet note tallied with the Swedish evidence, since it was this very evidence that Prime Minister Erlander turned over to Nikita Khrushchev. It was used a year later to determine the date for a declaration of death (as Erlander had been warned).

You might wonder why the Soviets would contrive such a transparently false note. Obviously, they knew exactly with whom they were dealing.

All the above information can be verified.

The Swedish government claims to have worked very hard on this case for almost 4 decades now. Certainly they have taken many notes and questioned witnesses over the years. But according to the official Swedish documents, no real use has been made of all this material.

There are so many examples of missed opportunities to free Raoul Wallenberg, and they continue to this day. I hope that you will now understand that for the United States government to work with or take the lead from the Swedish government would be the equivalent of doing nothing more than exchanging ineffective diplomatic notes as they have done for the last 38 years. Remember, Raoul is 70 years old and we can no longer waste time.

### 3. Why was Raoul Wallenberg arrested by the Soviets?

From the Soviet point of view, there was every reason in the world to arrest Raoul. First of all, why would anyone give up his safe life in neutral Sweden to come and save Jews in Budapest? The Soviets, who by nature are suspicious people, simply could not accept this. Raoul would have been the first to tell them that he was there as an ally, working at the request of the Americans. He had US currency when he was arrested, and certainly the Soviets must have known that his contact at the American Embassy in Stockholm did not only represent the War Refugee Board but also the OSS. It is clear how the Soviets would assume that Raoul was an American spy.

Raoul spoke perfect German and had dealt directly with Adolf Eichmann and the Hungarian Nazi government. He had made all kinds of deals and certainly must have bribed various officials. To the Soviets it must have seemed very suspicious that the Nazis would allow such a man to live and carry out his mission - so to them he must have been not only an American spy but also a Nazi collaborator. To make matters worse, when Raoul was arrested by the Soviets he had brought with him a plan to restore property and rights to those Hungarian Jews whom he had saved. Naively, he had intended to deliver this plan to the Commander of Soviet forces, Marshal Malinowski, for his approval and help. Little did he imagine what plans the Soviet Union had for occupied Hungary.

*Added*

4. Witnesses

In the fifties, following negotiations (such as German Chancellor Adenauer's) and the amnesty after Stalin's death, a great number of prisoners of various nationalities were released by the Soviets. Among these were a number who would later testify to having seen Raoul, spoken to him or had "knocking contact" with him. Their testimonies are matters of record. If not for both negotiations and amnesty, these prisoners would never have been released and had the opportunity to tell Raoul's story to the West.

Soviet prisoners (Soviet citizens) were never put together with foreign prisoners. This is why, when they are questioned, they have no knowledge of Raoul Wallenberg.

After the fifties and the sixties, very few foreign prisoners were released. This explains why there have been so few witnesses since that time.

While some of the witnesses seem to be reliable and others do not, it is impossible to rely 100% on any information gathered in this way, since it cannot be completely checked inside the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we know that the Soviet prison files contain all the information on Raoul since he first entered the Soviet prison system. Every day in a prisoner's life is accounted for. Whatever has happened to Raoul or wherever he would be today, all is in the files.

The United States must not fall into the same trap as Sweden, spending years checking out witnesses and filing their notes. Including the 13,500 pages, released in May, 1982, I have read over 15,000 pages of these notes.

5. Why have the Soviets kept Raoul Wallenberg alive all this time?

After World War II, it was no longer Soviet practice to kill prisoners indiscriminately, and certainly not a prisoner of Raoul's potential value. As with the Swiss, the Soviets must have expected an offer of exchange from the Swedes. Such an offer never came. "The Swedes don't do such things..."

The fact that the Swedes never showed any real interest in securing Raoul's release must have only added to the Soviet suspicions that he really was a spy and/or a collaborator. For these two crimes he could have been sentenced to fifty years (25 years each). If this was the case, he would still have another 12 years to serve.

Since a prisoner is "not allowed to die" before he has served his full sentence, there is every reason to believe that Raoul is still alive somewhere in the Soviet Union.

You may know that it is a Russian tradition, predating the communists, to declare a prisoner dead to the outside world while forcing him to continue living within the prison walls. In other words, he is not even permitted to die.

