

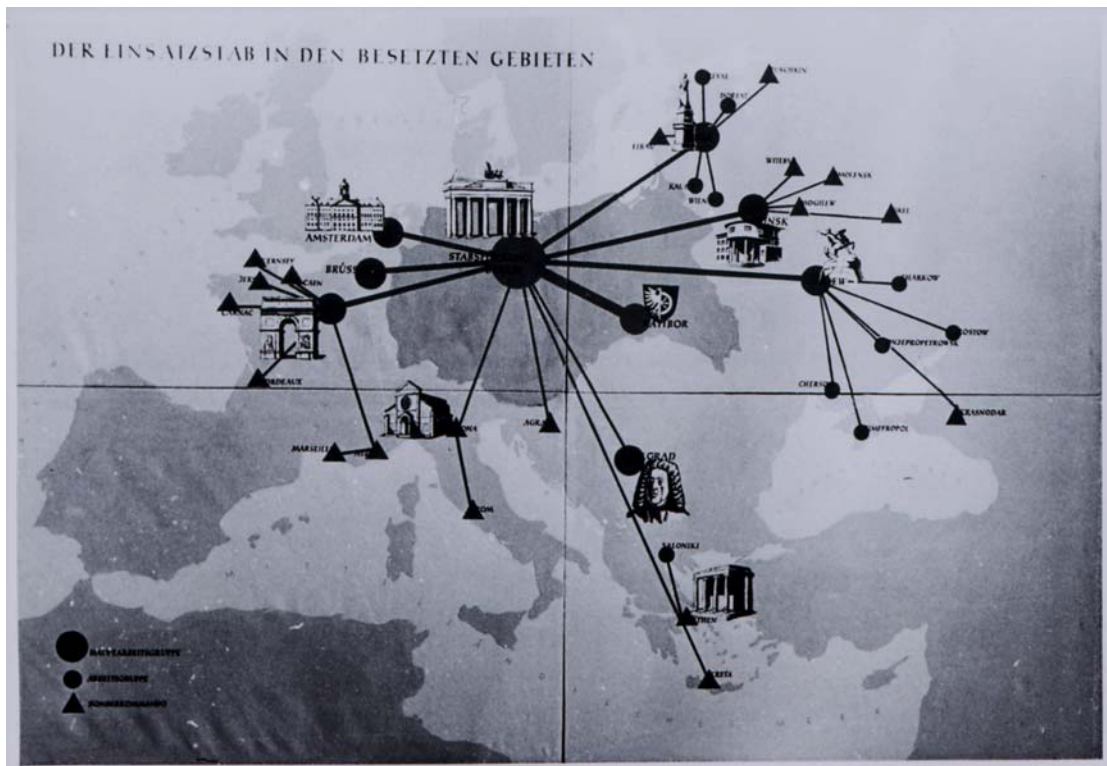


IISH RESEARCH PAPERS

# RECONSTRUCTING THE RECORD OF NAZI CULTURAL PLUNDER

A SURVEY OF THE DISPERSED ARCHIVES  
OF THE EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG (ERR)

*Patricia Kennedy Grimsted*



In association with the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG), Amsterdam,  
and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam,  
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The author would be grateful for any comments and corrections to this Survey. Please send comments and corrections to [pkg@iisg.nl](mailto:pkg@iisg.nl).

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**The Netherlands:** Gerald Aalders, Julie-Marthe Cohen, Karin Hofmeester, F.J. Hoogewoud, Eric Ketelaar, Evert Kwaadgras, Odette Vlessing, Willem de Vries;

**Russia:** Mikhail Afansev, Karina Dmitrieva, Ekaterina Genieva, Vladimir Korotaev, Nikolai Nikandrov, Irina Novichenko, Tatiana Vasileva, and Margarita Zinich;

**Ukraine:** Hennadii Boriak, Liubov Dubrovina, Maryna Dubyk, Nataliia Kashevarova, Serhii Kot, Nataliia Makovska, Tetiana Sebta, and Kyrlyo Vyslobokov;

**United Kingdom:** John S.G. Simmons, Christine Thomas, and Anne Webber;

**United States of America:** Konstantin Akinsha, Greg Bradsher, Brewster Chamberlin, Rebecca Collier, David Fishman, Michael Gelb, Charles Goldstein, James Hastings, Sarah Kianovsky, Michael Kurtz, Marc Masurovsky, Henry Mayer, Carl Modig, Fruma Mohrer, Tim Mulligan, Lynn Nicholas, Seymour

Pomrenze, Sem Sutter, Marek Webb, Ruth Weinberger, Robert Wolfe, and Nancy Yeide.

With information coming from so many sources over a long period of time, and with archival transfers and reprocessing, to say nothing of rapidly changing electronic availability of archival information, errors of commission and omission are bound to arise in the text that follows. The compiler and editors would greatly appreciate comments from representatives of the institutions covered, and more generally from readers who may consult the text. We already plan a future update and are anxious for communications that bring mistakes, oversights, and new information to our attention.

PKG

December 2010





## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

The following list contains abbreviations and acronyms used in the Survey. Location has been given only for institutions that still exist. Details concerning historical institutions and units are provided in the Survey text.

