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CH-1242 Satigny, Switzerland, September 19 1989.

Ambassador Boris Pankin  
Sovjetunionens ambassad  
Stockholm

Dear Ambassador Pankin,

I would like to thank you for your sympathy and concern for my halfbrother Raoul Wallenberg and his fate, as you have expressed them e.g. in your articles in Svenska Dagbladet and in the August 27 issue of "Les Nouvelles de Moscou". (I happened to get a French version.) I also thank you for the invitation by the Soviet authorities to my sister Nina Lagergren, former ambassador Per Anger, and the secretary of the Raoul Wallenberg Association, Mrs Sonja Sonnenfeld to come to Moscow in October. I understand that the invitation also includes myself, and I intend to participate.

I am however as yet not very clear of the aim of the meeting. In "Les Nouvelles de Moscou" you say: "J'ai pour mission de les inviter a Moscou pour des conversations avec des experts du KGB et du MAE, qui leur montreront tout ce que nous possedons, c'est a dire l'original de la lettre de Smoltsov..." We have the hope that "... has the meaning "and what other documents refer to Raoul's fate, in particular what can confirm the strong belief that he is still alive." If on the other hand it should mean "and nothing else" I do not see that there is much purpose with our visit.

From your article I understand that the invitation is in response to the letter of March 10 1989, adressed to President Gorbachov, and signed by Per Anger, Nina Lagergren and Sonja Sonnefeld, in which they requested a personal meeting with the President. As I was at that time in Geneva I did not have the occasion to sign it, but I certainly concurred with the request.

Your verbal answer to the letter and your subsequent articles do not mention whether the requested meeting will actually take place during the planned visit in Moscow.

I believe that you are aware of the similar efforts I have made here in Geneva during the last year. For your information I enclose photocopies of my correspondence and the relevant documents.

Already in July 1988, during a professional visit to Moscow, I contacted Mr. E Rymko at the MFA, whom I knew from many years ago when he was at your Stockholm embassy, and Yu. Rechetov and A. Gloukov at the then Directorate for Human and Cultural Relations. These contacts, which were very positive, raised the hope that "glasnost" had at long last reached also the Raoul Wallenberg case.

During the sessions of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, I made further contacts with your ambassador Igor Yakovlev in New York, and with Felix Stanewski, which indicated that a proposal for an international investigating commission into the Raoul Wallenberg case could

be fruitful. It was suggested that this proposal could be made personally to Deputy Foreign Minister in charge of Human Rights Affairs, A. Adamishen. I had the occasion to do so after his speech at the Commission on March 8, and again, on his initiative, at the Soviet mission on March 10. At the latter meeting he asked me to elaborate a "maximum" proposal for such an investigation, and assigned a contact at your Geneva mission, Mr. Kirill Ermishen.

Over the next months the details of the proposal were worked out in a set of 6 "Su-RW-WG" documents, of which I enclose copies, which try to spell out the the proposal in as much details as possible.

Unfortunately I never got any response from Moscow on these proposals, either in the form of criticism or positive proposals, until on June 5 Mr Ermichin communicated to me the following, final message:

"The history of this sorrowful and complicated affair was once again carefully studied in Moscow. Unfortunately, nothing new has been found. The only thing that was confirmed was the fact of Raoul Wallenberg's decease from heart attack being registered in 1947. This was stated on numerous occasions, among them at the press briefing of the MFR on January 17, and in press articles, the latest in New Times, nr 22, of May 26 1989."

At a press conference at the MFR on July 17 1989 Director Yu. Rechetov stated;

".....On the other side, when this question is again raised, and a press campaign is started around R.W. in order to obtain new information about the circumstances of his death, I must wonder: "What for?" What the Soviet authorities have to say on this, they have already told. They have told when he died, and I consider it impossible to produce new information. So why this press campaign?"

To this G. Gerasimov added:

"But the fact that he died in 1947, and that there is a note in the book about it, is a fact, and how can one talk about witnesses, who could have seen hin after 1947."

These official statements certainly show no evidence of "glasnost" but only a rigid confidence in the Smoltsov letter, which is not even a formal death certificate. In addition it is well known that even the death certificates of the Stalin time were notoriously unreliable, both as to substance, that the person was really dead, and to details - place, date, and cause of death. Does your invitation to the Stockholm group, 3 weeks later, signify a change in policy? Will we be able to discuss openly at the meeting, not only the Smoltsov letter, but also what could be implied by "... " in your article, that is all the evidence that R.W has been alive in Soviet prisons long after 1947, and is probably still alive today? Will we be able to verify this evidence, by investigations in Soviet archives, by hearing of witnesses, and by appeals to the Soviet public for new information? For this to be possible it is necessary to have prepared a program for our week in the Soviet Union, including the agenda of the initial meeting, and plans for the following investigations. Who will participate on the Soviet side? We have learnt that there will be people from the MFA and KGB, but on what level, and who? Who will carry the cost of the meeting. Director Rechetov told me over the telephone, that the Soviet side was prepared to pay our expenses in the Soviet Union.

The composition of the group on our side should be a function of the answers to the above question. If the intention on the Soviet side is just to show us the Smoltsov letter, we would have to ask you to let us have the letter on loan for a scientific study of its genuiness. It would probably be necessary to have other documents by Smoltsov's hand, for a graphological comparison, as well as other similar documents from the same period, for comparison of paper quality, and determination of the age of the document. We would have to bring along an expert on these matters, on which neither the Stockholm group, nor myself have any competence whatsoever.

In case the meeting, to which we have been invited, should lead to investigations in archives and prisons in search for more information, we would on our side need appropriate experts, and we would suggest that the persons proposed in the SU-RW-WG should also be invited, which have competence in various fields, and speak and understand Russian, which apart from Mrs Sonnenfeld we do not do. Because of the many problems of legal and penal character which may come up in the discussions, we would want to be assisted by a Soviet lawyer of our choice.

Through the Stockholm group, I have asked for a meeting with you and your collaborators on Thursday September 28th, when I can come to Stockholm. I very much hope that this date is convenient to you, and that it will help to clear up the many uncertainties in relation to our visit to the Soviet Union.

I believe that it would be good if I always communicated with your embassy in this matter, rather than with the Soviet mission in Geneva. By telephone I can best be reached at home before 10 a.m. at (22)753 16 19. During day-time the best bet is in CERN: (22) 767 60 48, although it is difficult to communicate from there, as I am not alone in the room. If ever you want to reach me on weekends, I am usually at my "dacha", tel. (25) 79 21 22.

I am looking forward to meet you in Stockholm nex week, and if not in October.

Very sincerely yours,

G. von Dardel  
Professor emeritus  
Member of the Royal Swedish  
Academy of Sciences.