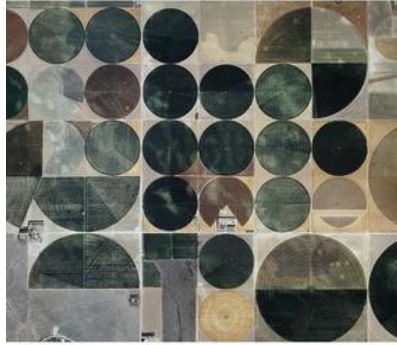


# DISPLACED ARCHIVES



EDITED BY JAMES LOWRY



 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group

<https://www.routledge.com/Displaced-Archives/Lowry/p/book/9781472470690>

## ***Chapter 9. “Pan-European Displaced Archives in the Russian Federation: Still Prisoners of War on the 70th Anniversary of V-E Day”***

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This essay was chosen as the inaugural recipient of the Society of American Archivists’ Archival History Section Archival History Article Award for an article or other short piece of superior excellence in the field of archival history published in 2017.

## 9 Pan-European Displaced Archives in the Russian Federation

### Still Prisoners of War on the 70th Anniversary of V-E Day

*Patricia Kennedy Grimsted*

The Second World War – with the National-Socialist regime and accompanying Holocaust – wrought the greatest archival destruction and dislocation in history. When combined with retaliatory seizures by the Soviet regime, post-war boundary changes and the Cold War split between East and West, the catastrophe of archival displacements was magnified. Western Allied post-war archival seizures from Germany were likewise of historic proportions, but their restitution to West Germany in the 1960s for the most part, with detailed description and filming before return, is now more transparent. The account by Astrid Eckert, *The Struggle for the Files*, or in German *Kampf um die Akten*, provides a helpful overview of the politics involved.<sup>1</sup>

The full story of the archival devastation and displacements on the Eastern Front is much less known, and many key sources in Russia remain suppressed to this day. It was only with the opening of Soviet archives in the late 1980s and the end of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in December 1991 that the subject could be openly addressed. The volume *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder and Recent Restitution Issues* (2007) with its ‘Afterword 2013’ could only begin to recount the extent to which the archival heritage of many nations was displaced to the Soviet Union in the wake of the Second World War and many components returned to Eastern Europe before its collapse.<sup>2</sup> It was only with the simultaneous emergence of an independent Russian Federation with its own archival administration at the beginning of 1992, that serious negotiations for returns to Western Europe were possible. Having been closely involved with the revelations about the wide range of captured European archives remaining in Russia in October 1991, to be discussed below, I have been following the fate of ‘displaced’ archives in Russia ever since. (Western archivists would usually use the term ‘captured records’, but Russians prefer the less accusatory term ‘displaced’.)

The present account provides an updated summary, with a few examples to reflect some of the perplexing problems in wartime dispersal and remaining hoped-for restitution.<sup>3</sup> While emphasis here is on the fate of archives centralised in Moscow’s Central State Special Archive (*Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR*, or TsGOA SSSR), it should not be forgotten that the captured archives brought to the USSR were dispersed to archives throughout the country.

For example, while significant collections of socialist and revolutionary records were destined for the Central Archive of the Communist Party, materials of Russian émigré or exile provenance, or archival Rossica, as they are often known, were deposited in secret divisions of other central state archives in Moscow and Leningrad; but neither of those categories, even if clearly of foreign provenance or ownership, were – or are today – considered candidates for possible restitution.<sup>4</sup>

A day after the rest of Europe celebrated the Seventieth Anniversary of V-E Day on the 7 May 2015, Russia celebrated the Seventieth Anniversary of the Soviet Victory over Nazi Germany in the Great Patriotic War, with the largest ever military parade through Red Square. It was as if the Soviet Union had fought and triumphed in a unique and different war. The discrepancy in dates, and the fact that Western leaders shunned the Moscow celebration, were but more symbols of the persisting, and recently intensified, continental divide.

Meanwhile across the city, the remaining ‘displaced’ archival ‘trophies’ gathered in the wake of the victorious Soviet march to Berlin, were being transferred to the main building of the Russian State Military Archive (*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv* or RGVA). By the end of the summer of 2015, the building on *Vyborgskaia ulitsa*, constructed by German prisoners-of-war for the former Special – or, in Russian, *Osobyi* – Archive (TsGOA) to house the millions of captured foreign archives brought to Moscow, was handed over to the neighbouring Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI).<sup>5</sup> While the greatest bulk of captured records – or ‘trophy’ archives – long ‘displaced’ in that Moscow building have now been returned to their European homes, victory in Europe is still not complete: all too many archival prisoners-of-war from countries throughout the continent remain far from home – many twice captured during the war and its aftermath. Despite Soviet victory seventy years ago and Russian celebration today, they remain a symbol that the war is still not over, even as they are further integrated into the RGVA.

Yet it is important to remember that the Western leaders who understandably shunned the Russian victory celebration in 2015 will still have to contend with a resurgent Russian Federation if they want to see more of their archives, books and other cultural treasures come home. It took presidential-level politics to produce the diplomatic agreement in November 1992 that brought two-thirds of the seven linear kilometers of displaced French ‘trophy’ archives home before the Russian Duma (parliament) curtailed restitution in May 1994 and sent the French trucks home empty. Chief archivist of the Netherlands, Eric Ketelaar, may have been the first (in March 1992) to sign an agreement for return of the captured Dutch archives, but most of them made their homeward journey only a decade later in 2002 and 2003, when Queen Beatrix drank a toast with Russian President Vladimir Putin in the Kremlin after the final official Government Decree was enacted permitting their return.<sup>6</sup>

Displaced foreign cultural treasures held in Russia have been one of the dramatic revelations since the collapse of the Soviet Union, while Russia’s failure to return them to the countries of their provenance, and the lengthy negotiations for those returned, have been one of the thorniest elements in Russia’s foreign

relations. Archives constituted a small percentage of the overall Soviet cultural plunder. Unlike art, however, many foreign archives were seized more for potential intelligence utilisation and political control, and hence should hardly be considered ‘compensation’, ‘compensatory restitution’ or ‘cultural reparations’. For example, early in April 1945, Soviet NKVD security chief, Lavrentii Beria, recommended to Viacheslav Molotov, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a special mission ‘to search thoroughly through all German archives and libraries ... and bring to the Soviet Union materials ... that have scientific-historical and operational significance for our country’.<sup>7</sup> Estimates of the quantity of archives captured by different Soviet agencies are still virtually impossible. Various shipments were measured alternately in freight cars, crates or tons, and many included printed books and art – or in one case, nine freight cars of steel document cases and shelving – along with the records themselves.

After the Khrushchev thaw in the late 1950s, many ‘trophy’ cultural treasures from East Germany and Eastern Europe were returned to their homelands in the Communist bloc. Simultaneously, as the Soviet Union became active in the International Council on Archives, many millions of files ‘saved by the Soviet Army’ were restituted to Eastern-bloc countries before 1991. Such returns were positively portrayed as the Soviet role of ‘helping other countries reunify their national archival heritage’.<sup>8</sup> As publicly expressed in 1968,

in strict adherence to international legal norms and respectful of the sovereign law of peoples and their national historical and cultural legacy, the Soviet government transferred to the Democratic Republic of Germany archival materials rescued by the Soviet Army after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany ... more than two million archival files (from the 14th century to 1945).<sup>9</sup>

Although the international legal norms have not essentially changed, the Russian respect for archives as the inalienable ‘national historical and cultural legacy’ of foreign countries has noticeably dwindled after more became known abroad about the captured records still in Moscow.

