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**HONORARY U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR
RAOUL WALLENBERG**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
**SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES,
AND INTERNATIONAL LAW**
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION
ON
H.J. Res. 220
HONORARY U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR RAOUL WALLENBERG

JUNE 23, 1981

Serial No. 5



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HONORARY U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR RAOUL WALLENBERG

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1981

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES,
AND INTERNATIONAL LAW,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a.m., in room 2237, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Romano L. Mazzoli (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Mazzoli, Frank, Fish, and McCollum.

Staff present: Harris N. Miller, legislative assistant, and Peter J. Levinson, Associate Counsel.

Mr. MAZZOLI. The subcommittee will come to order.

It is our pleasure to invite to the witness table our colleague from California, Congressman Lantos.

We are meeting today to receive testimony on House Joint Resolution 220, a resolution which proclaims Raoul Wallenberg to be an honorary U.S. citizen and which requests the President of the United States to ascertain from the Soviet Union Mr. Wallenberg's whereabouts and to take steps to secure his freedom if he is found to be alive.

This resolution was jointly referred to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and the Judiciary. Two Foreign Affairs Subcommittees held joint hearings on the resolution. It was reported out favorably by the full Foreign Affairs Committee on June 9, 1981.

Mr. Wallenberg's humanitarian actions on behalf of thousands of innocent Hungarian Jews in the face of Nazi threats against him, are widely known.

As a Swedish diplomat, he voluntarily undertook a mission to Nazi-occupied Hungary in 1944 to try to save as many Jewish lives as he could. His mission had the blessing of the American War Refugee Board and the support of the Government of Sweden.

His efforts saved literally tens of thousands of lives of individuals who would have died at the hands of the Nazis.

Following the liberation of Budapest by Soviet troops in 1945, Mr. Wallenberg disappeared into Soviet custody.

The Soviets to this day have never accounted for their incarceration of this man. All international efforts to obtain a clarification of Wallenberg's fate have been rebuffed by the Soviets.

Initially, Soviet officials denied any knowledge of Mr. Wallenberg. Then, in 1947, the Soviets informed Sweden that Mr. Wallenberg had died in Hungary in 1945.

In 1957, after repeated inquiries by the Swedish Government, they stated that Mr. Wallenberg had died in a Soviet prison in 1947. Since 1957, and as recently as 1979, the Soviets have persisted in this assertion.

It is of great concern to me and all of my colleagues that the Soviets continue to make this claim, though there have been eyewitness accounts that he is alive in a Soviet prison.

Section 2 of this resolution addresses this issue, and states the intent of the United States to press this matter with the Soviet Union.

Section 1 providing for honorary U.S. citizenship for Raoul Wallenberg serves to underscore the seriousness with which the American Government and people view Soviet behavior in this case, while also giving Mr. Wallenberg the recognition and testimony he deserves for his humanitarian services.

Honorary citizenship has only been conferred once in our history. That was in 1963, when Sir Winston Churchill was given honorary citizenship for his unique contribution to preserve free societies and because of his close ties with the United States.

[A copy of H.J. Res. 220 follows:]

97TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 220

Proclaiming Raoul Wallenberg to be an honorary citizen of the United States, and requesting the President to ascertain from the Soviet Union the whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg and to secure his return to freedom.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 26, 1981

Mr. LANTOS (for himself, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. ALBOSTA, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. ANTHONY, Mr. APPELEGATE, Mr. ATKINSON, Mr. AUCOIN, Mr. BAILEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BARNARD, Mr. BARNES, Mr. BEARD, Mr. BEDELL, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BLANCHARD, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BONER of Tennessee, Mr. BONIOR of Michigan, Mr. BONKER, Mr. BOWEN, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. BRODHEAD, Mr. BROOKS, Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BROWN of Colorado, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. PHILLIP BURTON, Mrs. BYRON, Mr. CARMAN, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. CHAPPIE, Mr. CHENEY, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CAUSEN, Mr. CLINGER, Mr. COATS, Mr. COELHO, Mr. COLEMAN, Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CORCORAN, Mr. CORRADA, Mr. COURTER, Mr. WILLIAM J. COYNE, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. D'AMOURS, Mr. DANNEMEYER, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DAUB, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. DENARDIS, Mr. DERRICK, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DICKS, Mr. DIXON, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. DORGAN of North Dakota, Mr. DORNAN of California, Mr. DOUGHERTY, Mr. DOWNEY, Mr. DREIER, Mr. DWYER, Mr. DYMALLY, Mr. DYSON, Mr. EARLY, Mr. ECKART, Mr. EDGAR, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma, Mr. EMERY, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. ERDAHL, Mr. ERTTEL, Mr. EVANS of Indiana, Mr. EVANS of Delaware, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. FAZIO, Mrs. FENWICK, Ms. FIEDLER, Mr. FIELDS, Mr. FISH, Mr. FITHIAN, Mr. FLORIO, Mr. FOGLIETTA, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. FORD of Michigan, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. FRANK, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. FROST, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. GARCIA, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. GLICKMAN, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. GORE, Mr. GRADISON, Mr. GRAMEL, Mr. GRAY, Mr. GREEN, Mr. GRISHAM, Mr. GUARINI, Mr. GUYER, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. HANCE, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. HARTNETT, Mr. HATCHER, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HEFTTEL, Mr. HERTTEL, Mr. HIGHTOWER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. HORTON, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. IRELAND, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. JONES of Oklahoma, Mr. KEMP, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. KOGOVSEK, Mr.

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JOINT RESOLUTION

Proclaiming Raoul Wallenberg to be an honorary citizen of the United States, and requesting the President to ascertain from the Soviet Union the whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg and to secure his return to freedom.

Whereas during World War II the United States was at war with Hungary, and had no diplomatic relations with that country;

Whereas in 1944 the United States Government through Secretary of State Cordell Hull requested the cooperation of Sweden, as a neutral nation, in protecting the lives of Hungarian Jews facing extermination at the hands of the Nazis;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg agreed to act at the behest of the United States in Hungary, and went to Hungary in the summer of 1944 as Secretary of the Swedish Legation;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg, with extraordinary courage and with total disregard for the constant danger to himself, saved the lives of almost one hundred thousand innocent men, women, and children;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg, with funds and directives supplied by the United States, provided food, shelter, and medical care to those whom he had rescued;

Whereas the Soviet Union, in violation of Wallenberg's Swedish diplomatic immunity and of international law, seized him on January 17, 1945, with no explanation ever given for his detention and subsequent imprisonment;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg has been a prisoner in the Soviet Union since 1945;

Whereas reports from former prisoners in the Soviet Union, as recent as January 1981, suggest that Raoul Wallenberg is alive;

Whereas history has revealed that heroic acts of salvation were tragically rare during the massacre of millions of innocent human beings during World War II; and

Whereas the significance of this symbol of man's concern for his fellow man has been tainted by the wall of silence that surrounds the fate of Wallenberg: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 SECTION 1. Raoul Wallenberg is proclaimed to be an
4 honorary citizen of the United States of America.

