

RAOUL WALLENBERG
AND
SWEDISH HUMINT ACTIONS DURING WW2

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, it is the intention here to explain some of the Swedish HUMINT activities during WW2 and especially those related to Hungary. This first section will also include a short discussion of some aspects of Sweden's engagement in the peace talks between Germany and its opponents.

Second, an attempt will be made to investigate whether these activities on Sweden's part may have affected the fate of the diplomat Raoul Wallenberg in any way or whether he may perhaps, directly or indirectly, have participated in any HUMINT operations. In order to obtain a more detailed picture of his actions, some departures are made from the original intention to concentrate only on facts that could be considered to relate to his mission in Hungary during 1944-45. The reason is the presumption that his activities before that period may have been of crucial importance to his destiny.

The third and final aim is to find out how the Soviet authorities interpreted known or presumed Swedish HUMINT activities and the supposed role of Raoul Wallenberg in them. Did the Soviet Union have information that it expected to show that the Swedish diplomat had been involved in open or clandestine activities contrary to the interests of Moscow?

The Swedish HUMINT Organisation and Hungary

The tragic fate of the Swedish businessman and diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who was arrested by units from the Red Army in Budapest in January 1945 and then "disappeared", will never be forgotten. Thousands of books, articles and other papers have since been produced, but nobody has yet been able to reveal the truth of what really happened. /This article is an abridged version of Göran Rydeberg, *Raoul Wallenberg. Historik och nya forskningsfält* (Stockholm 2002) and *Raoul Wallenberg. Ett öde* (Stockholm 2004; unpublished book). Cf. UD II 52 and SOU 2003:18. Ett diplomatiskt misslyckande. Fallet Raoul Wallenberg och den svenska utrikesledningen./

The purpose of this paper is not to help answer the crucial question of what really happened to Wallenberg, but rather to provide a short summary of what we know about his possible connections with intelligence organisations and activities. Before starting the investigation it is vital to emphasise that many questions and gaps in our knowledge still remain.

Is it really of any importance to ascertain whether the lost diplomat had any contacts with Swedish or international intelligence organisations? The answer is definitely yes. We can assume that both the Germans and their allies and the Western powers and Soviet Union carefully scrutinised the activities of representatives of neutral countries in Central Europe during WW2. Sweden, together with e.g. Switzerland, served as a protecting power to the enemies of the Axis powers in countries like Hungary, which though formally non-aligned was almost totally dependent on Germany. By so doing, these countries drew far more attention to themselves than could have been expected under more normal conditions. This in turn meant that representatives of Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and others in such countries as Hungary were at real risk.

In this respect the situation for Sweden was especially difficult in terms of its relations with the Soviet Union. From June 1941 there existed a commitment on Stockholm's part to act as a protecting power for its great easterly neighbour. Several times over the years, Moscow for various reasons showed displeasure with Sweden, accusing it of being too indulgent in its attitude to Germany.

The Western allies also made frequent acid remarks about the attitude of Sweden during the war, at least until 1944 when Stockholm finally dared in view of the state of the war to stand

up to the demands of the Axis powers. To give just one example, the head of the Swedish legation in Hungary at the end of the war, Ivan Danielsson – later Raoul Wallenberg's superior officer – had been forced to leave his position at the Swedish legation in Cairo a few years earlier because he was accused of having made remarks in public which had been interpreted by the Egyptian authorities to mean that the diplomat had expressed the view that it was meaningless for the allies to fight against Germany. /Cf. the Ivan Danielsson file, UD dossier P 1./

As one of few neutral countries not itself hit by the war, a small country like Sweden obviously became more important on the international scene than it would have been under other conditions. The great powers could use Sweden as well as Switzerland or any other neutral country as a mediator in the international political game and these small countries voluntarily or more or less by force of circumstances became key actors on the world stage.

In order to make the right political decisions, Sweden had also enhanced its resources for intelligence operations in various fields shortly before the outbreak of the war and its skill in the field was very much on the rise in the following years. As will be shown in this paper, Swedish HUMINT officers engaged in a considerable amount of international travel for the purpose of securing vital information for the country.

Of greatest importance in this respect were the actions of *C-byrå* (the C Bureau), founded in 1939 and led by Major Carl Petersén. /Carlgren 1985 pp. 28-29./ It operated on a small scale, with a few agents in Sweden and in other countries, where they attempted to establish contacts with colleagues in the HUMINT field. These were seen as key figures that could provide Sweden with secret information.

It is important to ascertain whether *C-byrå* was engaged in any operations in Hungary. And if so, were there any connections between the Swedish legation and the bureau that could have been vital to Wallenberg or was he by chance involved in anything that could have posed a risk to his personal safety?

We now know that there definitely were connections between the Swedish HUMINT bureau and people in Hungary during WW2. One reason why we can confirm this assumption is that we actually possess an important document, "*PM. Över C-byrå*" (Memorandum on the C Bureau). /The Swedish Military Archives (KrA), The *C-byrå* files./ It was written during the final months of the war by the deputy head of the bureau, Captain Helmuth Ternberg. Ternberg can perhaps be described as the secret agent "par preference" in Sweden both during WW2 and a few decades afterwards, though he was by far most influential during the war years. On page 13 of this file there are some references to the international network that was maintained mostly by the bureau head, Petersén, but also by Ternberg.

The position of Sweden on the international scene became very complicated after the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. According to Ternberg, the Swedish intelligence organisation was forced from this point on to keep up close relations with all its counterparts in neighbouring countries as well as in most other parts of Europe. For the sake of greater effectiveness, a form of division of responsibilities was implemented inside the bureau. Petersén assumed charge of contacts with the Western allies while Ternberg took on the task of maintaining contacts with Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Slovakia and Hungary. The author of the memorandum also reveals that the bureau's (and Sweden's) most important source of information was "*Hitler's great opponent*", the head of the Abwehr, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. The Abwehr was also described as being the most important of the German intelligence organisations. /Kahn (1985, p. 452) has briefly discussed the situation of the Hungarian intelligence organisations. Kahn claims that they were very efficient and much appreciated by their German counterpart. In the files of the Swedish *C-byrå* (1940-46), however, there are no traces that can support any conclusions that the legation in Budapest was used in any way for connections between *C-byrå* and the Hungarian organisations./

In order to support contacts with useful international actors, Ternberg travelled to Germany and Austria several times during the years of WW2. There are some indications, though not fully confirmed, that Ternberg also visited Hungary at least in 1943 and 1944. We do not know whether the legation was informed of these visits, but there is reason to believe that it was not.