It is not unknown in the Soviet Union for a prisoner to live his entire life (say from age 20 to 80 or more) in the gulag. As recently as 1982 I met a man (a non-Soviet citizen) who was rescued and brought to the West after having spent approx. 43 years in Soviet prisons. He was in his eighties but looked younger and seemed to be in fairly good condition. As I have seen with my own eyes, this is often the case with ex-Soviet prisoners once they have been given the chance to recuperate. Those former prisoners who still retain their sense of humor might say jokingly, "Look, we have not been allowed to do things - no smoking, drinking or overeating, like those of you on the outside."

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These former prisoners' tone would then turn more serious as they stressed the point that a prisoner in the Soviet Union is not allowed to die. He must serve his sentence. They also said, "Should he fall ill, he would be nursed back to health".

It is important to make a distinction between prisons and labor camps. In labor camps people may very well work themselves to death. According to all evidence on Raoul, he was always kept in prisons and not in labor camps.

It is very sad indeed that people forget the fact that Raoul overcame impossible odds to complete his mission and save so many innocent men, women and children from certain death. Over the years too many have refused to take action on Raoul's behalf because there was no absolute proof that he was alive.

You are in a position to find this absolute proof. Please help us now before it is too late. Raoul is still waiting...

Prepared February 28, 1983  
by Sonja Sonnenfeld

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Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. No.: \_\_\_\_\_  
From: Stockholm

From

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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED FEBRUARY 6, 1957, BY SOVIET VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO TO SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW ROLF SOHLMAN IN THE RAUL WALLENBERG CASE

(Translation of text as released by the Swedish Foreign Office to the press February 7, 1957)

In pursuance of the Swedish Government's request, the Soviet Government instructed the pertinent Soviet authorities to peruse the material concerning Raoul Wallenberg which had been received from Swedish quarters at the Swedish-Soviet negotiations in Moscow in March - April 1956 and also in May 1956. In the course of perusal and testing of the said material, the Soviet authorities have made a careful search of the archives which refer to the accounting for prisoners and to investigation questions ("Sledstvenye Dela"), for the purpose of finding possible information on Wallenberg. Similarly, many persons have been questioned who could have had anything to do with the circumstances mentioned in the material received from Sweden.

As a result of these measures, however, it has not been possible to find any information whatsoever concerning Wallenberg's sojourn in the Soviet Union. It has transpired that none of those heard knew any person by the name of Wallenberg. In this connection, the competent Soviet authorities have undertaken a search page by page of the archive documents from all wards in certain prisons. As a result of such search of archive documents from the health service in the Ljublanka Prison, a document has been found which there is good reason to consider as referring to Raoul Wallenberg.

This document has the form of a hand-written report, addressed to the former Minister of the State Security in the Soviet Union, Abakumov, and written by the head of the health service at the said prison, A.L. Smoltsov, reading as follows:

"I report that the prisoner Wallenberg, who is well known to you, died suddenly in his cell this night, probably as the result of a heart attack. Pursuant to instructions given by you that I personally have Wallenberg under my care, I request approval to make an autopsy with a view to establishing the cause of death.

"July 17, 1947.  
"Smoltsov,  
"Chief of the Prison's Sanitary Ward,  
"Colonel in the Medical Service."

On this report, the following notation is found, in Smoltsov's handwriting: "I have personally notified the Minister and it has been ordered that the body be cremated without autopsy. July 17. Smoltsov."

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From Stockholm

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It has not been possible to find any other information whatsoever having the character of document or testimony, all the more since the aforementioned A. L. Smoltsov died on May 7, 1953. On the strength of what has been cited above, the conclusion should be drawn that Wallenberg died in July 1947.

Raoul Wallenberg was apparently arrested along with other persons in the area for military operations by Soviet troops. At the same time, it may be considered indisputable that Wallenberg's subsequent detention in prison as well as the incorrect information about him supplied by certain former leaders of the security organs to the Soviet Union's Foreign Ministry over a period of years comprised the result of Abakumov's criminal activities. In connection with gross crimes committed by him it will be recalled that Abakumov, who had engaged in activities implying violation of the laws of the Soviet Union and who had sought to inflict upon the Soviet Union all kinds of damage, was executed in accordance with verdict handed down by the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government presents its sincere regrets because of what has occurred and expresses its profound sympathy to the Swedish Government as well as to Raoul Wallenberg's relatives.