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office), Berlin
AG	Arbeitsgruppe (Working Group)
AGR	Archives Générale de Royaume (National Archives), Brussels
AHC	Ardelia Hall Collection
ALIU	Art Looting Investigatory Unit
AMG	Allied Military Government
AMN	Archives de Musées Nationaux (Archives of the National Museums), Paris
AN-Paris	Archives nationales de France, Site de Paris (National Archives of France, Paris Site)
APA	Aussenpolitisches Amt (Foreign Policy Office)
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives), Brussels
BA	Bundesarchiv, former acronym; now BArch
BADV	Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues), Berlin
BArch	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives)
BArch-MA	Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv (Federal Archives-Military Archives), Freiburg
BIA	Bureau d'investigation artistique (Office of Art Investigation)
BTG	Brüsseler Treuhandgesellschaft (Brussels Trust Company)
CADN	Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes (Center for Diplomatic Archives in Nantes)
CARAN	Centre d'accueil et de recherche des Archives nationales (National Archives Center for Reception and Research), Paris
CCP	Central Collecting Point
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris

CEGES	Centre d'Études et de Documentation de Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
CGQJ	Commissariat général aux questions juives (General Commissariat for Jewish Questions)
CHAN	Centre historique des Archives nationales (Historical Center of the National Archives), Paris; now AN-Paris
CIR	Consolidated Intelligence Report
CRA	Commission de récupération artistique (Commission for the Recovery of Art), Paris
CVA	Centrinis Valstybinis archyvas (Central State Archive), Vilnius
DBFU	Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP)
DGER	Direction général de l'enseignement et de la recherche (General Directorate for Study and Research), Paris
DHM	Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum), Berlin
DIR	Detailed Intelligence Report
DOS	Dienst voor de Oorlogsslachtoffer (Service for War Victims), Brussels
DSK	Devisenschutzkommando (Currency Protection Commando)
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Operational Staff Reichsleiter Rosenberg)
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police)
HAG	Hauptarbeitsgruppe (Main Working Group)
IEJ	Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for Research on the Jewish Question), Frankfurt am Main, later Hungen
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute of Contemporary History), Munich
IISG / IISH	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History), Amsterdam
IMT	International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg

JHM	Joods Historisch Museum (Jewish Historical Museum), Amsterdam
LV ABM	Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen (Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums)
MAEE	Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes, (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs), Paris
M-Aktion	Möbel-Aktion (Furniture Operation)
MBF	Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Commander in France)
MCCP	Munich Central Collecting Point
MEA	Ministère des Affaires économiques (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MEZ	Ministerie van Economische Zaken (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MFA&A	Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives
MNR	Musées Nationaux Récupération (National Museums of Recovered Artwork)
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NACP	National Archives of the United States, College Park, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National-Socialist German Workers Party)
OAD	Offenbach Archival Depot
OBIP	Office des biens et intérêts privés (Office of Private Property and Interests)
OUSCCPAC	Office of United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (High Command of the Army)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (High Command of the Armed Forces)
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States
OSS	Office of Strategic Services

PA AA	Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt (Political Archive of the Foreign Office), Berlin
PRO	Public Record Office; now TNA
PS	Paris-Storey
RA	Collection des fonds des services de la récupération artistiques (Collection of fonds from art recovery agencies), MAEE fond designation
RG	Record Group, NACP designation
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Royal Institute of War Documentation); now NIOD
RKO	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar für das Ostland (Reich Commissar / Commissariat for Ostland)
RKU	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar Ukraine (Reich Commissar / Commissariat for Ukraine)
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RV	Rose Valland, former MAEE fond designation
SEA	Staff Evidence Analysis
SCL	Sous-commission des livres (Sub-Commission for Books)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
Sipo / SiPo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SOMA	Studie en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
SROA	Service de remise en place des oeuvres d'art (Service for the Return of Works of Art)
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service for War Victims), Brussels
TMI	Tribunal militaire internationale (International Military Tribunal)
TNA	The National Archives, London-Kew; formerly PRO

TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchych orhaniv derzhavnoi vlyady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv (Kiev)
TsDAZhR URSS	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï Revoliutsii Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliki (Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), now TsDAVO
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii Soiuzu Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), now part of GA RF
TsGOA SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv Soiuzu Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Special Archive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), now part of RGVA
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksiï (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), now part of RGVA
TVK	Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut (Trust Administration for Cultural Assets)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
YIVO	YIVO Jewish Research Institute, before 1939 in Wilno, Poland; after 1939 in New York
ZBHS	Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (Central Library of the Hohe Schule NSDAP)



## TECHNICAL NOTE

**Numerical Hierarchy:** Given the scope and complexity of this compendium, the publisher has introduced a numerical hierarchical system often found in European archival literature. This system is intended to facilitate cross-referencing within the text and to provide a modicum of consistency for the description of archival materials within varying repositories in different countries. The repositories described differ widely in their own organization and usage, and at times, the numerical system imposed may appear at odds with the internal usage of a given repository. In general, the levels breakdown as follows:

**Level 1 COUNTRY**

**Level 2 REPOSITORY**

**Level 3 RECORD GROUP (BESTAND, FOND, ETC.)**

**Level 4 SERIES**

**Level 5 SUB-SERIES**

Levels 3-5 tend to denote the formal names of record groups, series, and sub-series within an archive, but this is not always the case. In some instances, unnumbered headings have been inserted to designate or highlight particular group of ERR-related documents not indicated as such by the archive itself.