In order to secure the transfer of information from abroad, Sweden and other countries mostly used their embassies/legations to send encrypted messages to the home capital. The facilities for doing this at the Swedish legation in Budapest had been supervised and ameliorated in 1943 by the head of the TKA (the Swedish organisation for control of cables), Mr C. A. Elghammar. /See the files of the organisation at KrA./ The members at the legation at that time were instructed and trained in the use of encryption utilities.

The cables sent from Budapest can now be found in the files of the Swedish Foreign Ministry and to some extent in the records of the Defence Ministry. In the extant documents there are no traces of any intelligence references in the messages sent from the legation. Having said that, we would certainly imagine that the most secret information was passed to the Swedish authorities either by “independent” transmissions or by special couriers.

According to an anonymous source who was interviewed by the author of this paper a few years ago, at the end of the war there were at least a few “independent” Swedish technicians working with radio transmissions from Hungary to Sweden. /According to Berger 2004 members of the Military Headquarters in Stockholm had in October 1944 smuggled a radio receiver to Hungary as well as instructions and other facilities to the Hungarian resistance movements. The receiver is claimed to have come into the hands of members of the MFM resistance movement./ These people were not employed by the legation, but they were said at any rate to have kept in close touch with it. Their task was also to support the activities carried out by *C-byrån*. The source was also asked if he could remember having had any contacts with specific members of the Swedish legation and especially with Raoul Wallenberg. The answer was a definitive no.

By now we know that there were at least a few Swedish covert radio stations and as will be shown, members of the Hungarian resistance movement were aware of the Swedish activities. We have no indications of whether the legation had any knowledge of this either.

US/Swedish and British/Swedish connections

When, in July 1944, Raoul Wallenberg was appointed First Secretary at the Swedish legation in Budapest and became head of the office for humanitarian affairs, this was a development that was both quite normal and truly extraordinary. What was normal about it was that Switzerland and other neutral countries had started similar missions quite a while before the Swedish initiative came into action and mostly even operated theirs on a larger scale than Wallenberg and his organisation were ever able to do. It was also normal for Sweden, like other countries, to receive money and aid from e.g. the US as well as from Jewish organisations. The extraordinary thing about Wallenberg’s mission – by comparison with, for example, the Swiss actions – was that both the initiative and the financing came almost wholly from the US.

To the actors on the international scene who cared about what he was doing, the purpose and conditions of Wallenberg’s mission were probably pretty vague. Even his Swedish colleagues sometimes wondered whether he was acting on behalf of Sweden or the US. During his stay he was successful and many people in Budapest – Swedes, Hungarians and ultimately the Soviet authorities – noted that Wallenberg obviously was in control of a lot of money and property. From where did he get it? How was it possible for him to carry out his mission, since it was well known that the Germans and the Hungarian authorities had threatened to stop his actions? If they did not, could he have been suspected of negotiating with – or even actively helping – the Nazis? Many questions – which in combination could easily lead us to

expect plenty of suspicion about Wallenberg's mission from the Western allies, the Axis powers and the Soviet Union. How could such a conspicuous and at the same time elusive mission as that of the young, inexperienced Swedish diplomat have been carried out? Another very interesting aspect was that Wallenberg was a member of the most influential business family in his country.

In itself, this was a high-stakes mission, which exposed the man in charge to many dangers. Whether or not Wallenberg was aware of this we do not know. What is clear is that the risks would have become even greater if he had actively or unintentionally become involved in any clandestine political activities in the course of his stay.

There are at least a few traces showing that the diplomat became to some extent involved in political activities in Budapest. Are we also able to discern a faint pattern indicating that these had to do with HUMINT actions?

The joint Swedish-Russian working group concerning Raoul Wallenberg and his fate which published its results in 2000 had conducted some investigations into the lost diplomat's possible intelligence connections. /UD II:52./ It did not give a definitive answer as to the existence of any such connections, though it did find some remarks about his actions by the WRB (the War Refugee Board) in the US, which was the initiator and financier of the mission. Before the WRB was dissolved as an organisation during the autumn of 1945, the secretary at the US legation in Stockholm, Iver Olsen, wrote a report to the headquarters of the WRB in Washington, D.C. in June 1945. In this he stated that Wallenberg's mission in Budapest had been successful but made no reference to any extraordinary tasks in the HUMINT field performed by the Swedish diplomat and his organisation. We might otherwise have expected Olsen to take up such questions, since we now know that he was also working for the OSS (the predecessor of the CIA).

At this time, both the WRB and the OSS were involved in humanitarian and HUMINT projects in Eastern Europe, in areas that were later totally controlled by the Soviet Union. There are no known connections between Wallenberg and these activities.

Whether the Swedish diplomat was later recruited by the OSS in any way we do not know. Before he started his mission there had been sceptical statements from the OSS concerning Wallenberg's abilities to carry it out. A memorandum from the State Department to the OSS stated, "*From the subject's personal history, we suppose he would be of doubtful assistance in our activities*". /The document is found as an enclosure to a report from the Swedish diplomat Lage Olson from 22 March 1944 in the Raoul Wallenberg file at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, hereafter designated UD P2 Eu¹./ The US concern was that Wallenberg was presumed to be an inexperienced businessman not suited to fulfil his task. Such a statement from the government would probably have prevented the OSS from trying to recruit the Swede.

Even if his cooperation with the OSS was strictly formal, Wallenberg had contacts with its representatives, like Olsen. Other documents used by the Swedish-Russian group show that from the very beginning of the WRB's activities, there were thorough regulations governing coordination between the organisation and the OSS. In a reference from the OSS in a telegram dated 1 July 1944, there are remarks about the WRB and that "*Due to the subject's [Wallenberg's] personal background it might be supposed that his usefulness 'to our activities was in doubt'*" /UD II:52 p. 42./ It is notably almost identical with the above quoted statement on Wallenberg. The exact meaning of this is unclear, but we can probably guess that the hope of being able to use the new diplomat was not unfamiliar to the US authorities.

According to a letter of 29 April 1945 from the US ambassador in Stockholm, Herschel Johnson, Wallenberg himself had stated that he "*was carrying out his mission for the US WRB – implying that he viewed his position as attaché to the Swedish legation as a cover.*" /Swedish National Archives (RA). Files concerning Raoul Wallenberg. Copies of American documents on RW 1944-1946. 3277:63./ If this was true, though Wallenberg himself thought he was not involved in any HUMINT actions, his status as a diplomat was actually just a cover.