5 SEC. 2. The President is requested to take all possible
6 steps to ascertain from the Soviet Union the whereabouts of
7 Raoul Wallenberg and to secure his return to freedom.

○

Mr. MAZZOLI. Our witness today is Congressman Tom Lantos of San Mateo, California who is himself a survivor of the Holocaust and who had personal contact with Raoul Wallenberg.

Congressman Lantos and his wife Annette have been untiringly active over many years for the Free Wallenberg Committee which has been very interested in not only promoting the honorary citizenship of Mr. Wallenberg but also, more importantly, securing knowledge of his whereabouts.

I yield to the gentleman from New York—Mr. Fish—a cosponsor of the resolution, for any statement he wishes to make.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no statement to make.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Welcome, Congressman Lantos.

TESTIMONY OF HON. TOM LANTOS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Congressman Fish.

I first want to express my appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, for scheduling this hearing. I know the tremendous press of business under which the committee functions, and I want to publicly indicate to you that I am deeply grateful for your support and cooperation.

Mr. MAZZOLI. You are very welcome.

Mr. LANTOS. As you know, Mr. Chairman, we had an extensive hearing before two subcommittees of the Foreign Affairs Committee and in an attempt not to take up unnecessary time I shall merely submit a statement for the record and make only two or three very brief observations.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Without objection, the gentleman's statement will be made a part of the record.

[The statement of Mr. Lantos follows:]

STATEMENT BY TOM LANTOS

Mr. Chairman, I want to express my deep appreciation to you and the members of the Immigration Subcommittee for asking me to appear before you today to testify regarding H.J. Res. 220. I am grateful to you for giving prompt consideration to this Resolution when you have a heavy schedule of other legislation to discuss and act upon.

Giving testimony before this committee on this particular bill has special significance for me. The contribution to humanity made by Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish Diplomat, is unparalleled in modern history. His courage, heroism, and personal sacrifice where unmatched as he saved the lives of tens of thousands of innocent persons marked for extermination by the Nazis in World War II Hungary. His acts of valor alone should earn him a permanent place in history. However, those triumphs are clouded by the tragedy of the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg after the Russians took him into custody when they occupied Budapest in January, 1945. The whereabouts and fate of this great hero have been shrouded in mystery as the Soviet government adamantly refuses to provide any substantial information about his imprisonment.

The Russians announced they had taken him into protective custody in January, 1945. Two years later they denied this admission and refused to discuss it further. Repeated requests for information by the Swedish government yielded no response. Offers of assistance to the Swedish diplomatic efforts by the United States Government also were of no avail. The Soviets admittedly had taken into custody and had detained Raoul Wallenberg in direct violation of his diplomatic immunity under international law.

In 1957 Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko responded to Swedish demands for clarification on the Wallenberg case. Mr. Gromyko informed the Swedish government that, while no prison records existed, a handwritten note dated

It is also supported by our Secretary of State, both on his own behalf and on behalf of the administration. In addition a representative of the State Department is here to testify.

I would like to take this opportunity, if I may, to read briefly into the record a letter to me from Secretary of State Haig. It is dated June 10, which I believe is the day he left for China.

Dear Tom: This is just a brief note to convey my respect for your leadership and perseverance and that of Mrs. Lantos as well on behalf of Raoul Wallenberg that resulted in the unanimous reporting out of the full committee of your bill conferring honorary U.S. citizenship on Raoul Wallenberg.

Wallenberg's life is a testimony of the bravery of the human spirit in defense of freedom. His contribution during the dark days of World War II in Hungary stands out as a beacon to all those who respect human rights and dignity.

While the granting of honorary citizenship to Wallenberg will not confer on the United States any new legal rights, duty or privilege under national law, it will serve to dramatize the seriousness with which the American Government and people view Soviet behavior in this case and will offer a great moral support to everyone engaged in the questions to determine Wallenberg's fate.

You have my full support for your legislation and my commendation for your efforts in this deeply humanitarian cause.

With warm regards, sincerely, Al. Signed: Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

I also would like, if I may, Mr. Chairman, to read into the record a very small portion of the testimony of former Secretary of State Ed Muskie because it bears directly on the question of honorary citizenship and the uniqueness of honorary citizenship in American history.

I am quoting from Secretary Muskie's testimony:

Honorary citizenship is and should remain a unique honor not lightly or frequently given. It is the uniqueness, the extraordinary link between a man, Raoul Wallenberg, and our Nation's conscience that makes this action appropriate.

Raoul Wallenberg's mission on behalf of the United States behind Nazi lines in World War II was without precedent. What he accomplished on our behalf, risking his own life to save the lives of tens of thousands of people, is unparalleled in our history.

The cost to him, the years of his life, can never be repaid.

The action of bestowing honorary citizenship on Wallenberg undertaken by the United States will recognize his humanitarian sacrifice under our direction. This is an important part of American history. This adoption of Raoul Wallenberg as our own citizen makes clear to our posterity that the American Government did act to save lives threatened by the Holocaust.

From Senator Muskie.

In concluding my remarks, Mr. Chairman, I would merely like to express my profound appreciation to the some 400 colleagues in the House and in the Senate who have joined me in cosponsorship.

I specifically want to express my appreciation to the chairman of this subcommittee, to Chairman Rodino of the Judiciary Committee, and to my colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee for giving me such tremendous and heartwarming support.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you very much. You have earned every bit of that support because you have been indefatigable in promoting the legitimate cause of Mr. Wallenberg.

The number of Members whose names that appear on this resolution don't just happen. However righteous the cause, it still takes a lot of plain, hard work, and you have done that. You and your wife are to be congratulated.

I would like to ask a few questions, if I may.

As you and I know from having had some discussions, I have the highest admiration for you and Mrs. Lantos, who is here with us. We would like to acknowledge her presence.

However, I have a some slight reluctance with respect to this granting of honorary citizenship, not on the basis of the extraordinary work of Mr. Wallenberg, but simply because of precedent-setting. There may have been other people who represented the War Refugee Board and took money from the United States which was funneled into these nations for the purpose of rescuing and preserving the life of threatened Jews.

The question I ask myself is not whether Mr. Wallenberg is entitled to an honor, but whether other actions besides honorary citizenship would succeed better both in honoring him for his generous and overwhelming donation to humankind and assisting President Reagan in making his effort to locate Mr. Wallenberg.