Document-level descriptions are usually preceded by an en-dash.

**Documentary Coverage:** The descriptions of archival holdings here focus on two broad groups of documentation.

First and foremost are those documents created by the ERR, its working groups and special staffs, as well as the projected university-level Hohe Schule for the Nazi elite and its Central Library (ZBHS) and institutes, in particular the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question Research (IEJ). Also included are the records of the related Furniture Operation (Möbel-Aktion), which was initially run by the western affairs office (Amt Westen) of Rosenberg's Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO). The documents discussed address not only the confiscation and processing of cultural assets, but also their shipment, distribution, and storage in repositories throughout the prewar Reich, Austria, and the Sudetenland.

The second general group consists of the documentation created by the western Allies and various governments in the process of locating, recovering, identifying, and returning the archives, books, art, and other cultural or religious objects seized by the ERR or during the the Möbel-Aktion.

Beyond these two groups are such related records as the materials prepared for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, where Rosenberg was among the defendants.

**Level of Detail:** Descriptions herein differ from repository to repository in depth and extent. In larger repositories where detailed finding aids are available to researchers, the tendency is to rely on those finding aids and to provide only summary descriptions. Two key exceptions are: 1) the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, because the descriptions of record group B 323 located here were prepared for this Survey long before the recently completed German finding aid went on-line, and 2) the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (MAEE) in

La Courneuve (near Paris), because the coverage of select files found in this Survey represents the first detailed descriptions of these records available to the general public. More detail is also given to record groups where the only available finding aids are brief folder lists, as is often the case at the National Archives of the United States in College Park, MD (NACP).

For smaller repositories and for repositories with limited ERR-related materials, such as YIVO in New York and the Central State Archive (CVA) in Vilnius, more detail is provided at the file and document levels.

**Transliteration of Cyrillic:** For transcription of Cyrillic references, the Library of Congress system of transliteration is used throughout, modified by the omission of ligatures. Exceptions may appear when an alternate is used in a documentary title or text.

**Geographic Names:** In general, place names are rendered in accepted English forms (Moscow, Cracow, etc.) or in a form derived from the present-day official language of a country. The major exception to this rule are the ERR evacuation sites and repositories in the Sudetenland. These are given in German first with Czech in parentheses, for example, Troppau (Cz. Opava). These sites appear so often in the German and the U.S. documentation that asserting the Czech and switching to German repository names would disrupt the text and create confusion.

Where names are almost phonetically identical in their English, German, and local forms, the local form alone is used, for example, Novgorod, Dnipropetrovsk, Tukums, Pärnu, etc. Where the German and local names fundamentally differ from one another, the local names come first with the German in parentheses: Tallinn (Ger. Reval), Pskov (Ger. Pleskau), Mohileu (Ger. Mogilew), etc. Here, too, when a well-known English form is nearly the same phonetically as either of the forms given, no additional variation is added.

Where cities changed hands in 1939 or in 1945, they are noted as follows: Niasvitzh (prewar Nieśwież, Poland), Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), etc. In the case of Vilnius, Vilna is added to accommodate the predominant English form from between the world wars, as well as the YIVO preference: Vilnius (also Vilna; prewar Wilno, Poland).

U.S. postwar documents refer to Altaussee as Alt Aussee. Within this Survey, Altaussee has been used.

**Acronyms:** Acronyms reflect the original language of the institution or other agency they represent. In the case of Belgium, both Flemish and French acronyms are presented. A list of the acronyms used in this text (along with names in their original language and English translation) is given. The full form of a repository or agency name is also provided upon first use in each country chapter and repository-level section.

**Archival Terminology in the Post-Soviet Realm:** In the Soviet Union, as well as archives today in Russia and Ukraine, the Russian and Ukrainian archival term *fond* can be more extensive than a “record group,” because it can include personal papers or what Western archivists would refer to as a “collection.” Hence the term has been anglicized and should not be translated as “collection.” That would create confusion about the type of archival materials involved.

For citations from Russian and Ukrainian archives, references are given as follows: archival acronym, fond number, inventory or series (*opis'* in Russian or *opys* in Ukrainian) and file unit (*edinitsa khraneniia* or *delo* in Russian or *sprava* in Ukrainian). In both Russian and Ukrainian, an *opis'* or *opys* is a series within a fond and a finding aid or inventory of file units. In citations of folios (pages) within a file, the letter “v” after a folio number indicates the overleaf (*verto*).



**Names of Individuals and Art Collections:** Particular attention has been given to identifying the correct names of owners whose cultural assets were confiscated by the ERR. Often, the only available documentation for these are ERR records, and in several cases, the ERR rendered names incorrectly or in a Germanized form. Of particular concern are the Jewish owners of art collections seized in France and processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume building in Paris.