As *glasnost* took hold in February 1990, a Russian journalist’s ‘Five days in the Special Archive’ broke the sensational story and publicly revealed the extent of captured German National-Socialist (N-S) period records that remained in that building. She was the first to have mentioned the top-secret Central State Special Archive (TsGOA SSSR) in print a year earlier, when microfilms of the long-suppressed ‘death books’ from the Auschwitz concentration camp were finally turned over to the International Red Cross.<sup>10</sup> But it was another year and a half before the world knew that there were also captured state and private archives in Moscow from countries all over Europe, including long-lost French military intelligence and national security records, to say nothing of voluminous Masonic files and private papers of prominent Jews. An October 1991 interview with me by a Russian journalist friend, Evgenii Kuz’min, first revealed to the public over seven linear kilometres of French records that had been hidden for half a century.<sup>11</sup> When, a year earlier, I first found a Soviet file about the discovery of

French archives in a German *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (Reich Security Main Office - RSHA) Amt IV intelligence centre in a remote village in Czechoslovakia and Beria's orders for their transport to Moscow in July 1945, I had no idea what had happened to them, nor did my Russian archival colleagues. I privately queried a prominent French archivist I knew, only to find the French did not know either, or at least were not prepared to reveal their suspicions.

A week after the interview with me was published in Moscow, Anatolii Prokopenko, the director of the top-secret Special Archive confirmed and elaborated on the findings of the 'well-known "archival" spy Grimsted,' in a follow-up interview entitled 'Archive of French spies revealed on Leningrad highway!'<sup>12</sup> As Western journalists rushed to Moscow, followed by archivists and researchers, word came back: Yes, there were indeed archives also from Belgium, the Netherlands and the Grand Duchy of Liechtenstein. Even the Rothschild family was well represented in the Special Archive. I was not permitted in the archive for another year, by which time Prokopenko was no longer director.

Soon after the story of captured French records became front-page news, the International Council on Archives convened a colloquium in Paris in June 1992. When Russian deputy chief archivist, Vladimir Kozlov, stepped off the plane, the director of the *Archives Nationales* queried his Russian counterpart, 'How soon can we send transport to pick up our archives?'<sup>13</sup> Although Franco-Russian diplomatic agreements were rushed to signature in November 1992, providing for the return of French archives by the end of 1993, the full return of the French archives took another ten years. Indeed today, some important French files still remain in RGVA.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, restitution in the archival world from Russia has fared much better than has been the case with art and library books. While we still know much less about all the 'hidden treasures' in museums, libraries and private collections, we now know much more about the foreign archives brought to the Soviet Union at the end of the war, even if many of the descriptions remain rudimentary. Yet, it was not until 2001 that RGVA and the Russian archival agency, Rosarkhiv, issued an official unannotated list of fonds (record groups) covering most of the foreign holdings in RGVA 'displaced as a result of the Second World War'. Published with German support, that volume lists fonds, usually with names of their creating foreign agencies in the original language. Regrettably, the online version of that 2001 RGVA publication has not been updated to take account of the considerable restitution since 1992.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, in March 1999, the former Special Archive, euphemistically re-baptised in 1992 as the Centre for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections (TsKhIDK), was abolished as a separate repository and merged with the RGVA nearby.<sup>16</sup>

When accepted as a member of the Council of Europe in January 1996, the Russian Federation was required to commit itself to the restitution of cultural treasures and specifically archives – among a number of other intents – namely '(§ xiv) to settle rapidly all issues related to the return of property claimed by Council of Europe member states, in particular the archives transferred to Moscow in 1945'.<sup>17</sup> Such promises were never publicised in Russia and were blatantly

overlooked by the Duma. Restitution hardly moved rapidly. Indeed, Russia has not been prepared to hand archives – or any other cultural property – over to their legitimate owners without a complicated claims process involving lengthy state-to-state negotiations, often as long as ten years, for ‘compensation’ and ‘exchange’ of *Rossica* in return, even for those identified as owned by Holocaust or other Nazi victims.

With the collapse of the Iron Curtain and more open Russian contacts with the Western World, reform-minded Russian archival leaders were quick to lament the extent of Russian archival and manuscript heritage that had been alienated abroad. Eager hands went out for lost fragments of the Russian archival legacy, dispersed through exile or emigration of Russian cultural and political leadership, even if created abroad, backed by a Russian law supporting return to the homeland. Already in 1992, while foreign archivists preached the importance of restitution, Rosarkhiv viewed their captured or ‘trophy’ archives in Moscow as ‘capital’ for potential exchange for important components of archival *Rossica* from claimant countries.<sup>18</sup>

Upward of two-thirds of the French archives had gone home by 1994, for which France had paid almost half a million dollars for ‘storage charges’, micro-filming and other fees, along with some significant archival *Rossica* in ‘exchange’ from France. At that point, however, France was the only country to have received any of its archives from Moscow since 1991, despite other signed agreements. Then the Duma abruptly put restitution on hold for several years while it debated a law to nationalise all the cultural valuables ‘displaced to the Russian Federation as a result of the Second World War’. Nevertheless, there was a sign of progress with the return of the Liechtenstein archives in July 1997, although billed as an ‘exchange’ for rather costly *Rossica* the Grand Duchy was required to purchase. And then, despite the restitution stalemate, the Duma agreed to permit the return of the twice-captured records of British expeditionary forces, copies of which had been turned over to British authorities earlier.<sup>19</sup>

It took ten years from the revelations about displaced cultural treasures for the Russian Federation to develop a legal basis and procedures for processing restitution claims. After three years’ debate, the Duma almost unanimously passed a law that President Boris Yeltsin (earlier vetoed) was obliged to sign in 1998 that essentially nationalised the cultural and archival booty ‘displaced’ to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War. With its May 2000 amendments that President Vladimir Putin signed, the law prohibits restitution of any cultural treasures (with no distinction for archives) to Germany and its wartime allies (including Austria and Hungary).<sup>20</sup> The provisions for restitution to ‘victims of the Nazi regime and those who fought against it’ – although the term was rather ‘exchange’ – are carefully limited as noted above, involving ‘exchange’ and usually high financial charges by the Russian side, including storage, appraisal, microfilming and processing fees. Subsequent directives provided for implementation with required approval of each instance through an Interagency Council on Restitution, along with various elaborate supplemental governmental regulatory acts along the way. In Russian law, the return of archives was never singled out differently than other cultural valuables.

While the restitution of art and library books has faltered, between 1993 and 2009 archives have been returned to seven countries – France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Lichtenstein, Austria and Great Britain, as well as the Rothschild family archives from Austria to The Rothschild Archive in London (the only return – *qua* ‘exchange’ – to a private family).<sup>21</sup> All were carried out under the terms of the 1998/2000 law, even if several took place before the law was signed. The archival returns to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, along with the Rothschild family are all described by archivists responsible for the negotiations in the book, *Returned from Russia*, first published in 2007.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Austrian Case**

Because Austria had been part of the German Reich, restitution of the extensive Austrian component from the Special Archive was more complicated, even requiring a new Duma law, and has yet to be completed. Most of the over 100 Austrian fonds were identified in an annotated guide in 1996, compiled by Austrian specialists Gerhard Jagschitz and Stefan Karner.<sup>23</sup> The first major restitution to Austria in 2009 transferred 51 fonds with 10,770 files, comprising approximately 80 per cent of the Austrian archives in Moscow. Austria paid ‘compensation’ of €400,000, according to an Austrian press account, calculated according to the 1998 law, for storage fees, microfilming and related charges.<sup>24</sup> Yet, even with the 2013 updated paper edition of *Returned from Russia*, we could not include a chapter on Austria, because at least thirty-two more archival fonds of Austrian provenance, most of them Jewish, were still being prepared for transfer, first planned for the end of 2010, but still pending in 2016.<sup>25</sup>