Are there any other people you are aware of, from your study, who represented the War Refugee Board in Europe in the 1940's who also gave richly and, therefore, might come forward by surrogate and ask for honorary citizenship?

Second, do you believe there is any other action that would suit the purpose of honoring this gentleman and of giving our President the support that he needs to locate Mr. Wallenberg, if he is still alive?

Mr. LANTOS. I am delighted to respond Mr. Chairman. Before I give my own views, which I shall try to do in a detached and objective manner, if you will allow me I would like to repeat a portion from Secretary of State Muskie's testimony because I think it deals directly with the issue you are raising.

Honorary citizenship is and should remain a unique honor not lightly or frequently given. It is the uniqueness, the extraordinary link between a man, Raoul Wallenberg, and our Nation's conscience that makes this action appropriate.

Raoul Wallenberg's mission on behalf of the United States behind Nazi lines in World War II was without precedent.

I have studied this period, Mr. Chairman, with great intensity over some three decades. I would be the first one to not only acknowledge but to honor the men and women who in various ways did their part in this rescue effort.

There is, unfortunately, nothing that is remotely comparable to the uniqueness of Raoul Wallenberg's achievements.

I don't wish to reduce this to crude statistics because what we are dealing with is human lives that were lost and human lives that were in a sense sacrificed as Raoul's has been. However, as you know Mr. Chairman, not many months ago, we honored the 52 Americans who after 444 days came back from Iran. They were hostages. In my view, Raoul Wallenberg is the ultimate American hostage because he spent close to 12,000 days in the Gulag Archipelago.

There is no human being alive, Mr. Chairman, who is remotely in this category. Even if Raoul is dead, there is no person connected with the rescue effort who had (a), the incredible success of Wallenberg of saving approximately 100,000 human beings or; (b), as a reward for his effort, years of imprisonment in the Soviet Union.

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I only wish I could say, yes, Mr. Chairman, this does open the floodgates for precedence. I wish there were be dozens of such people to be so honored. There are no comparable cases.

This is not a precedent. I wish it were a precedent.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Do you feel there is nothing short of honorary citizenship that would sufficiently recognize what Mr. Wallenberg did and would give our President the standing to secure full knowledge of Mr. Wallenberg's whereabouts?

Mr. LANTOS. I do not believe there is anything short of that, Mr. Chairman, for several reasons. In the first instance, I think it is important to recognize that the joint resolution cosponsored by a majority of the House and a majority of the Senate, calls for this. To in any way modify this recognition and honor at this stage could only be interpreted as a negative indication on the part of either the Congress or the administration.

Those of us who drafted this legislation did so with great care. We specifically wanted to grant Raoul the same degree of recognition and honor that Winston Churchill so richly deserved.

In an almost poetic and symbolic sense, honorary citizenship is uniquely appropriate to Raoul Wallenberg because he used the instrument of Swedish citizenship to save thousands of lives.

As a matter of fact, the granting of citizenship, the device he exercised with such courage and such creativity and such generosity, accounts not only for the fact that thousands of people who were granted Swedish citizenship by him are now alive and that they have children or grandchildren, but that following his example, other neutral countries, including Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the Vatican also undertook the granting of citizenship; it became the very instrumentality for saving human lives.

Therefore, I would argue, Mr. Chairman, that even if there were a category of honor somehow higher than the granting of honorary citizenship, in the case of Raoul Wallenberg honorary citizenship would be the appropriate form of recognition because that was the mechanism used by him in his life-saving venture.

Mr. MAZZOLI. I thank you very much.

My time has expired. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The chairman has addressed the principal questions here. I would just like to enlarge the record if I might.

Congressman, as a part of your prepared testimony you say, "Raoul Wallenberg will not be abandoned by America which is proud of his mission on our behalf."

Then you close your statement by saying:

Finally, in honoring Wallenberg we bring honor to the United States, by acknowledging our responsibility for his mission and his fate. We need to establish a clear record for posterity that America, through Wallenberg, did act to prevent the Holocaust in its final days.

I wonder if you could develop this idea a bit further and place his actions in the context of other actions or even inaction by the United States?

Mr. LANTOS. I shall be very pleased, Congressman Fish.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull requested Wallenberg to volunteer for this effort. As a matter of fact, it is important to underscore that Wallenberg was not a diplomat. Wallenberg was a young

man living in the comfort and safety and affluence of neutral Stockholm during the brutal closing days of World War II.

He left behind a most promising career as the son of Sweden's most prominent family, the safety, the security, the comfort of Stockholm, to voluntarily assume the task of saving human lives during a period when both Hungarian Nazis and the German Nazis were at their most vicious. They knew that the end was near and they were trying to finish the job before the allied troops liberated Europe.

So Raoul Wallenberg did not think of this mission himself. This was not an activity that stemmed from his own plans. It was a mission that he undertook at the specific request of the Secretary of State of the United States.

The United States, therefore, Congressman Fish, bears a very heavy responsibility for the untold numbers of years that this young Swede spent under the nightmarish conditions of the Gulag Archipelago. Whether he died years ago, whether he is alive today, it is we, the United States, who are responsible for his tragedy and for his lost life.

The second issue you raise, Congressman Fish, from a historical point of view I think is even more significant. As you know better than I, a great deal of criticism has emerged over the years concerning the failure of the Western Powers to act in decisive ways to stop the slaughter.

Questions such as why weren't the railroads bombed? Why wasn't there an attempt to liberate the camps earlier?

Here is a tangible demonstration that the United States acted officially and acted successfully to save approximately 100,000 people. Our record for World War II is a better record because of the actions of Raoul Wallenberg—undertaken at our own behest.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MAZZOLI. The gentleman's time has expired.
The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. McCOLLUM. I have no questions of Congressman Lantos but I do want to commend him for the resolution which he has introduced which I am a cosponsor of and proud to be. I believe that the only questions we on the committee have, have been answered this morning and very eloquently.

Mr. MAZZOLI. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK. I have no questions.

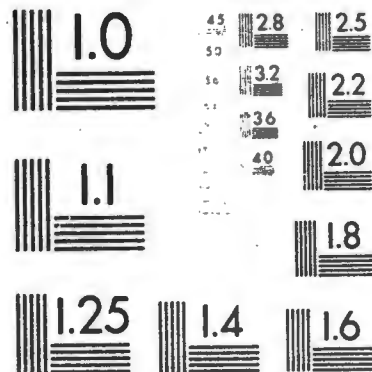
I just want to thank our colleague for giving us the opportunity to perform a very important service for the cause of justice. I hope you will be doing it very quickly.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Congressman, thank you very much for your attention. We appreciate your testimony.

Mr. MAZZOLI. We now have a panel of Mr. Allen Holmes, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State, and Mr. Theodore B. Olson, Assistant Attorney General, Office of the Legal Counsel, Department of Justice.