The on-line database “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume,” a project of the Conference on Jewish Materials Claims Against Germany located at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (see Section 9.2.3.), is based on the original ERR records and thus adheres largely to ERR spellings, some of which went on to circulate in postwar documents, including U.S. intelligence reports and, most recently, *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*. Appendix 1 of this volume is based on the names of collection owners such as they are found in French claims dossiers or other sources. ERR versions of names are also provided.

The French or ERR versions may not be the only versions of the names encountered. Some of the owners were of foreign nationality and their names often took another form upon assuming French citizenship. Some later filed postwar claims from countries other than France. In addition, different members of the same family sometimes used different forms of their name (or even a pseudonym) in different countries in the course of their flight from Nazi persecution. Accordingly, names can appear in slightly variant forms in the descriptions of the records below. It has not been possible to correct inconsistencies or provide alternate spellings for all of the victims, but where possible, corrections have been added.

**Repository Websites:** The links inserted in Survey functioned as of the date of publication. This does not preclude the possibility that some will change over time or be discontinued.

**On-line Research Resources:** The number of digitized resources available to researchers, including specialists working in provenance research, has expanded significantly in the last five years, ranging from the offerings of commercial vendors such as Footnote to those of state archives such as the ARGUS system of the Bundesarchiv. Most of these resources are explained at length in the text (see in particular Chapter 3, pp. xxxx-xxxx, Section 3.1.1., Section 3.1.2, and Section 3.6, as well as Section 9.1., pp. xxxx-xxxx, and Section 9.2.3.). Two items, however, should be mentioned here, as they bear on specific features of this Survey.

First, the company Footnote has so far posted on the Internet four NARA microfilm publications relevant to this Survey. During the editing of this volume, it was discovered that the links to images were did not change each time they were accessed. Therefore, for three of the four microfilm publications, the editors inserted the links beneath the proper file descriptions. Thus readers may quickly view the documents described in:

- *NARA Microfilm Publication M1942: Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946-1951;*
- *NARA Microfilm Publication M1782: OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit Reports, 1945-1946); and*
- *NARA Microfilm Publications M1270: Interrogations Records Prepared for War Crimes Proceedings at Nuernberg, 1945-1947.*

Time did not permit doing the same for the files described in *NARA Microfilm Publication M1947: Records Concerning The Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952*, which is much larger than the others. At the time of insertion, access to these collections was free. Since the summer of 2010, this is no longer the case. Readers who wish to view the holdings at footnote.com will have to subscribe.

Second, less important to provenance research, but important to the overall history of Alfred Rosenberg's activities, including the ERR, are the documents processed for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg. The proceedings and most of the documents entered in evidence before the IMT were later published in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg*, known to specialists as the "Blue Series." Within the Blue Series, the Nuremberg editors placed an asterisk after documents appearing in the document volumes of the series. The editors of this Survey have also adopted this practice as a service to researchers. This is all the more convenient, since the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress has posted the English edition of the Blue Series on-line (see Section 9.1.7.).

**Telephone Numbers:** Depending on provider, mobile or land-line, private or public, making local or long distance calls within some of the countries discussed in this Survey is not as straightforward as in other countries. Researchers should consult the Internet for the most up-to-date information on dialing telephone numbers in the country they plan to visit.

**Printing:** The Survey and its appendices are for the most part formatted on U.S. Letter-size throughout, as this prints well on DINA4-size paper as well. The sole exception is Appendix 1, which is on DINA4 and can be printed to U.S. Legal.

**Updates:** At least one update is planned twelve months after this Survey goes on-line. Thereafter, additional updates should follow on an annual basis. The compiler and the publisher would be exceedingly grateful for comments and corrections. Please send comments and corrections to [pkg@iisg.nl](mailto:pkg@iisg.nl).

## FOREWORD

The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) is most pleased to sponsor the electronic publication of *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)* and to have assisted in some of its preparation. Compiled by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, the preeminent expert on archives displaced as a result of the Second World War, this work promises to be of great use to historians, archivists, provenance researchers, museum curators, art dealers, and the heirs of families and communities that were plundered. Appropriately, it is being published by the International Institute for Social History, whose massive Amsterdam and Paris library and archival collections were plundered by the ERR beginning in 1940, and whose building on the Keizersgracht was used for the ERR headquarters in the Netherlands.

Dedicated since 1951 to providing a measure of justice for Jewish victims of Nazism, the Claims Conference has always been concerned with the restitution of plundered artworks, religious artifacts, archives, libraries, and other cultural property. But restitution efforts in this area have in the past yielded far fewer results than have efforts to reconstitute non-cultural assets such as immovable property and bank accounts, insurance policies, and other financial holdings. The reasons for this lack of progress include the ease of transporting artworks and books across international borders, the lack of public records documenting original ownership, the difficulty of tracing art transactions through the decades, and in some countries, the lack of government commitment to restitution, appropriate legislation, or a central authority to arbitrate claims.

At the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in 1998, attention turned to the importance of archival records in understanding the plunder of art and other cultural property by the Nazis and their allies. Subsequently, at a seminar presentation at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in February 2000, Patricia Grimsted made an appeal for a virtual compendium of the widely dispersed records of one of the most important Nazi cultural looting agencies, the ERR. This idea was discussed with interest by delegates from many countries later in October of that year at the Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Cultural Assets. During the next few years, Dr Grimsted continued to uncover the locations of scattered ERR files and wrote an article on patterns of ERR library and archival plunder during the Second World War, as well as articles on the postwar fate of the ERR's loot and its documentation.