One matter complicating restitution negotiations with Austria is that some of the Hebrew manuscripts from the Jewish Community in Vienna – *Israëlitische Kultusgemeinde* (IKJ – fond 707k) and other Jewish sources that arrived in Moscow from Silesia in 1945 – were transferred in the late 1940s from the Special Archive to the Lenin Library, now the Russian State Library (RGB). Obviously, those should go home with the rest of the IKG legacy. In a few cases, contingent parts of the same manuscript can be found in the RGB and the RGVA, as is apparent in an illustrated catalogue published in Moscow in 2005, sponsored by the Commission on Art Recovery (New York) in the ‘Heritage Revealed’ series.<sup>26</sup> Those manuscripts were not catalogued in the RGB until recently, and some were allegedly stolen and sold off to under-the-table dealers. A part of one fifteenth-century Hebrew manuscript that emerged from Israel on auction in New York was confiscated by US Customs and returned to Vienna in 2003 – the first IKG manuscript to be returned since the war.<sup>27</sup> Austrian Jewish archivists who visited Moscow were permitted to examine and verify the Austrian Jewish manuscripts still in the RGB, but it remains unclear if they all will be included in the next transfer to Austria. When I recently queried the RGVA directors about the possible cause for delay, I was told that Austrian Jewish specialists had not come for long enough to identify adequately all the Jewish files of Austrian provenance to be claimed for return.

## **Greece: Jewish Community and Related Records**

One of the most vocal in a series of ICA efforts to promote archival restitution in the wake of the Moscow revelations was the 1994 Conference of the International Round Table on Archives (CITRA) in Thessalonica, devoted thematically to divided and displaced archives. The concluding resolution of that conference, passed almost unanimously by the heads of the world's national archives, declared that archives should not be used as 'trophies' or 'objects of exchange'.<sup>28</sup> Having been invited by the ICA as a guest specialist, I was sitting near the Russian delegates and happened to notice they were among only three countries to abstain from the vote. Nonetheless, since the ICA 1994 resolution, I have noticed professional archivists in Russia usually seem to avoid the term 'trophies', despite its regular use in the media!

Not mentioned during the CITRA proceedings were the dispersed records of the Thessalonica Sephardic Jewish Community, almost 95 per cent of whom perished in the Holocaust. Neither I, nor probably any of the world archival leaders assembled, were aware at the time that 297 files from the Thessalonica Jewish Community were in Moscow, where they remain today. Some of them even contain community registration photographs of many individuals who perished in the Holocaust. And there is a small fond of records from the Jewish Community in Athens, and a few other fragmentary Greek fonds as well from the former Special Archive.<sup>29</sup> I first learned about them after I received a telephone inquiry from Greece, and then they were mentioned as an example at the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in 1998.

The current dispersal of the Jewish community archives from Thessalonica is an unusually complicated case, but a blatant example of the wartime archival catastrophe. The 297 files in Moscow comprise but one of several widely displaced portions. A large shipment from Thessalonica of the initial batch of books and archival materials, seized by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) in 1941, went to the NSDAP Institute for Research on the Jewish Question (IEJ) in Frankfurt. Some of those found after the war were brought to the US Army run Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD) outside Frankfurt and returned to Greece in 1946, together with fragmentary files from other Greek Jewish communities.<sup>30</sup> When the decimated Jewish communities in Greece were not prepared to provide for their appropriate archival care in the immediate post-war period, they were sent on deposit to the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) in Jerusalem. Today they constitute a special Greek Collection, with 462 files from the Thessalonica Community Archives.<sup>31</sup>

Another segment of Thessalonica Jewish Community archives, apparently found after the war in Berlin, were transferred to the Institute for Jewish Research in New York City (YIVO). Recently, YIVO has digitised those original Thessalonica files and generously transferred digital copies at no cost to the community in Thessalonica.<sup>32</sup> When I recently inquired of one of the RGVA directors about the delay in the return of Greek files, he retorted that the United States had yet to return the original Thessalonica files to Greece. I told him I was not



aware of any formal claim from Greece to YIVO in New York, and that the US government could not require a private institution, such as YIVO, to turn over archives they held that I believed were legitimately acquired after the war.

In the meantime, RGVA had already sold the right to film copies of the Greek files to a project at Tel Aviv University, as well as complete microfilm copies to the US Holocaust Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC. English-language finding aids have been prepared by Devin Naar for the copies from Moscow in Washington, as well the other original segments in New York and Jerusalem, in connection with his doctoral dissertation.<sup>33</sup> Reportedly, RGVA subsequently proposed charging the Greek Government for another set of microfilms to be retained in Moscow (where no one can read the Ladino in Sephardic script, in which many of the documents are written), before letting the originals return home. Negotiations have continued but the formal Greek claim, submitted in 2008, was countered with a Russian demand for the Greek government to return some pre-revolutionary Russian consular records discovered in Greece.

In the meantime, indicative of the complexity of dispersal, Dutch archivists found a few additional fragmentary Jewish files from Thessalonica intermixed with Dutch Jewish files returned to the Netherlands from Berlin in the 1970s, and a few more among the fond from RGVA devoted to Jewish organisations in the Netherlands, returned from Moscow in 2003. In August 2008, Dutch archivists personally delivered the originals of those files to the Jewish Community in Thessalonica – the first received from the twice-plundered Moscow-held Greek archives to return home.

Why should it take over twenty years to negotiate the return of the files from the Greek Jewish Community of Thessalonica, of which 95 percent of its consistency were deported and murdered by the Nazis during the Second World War, after its library and archives were seized by a special commando of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg? When I posed the question to the head of the Greek Foreign Ministry Archives in Athens in June 2014, she assured me that the Greek archives would be home from Moscow by the end of the year. She and her colleagues had been negotiating for their return since the mid-1990s. Presumably, however, the return of the displaced Greek archives were not a high agenda priority during more recent meetings between Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

### **Masonic Files Still Unidentified in RGVA**

Another blatant example of the complex dispersal of files from Austria and Greece, and even remaining files from France, is the largest collection of Masonic archives ever assembled, large parts of which remain in Moscow today. Masonic archives from all over the European continent were brought together during the Second World War by the Seventh Office (Amt VII) of the RSHA. First collected in the buildings of the two largest Masonic lodges in Berlin that were taken over as Gestapo headquarters, the collection was evacuated to Silesia in 1943. A Masonic research centre occupied one of Himmler's favourite castles on the

Schlesiersee (post-war Polish Sława) until January 1945. Most of the Masonic archival collections, however, together with some portraits and regalia, ended the war in a former brewery in the RSHA archival evacuation site in the village of Wölfelsdorf (post-war Polish Wilkanów) further southeast, and were all brought to Moscow on Beria's order in the autumn of 1945.

Those Wölfelsdorf collections also included some of the Masonic archives that had been among the first ERR seizures from France and Belgium that the ERR were subsequently required to transfer to the RSHA. The ERR, however, retained some of its Masonic archives until the end of the war, many of which they had evacuated with their research collections to Ratibor (post-war Polish Racibórz), including Masonic files from Paris and Bordeaux. Most of those were captured a second time at the end of the war by Soviet trophy scouts: part went in a major shipment of 54 freight train cars of books and archives to the Belarus capital of Minsk, while others went together with the large group of ERR archives to the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. Those foreign Masonic files were ordered to Moscow in the early 1950s, but somehow contingent fragments remained in Minsk and surfaced only recently, as reported by a Belarus historian in Paris in 2015.<sup>34</sup> As an example of further post-war dispersal, another small segment of French Masonic files found in Silesia by the Poles after the war were presented by the head of the Polish archives to his French counterpart in 1960 and are now held in the French National Archives in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.<sup>35</sup>