Translation: NMöller

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Dep. No. 964  
From Stockholm

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OFFICIAL COMMENTARY BY THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT TO THE SOVIET MEMORANDUM ON RAOUL WALLENBERG, ISSUED FEBRUARY 7, 1957.

The Soviet Government has drawn the conclusion from its investigations that Wallenberg died in a Russian prison in July 1947. The responsibility for his having been detained in prison and for the false information previously supplied is placed on the Soviet security organs and the Soviet Government expresses its sincere regrets for what has occurred.

Concerning the reply, it can be established that it is now being admitted on Russia's part that Wallenberg has been held imprisoned in the Soviet Union. In that respect, the reply tallies with the Swedish evidence material. It must be strongly regretted, however, that the reply contains such meager information. Nothing is said about the motives for Wallenberg's arrest or about his fate during the years that followed. We expect that if any new material should appear in the Soviet Union we shall immediately have it communicated to us.

To Raoul Wallenberg's mother and relatives, who for so many years have had to live in horrible uncertainty, the Russian reply must imply yet another hard blow. They have our profound sympathy.

*What a cynical remark...*

Translation: NMSller

*1) Of course, the reply tallies with the Swedish evidence material: this was exactly the material handed over to Khrushchev by Erlander, who had been told that it would be used to provide the Soviets with a date for their "declaration of death".*

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*2) "strongly regretted" would be the kindest words ever used by the Swedes when dealing with Soviet.*

on right  
to us

# George F. Will A Question for Andropov: Where Is Raoul Wallenberg?

The guess of late that the Soviet regime wraps around reality has never been thick enough to swindle this question: Where is Raoul Wallenberg?

Now it is asked again, in the wake of the most recent in a long series of alarming reports. A Russian newspaper in Israel says that when he was hospitalized in 1973 on the way to prison, he met a man who "looked Jewish, so I asked who he was. He answered in accented Russian that he was Swedish and was there because he helped the Jews. He said his name was Raoul Wallenberg."

That occurred a quarter of a century after 1947, the year the Kremlin says Wallenberg died. Last May, when hardly releasing documents about the Wallenberg case, a Swedish official said "We are working on the supposition that he is still alive." Sweden's Embassy concerning the case—holding horns of cornucopia—hardly conceals "working." If alive, he is 70. It is 26 years since he disappeared from Hungary into the Soviet Union.

On Jan. 17, 1946, he was seized by Soviet forces that were "liberating" Hungary from their former allies, the Nazis. Three weeks later he was in the underground subterranean of the Soviet regime, Moscow's Lubyanka prison.

At 22, representing neutral Sweden, Wallenberg was in Budapest at America's request, working with Swedish Embassy and serving scores of thousands of Jews from Adolf Eichmann's final chapter of the "Final solution," the destruction of Hungarian Jews. He bought buildings and draped them with Swedish flags as diplomatically protected territory. He dressed "Arya-looking" Jewish men in SS uniforms to protect Jewish barbers. He deflected false charges, and used their custody to subsidize Jewish address lists opening the doors of cattle cars. Thanks to him, the 150,000 Jews in Budapest were the most substantial Jewish community surviving in Europe when the war ended.

One certainty is that Andrei Gromyko had in the



1957 memorandum asserting that Wallenberg's "ap-pours in the Soviet Union"—Gromyko's words—ended with a heart attack in prison in 1947. The memorandum came after 12 years of Kremlin denials that Wallenberg had ever been in Soviet hands. Gromyko cited the evidence of two Soviet functionaries, both supposedly dead, and said the body had been cremated—a transparent fabrication, given Soviet practices.

There has been a steady trickle of reports about Wallenberg, first from returning German prisoners of war, then from released political prisoners and Jewish emigrants. The reports give dates and places—prisons, cell numbers—that trace a tantalizing trail across the years and through the gulags.

For example, in 1951 a Soviet professor of medicine held a visiting Swedish physician that he had recently examined Wallenberg in a "mental hospital." In 1977 a Moscowite just released from the gulag called his daughter in Israel and mentioned meeting in a Moscow prison a Swede "who had served 30 years." Two years later the Milwaukee man wrote his wife and said, "I would like to write a letter about Wallenberg. Sources in Eastern Europe report that in 1961 Wallenberg was moved to a prison hospital near Leningrad.