On 21 February 1990 Director of Intelligence William Henhoeffter issued a report entitled “*Raoul Wallenberg and his US Intelligence Connections*” in which he fully confirms the statements of Iver Olsen, claiming that Wallenberg had nothing to do with the OSS and that the Swedish diplomat worked solely for the WRB. Nor were the OSS and other intelligence organisations involved in any financing of his mission.

There has also been speculation about the nature of the US interest in the fate of Wallenberg. Why did Washington try to intervene? Of course it can be said that because Wallenberg worked for and was financed by a US organisation, it was quite natural that the US government would pay attention to his fate, especially when it became obvious that the official Swedish authorities were being unsuccessful in their efforts to find out what had really happened. The Soviet/Russian historian Lev Bezymenskij, who has been investigating the case for many years, has quoted anonymous sources in his home country which have claimed that the US efforts convinced the Swedish authorities that “*Wallenberg was a spy*”. /Bezymenskij 2001 p. 69./ According to the author, Sweden and the US have never dared to put every aspect of the case forward to Moscow because Wallenberg was an American spy and the affair is consequently an embarrassment to both countries.

If the US trail nevertheless is somewhat cold, what about the British connections? In London there was close cooperation between Swedish representatives and the Norwegian government in exile and it is now obvious that the OSS chaperoned these activities of the two neighbouring countries. /Finstrom 2002 p. 67./

Inside Sweden there were contacts between the authorities and the British intelligence organisation SOE (Special Operations Executive), which from bases in Northern Sweden tried to support the Norwegian resistance movement. It was well known that the influential businessmen Jacob and Marcus Wallenberg Junior (cousins of Raoul’s late father) had close contacts with British authorities. Whether they or any other actors introduced their young relative to their British connections we do not know.

However, there are some oddities concerning Raoul Wallenberg’s relations with Great Britain during his mission in Budapest and even stranger is his close cooperation with the British press attaché in Stockholm, the leftist Hungarian former government member in exile, Vilmos Böhm. From the very beginning Böhm was one of those who knew the most about the mission. That was not especially strange, since he was an influential person in the exiled Hungarian community. He had been a member of Béla Kun’s short-lived revolutionary government in Hungary in the early 1920s and had been living in various countries and finally Sweden from the middle of the 1930s. Wallenberg used Böhm as a source of information during his stay in Budapest and the Hungarian himself helped the diplomat get in touch with various influential and anti-fascist people in Budapest. In so doing, Wallenberg of course obtained a great deal of information but on the other hand he was obviously exposed to dangers. If it had wanted to do so, the Hungarian government could easily have put an end to his mission if they suspected the young diplomat of being connected with the resistance movement.

We also know that Wallenberg’s reports from the field to Böhm were forwarded to the British authorities, which were very well informed about the actions of the Swede and his staff.

Böhm himself also poses a great enigma in another respect. Though we do not have any proof of him also being an informer for the Soviet Union, his actions after the arrest of Wallenberg strongly indicate that this was the case. /See the article in the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter (DN) by Wilhelm Agrell on 12 May 2003, “*Raoul Wallenbergs vän förrådde honom*” (*The friend who betrayed Raoul Wallenberg*). Agrell asserted that there are strong indications that Böhm was a Soviet spy. Others have since claimed that Agrell has misinterpreted the sources./ It was Böhm who was the first to inform the Swedish authorities (on 9 March 1945) that Wallenberg had disappeared without trace. The Soviet authorities had claimed as early as on 16 January the same year that the Swedish diplomat had been taken care of in Budapest and it is absolutely certain that Böhm acted systematically to support the statements and explanations

of Moscow to Sweden concerning the case. Further peculiarities in Swedish-British relations can be found at the same time. On receiving the message that Wallenberg had been taken into custody in January, the Swedish ambassador in Moscow, Staffan Söderblom, forwarded the note to the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm, which would be the normal thing to do. However, according to the notes on the copy in the files of the legation in Moscow, for unknown reasons he also passed it on to Herbert C. North, attaché at the Press Reading Bureau of the British embassy in Stockholm. /Cf. UD P2 Eu¹ nr 30 Sept and 22 Oct 2002. The Foreign Ministry in Stockholm./ The question is of course why Söderblom did this, a question that has yet to be answered.

HUMINT actions in Budapest: Sweden and the anti-fascist liberation movements

In the first part of this paper we have tried to ascertain whether there were any connections between Wallenberg and his mission on the one hand and American or British intelligence organisations on the other. The result is that while we do not have any actual proof of such connections, there are a few loose ends that should be investigated more thoroughly than has been done up to now.

Do we have anything more substantial than this aforementioned evidence concerning possible connections between Wallenberg and intelligence operations of any kind? Yes, in fact we do. In December 1996 the Swedish part of the joint Swedish-Russian commission on Raoul Wallenberg commissioned the late former intelligence officer and historian Sven Wäsström to investigate whether any connections had existed between the lost diplomat and the Swedish intelligence organisations. This section of the paper is based on notes found in Wäsström's files. The author was provided with relevant information from the Swedish Foreign Ministry and the military intelligence organisation (MUST). Wäsström's own research was completed in September 1997.

Of greatest importance to the investigation were some files that were released by the US on 2 July 1996. The American authorities claimed at that time that they had released most of the files concerning intelligence matters that were deemed to be of importance to the Raoul Wallenberg case. The key document provided by the US authorities was an encrypted telegram, which for unknown reasons had come into the hands of the Americans and had been deciphered. Unfortunately the message is somewhat difficult to interpret since there were corrupt groups in the text. Members of a well-known resistance movement in Budapest sent the telegram to an unknown receiver on 7 November 1944.

"Geza Soos (name) address (unknown).

He may be contacted only through Per Anger Swedish legation Budapest. Raoul Wallenberg of the legation will know if he is not in Budapest. Soos had Swedish signal plan, Swedes administrated whole affair. Concerning the signal plan, Nagy, former secretary of the Hungarian legation should contact captain Ternberg in Stockholm. Any reliable Hungarian leaving [Szeged?], referring to Gellert, can contact Soos. '[...d]' is the password. The former address of Soos is Budapest XI. ..."

/The meaning and importance of this telegram is discussed in UD II:52 pp. 42-43./

What is the meaning of this? First of all, we can state that the OSS organisation in the US was keen at this time to find out what anti-fascist groups it could potentially cooperate with in order to overthrow the regime in Hungary. The Western allies were undoubtedly well aware of the fact that there existed both communist and non-communist resistance organisations against the Nazis and it was of course of vital importance to support the latter in order not to

let the Soviet Union gain control of the political situation in Eastern Central Europe when the war was over.