Many German Masonic files were returned from Moscow to the German Democratic Republic towards the end of the Soviet period, and many Masonic fonds devoted to files from specific lodges in the former Special Archive have been returned to France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg since 1991.<sup>36</sup> Of particular concern in Moscow today is the voluminous pan-European Masonic collection (RGVA, fond 1412k). Even following the transfer to the Netherlands in 2003 of 290 Dutch Masonic files identified from that fond by Dutch Masonic archivist Evert Kwaadgras, the collection still contains 14,291 files from all over Europe, including many from Germany.<sup>37</sup> Two Austrian Masonic scholars, Helmut Reinalter and Helmut Keiler, were responsible for the publication of a German translation of the six-volume Russian-language finding aids (*opisi*) for that collection in 2002. Regrettably, however, the files themselves were not examined in connection with that publication, and hence the many incorrect file descriptions (and provenance attributions) found in the Soviet-period finding aid are unfortunately perpetrated in the German edition.<sup>38</sup>

Significantly affecting delay in the Austrian archival return, RGVA archivists report that no Austrian Masonic specialist has come to examine and submit their official list of files to be claimed, some from fonds for specific lodges and others within that collection (fond 1412k). Jagschitz and Karner reported some 4,660 files from 45 Austrian Masonic lodges in 1996, but they were unable to complete the descriptive task and suggest further verification is needed of many more.<sup>39</sup> Thus far, the 290 Masonic files returned to the Netherlands are the only files to have been withdrawn from the massive pan-European collection, but there are still more files of Dutch provenance left behind.<sup>40</sup>

During the past five years, Norwegian Masonic historian and archivist, Helge Horrisland, has diligently combed fond 1412k for files of Norwegian provenance, in the course of long hours on many expensive, and often frustrating, trips to Moscow. He uncovered ‘close to 5,000 Norwegian files’, seized from Oslo in 1941 and 1942. In late 2011, according to Rosarkhiv procedures, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry filed a provisional list to be claimed. When I visited his lodge in Oslo in the summer of 2013, Horrisland assured me that I would be invited again when the Norwegian files returned home (then expected by 2014). I have yet to receive an invitation to Oslo because, in the meantime, RGVA archivists questioned 151 files on Horrisland’s list, for which he since prepared lengthy counter explanations. The controversy was apparently resolved by autumn 2015, and a formal diplomatic claim was submitted in early 2016, with hopes for the long-awaited transfer soon.

A conference on ‘anti-Masonry’ brought Horrisland and me together in October 2010 in the Canonbury Masonic Centre in Islington, North London, where, following my keynote lecture and Horrisland’s illustrated presentation on the fate of Masonic archives during the war, we also spread the word about the Moscow collection to Masonic specialists from several other European countries. Horrisland has since identified some ‘50 Greek files, some quite bulky’ in the collection at the request of a Greek Masonic brother who took part in that conference and learned for the first time that there were Greek Masonic files in Moscow. To be sure, a Greek Masonic specialist should identify those, so they can be included in the still unfulfilled Greek archival claim. In addition, Horrisland ‘found scattered material from former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and as well as many files from lodges in Germany and Austria’. He also noted ‘several hundred files registered in the finding aid from Denmark and Sweden, but that is a registration error,’ he claims. ‘Neither of these countries were robbed of their Masonic archives.... They remain intact both in Copenhagen and Stockholm. As far as I can see those files are mostly German archivalia that have been wrongly identified’ in the Soviet finding aids.<sup>41</sup> Even given restrictions on restitution under the 1998/2000 Russian Cultural Property Law, all of those files captured by the Nazi regime from declared Masonic ‘enemies of the Reich’, should be eligible for return to their homelands.

### **Remaining Archival Prisoners-of-War**

‘How many “trophy” files from how many European countries were part of the recent transport from the original Special Archive building to the main RGVA building?’ I queried RGVA deputy director, Vladimir Korotaev, who has long been in charge of the foreign captured records from the former Special Archive. ‘The number has not changed for several years’, he explained. Thus presumably RGVA still holds 593 fonds of captured records, with more than 234,000 file units, dating from the fifteenth century to 1945, as recorded earlier in the ArcheoBiblioBase description.<sup>42</sup> That figure is down from the estimated four and a half million files of captured records when the Special Archive first

emerged from its top-secret wraps and opened to researchers in June 1992 as the TsKhIDK.

Archival materials of provenance in Germany and Poland are the most voluminous national components remaining today in RGVA. Return to Germany is forbidden by Russian law, although that law contradicts the *Soviet-German Treaty on Good Neighbourliness, Partnership and Cooperation* signed in 1990, the additional Agreement between Rosarkhiv and the Bundesarchiv signed in July 1992, and the Russian-German Cultural Agreement of 1993, all clearly providing for restitution to Germany. German and Russian archivists are not optimistic about a change of Russian government policy, given the vehemence of anti-restitution sentiment in Russian political circles and in the public at large. Photocopies have been handed over for some of the Nazi concentration-camp records remaining in Russia, such as those from Sachsenhausen and Auschwitz (now in Poland), but the originals – even including Auschwitz card files and death books – remain in RGVA. Details are still not openly available about additional files from German concentration camps that are held by the Federal Security Service (FSB; successor of the KGB), which are known to contain more Sachsenhausen and Trawniki files among others.

Despite Russian recalcitrance for repatriation of German archives from the N-S period, a positive cooperative step between German and Russian archivists is exemplified in the joint project for microfilming and database description of the records of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG/SMAD). Despite the announced ‘success’ of that project, some vital files from the SVAG/SMAD remain classified in Moscow. Legally, those are Russian agency records, although considered of ‘joint heritage’, as opposed to captured records of German agency provenance.<sup>43</sup> For example, of crucial importance for other countries as well as for Germany, still-classified SVAG files contain scattered documentation about many Soviet-seized cultural valuables, including archives that were transported to the Soviet Union under SVAG auspices – to say nothing of major reparation shipments.

Even more essential for tracing Russian wartime cultural losses and post-war retrieval, the SVAG records also contain a crucial series of files documenting Western Allied restitution to the Soviet Union from Germany. Regrettably, many of the most important relevant files are now reclassified – albeit also displaced – in the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE). Recently, a large group of long-lost files from the SVAG Administration for Reparations and Deliveries (*Upravlenie reparatsii i postavok SVAG*), and its subdivision for Restitution were identified among records of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade in the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE, fond 413, *opis*’ 16), finally declassified after 2006.<sup>44</sup> Since my discovery and identification of those documents in the summer of 2009, however, the entire series has been reprocessed in RGAE, and almost all of the RVAG documents relating to the restitution and retrieval of cultural valuables have been withdrawn from the separate ‘collection’ that now replaces the earlier *opis*’ 16 within that fond; currently reclassified, they are again closed for public research.<sup>45</sup> Given recent Ministry of Culture regulations

against communication of documents relating to post-war restitution and retrieval of cultural property, RGAE has not publicly acknowledged their SVAG provenance. Nor have they been willing to transfer those files to the neighbouring State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF) so they could be united with the other records of the same SVAG Administration for Reparations and Deliveries.<sup>46</sup>

The most complete list of fonds for what Soviet archivists referred to as the 'German Division' of the Special Archive is now found – not on the RGVA website where researchers would expect it – but rather on the unofficial German website 'Sonderarchiv' maintained by Sebastian Panwitz in Berlin (which also includes Austrian records). Some of those listings conveniently render German versions of the original Soviet finding aids.<sup>47</sup> Problems still arise for researchers, however, because many of the files in Moscow are not optimally arranged or accurately described in sufficient detail. Most crucial for research, they need to be correlated and integrated with other segments of the same record groups now held in Germany or elsewhere.