Gentlemen, we appreciate your being here. Any statements you have will be made a part of the record. Mr. Holmes, please proceed however you wish.

[The statement of Mr. Holmes follows:]



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July, 1947 indicated that a man, thought to be Wallenberg, had died in Ljubljanskaya prison. According to Gromyko's memorandum the handwritten prison report was addressed to the former Minister of the State Security in the Soviet Union, Abakumov, and was written by the head of the health service at the prison, A. L. Smoltsov. It read 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."

On this report, (according to the memorandum from Gromyko) 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."

The Swedish government found this information lacking in credibility from the outset, even though the Soviet memo offered apologies for this crime which had been committed under Stalinist era. The official responsible, reportedly, had been executed.

The inconsistencies in the memorandum are glaring. Wallenberg would have been only thirty-six years old at the time of his reported death, and had been in excellent health up to his detention. Death by a heart attack seems unlikely. Further, the memo states that Wallenberg was well known by Abakumov, the Former minister of State Security, since instructions had been given for his personal care. Under these circumstances it is strange that no additional prison documents exist. It is also strange that an autopsy was requested and denied, even though this prisoner was obviously a special case. Even more difficult to understand is why the Soviets would have released, or fabricated, such a damning report of negligence. The Swedish government was unconvinced. They rejected the idea that the Soviet government could shift responsibility for these actions onto any now deceased Soviet Security Agency officials. They also strongly expressed their doubt that all traces of Wallenberg in Soviet imprisonment had been obliterated.

Even more disturbing is the continuous accumulation of evidence from the independent reports of former prisoners in the Soviet prison system that Raoul Wallenberg is alive in the Gulag. A Swedish Tribunal carefully investigated all of these reports in January, 1981, and concluded that the weight of the evidence establishes that Wallenberg was alive as recently as February, 1980.

The Russians have not waived from their official response of 1957. They consistently refuse to open the records, to investigate the possibility that Wallenberg is alive in prison, or to cooperate with any who raise the question.

Whether he is alive or dead is, of course, of utmost importance and of intense concern to all who care about Raoul Wallenberg. Time is running out. We must press for answers now.

However, the bill under consideration is a separate issue, independent from the question of whether or not he is now alive. If he is alive, this legislation will continue to convey to the Russians the message that the United States will not ignore Soviet violations of international law. The flagrant disregard by the Soviets of Wallenberg's diplomatic status is intolerable. Their refusal to properly search the records and resolve the mystery of his disappearance is a blatant challenge to our commitment to, and persistence in, human rights cases. The Russians obviously believe that if they wait long enough, our interest will weaken and our questions will "go away."

We must let the Soviet Union know that, even in one man's life, we will not forget. Raoul Wallenberg will not be abandoned by America which is proud of his mission on our behalf. He acted for the conscience of our country. I believe that we must now act for him. We need to do everything possible to impress upon the Soviet Union that we are serious about pursuing this cause. We need to take this almost unprecedented action to let the Russians and the world know that, in a civilized society, violations of international law and human rights will never be ignored or forgotten.

Finally, in honoring Wallenberg we bring honor to the United States, by acknowledging our responsibility for his mission and his fate. We need to establish a clear record for posterity that America, through Wallenberg, DID act to prevent the holocaust in its final days.

Mr. LANTOS. In the first place, Mr. Chairman, I want to underscore that this is a profoundly bipartisan move. My joint resolution enjoys the support of colleagues from every single one of the 50 States covering the broadest political spectrum in our Congress.

STATEMENT BY ALLEN HOLMES, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to present the Administration's views on H.J. Res. 220, which would confer honorary U.S. citizenship on Raoul Wallenberg.

With regard to the first operative section of the legislation, the conferral of honorary U.S. citizenship on Raoul Wallenberg would constitute a powerful symbolic political act. The United States has previously accorded honorary citizenship to only one man: Winston Churchill. President John F. Kennedy, exercising the authority conferred upon him by the 88th Congress (Public Law 88-61), issued a proclamation on April 9, 1962, declaring Churchill to be an honorary American. There can be no question that honoring Raoul Wallenberg in a similar fashion would dramatically increase Wallenberg's reknown as a courageous humanitarian not only among all those who owe their lives to Wallenberg, but also among all individuals and groups who value human life and human rights in general.

Raoul Wallenberg's credentials as a humanitarian are beyond dispute. Scion of a prominent Swedish family, Wallenberg voluntarily undertook a mission to Nazi-occupied Hungary in 1944 to try to save the lives of as many Hungarian Jews as he possibly could. Although he undertook this mission at the behest of the American War Refugee Board and with the agreement and support of the Government of Sweden, Wallenberg's success in his mission was due solely to his own personal daring and great bravery. In total disregard to his own physical safety and in the face of continued Nazi threats against him, Wallenberg saved thousands of innocent Hungarian Jews. His spirited defense of those to whom he was able to give protective Swedish documentation is said to have been indirectly responsible for also saving the lives of thousands of additional Hungarian Jews to whom he could not deliver protective documents. Confronted with Wallenberg's perseverance in his humanitarian acts, Nazi officials hesitated to enforce orders which would have condemned even more Hungarian Jews.

Immediately following the liberation of Budapest by Soviet troops in 1945, Raoul Wallenberg disappeared into Soviet custody. The Soviets have never accounted for their incarceration of Wallenberg, which was in total violation of Wallenberg's immunity as a Swedish diplomat under international law. Although there has been speculation that the Soviets suspected Wallenberg of being an espionage agent for the United States, there is not one shred of documentation to indicate Wallenberg was engaged in anything but a humanitarian effort.

The Soviet Union has not proven responsive to the international effort to obtain a clarification of Wallenberg's fate. Initially the Soviets denied any knowledge of Wallenberg. Then, in 1947, the Soviets informed Sweden that Wallenberg had died in Hungary in 1945. In 1957, after repeated Swedish inquiries for a clarification of Wallenberg's fate, the Soviets stated that Wallenberg had, in fact, died in a Soviet prison in 1947. Since 1957 the Soviets have persisted in their assertion that Wallenberg died in 1947. Most recently, in 1979, the Soviets again informed Sweden that Wallenberg had died in 1947 and that they would have nothing further to say on Wallenberg's fate in the future. Also in 1979, the United States raised the Wallenberg case directly with the Soviets on four separate occasions. In February of 1980 the Soviets finally responded to us, formally and in writing, stating again that Wallenberg had died in 1947 and that they would have nothing further on the case in the future.