At the same time, the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) began a comprehensive program to assist the further restitution of Jewish-owned art and cultural property lost and plundered during the Holocaust. Although a number of countries have compiled lists of cultural losses, there has been no large-scale attempt to determine the full scope of cultural property seized by the specific agencies of the Nazis and their allies that has not been restituted. Instead, the focus has been on checking the provenance of museum collections and on claims made by individual survivors and heirs of owners. But more often than not, families and communities do not have full knowledge of what was taken from them. Art dealers, major collectors, and institutions may have kept lists of artworks or catalogs of libraries and archives prior to the war, but often such lists and catalogs – like their owners – did not survive the Holocaust, and in any event, the vast majority of the millions of persons who were robbed had no such lists or catalogs. We therefore decided to try to reconstruct the historical-archival record so as 1) to develop listings of what was plundered by the Nazis and their allies; 2) to assemble

listings of cultural property known to have been restituted; and thereby 3) to produce net listings of outstanding items of cultural property that have yet to be returned.<sup>1</sup>

In consultation with Dr Grimsted, the Claims Conference therefore undertook to support three major activities in regard to the records of the ERR. The first is the online publication of the current survey and preliminary guide. The second is the ongoing imaging of the ERR files located in Kyiv (Kiev), Moscow, Vilnius, Berlin, Koblenz, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, and Washington with a view to making the ERR records generally available. And the third is the joint creation with the USHMM of a Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume that brings together in searchable form documentation, including photographs, of the over 20,000 major art objects that the ERR confiscated from Jews in Paris, in other parts of France and parts of Belgium and brought for processing to the Jeu de Paume in the Tuileries Gardens.<sup>2</sup>

These three activities should prove to be very helpful to the field of provenance research that has developed so greatly in the art world – but also in regard to libraries and Judaica - over the past decade or so. Indeed, in some respects these three activities taken as a whole may constitute a paradigm shift for the field. Instead of looking at collections in museums today, at lists of objects being sought by claimants, or at lists of objects found after the Second World War, the aim is to reconstruct the original record of what was seized and from whom by bringing together what remains of the detailed records that the Nazis – in this case specifically the ERR – kept of their looting.

This approach should prove helpful not only in the restitution of Jewish cultural property but also in the identification of the losses by non-Jewish institutions and families. In particular in its activities on the Eastern Front, the ERR necessarily had different priorities and different patterns of plunder than in Western Europe, since the only small private or Jewish-held collections were found in western areas annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939. As a result, unlike France, the ERR plundered cultural items primarily from Soviet state institutions. Countries such as Russia and Ukraine that are seeking the return of their cultural property often lack knowledge of what was taken from where by which Nazi agency and what was returned after the war.

In June 2009, 47 countries along with relevant non-governmental organizations participated in the Holocaust Era Assets Conference held in Prague and agreed to the Terezín Declaration, which calls for international cooperation in provenance research and the restitution of cultural property. This Survey directly relates to the goals of the Terezín Declaration and such international cooperation, and Dr Grimsted appropriately presented the project at the Prague Conference.

The importance of this Survey goes well beyond its relevance to provenance research and the restitution of cultural property, however. In its allocation grants to institutions in research and education, the Claims Conference has for many years been the principal supporter of Holocaust-related archival work. The importance of this Survey is equally in its relevance to the restitution of history.

Wesley A. Fisher, Director of Research  
Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany

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<sup>1</sup> Information regarding the Claims Conference / WJRO Looted Art and Cultural Property Initiative may be found at <http://www.claimscon.org> under “Artworks” and “Judaica”; for .

<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/>.

## **6. THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

## Introductory Remarks

According to postwar Soviet archival regulations, all captured foreign archival materials – that that is to say, those records found left behind by the German invaders or those otherwise taken as “trophies,” or in the present euphemism “displaced to the USSR as a result of the war” – were first transferred to state archives, then under the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Narodnyi kommissariat vnutrennikh del, NKVD), after March 1946 the Ministry for State Security (Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoi bezopastnosti, MGB), and later, starting in March 1953, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del, MVD). Furthermore, such materials were also to be centralized in Moscow. This applied to almost all captured records of foreign provenance – whether German records and seized by the Germans from occupied countries – except those of purely local significance.