The extensive German N-S period wartime records held in Moscow deserve particular attention in this connection, because many are essential for research on various topics relating to the Nazi period, and specifically for our focus on research about Nazi-era displaced cultural assets. In contrast to Soviet authorities, it should be remembered, in the 1960s, the British and Americans returned almost all the German (including N-S period) records they had captured to West Germany, many of which came from the same German agency record groups captured by the Red Army in 1945 and 1946 that still remain in Moscow.<sup>48</sup> For example, records of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA, including SD and Gestapo), the *Reichsarchiv*, the *Heeresarchiv* (Military Archives), and the ERR all belong to contingent files in corresponding record groups in the Bundesarchiv. Those were all prominent German agencies of archival plunder, and hence their continuing location in Moscow seriously impedes and complicates research.<sup>49</sup> The much larger component of ERR files in Kyiv (captured by Ukrainian authorities at the end of the war) have been available online since 2011, with improvements in their description still pending.<sup>50</sup> For example, French military archivists have recently been trying to analyse German 'utilisation' of the Russian-captured French military records returned to France, but their findings will remain incomplete without careful study of the German-prepared wartime inventories of those French records and related documents that still remain with the *Heeresarchiv* fonds in Moscow.<sup>51</sup>

Even under the restrictive 1998 Russian law on cultural property that forbids cultural returns to Germany, the return of private German Jewish archives and some others that were clearly 'enemies of the N-S regime' should nonetheless be legally possible. These should include the personal papers of prominent German cultural leaders who fled to France and were stripped of their German citizenship. Despite the initiative of archivists from the Bundesarchiv together with Jewish archival specialists from Berlin in identifying the displaced German Jewish files remaining in the RGVA in the past decade, the German government has not pressed a claim for those important Jewish documents. In part, the German government does not want to recognise the 1998 law that goes against the Soviet-German and

Russian-German treaties and agreements. Besides, priority German concern with a much higher stake rests with the unsuccessful negotiations for the return of art masterpieces of German provenance and other German cultural treasures seized at the end of the war, many of which remain still unidentified and inaccessible in the Russian Federation.

### **‘Why Haven’t the Polish Archives Come Home?’**

Return of all of the Polish records displaced as a result of the Second World War in the RGVA, by contrast, should be much more legitimate under terms of the same Russian law. Already in April 1992, Poland was among the first to sign an Agreement on Archival Cooperation with the Russian State Archival Committee (*Roskomarkhiv*, now *Rosarkhiv*), which provided for ‘return of documents to their legal owners ... on the basis of appropriate agreements’; it is still listed today on the Rosarkhiv official website among active Russian archival agreements with foreign countries and quoted in an official 2010 Russian publication.<sup>52</sup>

So then ‘Why Haven’t Polish Archives Come Home?’<sup>53</sup> The Polish case, alas, is much more complicated. Poland was clearly part of the Communist bloc before 1989 and should have benefited from the internationalist archival restitution policies in which Soviet authorities indulged, as publicly explained in Soviet archival and historical journals.

A more detailed Polish account of Soviet revindication of archives through 1964 appeared in 1982.<sup>54</sup> Recently, Rosarkhiv chief, Vladimir Kozlov, estimated that in the years 1956–1958, 1961, 1963 and 1967, Soviet archival authorities transferred no less than 100 fonds and about 300,000 files to Poland.<sup>55</sup> The Polish Archival Directorate (NDAP) Director-General Władysław Stępniaak suggested a smaller number, and noted many of the Soviet-period transfers were incomplete, ‘sterilized’ fonds. Portions of the same fonds not returned were kept in secret until the collapse of the Soviet Union, but are now publicly described in some detail.<sup>56</sup>

As telling examples of a lack of humanitarian concern, it was 1989 before Russia gave copies of prisoner-of-war and concentration camp files from Poland to the Red Cross. Indeed, the original Auschwitz construction records remain in Moscow, although Poland did receive limited, selected microfilms for the Auschwitz–Birkenau Museum.<sup>57</sup> Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union did Poland finally receive the death books (1941–1943) from Auschwitz, which were also captured when the Red Army liberated the concentration camp in 1945.<sup>58</sup>

While the Russian 2001 list of fonds in the RGVA provides no annotations, in the case of Poland, ninety Polish fonds in the RGVA are much better described in a book-length Polish-language guide published in 2000 in Warsaw by the NDAP, prepared in bilateral archival collaboration.<sup>59</sup> Most of those records were captured by Soviet authorities rather than the Germans, yet all of those listed in the RGVA should be subject to return under the 1998/2000 Russian law. However, the Russians are raising rather curious difficulties for some of the materials. For example, they are arguing that the seventy-nine remaining files from the records of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig (*Senat der Freien Stadt Danzig* – fond 1353k)

should not be returned to Poland because Danzig (now Polish Gdańsk) was not part of Poland before 1945. Given their provenance, however, on what grounds should they remain in Russia? In fact, other portions of the same group of records were returned to Poland during the Soviet period and are now held in the State Archive in Gdańsk, which obviously would be a more appropriate archival home for the remaining files of the Danzig Senate than in the RGVA in Moscow.

The Polish-published 2000 guide to records in Moscow, also describes the voluminous 103 fonds of Polish provenance now held in the GA RF. Polish archivists, understandably, also insist in claiming those records from the post-partitions period of Russian imperial rule created on Polish territories before 1918, which should have been returned under earlier treaties and bilateral archival agreements. That issue complicates the matter, because those records, most of which were evacuated east during the First World War, are not covered by the 1998 law. As the Polish guide carefully demonstrates, however, other parts of the same record groups returned earlier from the Soviet Union are held in the Archive of Contemporary Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowykh* – AAN) and local archives in Poland.<sup>60</sup>

Given the seriousness of the dispersed Polish archival heritage, particularly as a result of the partitions and many subsequent boundary changes, Poland was singled out by the ICA and the European Union (EU) during the 1990s for a much more comprehensive pilot project for ‘The Reconstitution of the Memory of Poland’, an extensive database inventory of archival documents for the history of Poland in European countries, covering the period starting with the Polish partitions at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Now based at the University of Warsaw with NDAP and EU sponsorship, the database continues to expand, in an effort to overcome wartime destruction and dispersal of archives over the centuries.

From the even earlier pre-partition period, the record books of the Lithuanian and Crown Metrica, clearly of provenance first in Vilnius and then in Kraków, still remain in the Russian State Archive of Early Acts (RGADA) in Moscow. Most of those records were captured by order of Catherine the Great, following the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, and slated for transfer to Poland according to the 1921 Treaty of Riga. Although finally open to researchers from all countries since 1992, Russians still consider them off-limits for restitution to the country of provenance. Nevertheless, they should be considered of ‘joint-archival heritage’ for Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, even while Russia claims predominant interest because many of the lands covered became part of the Russian Empire.<sup>62</sup>

Such examples of ‘joint heritage’ contrast to the many important groups of records for which there could well be legitimate claims from other independent nations that were part of the Russian and/or Soviet Empires. Currently, such claims prove next to impossible to realise, however, faced with the Russian unilateral position, as formulated in 1992, of non-devolution of centrally created records of imperial rule to any of the former Soviet republics, and even separate fonds totally of territorial provenance within the former republics. Signatures were required by members of what was then considered the Commonwealth of Independent States.

My 2001 monograph, entitled *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution*, discusses relevant international law and usage relating to archives, with abundant examples of the now ‘displaced’ Ukrainian archival legacy. An initial chapter discusses the minimal Russian sensitivity to the archival pretensions of former Soviet republics.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, Poland also must contend with such Russian archival policies for successor states of the Russian Empire, given the fact that large parts of Poland were for centuries part of that empire. The Polish insistence on ‘territorial provenance’, and often even ‘territorial pertinence’, has in many cases been ruled out, which means that archival restitution claims from Poland for pre-1918 records will remain much more difficult than claims from Western Europe for records acquired during and since the end of the Second World War in the former Special Archive that have successfully *Returned from Russia*. Today, however, when even Polish apples are among the Russian retaliatory sanctions on imports, the prospects for speedy archival restitution do not look bright.