The granting of honorary American citizenship to Wallenberg does not confer on the United States any new international legal right, duty or privilege on which basis to confront the Soviets on their indefensible incarceration of Wallenberg. Under international law, the conferral of honorary citizenship does not entitle the individual so honored to diplomatic rights of protection from the country honoring him. Nor will the Soviet Union be brought under any additional legal obligation by any treaty, international covenant or act to respond to U.S. inquiries regarding Wallenberg. As illustrated by the *Nottebohm case (Liechtenstein v Guatemala)* [1955] I.C.J. Rep. 4, under international law the Soviet legal obligation will remain to account to the Government of Sweden for Soviet treatment of a Swedish national and diplomat. Therefore, under the bill Wallenberg will not become a "citizen" of the United States for purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, nor will derivative nationality or immigration benefits be conferred on any descendants or relatives.

Nonetheless, the conferral of honorary U.S. citizenship on Wallenberg would serve to underscore the seriousness with which the American Government and people view Soviet behavior in the Wallenberg case. Conferral of honorary U.S. citizenship on Wallenberg would also serve to reaffirm to the Government of Sweden that the United States firmly supports the quest to resolve Wallenberg's fate.

The second operative section of H.J. 220 is totally consistent with present U.S. policy. Despite the lack of responsiveness on the part of the Soviet Union, we have continued our efforts to gain information regarding Wallenberg's fate. In December of 1980 at the Madrid CSCE Review Conference, the United States delegation voiced its support for the position of the Government of Sweden when the Swedish delegation urged renewed efforts to resolve the Wallenberg case. In addition, representatives from the American Embassy in Stockholm attended sessions of the recent hearing on the Wallenberg case held in Stockholm on January 15 and 16 of this year. Most recently, on April 10, Ambassador Max Kampelman, speaking in Madrid at a CSCE plenary session, stated that the Wallenberg case was one that "will not go away." Ambassador Kampelman noted that the refusal of the Soviets "to appreciate the human factor which is symbolized by the Wallenberg case is stimulating even further interest." He stated that "the tragic mystery of Raoul Wallenberg is unnecessarily becoming a divisive international issue."

Regrettably, we have thus far been unable to confirm reports that Wallenberg might still be alive. Nonetheless, until the Soviets provide an adequate clarification of Wallenberg's fate, we cannot accept their position that they can provide no further information on the case. It is the intention of the United States Government to continue to express our concern over the Wallenberg case at every appropriate opportunity and to continue to cooperate with the Government of Sweden and all other interested parties to obtain a clarification of Wallenberg's fate.

For the reasons outlined above, the Department supports H.J. Res. 220.

Secretary of State Haig has already expressed his personal support for the proposed legislation to Congressman Lantos, sponsor of the bill, both orally and in writing.

TESTIMONY OF ALLEN HOLMES, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND THEODORE B. OLSON, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, OFFICE OF THE LEGAL COUNSEL, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. HOLMES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here this morning. I thought I might briefly summarize my written statement which has been submitted to the subcommittee.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you.

Mr. HOLMES. The Department of State's position on House Joint Resolution 220, which would confer honorary U.S. citizenship on Raoul Wallenberg, is communicated to you in my written submission.

This submission reiterates the position expressed in a letter of June 3 to Chairman Rodino from Assistant Secretary Fairbanks, sent in response to your request for executive branch comments on House Joint Resolution 220.

My written submission also reflects comments made in a letter sent on June 10 by Secretary of State Haig to Congressman Lantos, sponsor of the bill.

Our present submission and the June 3 and the June 10 letters all indicate the Department of State's support for legislation honoring Raoul Wallenberg. Since the written submission deals extensively with the complex legal and political aspects of the legislation, I will only summarize the Department's views now.

Raoul Wallenberg's credentials as a humanitarian are beyond dispute. His success in a dangerous, voluntary mission was due solely to his own personal courage, daring and ingenuity.

Soviet action in taking Wallenberg into custody in 1945 was a clear violation of Wallenberg's immunity as a Swedish diplomat.

Since 1979, the United States has raised the Wallenberg case with the Soviets on numerous occasions through diplomatic channels and at the Madrid CSCE Review Conference.

The Soviets maintain that Wallenberg died in prison in 1947. They have formally stated to us that they will have nothing further to say to us about Wallenberg in the future.

There are reports that Wallenberg might still be alive. We have been unable to confirm any of them. Although it is unlikely that Wallenberg is alive, the U.S. Government position is that we cannot accept the Soviet assertion as final until they adequately clarify Wallenberg's fate. We intend to continue to raise the case at every appropriate occasion.

We recognize the extraordinary nature of this honor. Although many other humanitarians have been suggested as candidates for honorary American citizenship, only Winston Churchill has previously been accorded this honor.

The bill to make Wallenberg an honorary citizen will have no effect under international law. While the Soviets have a moral obligation to clarify for the world the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, it will remain their legal obligation to account to the Government of Sweden about a Swedish National and diplomat.

The Department's support for the bill is thus based not on a belief that its passage will oblige the Soviets to be more forthcoming but on the belief that it is appropriate to indicate the special esteem in which Wallenberg is held.

I will be happy to answer any questions you might have.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you very much. Maybe we can go to the gentleman from the Department of Justice and then proceed with questions from the committee.

[The statement of Mr. Olson follows:]

STATEMENT OF THEODORE OLSON, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL

You have asked for the testimony of the Department of Justice on House Joint Resolution 220. The resolution proclaims Raoul Wallenberg to be an honorary citizen of the United States. It further requests the President to ascertain his whereabouts from the Soviet Union and to secure his return to freedom.

The story of Raoul Wallenberg has, for good reasons, captured the imagination of the public. As the resolution notes Mr. Wallenberg, a Swedish citizen, went to Hungary as a Swedish diplomat in the closing days of World War II. In a highly courageous manner, he saved the lives of innocent persons, particularly Jews, who would otherwise have been killed in the Holocaust. This bill has therefore received the support of a significant part of the House of Representatives. The Justice Department understands this support and commends the efforts of Congressman Lantos, who introduced the resolution, to recognize the efforts of Mr. Wallenberg and to help him, if possible.

The United States has had very little experience in granting honorary citizenship to foreign nationals. The only precedent of which we are aware is a bill passed in 1963 giving President Kennedy authority to proclaim Winston Churchill an honorary citizen. 77 Stat. 5. See 3 G. Hackworth, Digest of International Law 54 (1942).

There seems to be no reason, however, why this precedent cannot be repeated. We assume that, like the Churchill bill, it is to be essentially symbolic in nature. We know of no reason under the Constitution and laws of the United States why this resolution may not be enacted. We certainly hope that any efforts to resolve Mr. Wallenberg's case will be successful.

Mr. OLSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here to present the views of the Department of Justice with respect to House Joint Resolution 220. I will be brief because Congressman Lantos' and Mr. Holmes' statements cover the territory very well.