The Central State Special Archive (Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, TsGOA SSSR) was officially established in March 1946 in order to house captured foreign records brought to Moscow. However, debates over planning and organization of the archive within the NKVD archival agency went back to August 1945.<sup>21</sup> The operative branches of Soviet security and counter-intelligence services had first priority for the scrutiny of captured records once documents reached Moscow. Accordingly many materials went first to operational units within the NKVD, the MVD, and later the KGB (Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopastnosti). The greater part of the captured records, including those of German provenance, were retired for basic processing to TsGOA SSSR, although some documents remain to this day in the hands of the Federal Security Service (FSB), one of the successor organizations to the KGB. In the course of processing, many of the captured records were transferred to other state and Communist Party archives, according to their “profile” or operative or “scientific” relevance.<sup>22</sup> TsGOA SSSR remained a top-secret facility not normally open to researchers until the end of the Soviet era. The extent and nature of its German holdings were first revealed in a newspaper series based on an interview with the last Soviet director, Anatolii Prokopenko, in February 1990.<sup>23</sup> Some 18 months later, more revelations as to the extent

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<sup>21</sup> An unsigned September 1945 draft of a founding decree to be signed by Stalin himself, and a subsequent one to be signed by secret police chief Lavrentii Beria, were eventually replaced by a more modest decree from the Council of Peoples’ Commissars (Sovet narodnykh komissarov, SNK) dated 9 Mar. 1946. They are all found in GA RF, fond 5325/*opis*’ 2/folder 3623. The implementing order of 22 Mar. 1946 was signed by Minister of Internal Affairs Major-General S. Kruglov. A copy of this order was provided me by the then Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections (now RGVA).

<sup>22</sup> For more details about the treatment of Soviet captured records and the organization of the Special Archive, see the introductory chapters 4 and 5 in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “From the Soviet ‘Special Archive’ to Restitution from the Russian Federation,” in *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, ed. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud, and Eric Ketelaar (Builth Wells, UK: Institute of Art and Law, 2007), especially pp. 81-102. See also idem, “Russia’s Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?” (Budapest: Open Society Archive, Central European University, 2002), electronic version: <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives/RussianTrophyArchives.html>; and idem, “Displaced Archives and Restitution Problems on the Eastern Front in the Aftermath of World War II,” *Contemporary European History*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1997), pp. 27-74; and idem, “‘Trophy’ Archives and Non-Restitution: Russia’s Cultural ‘Cold War’ with the European Community,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 45, no. 3 (May/June 1998), pp. 3-16.

<sup>23</sup> Ella Maksimova, “Piat’ dnei v Osobom arkhive,” *Izvestiia*, 18-22 Feb. 1990 (nos. 49-53), based on an interview with Anatolii Prokopenko, the director of the Central State Special Archive (TsGOA). A short notice by Maksimova, “Arkhivnyi detektiv,” *Izvestiia*, 24 June 1989 (no. 177), was the first mention of the Special Archive in print in connection with the transfer of microfilms of Auschwitz records to the Red Cross.

of foreign captured records were made,<sup>24</sup> with more details being published abroad in 1992.<sup>25</sup> A relatively full list of holdings was not published in Russia until 2001.<sup>26</sup>

As far as is known, all of the documents of ERR provenance in the Russian Federation are now held in the successor archive to the Special Archive, the Russian State Military Archive (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv, RGVA), which took over the remaining captured records in the TsGOA SSSR and its successor, the Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections (Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksii, TsKhIDK) in March 1999. Only a few inconsequential and predominantly duplicated documents of ERR provenance were found on the territory of the Russian Federation after the war. Most of the ERR documents held in RGVA today came to the Special Archive in 1955 from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Belarusian SSR in Minsk, and some others were transferred from Poland.

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<sup>24</sup> Evgenii Kuz'min, "Vyvezti. . . unichtozhit'. . . spriatat' . . ." *Sud'by trofeinykh arkhivov* (interview with P.K. Grimsted), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 39 (2 Oct. 1991), p. 13; Ella Maksimova, "Arkhivy Frantsuzskoi razvedki skryvali na Leningradskom shosse" (interview with Prokopenko), *Izvestiia*, no. 240 (9 Oct. 1991). One of the first French stories was by Thierry Wolton, "L'histoire de France dormait à Moscou" (interview with Prokopenko), *L'Express* (21 Nov. 1991), pp. 82-83.

<sup>25</sup> Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Das Zentrale Staatsarchiv in Moskau ("Sonderarchiv"): Rekonstruktion und Bestandsverzeichnis verschollen geglaubten Schriftguts aus der NS-Zeit* (Dusseldorf: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 1992); George C. Browder, "Captured German and Other Nations' Documents in the Osoby (Special) Archive, Moscow," *Central European History*, 24, no. 4 (1992), pp. 424-445, and "Update on the Captured Documents in the Former Osobyi Archive, Moscow," *Central European History*, 26, no. 3 (1993), pp. 335-342. See more detailed bibliography on the ArcheoBiblioBase website: <http://www.iisg.nl/abb/rep/B-8.div1.php?b=rep%2FB-8.tab1.php%3Fb%3DB.php%2523B-8>.

<sup>26</sup> *Ukazatel' fondov inostrannogo proiskhozhdeniia i Glavnogo upravleniia po delam voennoplennykh i internirovannykh NKVD-MVD SSSR Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo voennogo arkhiva*, comp. V. I. Korotaev, T. A. Vasil'eva, et al., ed. V.P. Kozlov and V.N. Kuzelenkov (Moscow, 2001; Rosarkhiv/RGVA). The volume provides a basic, but still incomplete, list of fonds with original language names of the creating agencies for many of the foreign record groups. It lacks annotations or data as to when or from whence the materials were acquired, and today does not reflect those returned to their countries of origin. See more details in *Returned from Russia*.