This cable definitely reveals that there were connections between the actual underground Hungarian resistance movement and members of the Swedish legation in Budapest. The above-mentioned Per Anger, later a well-known Swedish ambassador and one of those most engaged in investigating the fate of his colleague Raoul Wallenberg, was at this time a young man of 31. He was one year younger than his friend, but nonetheless deputy head of the legation in Budapest.

The message is the only existing document showing any connection whatsoever between Wallenberg and Ternberg. From this cable we also know that the Swedish legation played an active role in the underground resistance and that Wallenberg was the one entrusted as “liaison officer” to Soós. It is also beyond doubt that the initiative for keeping in contact came from Sweden and that the resistance movement had also been trusted with information concerning the Swedish signal plan. This is also a point that shows how closely the country was relying on and cooperating with the organisation MFM (Magyar Függetlenségi Mozgalom, The Hungarian Independence Movement) that Soós was in charge of. The MFM also had its own direct contacts with Ternberg and information about this had now also reached the US. The operation can be shown to have had wider ramifications and we may presume it was quite well-known that Sweden at this time was acting on the international scene on behalf of at least the Western allies.

In December the Swedish signal plan was forwarded to the British embassy in Moscow and from there to the Soviet Union’s Deputy Foreign Minister, Vladimir Dekanozov. As will be shown, at this stage Moscow was also aware of the connections between Sweden and the MFM. This also indicates that Sweden believed that it was in the interests of the Soviet Union too that Stockholm kept in contact with the MFM. Moreover, Sweden obviously worked on the assumption (which we know now was totally wrong) that Moscow approved of the Swedish initiative. Other US documents – from the OSS – show that as late as 30 December 1944 Soós and the MFM had purposely used the Swedish legation as an intermediary for messages from the organisation intended directly for Moscow. The reason was of course Sweden’s role as a protecting power for the Soviet Union. Neither Sweden nor Soós expected this to be controversial in the eyes of the Moscow leaders.

What was the purpose and role of the MFM and was it obvious that it was potentially an actor of significance in a liberated post-war Hungary? The Swedish-Russian Raoul Wallenberg group has established that during the latter part of the war the MFM cooperated with circles in Budapest closely connected to the Hungarian head of state, Admiral Miklós Horthy.

As early as 23 October 1944, the MFM had conveyed the following message to Moscow through the Swedish legation in Budapest:

1a) The MFM represents 80 per cent of the Hungarian people, which considers that it is in a state of war with Germany and that there is an armistice with the allied powers.

1b) An underground government already exists in which there are representatives from all parties, including the communists, who cooperate with the allies.

1 c) Unfortunately the Germans have arrested many MFM members and it therefore has problems carrying out its planned anti-fascist actions.

On 25 October, the MFM also asked the Swedish legation, to help them - to obtain information from the Soviet Union concerning the following matters. These actions were without result.

2. What will happen to Hungarian armed forces and officers who now want to switch loyalties and turn to the allies?

The reason for the question was obvious. Four days earlier, when members of the MFM had contacted Red Army units in Hungary, they had come under fire. The MFM forces wanted an explanation for this along with instructions on how to act. What was the Soviet attitude to the MFM?

3. Even more alarming was that a couple of weeks earlier a delegation from the MFM had tried to get in contact with the Soviet Union and nothing had been heard from it since. The MFM was also aware of the fact that a group of its members who had contacted the Soviet liaison officer outside Budapest on 15 October had all been arrested. By whom was unclear.

4. In a later message the MFM raised other alarming issues with the Soviet Union. In November a new Soviet liaison officer from the Red Army, Major Vari, had begun his work in the field. Early in the month members of the MFM had been in contact with him. On 22 November Vari had disappeared and shortly afterwards 120 officers from the organisation, including most of its leaders, had been arrested by the Gestapo. A few other members of the resistance movement who had subsequently tried to contact representatives of the Soviet Union had also disappeared.

4a) After this, the Secretary-General of the MFM went to Italy in order to establish contacts from Rome with Moscow and the Soviet Hungarian government in Szeged.

We know now that this officer was lucky. He did not return to Hungary and it probably saved his life.

4b) In Rome the MFM also had the task of informing the Allies about the Hungarian underground resistance movement and its readiness to act against the Nazis. Unfortunately its plans had been delayed as a result of the disappearance of Major Vari and also because of the strange actions against the organisation by the Russians.

4c) The MFM was now, in December, awaiting orders from Moscow to start the liberation struggle against the Germans and their allies.

5) The organisation was also requesting assistance from the Western allies in order to establish cable contact with other foreign countries.

When, soon after this, Washington was informed of the facts, the response from US authorities such as the OSS to the initiatives taken by the MFM was positive and it was made clear that the Americans wanted to support the Hungarian organisation.

We have no further information about any other contacts between the MFM and the Swedish authorities.

As we can see, the situation of the Hungarian resistance movement was very difficult and it is obvious that it did not react correctly to the confusing signals it received. We do not know whether Sweden actually was aware of what was going on, though Anger, Wallenberg and others could have been expected to react properly to all the strange things that were obviously occurring.

In the 1990s Swedish investigators of the Raoul Wallenberg case started to investigate the tangled skein of interrelations between the Swedish authorities, the legation in Budapest and the Hungarian anti-fascist resistance movements.

On 24 September 1997 the Swedish ambassador to Hungary, Jan Lundvik wrote a memorandum about the MFM to his colleague at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Lage Olsson. /UD P2 Eu¹ 267/001 1997./ According to Lundvik's information, the MFM did not become a member of the umbrella organisation of the Hungarian resistance movements, *The Hungarian Front*, until October 1944. Its political base was reported being very narrow, from the beginning it had difficulty cooperating with other organisations and, most important, Moscow and the communists did not take a favourable view of it. Evidently, these findings are quite contrary to statement 1(b) from the MFM.

In 1999 Lundvik carried out a new investigation concerning the MFM. /UD P2 Eu¹ 228/001 1999./ On 16 August that year, he discussed the matter with Per Anger and questioned him about his alleged cooperation with the resistance movement. According to the senior diplomat, he had been contacted by members of the Soós organisation which from Sweden asked for protection against street fighters. This was Anger's only meeting with people from the MFM and his reaction at that time was that he was not entitled to make any promises to the resistance movement.