Why was he arrested in the first place? The Soviet machinery of brutality operates so automatically it hardly looks for, and certainly does not require, much detail. But Soviet newspapers invariably did not want more witnesses to the handling of Eastern Europe. Why was he kept? Perhaps, in part, to show contempt for Western disapproval. Why did Soviet troops take him and ropes drag away the evidence to him in Budapest in 1947? Because the Kremlin disapproved of what he did.

It is probable that we inadvertently did what happened when Wallenberg sealed the doors of death with the Third Reich and fell into the hands of his Soviet captors. When the Soviet Union goes away with such acts—acts that are so commonplace as they are contemptible—it gets the idea that it can win back "yellow rats" and can cheat the pope with little to fear from the West's ethical disapproval.

Besides, if this case is not America's business, what is? On Oct. 5, 1981, Wallenberg became only the second person (William Churchill was the first) to be made an honorary American citizen.

Signing the bill conferring this honor, President Reagan said "we're going to do everything in our power" to locate Wallenberg. But we have not done that. So before Reagan agrees to meet with Yuri Andropov, he should receive an answer, beyond the routine speculation, to this question: Where is Raoul Wallenberg?

### Incl. 5 Sweden and Raoul Wallenberg

Columnist George F. Will refers to a new witness in the tragic Raoul Wallenberg case who claims to have met Mr. Wallenberg in a Soviet hospital in 1973 ("A Question for Andropov: Where is Raoul Wallenberg?" op-ed, Jan. 6). The witness is a recent immigrant to Israel from the Soviet Union. Mr. Will quotes — correctly — a Swedish official as saying that "we are working on the supposition that he is still alive," and Mr. Will continues: "Sweden's lethargy concerning this case — lethargy born of cowardice — hardly constitutes 'working.' If alive, he is 70. It is 28 years since he disappeared from Hungary into the Soviet Union."

For somebody who on and off during most of those 28 years, in Stockholm, Moscow and elsewhere, has been involved in this tragic matter, I find this description of the Swedish government's attitude to be grossly unfair. Thus, in retro-

spect, it may be argued that mistakes have been committed, particularly in the very beginning, when official Soviet assurances that Mr. Wallenberg was under their protection were taken at face value for too long. After nearly 40 years, the Swedish government has pursued this matter with vigor and persistence that probably exceeds what any government has done for one of its citizens. And Mr. Wallenberg richly deserves it.

Like all new witnesses in this drama, the recent one is already being investigated through official Swedish channels. We are "working" on it. If the witness turns out to be credible and sorts new facts emerge from the hearing with him, the case will no doubt be related soon with the Soviet government.

WILHELM WACHTMEISTER  
Ambassador of Sweden

Washington

What!  
a nerve!  
Mr. Hambro  
was checked in  
Israel. They  
didn't have  
to go there.  
He has turned  
out not to  
be....  
He is Russian  
and could  
not have met  
Raoul.

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*Mr. Will is absolutely right  
about Sweden and its role.*

THE WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1983

*George F. Will*

## Wallenberg and Sweden's Shame (Cont'd.)

Like a northern pike rising at a lure, Sweden's ambassador has risen to defend his country against an accusation in a recent column. I welcome the opportunity to amplify the offending remark.

Writing about Raoul Wallenberg, the savior of thousands of Hungarian Jews, who disappeared into Soviet prisons in 1945, I quoted a Swedish official saying that, "We are working on the supposition that Wallenberg is still alive." I said: "Sweden's lethargy concerning the case—lethargy born of cowardice—hardly constitutes 'working.'"

In a letter to *The Washington Post*, the ambassador calls this "grossly unfair." He admits Sweden believed initial Soviet lies, but he says Sweden "has pursued this matter with a vigor and perseverance that probably exceeds what any government has done for one of its citizens."

Well. Sweden's statement about its supposition was made when Sweden released documents pertaining to the case. Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), who as a boy in Budapest was saved by Wallenberg, wrote to *The New York Times* (May 26, 1982):

"It is both ironic and deplorable that Sweden has waited 20 years to release some 42 volumes of reports and eyewitness accounts. . . . Had the information been made public earlier to those in position to help Raoul Wallenberg, he may

have been able to live his life with dignity—with his family—instead of in the infamy of the Soviet gulag. For years, the government of Sweden has engaged in ineffective silent diplomacy. . . . Now they tell those of us who have fought so hard for his release that we can finally see their documents. If . . . the Swedish government is now 'working on the supposition that he is still alive,' then it's about time."