## 6.1. ROSSIISKII GOSUDARSTVENNYI VOENNYI ARKHIV (RGVA)

[Russian State Military Archive]

**Previous names:** Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektzii (TsKhIDK) [Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections], 1992-1999  
Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (TsGOA SSSR) [Central State Special Archive of the USSR], 1946-1992

*Main Office and Microfilm Reading Room:* ul. Admirala Makarova 29; 125212 Moscow  
*Tel.:* +7 495 / 159 80 91, 159 88 39  
*Fax:* +7 495 / 159 85 04, 159 80 91

*Reading Room for former Special Archive:* ul. Vyborgskaia 3, korp. 1; 125212 Moscow  
*Tel.:* +7 495 / 159 73 83, 156 66 64  
*Fax:* +7 495 / 159 80 91

The Central State Special Archive of the USSR (TsGOA SSSR) was renamed the Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections (TsKhIDK) in 1992. Seven years later, TsKhIDK itself was abolished as a separate archive, and all of its holdings combined with those in the neighboring Russian State Military Archive (RGVA). The merger included most of the captured records of foreign provenance brought to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War. These “trophy” records had been consolidated in the former Special Archive – best known in the Russian shorthand *Osobyi arkhiv* – although many such records had been moved to other state and Communist Party archives, while others remained in the archives of Soviet security and intelligence services.

Those captured records that have not yet been returned to their countries of provenance remain in the original TsGOA building, where they are freely open to the public and may be consulted in the special reading room. Some files, however, are now communicated to researchers only on microfilm and must be consulted in the main reading room of RGVA.

For more details and a bibliography of specialized finding aids for the captured foreign records in Soviet, and now Russian custody, see the ArcheoBiblioBase listing for B-8: <http://www.iisg.nl/~abb/rep/B-8.div1.php?b=rep%2FB-8.tab1.php%3Fb%3DB.php%2523B-8>.

### 6.1.1. FOND 1401K: OPERATIVNYI SHTAB ROSENBERGA

[Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg]

**1 inventory (*opis'*), 77 files (nos. 1-75, 30a, and 55a), plus an additional 300 ERR registration cards from the Baltic countries (not formally part of the fond)**

Scattered ERR files – with only a few original documents – are held in RGVA. Their provenance or point of capture has not yet been documented, but 43 of the 76 units were received from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Belarusian SSR in Minsk in 1955. Those



43 files arrived in Belarus in 1945 along with the book shipments sent by the Red Army from Silesia near the ERR center in Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland).

Among this collection are copies of ERR circulars and directives for operations in Eastern Europe and the Balkans – from Greece and former Yugoslavia to Estonia, predominantly from 1941 and 1942. Unique among the Moscow ERR files are the records from ERR operations in former Yugoslavia (mostly Croatia), with copies of orders, instructions, and other circulars (nos. 1-5), operational and confiscation reports (nos. 8, 10-20, 27-29), a card file on confiscations from Jews and Masons in Zagreb and Ragusa (no. 47), lists of literature found, especially Jewish (nos. 32, 43-45), lists of Masons in Yugoslavia (no. 33), ERR personnel files (nos. 21-26), propaganda writings (nos. 30-30a, 53, 54), newspaper clippings (nos. 58, 62), and translations of articles relating to Jews (nos. 53-54). Some of these complement ERR reports from former Yugoslavia held in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York. Copies of most of the ERR documents in YIVO are available in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

For Greece, there is a duplicate of the composite ERR report on confiscations from Jewish communities and Masonic Lodges for the period May-Nov. 1941 (no. 9). The original is in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, with a similar copy in the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, CDJC) in Paris.

In contrast to the extensive ERR records in the Central State Archive of Highest Agencies of Power and Administration of Ukraine (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi vyshchykh orhaniv vldy ta upravlinnia, TsDAVO) in Kyiv (Kiev; see Section 8.1.), the Moscow ERR files are much more fragmentary. Several files contain parts of original reports on book shipments from the occupied Soviet territories, including one file from Novgorod (no. 37), with crate inventories of books sent to Berlin.<sup>27</sup> Another file (no. 6) provides details regarding a major 1942 book transport from Voronezh, Kursk, and Kyiv to the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule der NSDAP, ZBHS), the latter apparently dislodged from contingent files now in the TsDAVO in Kyiv. Another few fragmentary folders contain German-compiled locator card files covering schools, museums, and theaters in Leningrad (nos. 50-52).

Other files include lists of literature apparently being reviewed or selected for the ZBHS, from Estonia (nos. 38-40, 48-49) and Latvia (nos. 41-42, 56), as well as other Soviet literature (nos. 35-36). There is a treatise on German schools in Latvia (nos. 70-72), as well as a couple of brochures or parts of journals from Estonia (nos. 73-74) and a brochure from Latvia (no. 56). There are scattered files of newspaper clippings, several from Estonia (nos. 57, 59-61, 63-68), and one from Ukraine and the Baltic countries as a whole (no. 69). File no. 55 contains initial issues of a mimeographed ERR internal circular *Anordnungen und Mitteilungen*, 1942, nos. 1-5.