In some respects, the structure of the MFM was well-known to the Soviet government. British documents show that John Balfour in London passed information to Dekanozov about the MFM on 14 December 1944, through US General John Deane in Moscow. The message was that the organisation had cooperated closely with Horthy and that one of its representatives, Doctor Szent-Ivanyi - who went into voluntary exile after the war - had gone to Moscow already in September in order to inform the Soviet authorities of the MFM's struggle against the Axis powers. He also reported that the organisation had been provided with transmission facilities by foreign governments. It is not known whether he mentioned the cooperation with Sweden to Moscow at this time.

Balfour informed Deane before he was intended to convey the information to the MID (the Foreign Ministry in Moscow) that London could not give any guarantees of the commitment of the MFM to its task.

We know from other sources that Moscow closely scrutinised the anti-fascist organisations in Eastern Europe during the same period. One example of this can be shown in a "VENONA telegram" from the Soviet agent "May" (Pavel Ivanovitch Fedosimov) to Moscow on 29 November 1944. Fedosimov quotes a document from the influential anti-fascist Dr Tibor Eckhardt, chairman of the executive committee of the *International Organization for an Independent Hungary*. Eckhardt, like Soós and others, had cultivated good relations with Admiral Horthy as well as with the career diplomat Count Gábor Bethlen. This Hungarian politician, the son of the former statesman Count István Bethlen, was living in Lisbon at the end of the war. It can be noted that Bethlen senior shared the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, being taken into custody by Red Army units and sent to Moscow, where he also "disappeared". Later it became known that he too was imprisoned and after a short time perished in captivity. For some considerable time, Eckhardt, Horthy and other important politicians had been discussing how to organise the resistance against the Germans and their Hungarian allies, as well as how to put in place a pro-Western government in Budapest after the war. The task assigned by the Soviet authorities to the reporting agent would be to determine how to penetrate, neutralise and destroy the organisation, which was considered to pose a real threat to the interests of Moscow.

What do we learn from these examples? Both the Swedish commission and Wäsström came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was extremely hostile to underground organisations that were not totally controlled by Moscow. It was also obviously the case that members of

the MFM were actively betrayed by the Soviet authorities, which did not even hesitate to pass information about the resistance fighters to the Germans and their allies. We could therefore expect that both the Axis and the Soviets would have been very eager to physically liquidate pro-Western resistance fighters in Central Europe at the end of 1944 and possibly as late as early 1945. This of course has for long been a well known fact and today we have evidence of the fate of members of others resistance movements in e.g. Poland.

In a memorandum from 2001, Lundvik quotes information indicating that direct contacts between the Horthy regime and the Soviet Union may have existed in late autumn 1944 and an agreement was in fact established on 11 October in Moscow by the Soviet Union and a Hungarian delegation. /Cf. UD P2 Eu¹ 87/007 2001./ We have files that indicate established contacts between Horthy and a Soviet liaison officer, Colonel A. Makarov, who was working with the partisans in Slovakia fighting the German-allied Tiso regime there. How this cooperation operated is not totally clear but there are some interesting (though unconfirmed) hints that Raoul Wallenberg was acting in one way or another as an intermediary between the two parties. It was also claimed that Horthy passed a peace proposal to Moscow through Wallenberg via Makarov. /In a memorandum dated 28 March 2001, Jan Lundvik notes that a witness, Mrs Sandor Erdős, cited in the Hungarian press in the 1990s has referred to Wallenberg's alleged role in connections between the Hungarian and Soviet authorities. UD P2 Eu¹ 87/007 2001. The truce between Hungary and Moscow of course became obsolete on 15 October. The Soviet foreign minister had also before that rejected all the proposals to the Hungarians made by Makarov./

This document cites speculation that Wallenberg had already been recruited for intelligence operations in Sweden, though by which organisation(s) is not mentioned. The word from Soviet-Hungarian quarters was that Sweden knew about these contacts and that Stockholm hesitated to help the lost diplomat because the results of contacts with other nations were potentially embarrassing to his home country.

These are only speculations with little solid content, which we can put aside. The sources do, however, yield some traces of actions on the part of the Swedish Budapest legation and Wallenberg that indicate that they had some kind of connection with the anti-fascist resistance movements in the country, though the importance and significance of these links are open to question. It is hard to tell if Swedish efforts in these contacts were more explicit than those of other neutral countries also acting in Hungary. We know for a fact that there were indeed connections between Sweden/Wallenberg and the resistance movements. Active measures on the latter's behalf put the members of the legation at risk and of course the extent and importance of their engagement could have exposed Wallenberg and others to hazardous situations.

Most of the antifascists in Hungary were keen to cooperate with the Western allies as well as with the Soviet Union. We also know that movements such as Eckhardt's and others were very pessimistic about the outcome of the war and feared that the brown dictatorship would merely be replaced by a red one.

On 3 September 1944, the head of the Swedish legation in Budapest, Ivan Danielsson, sent a cable directly to the Swedish Foreign Minister, Christian Günther, informing him of the co-operation that had been established in Hungary between the antifascists (including the communists) against the Germans and their Arrow Cross allies in the country. /UD HP 1 Eu 1944/203./ Danielsson reported that before the expected Soviet invasion the movements were trying to form a working government coalition as had been the case in Romania, where the Iron Cross regime had come to an end. After that Budapest he claimed could follow the example of Romania and break its contacts with Germany.

The Swedish legation in Budapest was very well aware at this time of the efforts of the resistance movements in the country and, as can be seen, had established contacts with informants, thus having become an important source of information for the Swedish authorities in Stockholm.

We have other documents that may also indicate that Wallenberg and the legation in Budapest had nevertheless contacts with Hungarian resistance movements. The story has been presented by Hungarian author Vilmos Bondor, who, in his book *“The Mikó Enigma”* from 1995, investigated the role of Lieutenant Zóltan Mikó, who was an initiator of an armed resistance force against the Hungarian government in Budapest during the autumn of 1944. According to Bondor it was Raoul Wallenberg who on several occasions acted as a “liaison officer” at the Swedish legation between members of Mikó’s organisation and the surrounding world.