## Conclusion

The archives of foreign provenance brought to Russia, along with the voluminous other cultural ‘spoils of war’, represent symbols of the victory that Russians celebrate in what many still call the Great Patriotic War of the Fatherland. Many Russians overlook the fact that the ‘trophy’ archives – hidden away for fifty years – are in reality the official records of other European countries – many of them Soviet wartime allies – who also fought in the same war against the Nazi regime and who also suffered severe wartime losses and destruction. In many cases, they represent the memory of individuals and institutions that were clearly victims of the Nazi regime and the Holocaust, to say nothing of ‘their national historical and cultural legacy’, as Soviet archivists publicly acknowledged.

Too many Russian politicians, government officials, as well as the population at large, remain convinced that they got back all too little of what was plundered by the invader, and that whatever foreign-owned cultural treasures still remain in Russia are inadequate ‘compensation’ for their country’s cultural losses, to say nothing of their lost loved ones. Soviet, and more recently Russian Government rhetoric and archival restrictions reinforce such attitudes. Sources open abroad today clearly demonstrate the extent of restitution to the Soviet Union by the Western Allies, and especially the United States.<sup>64</sup> Other sources demonstrate the extent of Soviet retrieval of cultural property seized by the German invaders from the Russian Federation and other Soviet republics – although unlike private property in the West, most of the major German seizures were from state institutions.

The Russian regime today apparently wants to preserve the belief that ‘nothing was returned’ by classifying sources that would tell otherwise. Indeed, today in Russia many of the archival sources and publications that tell a more complete story are not easily available, and such information has not reached the body politic. The recent increased ‘reclassification’ of relevant Russian sources, such as the SVAG reparations and restitution files, impedes the needed research that could result in a more



balanced account and contradict the ‘nothing was returned’ arguments of Russian nationalist politicians. Meanwhile restitution remains an almost taboo principle in the Russian Federation, particularly if it refers to the potential Russian return of cultural property ‘displaced as a result of the Second World War’ to victims abroad. Yet how can files from another country’s archival heritage ‘compensate’ the Russian nation, and who in Russia can read the Ladino documents of the Thessalonica Jewish Community, most of whom were exterminated in the Holocaust?

## Notes

- 1 Eckert, 2012.
- 2 Grimsted, Hoogewoud and Ketelaar, 2007; paper edition 2013, with ‘Afterword–2013’ by Grimsted.
- 3 The present chapter draws heavily on my earlier related publications, including Grimsted, 1997, pp. 27–74; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20081612>; earlier versions appeared in *Janus* (1996) and *IISG Research Paper*, no. 18. See ‘Displaced Cultural Treasures as a Result of World War II and Restitution Issues: A bibliography of publications by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted’; <http://socialhistory.org/en/russia-archives-and-restitution/bibliography>, with digital texts of many, including some listed below.
- 4 See summary details in *Returned from Russia*, pp. 94–98. Regarding the Russian non-return of Rossica, see Grimsted, 2004, pp. 107–39; serial edition as *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 4, no. 4, 2003, pp. 107–39.
- 5 See more details and pictures of the Special Archive building in *Returned from Russia*, p. 91 and p. 113.
- 6 See Ketelaar, in *Returned from Russia*, pp. 241–49, and the picture of Queen Beatrix and President Putin, facing page 241.
- 7 Beria to Molotov, 6 April 1945, and Kruglov to Beria, 5 April 1945, State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF). 5325/10/2025, fols 4–5.
- 8 See, for example, Baskakov and Shablovski, 1958, pp. 175–79; Tikhvinskii, 1979, pp. 11–16.
- 9 Kapran, 1968, p. 33.
- 10 Maksimova, 1990, based on an interview with TsGOA director Anatolii Prokopenko. A notice by Maksimova, ‘Arkhivnyi detektiv’, *Izvestiia*, no. 177, 24 June 1989, was the first mention of the Special Archive in print in connection with the transfer of microfilms of Auschwitz records to the Red Cross.
- 11 Kuz’min, 1991, p. 13; publication of that interview was delayed for almost a year and was permitted in print only after August 1991.
- 12 See the interview with TsGOA director, Anatolii Prokopenko, in Maksimova, 1991.
- 13 As recounted to me by Kozlov. Among many newspaper accounts in Paris about the French archives, see, for example, Thierry Wolton, 1991.
- 14 Regarding the seizure and return of the French archives, see especially Coeuré, 2007 and second paper edition, 2013. See also the French chapter with appended lists of fonds returned and some that remain in Moscow, together with additional bibliography in *Returned from Russia*.
- 15 *Ukazatel’ fondov inostrannogo proiskhozhdeniia i Glavnogo upravleniia po delam voennoplennykh i internirovannykh NKVD-MVD SSSR Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo voennogo arkhiva*, comp. T.A. Vasil’eva, et al; V.P. Kozlov and V.N. Kuzelenkov, eds, Moscow: Rosarkhiv, RGVA, 2001; <http://guides.rusarchives.ru/browse/GuidebookCard.html?id=123>. Regarding published descriptions of holdings from the former Special Archive, see *Returned from Russia*, Chapter 5, especially pp. 106–112, and the bibliography, pp. 311–328. Typescript file-level *opisi* are available for all fonds

- in RGVA, including those already returned to their home countries. Fonds returned to western European countries are listed with current locations and finding aids in *Returned from Russia*, Chapters 6–10.
- 16 See Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv/Russian State Military Archive (RGVA), in ArcheoBiblioBase, B-8: <http://www.iisg.nl/abb/rep/B-8.tab1.php?b=B.php%23B-8>. Since the merger, fond numbers the former TsGOA/TsKhIDK now have the added letter 'k'.
  - 17 Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Opinion No. 193 (1996): 'On Russia's request for membership of the Council of Europe', 25 January 1996, when Russia was admitted to membership on its basis. Another paragraph in the admission document signed by Russia committed it 'xi. to negotiate claims for the return of cultural property to other European countries on an ad hoc basis that differentiates between types of property (archives, works of art, buildings etc.) and of ownership (public, private or institutional)'. At: <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=13932&lang=en>.
  - 18 See the Russian version of my report on the Russian retrieval of archival Rossica, P.K. Grimsted, 'Tsel' vyivleniia zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: politika ili kul'tura?', in *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: Itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 16–17 noiabria 2000 g., Moskva*, ed. Vladimir P. Kozlov (Moscow, 2001; Rosarkhiv, Rossiiskoe obshchestvo istorikov-arkhivistov); an expanded English version was published as 'Archival Rossica/Sovietica Abroad—Provenance or Pertinence, Bibliographic and Descriptive Needs', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 34, no. 3 (1993), pp. 431–80.
  - 19 See more details in Grimsted, "'Trophy" Archives and Non-Restitution: Russia's Cultural "Cold War" with the European Community', *Problems of Post Communism*, 45, no. 3 (May/June 1998), pp. 3–16, with a cover picture of Prince Hans-Adam of Lichtenstein at the opening the Moscow exhibit following the 'exchange'.
  - 20 *Federal Law on Cultural Valuables Displaced to the USSR as a Result of the Second World War and Located on the Territory of the Russian Federation*, No. 64-FZ of 15 April 1998 (with amendments), trans. Konstantin Akinsha and Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, in *Spoils of War v. Cultural Heritage: The Russian Cultural Property Law in Historical Context*, published as *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 413–26. See also Grimsted, 'Legalizing "Compensation" and the Spoils of War: The Russian Law on Displaced Cultural Valuables and the Manipulation of Historical Memory', pp. 217–56: [http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJCP%2FJCP17\\_02%2F094073911000010Xa.pdf&code=0c75497d4ed19b105eecd461067b11c3](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJCP%2FJCP17_02%2F094073911000010Xa.pdf&code=0c75497d4ed19b105eecd461067b11c3).
  - 21 See Grimsted, 2010, pp. 291–334.
  - 22 See *Returned from Russia* (2013), above note 2. See more details on the French return by Maure, 2012, pp. 327–338; from the same conference, see also Le Clech and Richard, 2012, pp. 339–355; and Mazet, 2012, especially pp. 364–369.
  - 23 Jagschitz and Karner, 'Beuteakten aus Österreich': *Der Österreichbestand im russischen 'Sonderarchiv' Moskau* (Graz, Vienna: Selbstverlag des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung, 1996) = *Veröffentlichungen des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung*, vol. 2. See additional details in Grimsted, 2005, pp. 107–47; <http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/mercury.pdf>.
  - 24 Steiner, 2009; <http://diepresse.com/home/kultur/kunst/485745/index/do>.
  - 25 In addition to Jagschitz and Karner, many of those fonds were described in more detail in Kuzelenkov, Kupovetskii and Fishman, 2005, English edition, 2010, although that volume fails to cover many Austrian Jewish archives in RGVA.
  - 26 *Rukopisi i arkhivnye dokumenty Evreiskoi obshchiny goroda Veny v rossiiskikh sobraniakh. Katalog/Manuscripts and Archival Documents of the Vienna Jewish Community Held in Russian Collections: Catalogue* (Moscow: 'Rudomino' 2006; Proekt 'Obretennoe nasledie'/Project 'Heritage Revealed'); <http://www.old.libfl.ru/restitution/catalog3/catalog3.pdf>.