The story of Raoul Wallenberg has, for good reasons, captured the imagination of the public. As the resolution notes, Mr. Wallen-

berg, a Swedish citizen, went to Hungary as a Swedish diplomat in the closing days of World War II.

In a highly courageous manner, he saved the lives of innocent persons, particularly Jews, who would otherwise have been killed in the Holocaust.

This bill has therefore received the support of a significant part of the House of Representatives.

The Justice Department understands this support and commends the efforts of Congressman Lantos, who introduced the resolution, to recognize the efforts of Mr. Wallenberg and to help him, if possible.

The United States has had very little experience in granting honorary citizenship to foreign nationals. As you have noted, Mr. Chairman, and as Mr. Holmes has reiterated, the only precedent of which we are aware is a bill passed in 1963 giving President Kennedy authority to proclaim Winston Churchill an honorary citizen. (77 Stat. 5) See 3 G. Hackworth, Digest of International Law 54 (1942).

There seems to be no reason, however, why this precedent cannot be repeated. We assume that, like the Churchill bill, it is to be essentially symbolic in nature.

We know of no reason under the Constitution and laws of the United States why this resolution may not be enacted. We certainly hope that any efforts to resolve Mr. Wallenberg's case will be successful.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you very much.

I yield myself five minutes.

In the event the Congress were to grant honorary citizenship as sought by House Joint Resolution 220, would this give Mr. Wallenberg, if he is alive, or his heirs or descendants or family, any opportunity under the Immigration and Nationality Act to claim the rights of citizenship?

Mr. OLSON. I do not believe so, Mr. Chairman. We have examined the resolution and it is relatively clear from the resolution that it is intended to be an honorary citizenship. It does not address itself to the subject of citizenship per se.

It is clear from the resolution that it is intended to provide a symbolic gesture, a statement, as it were, by the United States, and to provide support for efforts by the State Department and the President to make efforts as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and I do not believe that it would provide to Mr. Wallenberg the other elements of citizenship.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you.

The gentleman from New York.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Olson, you said it is relatively clear to you.

Do you have any suggestions for change in the existing language of the resolution that would make it absolutely clear?

Mr. OLSON. Well, I believe that that can be accomplished through the legislative history. I would not suggest any changes in the resolution itself. I think the legislative history has been and is clear to date with respect to the intent of Congress concerning this measure, assuming it passes.

Mr. FISH. Thank you.

Mr. MAZZOLI. My next question is properly addressed to the Department of State. Have your investigations shown why Mr. Wallenberg's body was not returned in the event that he did expire in the Russian jails in 1947 of a heart attack?

Mr. HOLMES. We have never had any adequate explanation from the Soviets.

Mr. MAZZOLI. What is the custom to deal with bodies of foreign nationals who die in a prison?

What is the Russian custom?

Mr. HOLMES. I don't have an answer to that, Mr. Chairman. I could only speculate but if you would like we could do some research on it and submit a written answer.

Mr. MAZZOLI. It may not be a material fact but it is interesting to me. If they had returned the body, we could say the man indeed died. They say he died in 1947, yet they don't return a body. It has to make someone somewhat suspect.

Mr. HOLMES. I am told the Soviets have claimed he was cremated and that there were no remains.

Mr. MAZZOLI. This, again, is somewhat out of your bailiwick, Mr. Holmes. Do you agree with the gentleman from the Department of Justice about the intent of this resolution as far as granting honorary citizenship as a symbolic measure rather than actual citizenship?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes, our legal advisers agree with that position.

Mr. MAZZOLI. From your position as Department of State representative, what additional sanctions or power or leverage would you have or would the United States have following the granting of honorary citizenship to Mr. Wallenberg that you don't now have in order to find his whereabouts or his very existence?

Mr. HOLMES. We would have no additional legal influence on the Soviet Government in this case but we do believe it would add additional moral and political weight brought about by the symbolic gestures of making him an honorary citizen.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Lantos said Mr. Wallenberg responded to Secretary Cordell Hull's request. We have some unclassified documents that I will place in our record.

I find telegrams and cables sent by Cordell Hull in those documents. I don't really find one which specifically names or requests Mr. Wallenberg.

What apparently happened was the consul in Stockholm, a good friend of Mr. Wallenberg, was the person who suggested this mission to Mr. Wallenberg.

Do you have any documentation which makes the linkage between the State Department and Mr. Wallenberg?

Mr. HOLMES. I haven't seen the documentation but it is my understanding that at that time the Secretary of State and U.S. Government were looking for volunteers to carry out this important operation, and that Raoul Wallenberg stepped forward and volunteered to undertake this dangerous mission.

Mr. MAZZOLI. I understand that Congressman Bonker and Congressman Hamilton have requested of the Department additional information which is currently classified or being examined for declassification.

Are you aware of that request?

Mr. HOLMES. I am aware that the Department is preparing special briefings on the classified material for the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

We would be happy to provide a similar classified briefing for the subcommittee if you would wish.

Mr. MAZZOLI. I thank you very much for that offer. I think it might be helpful at some point and I would appreciate our being included in that.

[The unclassified information follows:]

COPIES OF DECLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS—STATE DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 OF MAE-910
 STATE Distribution of this Telegram
 reading only by special arrangement. (W)

INCOMING TELEGRAM
 Stockholm
 Dated June 29, 1944
 Rec'd 6:35 a.m.

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

FROM: Stockholm
 TO: Secretary of State,
 Washington.

2360, June 28, 9 p.m.

THIS IS NO. 40 FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Reference is made to our No 31 for War Refugee Board (Legation's 2231, June 21, 4 PM) and our No. 39 for WRB (Legation's 2234, June 27, 11 PM, with respect to cooperation of Swedish Foreign Office in assigning an attache to its legation in Budapest for the purpose of furthering the relief and rescue of refugees.

We should emphasize that the Swedish Foreign Office in making this assignment feels that it has cooperated fully in lending all possible facilities for the furtherance of an American program. It is not likely, however, that it will provide the newly appointed attache with a concrete program; but instead will probably give him rather general instructions which will not be sufficiently specific to enable him to deal promptly and effectively with situations as they develop in Hungary. The newly designated attache, Raoul Wallenberg, feels however that he, in effect, is

DECLASSIFIED
 State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
 By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

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-2- #2360, June 28, 9 p.m., from Stockholm

effect, is carrying out a humanitarian mission in behalf of the War Refugee Board. Consequently he would like full instructions as to the line of activities he is authorized to carry out and assurances of adequate financial support for these activities so that he will be in a position to develop fully all local possibilities. We are very favorably impressed with Wallenberg's ability to act intelligently and with discretion in carrying out any responsibilities that the WRB may delegate to him and urge strongly that appropriate instructions be forwarded as soon as possible. Arrangements have been made to communicate with him in Budapest through the Swedish Foreign Office and vice versa and it should be possible for us to keep currently informed on developments in Hungary.