In the files of the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm, there is a letter from the secretary of the Budapest legation, Denis von Mezey to the envoy Birger Johansson in Stockholm, dated 15 October 1945. /UD. The files of the legation in Budapest. Miscellaneous 1944-53./ Von Mezey was a Swedish embassy official of Hungarian descent who had been working at the Swedish legation until he was evacuated to Sweden together with most of his colleagues in March 1945. Johansson was in charge of the B department in Stockholm, which was carrying out work for the countries for which Sweden had assumed protective responsibilities. In the letter to Stockholm we are told that the recently mentioned head of legation Ivan Danielsson had been informed by Johansson on 5 October that two Hungarians living in Sweden had contacted the Foreign Ministry. They stated that they were former members of Wallenberg’s staff at the legation in Budapest and had been working at one of the headquarters, Ullöi út No 4. According to them, Mikó, who by that time (late autumn 1944) had been promoted to captain, had established an armed militia force at the “Sweden house” at Ullöi út on Wallenberg’s suggestion. The reason for the initiative by the Swedish diplomat was that he wanted armed protection from the forces against attacks by Arrow Cross units on refugees, their belongings and Swedish property. Mikó had consented but, according to the two Hungarians, he had also declared to Wallenberg that this was totally against his instructions and that by acting on behalf of the Swedish legation he was putting himself and his “liberation forces” in great danger.

The Foreign Ministry did not receive any other information that yielded anything further concerning this story. If it is true, it is certainly evidence of close connections between Wallenberg’s organisation and groups belonging to the anti-fascist resistance movements.

Many years after Wallenberg’s disappearance, rumours and testimonies surfaced alleging that the Swedish diplomat had also special information about what had happened at Katyn and other controversial international matters. The above-mentioned witness Mrs Sandor Erdös and her relative Mrs Istvanné Kubinyi told the Swedish investigator Paul Levine in Budapest in 1990 that a witness, the Franciscan Father Ambrus, had seen Wallenberg on his final departure from the Hungarian capital. /UUB, the RW-project F 1:1 and F 2C:15./ In themselves, the stories told by the witnesses are quite incredible and their contention that Romanian forces were involved in the abduction of Wallenberg and his chauffeur is totally incorrect. However, it is interesting to note that the two women claim that the Swedish diplomat had been involved in discussions with Hungarians who were in a position to give information on the delicate relations between the country and Romania.

The BIS trail

Referring to the investigations made by the late Sven Wäsström, it must be mentioned that he also followed another trail. This focused on the role of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Basel during and after WW2 as well as on that of the Wallenberg family.

The BIS was founded after WW1 to help regulate questions concerning German war reparations as well as to provide for international development actions. During WW2 the BIS continued its work and evidently representatives from the Western allies as well as from

Germany, e.g. the head of the Central Bank (Reichsbank) Emil Puhl and the prominent banker Hermann Abs from Deutsche Bank, met quite regularly in Switzerland to discuss international economic matters and questions concerning the new economic order that the US was already promoting towards the end of the war and which was later named the Bretton Woods system. /See Whiting 2000 pp. 99-104./ As early as 1941, the head of the US Treasury Henry Morgenthau had started work on the plan that eventually received his name (the Morgenthau Plan). His purpose, and that of other leading US politicians and businessmen, was to destroy Germany's economic means once and for all. To this end, the US administration used the meetings in Switzerland to plan and implement the economic future of the world.

Two men who cooperated closely with Morgenthau were the economists and advisers Lauchlin Curry and Harry Dexter White, both later well known to be Soviet spies! We can therefore assume that the details of the "secret talks" in Berne and other places between US officials, the Swiss and their German colleagues were passed on to Moscow.

The role and importance of the BIS during the war and afterwards is per se a very interesting matter. However, here it is quite enough to stress that one member of the board was the Swedish banker Per Jacobsson. He was internationally well known and had close ties with the Wallenberg family. /Cf. E Jacobsson 1979./ Jacobsson and the HUMINT deputy in Sweden, the aforementioned Helmuth Ternberg, occasionally met in Switzerland both during and after the war. Jacobsson also had close connections with Sven Salén, the important Swedish ship owner, who had been active in the recruitment of Raoul Wallenberg to his mission in Budapest. Another fact is that Salén was also a close relative of Per Anger, the deputy head of the Swedish legation in Hungary.

The network of connections between people involved in recruiting Raoul Wallenberg and the role of the BIS in making contacts between representatives from different countries in Europe and the US during WW2 are matters that deserve further investigation. Very little has been done in this field until now.

Wallenberg, Swedish HUMINT and the Soviet authorities

We do not possess any sources that can answer the question of how Moscow assessed Swedish actions in Hungary. However, we know for sure that during the years 1941-45 the Soviet authorities were not always positive to the actions of its protective partner. We will not give any examples of the expressions of dissatisfaction from Moscow, but on several occasions notice was received of Soviet views. This happened both before and after the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg.

What was the reaction of the Red Army forces and the Soviet authorities when they found the Swedish representative in Pest? First of all, while we clearly do not know exactly what happened to the diplomat after Christmas 1944, there is some information of great interest concerning the views of the Soviet authorities. We also know there were allegations from Moscow at several times that Wallenberg and other Swedish representatives had been involved in espionage actions directed against the Soviet Union.

In the files we have notices to the effect that Wallenberg had occasionally informed his colleagues and friends in Hungary and Sweden and others representing the Western allies about his previous actions and future intentions. We learn that he had plans to continue his rescue mission in cooperation with the Soviet authorities. As an example of these plans, we may note that on 29 December 1944 Vilmos Böhm informed the Foreign Office that Wallenberg's purpose after the war was to establish a humanitarian organisation in Budapest whose task would have been to safeguard Jewish humanitarian and economic interests in Hungary. /Cf. attachments to UD P2 Eu¹ 3/001, 3 Jan. 1997, and also UUB, the RW project, F3B:1./

We can assume that almost as soon as he came into contact with Red Army units in Pest on about 14 January 1945, he presented at least some outline of his plans. What is also evident from later testimonies by Soviet military leaders – most importantly those presented in the Russian files released in the 1990s – is that after having been found by the Soviet army units, Wallenberg was escorted by these for several days when continuing to work on his mission. /Cf. documents C 6-10 from TsAMO, the Defence Ministry in Moscow. UD P2 Eu¹/

He was probably allowed some liberty of action, though the documents indicate that he was prohibited to make any contact with the outer world. We do not know whether Wallenberg was aware of his situation. Notably, he was not informed that the Soviet government had ordered his arrest on 16 January and he was probably unable to realise that his new “friends” were hostile to his mission. His actions imply that he was not aware of their intentions. He could not have foreseen when he was told that he would be able to visit the Soviet headquarters in Hungary on 17 January that the Soviet authorities had totally different plans for him. We know that he took some important documents with him when he went, such as his passports (a normal passport and a diplomatic one), telephone book and calendar and probably some other items. It was of course his intention to show these documents, but he could not foresee the outcome of this.