- 27 See details in Grimsted, 2005, pp. 125–128, and Henry, 2004, p. 48 (with colour photograph). See more details in Richler, 2014, p. 222.
- 28 The proceedings with the resolutions were published in the ICA journal *Janus*, 1995, and as a separate volume: *Archival Dependencies in the Information Age*, CITRA 1993–1995.
- 29 A sample is pictured in *Returned from Russia*, p. 130. The Thessalonica Community records (RGVA, fond 1428k; 297 file units; 1919–1941) and those from Athens (fond 1427k; 112 file units; 1901–1942); two smaller fonds comprise records of Zionist offices in Thessalonica involved with assisting the emigration of Jews to Palestine (fond 1435k and 1437k). There are a few additional files of Greek Jewish provenance, such as files of B'nai B'rith from Greece and Yugoslavia (fond 1225k). Copies of all of the Greek fonds are now available in USHMM.
- 30 A transfer document to Greece of 41 crates with 8,511 items comprising unspecified books and archives is found in the OAD Administrative Records, subseries Cultural Object Restitution and Custody Records, file Greece OAD 9, within RG 260 (OMGUS), NACP dated 9 November 1946, together with a bill of lading from the shipping firm in Hamburg (displayed on Fold3.com, from *NARA Microfilm Publication M1942*).
- 31 See the folder list: 'Salonika list.pdf' on the CAHJP website: <https://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/salonika-community-archives>. See the Israeli chapter (2015) of my *ERR Archival Guide*: <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>, Section 4.3.1., fond RI-33 Salonika Community Archives (GR/Sa).
- 32 The Thessalonica holdings in YIVO (New York) constitute RG 207, with a microfilm at USHMM (RG-67.018M); with a finding aid, 'Guide to the Records of the Jewish Community of Salonika, Greece, 1912–1954, RG 207', comp. Devin E. Naar; ed. Trudy Balch, New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2008.
- 33 The Thessalonica holdings on microfilm in USHMM are assigned in: RG-11.001M.51 (RGVA, fond 1428k) RG-11.001M.42 (RGVA, fond 1437k), and RG-11.001M.53 (RGVA, fond 1435k). See Devin Naar, *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*, Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- 34 The French Masonic files from Paris and Bordeaux that remain today in Minsk were the subject of a report at a colloquium in Paris on 10 September 2015 by Belarus historian Anatole Steburaka, now published as 'Les archives françaises confisquées par les nazis during la Seconde Guerre mondiale et conservées en Biélorussie', *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, no. 10 (November 2016): [http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/les-fonds-francais-de-minsk\\_67072](http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/les-fonds-francais-de-minsk_67072). As Steburaka has shown, the Masonic documents still in Minsk are an integral part and belong with those returned earlier to France from Moscow. My own report about the Nazi-looted foreign books in Minsk appears in the same issue: Grimsted, 'Livres et archives pillés en France par l'Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): La Bibliothèque Tourgueniev et les fonds français déplacés à Minsk', BBF: [http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/livres-et-archives-pilles-en-france-par-l-einsatzstab-reichsleiter-rosenberg\\_err\\_67074](http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/livres-et-archives-pilles-en-france-par-l-einsatzstab-reichsleiter-rosenberg_err_67074).
- 35 AB/XIX/3367: 'Documents emportés par les Allemands durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et retrouvés en Pologne, don de M. Altmann, directeur des Archives de Pologne, 1876–1940'. Given the rather obscure reference, French Masonic archivists were unaware of this lost segment, described in the French chapter (January, 2017) of Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot*, available at <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>.
- 36 For German returns see Endler and Schwarze, *Die Freimaurerbestände in Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Vol. 1: *Grosslogen und Protektor: Freimaurerische Stiftungen und Vereinigungen*; Vol. 2: *Tochterlogen*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994–1996; = *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsstelle Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770–1850*, vols. 13 and 18. For other countries see full listings appended to those country chapters in *Returned from Russia*.

- 37 The 14,291 figure appears in a notation dated 15 May 2003 at the end of the sixth volume of *Opis*' 1 for RGVA, fond 1412k, as confirmed by this author 10 June 2010. No other files, and indeed none from Austria, have been extracted since. See the reference to the Dutch Masonic files found by Evert Kwaadgras in *Returned from Russia*, p. 244 (and note 11).
- 38 Helmet Reinalter, ed., *Die deutschen und österreichischen Freimaurerbestände im Deutschen Sonderarchiv in Moskau (heute Aufbewahrungszentrum der historisch-dokumentarischen Kollektionen)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002; = *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsstelle, 'Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770-1850'*, vol. 35). See *Returned from Russia*, pp. 110–111. Several Masonic archivists, including those from the Netherlands and Norway, who have examined files within the fond have found many erroneous attributions in the published German translation, and in some cases even compounding the inaccuracies of the Russian *opisi*.
- 39 Many of the Austrian Masonic files are listed with lodge of provenance by Jagschitz and Karner, above note 23, pp. 212–232. See also Chapter 5 below, pp. 110–111. Professor Karner briefed me regarding the extensive research he believes still needs to be done to identify more Austrian Masonic files so they can be returned to their homeland.
- 40 See more details in *Returned from Russia*, p. 111 (with notes 32 and 33).
- 41 Helge Horrisland, e-mail to the author, 15 March 2011 (quoted with permission), as well as subsequent conversations and e-mail exchanges.
- 42 Interviews with Vladimir Korotaev, most recently in June 2016. See the recent interview with Korotaev by Kerstin Holm, 'Lifting the Veil on Moscow's Secret Archives', in *Echoes of Exile, Moscow Archives and the Arts in Paris 1933–1945*, ed. Ines Rotermund-Reynard, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014, pp. 67–73. See the description and bibliography of reference literature for RGVA (B8) in ArcheoBiblioBase, the Russian archival directory and bibliography: <http://www.iisg.nl/abb/index.php>. It should be noted that the number of foreign fonds may be misleading, because many of them now hold only a few documents, along with their *opisi*, since most were returned to their countries of provenance.
- 43 Regarding the SMAD/SVAG project, see the report of Kai von Jena, 'Die Verwirklichung des Deutsch-Russischen Gemeinschaftsprogramms zum Studium, zur Auswertung und zur Reproduktion der Akten der SMAD', *Mitteilungen des Bundesarchiv*, 2003, Heft 2, pp. 39–44; see the Russian-language listing for publications from and relating to the SMAD/SVAG on the GA RF website: <http://www.statearchive.ru/387>, including the latest Handbook for SVAG records (note 44 below): <http://www.statearchive.ru/427>.
- 44 Cultural restitution and retrieval functions under SVAG were handled under the same SVAG Administration, subordinated to the more important economic and industrial reparations priorities that were coordinated and directed from Moscow by the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Another small series (*opis*' ) of 12 files of more purely administrative reports from that same SVAG division, including some of Zorin's retrospective reports, remain among other more voluminous SVAG records in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF, fond 7317, *opis*' 26). See Christiane Künzel (Kh. Kiuntsel'), 'Upravlenie reparatsii i postavok SVAG', *Sovetskaia voennaia administratsiia v Germanii, 1945-1949. Spravochnik*, edited by Jan Foitzik (Ia. Foittsik), T.V. Tsarevskaia-Diakina, and A.V. Doronin, Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2009, pp. 363–376; <http://www.statearchive.ru/427>; German edn: *SMAD-Handbuch. Die Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland 1945–1949* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009). That chapter cites fond 7317, *opis*' 26, but Künzel was unaware of the larger group of SVAG files from that same Administration mixed in with the 541 files that constituted Series 16 of the Soviet Foreign Trade records (RGAE, fond 413 – MVT SSSR, *opis*' 16).
- 45 Based on my personal analysis of these materials in RGAE.
- 46 GA RF, fond 7317 (SVAG), *opis*' 26 (Otdel/Upravlenie reparatsii i postavok); see above, note 44.