JOHNSON

RR

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please represent to the Swedish government that, according to
consistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass-extermination
of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings in
Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the
presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign
consuls. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the
Government of most elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase
to the largest possible extent the numbers of Swedish diplomatic and
consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible
throughout the country.

It is hoped, of course, that all such diplomatic and consular representatives will use all means available to them to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarisms.

Please inform Department forthwith of extent to which Swedish government is cooperating in this matter.

THIS IS THE SEQUENCE OF THE NO. 17.

HILL

*COPY TO Greiverson
Calice*

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AND CISEN, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Please represent to the Swedish government that, according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass-extinction of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings in Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the interest of post elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase to the largest possible extent the numbers of Swedish diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible throughout the country.

It is hoped, of course, that all such diplomatic and consular representatives will use all means available to them to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarisms.

Please inform Department forthwith of extent to which Swedish government is cooperating in this matter.

THIS IS NEW STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 17.

.....
May 22, 1944
11:30 a.m.

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RE
Distribution of true
reading only by special
distribution
ADDRESS



To: STOCKHOLM

0232

The following message for Glean is WMB 232.

Reference your 6418 of October 30. Please transmit to the Swedish Government this Government's sincere appreciation of the humanitarian activities of the Swedish Government and of the courage and ingenuity displayed by Mr. Wallenberg in rendering assistance to the persecuted Jews in Hungary.

STEFANUS
(Acting)
(REV)

Stettinius

CONTROL COPY

For security reasons the
text of this message must
be closely guarded.

WMB:MMY:KG
11/9/44

WMB

RECEIVED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-57
By R. H. [illegible] SEP 14 1972

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STATE

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RECEIVED

VHM-593

Distribution of this message
reading only by special
arrangement. (S-1000)

Stockholm

Dated January 20, 1945

Rec'd 3:35 p.m.

TO: Secretary of State,

Washington.

245, January 20, 1 p.m.

Consular for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office
informs Legation, has given Swedish Legation in Moscow
information which indicates Swedish representative in
Hungary Wallenberg is safe and sound in that part of
Budapest occupied by Russians. (This is our letter 121
for WBS supplementing our WBS 116 in reply to WBS 275).
Swedish authorities accordingly suggest information
given in Department's 2566, December 21, 6 p.m. be
conveyed through American Embassy in Moscow.

JOHNSON

DU

For security reasons the
text of this message must
be classified

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
L/R M. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CABLE TO AMERICAN LEGATION, STOCKHOLM, FOR MINISTER JOHNSON AND CISEM
FROM DEPARTMENT AND OUR ATTACHE BORD

FINISH IMPROVE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT THAT HERE OF THE DEBARAGEMENT OF
HARRY HALLBERG, WHO IS HERE IN HIGH REGARD HERE FOR HIS COURAGEOUS
AND HONORABLE WORK IN SWEDEN, WAS RECEIVED BY THIS GOVERNMENT WITH
GREAT INTEREST AND MUCH SYMPATHY. HIS MISSION WAS OF IMMEDIATE INTEREST
TO THIS GOVERNMENT AND THIS AGENCY IS WELL KNOWN FOR HIS EFFORT.
ANDERSON HAD BEEN REQUESTED TO THIS POINT TO REPORT TO SWEDISH
LEGATION CONCERNING ACCEPTANCE OF SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON ACCEPTING HIS
WARRANTS OR PATE. HE WILL CERTAINLY ATTACHMENT THAT INTEREST
OF ALL HERE RECEIVED CONCERNING HIM.

- THIS IS OUR STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 362

5:00 p.m.
April 24, 1945

Miss Chalmers (for the Sec'y), Colm, D'Arcy, Gorton, Madel, Fitchison,
McDonnell, O'Day, Piles.

Stockholm

Dated June 7, 1945

Rec'd 8:35 p.m.

From Stockholm
 TO: Secretary of State,

Washington.

2000, June 7, 6 p.m.

AMCROSS SHAK FROM AMERICA WHISLER

The following telegram has been sent to the Embassy
 at Moscow:

Swedish FOMOFF Adlegation and others (this is our
 1, rptd to Washington as our 127, Legation's 2000, June
 7, 6 p.m.) interested welfare Raoul Wallenberg, who was
 Secretary of Royal Swedish Legation at Budapest and who
 disappeared near there Jan 17 this year. Moscow advised
 SWED FOMOFF on 16th that Wallenberg was being protected
 by Soviet troops. No word since. Please consult with
 Ambassador Moscow before making any attempt investigate
 this matter as Embassy is familiar with case. Under-
 stand information may be difficult secure and appreciate
 any help you can give. Regards..

JOHNSON

RB

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

July 1947).

The attempt on the part of the present Soviet rulers to cast all the blame for Wallenberg's arrest and imprisonment on the Stalinist regime and its henchmen was not accepted by the press, which held that the treatment of an innocent neutral diplomat in the described fashion cast reflection on the whole Soviet system, with its inherent terror and disregard for human life, irrespective of who may be the present rulers.

For all of the above reasons, there was a strong press urge that the Swedish Government not let the matter rest but that investigations continue in search of new evidence on Wallenberg's fate and that, meanwhile, new representations be made in Moscow demanding more information on why Wallenberg was imprisoned and what treatment he had been given.

Obviously, the Swedish Government is resolved to pursue its efforts to bring about full clarity in the Wallenberg case. This was implied in the immediate Government declaration following publication of the Soviet note on February 7 as well as by statement to the press by the Foreign Office that a Swedish reply to Moscow was under preparation.

Pending such a new Swedish démarche, Communist My Dag on February 19 featured an interview which its Moscow correspondent had with Gromyko, the new Soviet Foreign Minister, in which the latter was quoted as having declared that nothing further could be obtained concerning Wallenberg's fate beyond that was contained in the Soviet note of February 6, and that "the Wallenberg case should be considered closed".