What did the Soviet authorities find out about the diplomat in captivity and how did they interpret the information they obtained? First of all, they probably wanted to know more about Wallenberg’s mission. They must soon have become aware that he had quite a free role, that he had quite a lot of money and not least that the organisation he was obviously the head of was much larger than would have been expected of a young, inexperienced, subordinate representative of a very small country. The fact that the Swedish flag was seen on many houses in Pest when the Red Army units arrived was probably also perplexing. Wallenberg probably explained the circumstances by informing the Soviet representatives that Sweden owned the buildings and provided shelter and lodging there for the refugees that were protected by the country. This of course was another indication that Sweden and Wallenberg had quite a lot of money for their mission.

The Soviet authorities started investigating the information and were greatly concerned about what had been going on in the buildings.

We have some indications of how the Soviet authorities interpreted the facts. The testimony of the former representative of the Hungarian Red Cross, Aron Gábor, is one example. /UD P2 Eu¹ 16 Oct. 1965, especially pp. 8-12./ This information, given in 1965, provides us with many insights into the work done by Wallenberg. Gábor stated on this occasion that he was arrested and imprisoned by the Soviet authorities in Budapest in autumn 1945. Gábor claimed that he had told the Soviet authorities that he had neither worked for Wallenberg’s mission nor did he have any particular knowledge of Sweden. Nevertheless, his story was totally rejected by the interrogators and they instead presented the following accusations against him and the Swedes:

- Hungarian officers loyal to the regime had been able to use the Swedish houses in Budapest as “spy centres” and in so doing had acted against the interests of the Soviet Union.
- The Swedish Red Cross representatives provided the Hungarians with information concerning Soviet troop movements.
- There was evidence that Swedish houses were used as illegal weapons depots.

The most significant accusation, however, was that

- Gábor and other Hungarian civilians, as well as Wallenberg, were said to have used the Red Cross organisation as a cover in order to spy against the Soviet Union in the country.

Going back to the spring of 1945, these accusations had been presented to and were familiar to members of the Swedish legation in Budapest. They had all – with the exception of Wallenberg, who had “disappeared” – been taken care of by the Soviet authorities and kept together. The new masters in Budapest had interrogated them all and then, like all representatives of countries other than the victorious powers, expelled them from Hungary.

After their return to Stockholm via Bucharest and Moscow, all the members of the legation – though, strangely, not the head of legation Ivan Danielsson – were required by the Foreign Ministry in Sweden to submit a special report on their experiences from Christmas Eve 1944 until they left Hungary in March 1945./UD P2 Eu¹. The reports were sent to the Foreign Ministry in May 1945./ Danielsson in June however made a separate report.

Apart from many statements about the Soviet lack of respect for the diplomats and various outrages and violations, the members of the legation also reported accusations from the new masters against the members of the legation that they had been involved in intelligence operations directed against the interests of the Soviet Union. According to the interrogators, they were all – including Wallenberg – alleged spies.

We also possess important Soviet documents that allow scope for the presumption that Wallenberg and another employee of the legation, the adventurer Henry Grossheim-Krisko, who for a while was also arrested under strange conditions and put in jail in Moscow, were charged with being German spies. /Document A 3, released by the Russian authorities in the 1990s. Grossheim-Krisko claimed among other things that he was of Belgian origin, though his true identity has never been fully revealed./ Among the Soviet files there is a list “*Agents arrested by the Smersh’ department at the 2nd Ukrainian front 1-20th January 1945*” compiled by a Major Petrovskij on the orders of the head of Smersh (*Smert shpijonam*, an intelligence organisation operating alongside the Soviet armed forces in Eastern Europe) at the front, Lieutenant-General S. P. Korolev. This list records 48 “spies”, of whom two were reported to be “agents of the German Abwehr” and two were also said to have been members of the Swedish legation in Budapest, though only one was apparently a Swedish citizen. There can be no doubt that this was Raoul Wallenberg.

Unfortunately we do not have the assumed corresponding list/lists from February 1945, which would be very interesting for the sake of comparison. During that month, on the orders of the Soviet government, two diplomats from the Swiss legation in Budapest, Max Meier on the 10th and Harald Feller on the 16th, were arrested as Wallenberg had been some weeks earlier and , like him, they too disappeared. Initially these cases were almost identical to each other. However, during the autumn of 1945, when Switzerland received signals from Moscow to the effect that Stalin was prepared to release the diplomats in exchange for certain specified Soviet defectors in Switzerland. Berne made such a proposal. In January 1946 Meier, Feller and two other captured Swiss diplomats were able to return safe and sound to their home country.

The released Swiss representatives always claimed that they were never accused of anything by the Soviet authorities during their imprisonment. However, we would certainly expect the reports of the Soviet units in Budapest who made the arrests to contain a hint of the charges against the Swiss diplomats. So far, no other accusations of any kind against either Wallenberg or his Swiss colleagues have been presented to us in the files released by Russia.

We have other indications that the Soviet Union was suspicious of activities carried out by the Swedish authorities in Budapest. The same attitude was taken towards representatives of other countries, e.g. the Netherlands, which cooperated closely with the Swedish legation in

Hungary. Looking in the archives of the Foreign Ministry of Sweden, we find large numbers of documents from the Dutch branches of the “B department” during WW2, which was the organisation carrying out the protective work for other countries for which Sweden had taken responsibility.

The Dutch department at the Swedish legation in Budapest – which was working closely with the Wallenberg mission – was quite important. The nature of the work done by the Dutch in this respect is another area that needs to be thoroughly scrutinised before we can determine its overall importance. As is well known, the Netherlands, though under German occupation, was able to maintain its own representation in countries controlled by the Axis powers.

The most interesting case for our purposes is the fate of Lieutenant Gerrit van der Waals (Vanderwaals), who was an employee in the Dutch section of the “B department” at the Swedish legation in Budapest from 1944 on. His case shows some similarities to that of Wallenberg.

Van der Waals worked with the Swedes until 8 December 1944, when he was arrested by units of the Red Army or more precisely by people working for the *Smersh* units of the 4th Army Guard. /The case study is based on information provided by the Russian group of the joint Swedish-Russian investigation during the 1990s. The group’s chairman, V. K. Vinogradov, transferred the files on 13 December 1993. Cf. documents A 20 and A 51./ Van der Waals was apparently then transferred to the Lefortovo prison on 14 January 1945. He may eventually have died of tuberculosis in the Butyrka prison on 11 August 1948. According to the files, when he was arrested the Dutchman was said to have been carrying documents in the English, German and French languages concerning military intelligence operations directed against the Soviet Union. Among other things, van der Waals was accused of working for Great Britain.