Just after the war, Sweden's foreign minister was urged to press the case and disregard the fact that Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky said that the Soviet Union did not have Wallenberg. The Swedish minister said: "What! Do you believe that Mr. Vyshinsky is lying?" Vyshinsky, the prosecutor in Stalin's show trials, lie? "Absolutely unheard of," said the minister.

The ambassador's claim that Sweden has done more for Wallenberg than any nation has done for a citizen is refuted by many cases, but especially that of Harald Feller, a Swiss diplomat who was in Budapest when Wallenberg was, doing similar rescue work. He, too, wound up in Soviet hands. But he was released in 1946 because his country arrested six Soviet spies and negotiated a swap.

Although Sweden found neutrality profitable

between 1939 and 1945, after the war it discovered morality, and ever since has been urging it on others, especially the United States, which frequently falls short of Sweden's exacting standards. Sweden has generally considered swags beneath its dignity. "Sweden," said a Swedish foreign minister, "does not do such things." By the time (1979) Sweden proposed a swap, the Kremlin reacted with disdain.

Olof Palme, who is again prime minister, and the world's moral tutor (he considers the United States an especially backward student), was prime minister in 1976. When Palme met with Alexi Kowynin, the Wallenberg case was not even on the agenda. Palme's administration dismissed the case in a word: "utogjerd" (settled).

Even before the invasion of Afghanistan, Wallenberg's supporters urged Sweden to boycott the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. Even after the invasion, Sweden did not boycott.

In October 1981, a Soviet submarine ran aground while violating Swedish territorial waters. Wallenberg supporters urged using the submarine for leverage. When the Soviet Union asked for its boat back, Sweden could have said: Boat? What boat? We know nothing of any boat—just as you know nothing of Wallenberg.

But appearing on ABC's "Nightline" (Oct. 30, 1981), the foreign minister was asked if Sweden "might want to propose a trade." He said that "would certainly not serve any useful purpose." Do Swedes wonder why Soviet submarines show such contempt for Sweden's sovereignty? Cringing neutrality has not noticeably immunized Sweden from the aggressive disdain of Soviet submarines.

In her new biography, "Wallenberg," Kati Marton, a Hungarian-born journalist, concludes that Wallenberg fell victim to "Sweden's neuro-pathological fear of Russia."

"The scorn with which the Kremlin treated Stockholm's queries about Wallenberg was not altogether unjustified given the Swedes' lack of conviction following his imprisonment. The dim memory of an early 19th-century Russian invasion, Sweden's first and last, is not sufficient explanation for the country's spineless behavior on behalf of its captured diplomat."

Marton also says: "At Wallenberg's expense, Sweden has learned a painful lesson: the price demanded to maintain one's neutrality can sometimes be too high." The lesson certainly has been taught to all of Europe; whether it has been learned is increasingly doubtful.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### *Sweden and Raoul Wallenberg (Cont'd.)*

George F. Will ["Wallenberg and Sweden's Shame (Cont'd.)," op-ed, Jan. 16] continues his polemics against Sweden by suggesting—in apparent seriousness—that the Swedish government should have kept an intruding Soviet submarine and—supposedly—its crew in order to extract information about Raoul Wallenberg. We do not believe that hostage-taking as a means of foreign policy is either legal or effective. Mr. Uden's wise words still stand: "Sweden does not do such things."

Mr. Will widens the attack against Sweden, calling our prime minister the world's moral tutor. The context suggests that it is not meant as a compliment. Olof Palme is a strong advocate of policies that have a long tradition as cornerstones of Swedish foreign policy:

- Neutrality, backed by a strong military and civilian defense;
- International disarmament, primarily in the nuclear field;
- Promotion of the right of self-determination of peoples;
- Aid to developing nations;
- Protection of the environment;
- Respect for human rights.

We are rather proud of our record in the defense of these principles. They will continue to guide Swedish foreign policy. They will be actively and persistently pursued. And, I repeat, the efforts to clarify Raoul Wallenberg's fate will continue.

WILHELM WACHTMEISTER  
Ambassador of Sweden

Washington

Perhaps another  
38 years?