Rather than quieting Swedish public opinion, this statement by Gromyko has further activated the demand here for the full story on the fate of an almost idolized Swedish citizen fallen the victim of a totalitarian police state. END OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL

4. The Mystery of the Wallenberg Mission

Racul Wallenberg, a cousin once removed of Jacob and Marcus Wallenberg, the bankers, was assigned to the Swedish legation in Budapest in 1945 in a special capacity to exercise good offices on behalf of the Jews who were being subjected to Nazi atrocities. All accounts claim that he issued Swedish documents and passports to many Jews in Hungary in order to aid them in escaping the Nazi terror. He was supplied with 200,000 Swedish crowns some time in 1945 by the United States War Refugee Board in Stockholm, (according to information in the files of Embassy Stockholm which was

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A current explanation of why Wallenberg was liquidated by the Russians was because they believed he was an American spy. Eudolph PHILIPP, the Secretary of the Wallenberg Committee, (a group of distinguished Swedish citizens), once claimed that Wallenberg had been on a secret mission for President Roosevelt. Many Swedish officials have noted to the reporting officer that Wallenberg was a close friend of former American Minister Herschel JOHNSON and that he was the one who is supposed to have picked Wallenberg for his "dangerous mission".

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EMBASSY OF SWEDEN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Received by [illegible]
[illegible] 1-1-51*

5-D-251 125675

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Public Law 86-36



Would it be possible to learn from the files of the War Refugee Board the approximate amount of the sum or the sums which through the then American Legation in Stockholm were paid out to Raoul Wallenberg for his actions in Budapest at the end of the war? These questions were at the time handled by the attaché at the Legation, Ivar C. Olsen, who represented the War Refugee Board.

Washington, D.C., March 21, 1951.

601.5864/3-2151

*See #177
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601.5864/5-1151*

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MEMORANDUM

The Department of State acknowledges the receipt of the memorandum from the Embassy of Sweden dated March 21, 1952, in which information was reported concerning payments made by Mr. Ivar G. Olsen to Einar Wallenberg.

Mr. Olsen recalls that during the period when he represented the War Refugee Board in Stockholm, he made three separate payments, indirectly, to Mr. Wallenberg. Except for the first of these, he states that the payments were made by depositing money in the Stockholm Enskilda Bank in Mr. Wallenberg's name, or possibly in a joint account held by Mr. Wallenberg and himself.

According to Mr. Olsen the first payment, in the amount of 10,000 kronor, was made in cash to Mr. Wallenberg through a third person in Stockholm. This was for the purpose of financing Mr. Wallenberg's preparations and travel to Budapest.

The second and third payments Mr. Olsen believes were in the amounts of 50,000 and 200,000 kronor deposited in the Enskilda

Bank.



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Bank. He stated that the latter amount was contributed by the American Joint Distribution Committee and that, since Mr. Hallenberg used very little of it, the remainder was later returned to the Committee.

It is believed that the above-mentioned transactions could be verified by reference to the receipts and other records which are now in the Archives of the United States. However, Mr. Olsen suggests that, except in the case of the small initial payment, an exact and more complete statement of payments and withdrawals would be available from the Fawcett Bank.

Department of State,

Washington, May 2, 1951.

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Mr. MAZZOLI. My 5 minutes has expired.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Fish.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would simply like to enlarge the record slightly on two issues related to precedent and symbolism. This is addressed to either of you.

A number of bills have been introduced over the years to confer honorary citizenship. To what extent, in your judgment, will the conferral of honorary citizenship on Mr. Wallenberg establish a precedent for similar actions on behalf of others? Or, may I add, Do you think that there is a basis for distinguishing this bill from others because of his valiant efforts?

Mr. OLSON. I will answer and perhaps Mr. Holmes would like to amplify.

As a legal matter a decision by the Congress in this matter is not any kind of binding precedent. It might be a precedent, if any, of a moral nature. Perhaps once it has been done, or if it has been done twice, then arguments are going to be presented to you in other situations. Of course, I agree completely with Congressman Lantos this is a unique and unusual situation, and arguments can be made with respect to distinguishing this situation.

It is very, very unlikely in my judgment, there are going to be others like it although that is not a legal question and it is not a legally binding precedent, of course, in my judgment, on this Congress.

Mr. HOLMES. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that although the United States has not made it a practice to recommend foreigners in this manner, each case has been judged on its merits and the factors that determine the Department's recommendation in any given case are the political circumstances of the case, the humanitarian contribution made, the ties to the United States and the American way of life and the wishes of and consequences for the individual advanced as a candidate for the honor.

Mr. FISH. The term "essentially symbolic" has been used. Is it correct that what you mean by that phrase is conferring honorary citizenship would symbolize our commitment as a Nation to remember the Holocaust and to guard against the possibility of recurrence?

Mr. OLSON. I would agree with that and also it is a symbol of the support of this body of the heroic efforts of Mr. Wallenberg.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you.

The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK. I just want to tell you how much I appreciate both of you coming here and speaking in favor of the resolution.

The word "precedent" sometimes seems to have an unduly immobilizing effect, so I am pleased to see particularly the Justice Department disregarding that phantom in coming here and speaking on the merits.

Just to make sure, I assume there is no record of Winston Churchill ever presenting himself in an American voting booth and trying to cast a ballot.

Mr. MAZZOLI. If the gentleman will yield, I understand very interesting things occur in the Bay State.

Mr. FRANK. I did not say no one claiming to be Winston Churchill. I said Winston Churchill himself.

Mr. MAZZOLI. That is a very good distinction.

Mr. FRANK. The question of classification interests me. You say that we will get a briefing of classified materials.

Is this material dealing with World War II and the Jews? I am just kind of curious as to what would be classified 40 years later about these events.

Mr. HOLMES. Quite frankly, for purposes of protecting the confidences of the sources concerned, we would prefer to reserve that for a closed executive session.

Mr. FRANK. I think we have confirmed without question that there are no burdens or problems that will come from the granting of honorary citizenship. There is nothing that Raoul Wallenberg would get out of it if he were found.

Is there any cost to the Government in conferring this honorary citizenship? Is there any defect you can think of?

The only possible problem I have heard raised is if we do this in this instance, there might be a future instance in which someone else could ask for this.

From your standpoint of running the Government is there any problem, any entanglement, any difficulty, any burden?

Mr. HOLMES. We have not been able to identify any.

Mr. FRANK. To the extent we are talking about precedent, I guess precedent is something you worry about in terms of its effect on people in the future and if this were some way to encourage people in the future to act like Wallenberg to get honorary American citizenship, I would think that would be a pretty good reason to pass it.

Mr. MAZZOLI. It is a very positive point.

The gentleman from Florida is recognized.

Mr. McCOLLUM. I just echo the commendation and comments of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

I have no questions.

Thank you for coming.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your attendance today and the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:15 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DANIEL W. MCGOVERN
DEPUTY LEGAL ADVISER
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Raoul Wallenberg

Attached, as we discussed, is a copy of Professor Morris Wolff's letter to the President concerning Raoul Wallenberg. I would appreciate not only your views on the pertinence of 22 U.S.C. § 1732 but also information concerning steps our government has taken with respect to Wallenberg in response to Section 2 of Public Law No. 97-54, 95 Stat. 971.

Many thanks.