We have a file indicating that Major Siomontjuk from the 2nd department of the *Smersh* interrogated the Dutch officer on 26 February 1946. /UD Documents A 20 and A 51/ On this occasion van der Waals and the other members of the Swedish B department were accused of having been in contact with the British “*Intelligence Service*” via a Hungarian by the name of Czerkovits, from October 1944 onward.

The task of the members of the Dutch section of the B department was alleged to have been forgery of documents. False passports and other identity papers were said then to have been transferred to the British authorities and subsequently passed on by them to both refugees and alleged war criminals.

A compatriot of van der Waals, one Mr Fledderus, was said to have been working with the Swedish legation in Budapest. Siomontjuk claimed that they had cooperated closely with other members of the legation, such as Per Anger. They had supposedly received help from the Arrow Cross officer Pál Szálai, who was secretly cooperating with the Swedish authorities. The latter accusation may well be true, because we now know that Szálai used his position in order to help refugees and that being an Arrow Cross officer was the perfect disguise for his actions.

Of greater interest, however, is the accusation by the Soviet authorities that in connection with his HUMINT actions, van der Waals “*In October 1944 once had spoken with the member of the legation Wallenberg*” about what was going on at the Dutch section. Van der Waals was said to have confessed that he and the members of the B department at the Swedish legation had acted wrongly, issuing fake documents and so helping fascists and other war criminals and opponents of Soviet interests.

Another member of the Swedish legation who was imprisoned for some time in the Soviet Union after the war was the aforementioned Henry Grossheim-Krisko, who told Western authorities after his release that he had met almost the same accusations from the Soviet authorities as van der Waals was said to have been charged with.

Summary and a Postscript

This paper has dealt with possible Swedish international intelligence connections during WW2 that could have had significance for the humanitarian mission carried out by the First Secretary at the Swedish legation in Budapest in 1944-45, Raoul Wallenberg. The basic facts about the mission are that it was a joint project sponsored by Sweden and the US authorities, primarily the WRB. The Swedes employed Wallenberg but US interests mostly financed his mission.

We have observed that in order to carry out their task, Wallenberg and his colleagues established both formal and informal contacts with their Swedish and US employers, Swedish businessmen, the Hungarian authorities, German officials and diplomats from various countries working in Budapest. This was something that could reasonably have been expected. We also know that the members of the delegation – including Wallenberg – had some contacts with anti-fascist resistance movements and probably at least indirectly with the Swedish HUMINT service.

It is possible that when turning to the Soviet authorities, Wallenberg both voluntarily and by force was induced to turn over information concerning all his contacts, because we know that he had his notebook and telephone book and probably some other items with him at the time of the abduction. The Swedish diplomat could probably not expect or foresee that the Soviet representatives would be hostile in their judgement of movements that were not entirely controlled by the communists. According to some pieces of second-hand information, Wallenberg's own opinion was that the Soviet authorities would appreciate and cooperate with his mission and certainly not take a negative attitude to its work.

Here the story could have come to an end. However, there are still important questions to be answered. The most crucial of them all is actually the true story of the life of Raoul Wallenberg.

We know about his youth and education and that when he went to Budapest in the summer of 1944 he was working for MEROPA AB, Mellaneuropeiska handelsaktiebolaget (The Middle European Trading Company Ltd), which was a company trading in choice food products. The head of the company was an exiled Jew of Hungarian descent, Kalman Lauer. Lauer's family was one of the first Wallenberg and his mission was able to rescue when he arrived in Budapest. What was the role of Lauer and other Hungarian refugees in Sweden and what connections did they have inside their former home country? This is a vital question to find an answer to.

On several occasions in 1942-43, Wallenberg also travelled in Europe on behalf of the Swedish government on a diplomatic passport, an arrangement made in order to help the country export horses, e.g. to France.

There are other things about Wallenberg that we do not know, such as the contacts he made when working for the home guard in Stockholm in the early years of the war. He was a keen instructor to these forces for a couple of years. Though probably not crucial to his fate, there are other matters we would nevertheless also like to know, since our picture of the lost diplomat is quite incomplete.

However, it would probably be of much greater significance to establish whether the lost diplomat played any role in the secret negotiations between Germany and its opponents during WW2.

We have indications that Walter Schellenberg, politician and head of the German RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) 6th bureau (Amt VI), the international intelligence organisation who closely co-operated with SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, had contacts with the Western allies in Stockholm during the war. /Cf. Lev Bezymenskij, *International Affairs*./ The

German opposition (Carl Goerdelers et al.) certainly had contacts with the 6th bureau and with Jacob and Marcus Wallenberg Jr in their campaign against Hitler.

In his investigations into Schellenberg's contacts with the Western allies as well as probably with the East, Pierre Th. Braunschweig has put forward the information that during autumn 1943, Jacob and possibly Marcus Wallenberg, as well as Raoul Wallenberg, may have acted as mediators between the Germans and unofficial representatives of the Soviet Union. /Braunschweig 2004, quotation 52. In an undated memorandum from about 1980 by Jacob Wallenberg, he stated that he had been worried about the safety of his younger relative when he accepted to go to Hungary in 1944. Jacob Wallenberg in order to help intervened and made contact to Schellenberg with whom he was quite well-acquainted with and asked for German protection of Raoul Wallenberg from the Nazis(!). Nylander/Perlinge 2000 pp. 124-125/ These statements are unconfirmed, but would in any case be sensational if true. In the book we also find allegations that Jacob Wallenberg acted as mediator between Germany and the Soviet Union after 1942.

Jacob Wallenberg's and his younger brother's involvement in peace discussions between Germany and the Western allies are well known and were noted by the Soviet Union too. In a telegram from a Russian agent dated 13 April 1942, we find a quotation on the role of Jacob Wallenberg. It was stated that in 1942 he had been in contact with the German opposition politician Carl Goerdeler and had also tried to pass a message to Winston Churchill from the German opposition, though this turned out to be unsuccessful. /Nylander 1998. pp. 245-277, W. Shirer (1960) 1998, IV:132, Ulf Olsson, *Att förvalta sitt pund. Marcus Wallenberg 1899-1982* (Stockholm 2000), p..202, Nylander, *German Resistance Movement and England*. pp. 82-84./ In light of this, it would not be surprising to find that members of the Wallenberg family also had connections with the Soviet authorities.

If this were the truth, the young diplomat-to-be really did have some important international experience when he began his mission in Budapest. Had he participated in these secret German-Soviet talks, it can be expected that there were many reasons for Moscow, when the opportunity came, to act so as to avoid the risk that any such traces would come to the notice of the general public.

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