- 47 Sebastian Panwitz lists German (including Austrian) records starting with fond no. 500k: at <http://www.sonderarchiv.de>. Dates are provided for those transferred to the GDR during the Soviet period and other subsequent transfers to the countries of provenance.
- 48 Regarding the Western returns, see Eckert, 2004 (in German *Kampf um die Akten*).
- 49 See Grimsted, 2013, 'Afterword – 2013', pp. A19–A23.
- 50 See the 'Rosenberg Collection' in Kyiv at the TsDAVO website: <http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua>, with more English access to the extensive Russian guide-index pending. See the updated Introduction, 'Alfred Rosenberg and the ERR: The Records of Plunder and the Fate of Its Loot' (2015), in Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot* updated chapters available at: <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>; the updated Ukrainian chapter is forthcoming.
- 51 French military archivists reported at a conference in Strasbourg in October 2010 describing the French processing of the returned records, and their analysis of German 'utilisation' of the files, but they unfortunately were not aware and had not examined the important German records of their capture and processing of the files held in Moscow. See, for example, *Returned from Russia*, pp. 20–31.
- 52 'Soglashenie o sotrudnichestve mezhdru General'noi direktsiei Gosudarstvennykh arkhivov Pol'shi i Komitetom po delam arkhivov pri Pravitel'stve Rossiiskoi Federatsii', 27 April 1992, as quoted by Władysław Stępniaś, 'Arkhivnoe nasledie', in *Belye piatna – Chernye piatna. Slozhnye voprosy v rossiisko-pol'skikh otnośheniakh*, A.V. Torkunov and A.D. Rotfel'd, eds., Moscow: Aspekt press, 2010, p. 725. The Polish version or a printed text of the Agreement has not been found. That Agreement was reinforced in Article 11 of the 25 August 1993 cultural Agreement – 'Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Pol'sha o sotrudnichestve v oblasti kul'tury, nauki i obrazovaniia', Varshava, 25 avgusta 1993 g. – with specific mention of the return of archives, available electronically: [http://www.businesspravo.ru/Docum/DocumShow\\_DocumID\\_86597.html](http://www.businesspravo.ru/Docum/DocumShow_DocumID_86597.html).
- 53 See my article 'Restitution Progress for WW2 Captured Archives in Moscow, but Why Haven't Polish Archives Come Home?', prepared for the Kraków conference 'Looted–Recovered. Cultural Goods – the Case of Poland', in November 2014; publication of the conference proceedings in both Polish and English is expected later in 2017.
- 54 Wróbel-Lipowa, 1982.
- 55 Kozlov, p. 718.
- 56 Stępniaś, 2010, pp. 728–29. As explained by Stępniaś, 'Preface', in *Archiwalia polskiej proweniencji terytorialnej przechowywane w Państwowym archiwum Federacji Rosyjskiej i Rosyjskim państwowym archiwum wojskowym*, ed. Władysław Stępniaś, Warsaw: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 2000.
- 57 Gerald Fleming, 1991, pp. 9–12, gives a short popularized account of findings among the archival remains held by the former Special Archive. See the Polish account of the archival holdings in the Oświęcim-Birkenau Museum by Jarosz and Śliz, 'Zbiory dostępne dla wszystkich', 1996, pp. 60–62.
- 58 Russian specialists have compiled a name index of Soviet children who were killed as registered in the Auschwitz (Pol. Oświęcim) deathbooks from a database in the former Special Archive: L.I. Kudriavtseva et al, comps., *Knigi smerti Osventsima: Deti Belorussii, Rossii, Ukrainy, pogibshie v Osventsime v 1942–1943 gg.: (Po knigam registratsii smerti uznikov Osventsima)*, Moscow, 1995; Rosarkhiv; TsKhIDK. The Auschwitz death records preserved do not extend beyond 1943, nor do they include those who perished in the gas chambers, whose identities were not recorded. In most cases the recorded cause of death was fabricated.
- 59 *Archiwalia polskiej proweniencji* (above, note 56). Provides brief annotated description of captured records from the interwar Republic of Poland and the Gdańsk (Ger. Danzig) region in the former Special Archive now part of RGVA (pp. 107–144); see especially fonds1353k and 1422k.

- 60 As explained by Stępniaak, 'Preface', in *Archiwalia polskiej proweniencji*, pp. 14–15 (English); pp. 11–12 (Polish); and pp. 17–18 (Russian). Stępniaak develops many of these points in 'Arkhivnoe nasledie', in *Belye piatna – chernye piatna*, p. 729.
- 61 See, for example, an initial report issued by the Head Office of State Archives (NDAP), *Reconstruction of the Memory of Poland: Sources to the History of Poland and Poles (1772–1945) in the European Countries' Holdings* (Warsaw, 2000). See also the speech by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, opening the exhibition 'Reconstruction of the Memory of Poland', Council of Europe, Strasbourg, November 2004–May 2005; [http://www.coe.int/t/e/com/files/cm\\_chair-sessions/chair/poland/disc\\_inauguration\\_expo.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/e/com/files/cm_chair-sessions/chair/poland/disc_inauguration_expo.asp).
- 62 See, for example 'L'URSS et la restitution des archives. Le cas polonaise: 1921–1939. Autour du traité de Riga', in *Saisies, spoliations et logiques de restitution*, pp. 165–176.
- 63 See Grimsted, 2001, especially ch 1: 'Defining the Archival Heritage of Ukraine: Russia and the Pretensions of Successor States', pp. 1–50.
- 64 See, for example, Grimsted, 2002, pp. 27–41; <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/spring/spoils-of-war-1.html>; condensed from the "Introduction" to the NARA CD-ROM, *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an Introduction by PKG; Foreword by Michael J. Kurtz, CD-ROM edn, Washington, DC: GPO, 2001; Prepared in collaboration with the National Archives of the United States.

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## Appendix

### Acronyms

AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowykh (Archive of Contemporary Records), Poland
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CITRA	Conference of the International Round Table on Archives
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Operational Staff Reichsleiter Rosenberg)