Among the most intriguing items in the Moscow fond are the large fragments of an ERR inspection or registration card file that was added to the fond in the TsKhIDK in April 1994 (no. 75, Kartoteka “Z”), having earlier been held separately in a safe in one of the Moscow offices of the Main Archival Administration under the Council of Ministers of the USSR.<sup>28</sup> Information about its recovery or transfer to Moscow is not available, but Polish authorities reportedly found the card file in Silesia and had it transferred to Moscow as a gift from the ruling Polish United

<sup>27</sup> See T.A. Vasil'ieva and N. Iakovleva, “Ukradennye raritety,” *Rodina*, 1992, no. 8-9, p. 96. A facsimile of the Novgorod report, a Russian translation, and analysis is included in Mikhail A. Boitsovyi and Tet'iana A. Vasil'eva, eds. and comps. *Kartoteka “Z” Operativnogo shtaba “Reikhsliaiter Rozenberg”*: *Tsennosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriiakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorussii, 1941-1942* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998), pp. 325-332.

<sup>28</sup> See Tet'iana Aleksandrovna Vasil'ieva and Mansur Mikhailovich Mukhamedzhanov, “Novyi istochnik po izucheniiu Rossiki,” in *Problemy zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: sbornik statei* (Moscow: Informatsionno-izdatel'skoe agentstvo “Russkii mir,” 1997), pp. 86-91.

Workers' Party, because the cards cover Soviet territories. All 301 cards with preprinted headings (most compiled between autumn 1941 and mid-1942) served to register cultural sites and the contents considered important by the ERR in the occupied territories of the Russian Federation, Belarus, and Ukraine, from Smolensk to the Crimea. The cards provide only summary information. Although blanks were provided for shipping information, only a few indicate actual shipment or evacuation by the ERR. Because these cards usually do not provide shipping data, they need to be consulted in connection with the more detailed ERR reports and shipping lists found in the Kyiv ERR records and elsewhere. The cards cover archives, libraries, museums, churches, and other cultural monuments. A facsimile of these cards – Kartoteka “Z” – was published with Russian translations in 1998.

An additional ca. 300 ERR registration cards covering institutions in the Baltic countries at RGVA have not been incorporated in the fond (as of 2009) and were not included in the aforementioned 1998 publication. Some similar ERR registration cards for Lithuania and a few from Estonia are retained in Vilnius (see Section 4.1.1.).

### ***Finding Aid (unpublished)***

A typewritten Russian-language inventory (*opis'*) is available on site, a copy of which can be ordered to the main RGVA reading room for former TsGOA SSSR holdings.

### ***Published Documents***

*Kartoteka “Z” Operativnogo shtaba “Reichsliaiter Rozenberg”*: *Tsennosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorussii, 1941-1942*. Eds. and comps. Mikhail A. Boitsovyi and Tet'iana A. Vasil'eva. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998. = *Trudy istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU, 5; Istoricheskie istochniki, 1*.

Includes a complete facsimile (with Russian translations) of the 301 ERR cards registering cultural sites in occupied Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, as incorporated into RGVA, fond 1401k. Commentary and annotations are provided with the Russian translations, including citations from numerous relevant documents from Kyiv ERR records. Not included are the additional ca. 300 registration cards in RGVA that cover the Baltic countries.

### **6.1.2. FOND 1358K: MINISTERSTVO PO DELAM OKKUPIROVANNYKH VOSTOCHNYKH OBLASTEI, G. BERLIN [REICHSMINISTERIUM FÜR DIE BESETZTEN OSTGEBIETE] [Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin]**

#### **4 inventories (*opisi*), 1,068 files**

On 17 July 1941, Alfred Rosenberg was appointed to head the newly established Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, RMbO), which was to be in charge of the civil administration of Soviet lands under German control (public announcement of Rosenberg's appointment followed only in mid-November 1941). In administrative terms, the ERR remained under Rosenberg's office as Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP (Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, DBFU). The RMbO gave Rosenberg a

government post. Consequently, ERR operations and staff frequently overlapped with those of the RMbO.

This was particularly true of the operation of the Möbel-Aktion (M-Aktion), organized in Western Europe (France, Belgium, and the Netherlands) to seize the furnishings and household goods (including art and books) in residences vacated by Jews who had fled or had been deported. Proposed by Rosenberg and approved by Hitler in December 1941, the M-Aktion initially started under the ERR, but then, in March 1942, it was assigned to the RMbO western affairs office, Dienststelle Westen. The reorganization aimed to avoid further criticism of the ERR and to provide government cover to its operations. Centered in Paris in one of the ERR offices, Dienststelle Westen was headed by Kurt von Behr, who had hitherto run the ERR Paris office. Rosenberg justified the M-Aktion with the need for furniture for RMbO offices in the east. Later, it was to supply bombed-out homes in the Reich.

Because the M-Aktion was initiated under the ERR, and so many ERR staff were involved in leadership, it is often difficult to separate the two operations. Indeed, the ERR reserved for itself first choice of looted cultural property. Many of the most valuable works of art, furniture, and other categories of handicrafts collected by the M-Aktion were handed over to the ERR in Paris and were processed at the Jeu de Paume building in the French capital before being transported to ERR repositories in the Reich. Books and archives retrieved with household goods were likewise turned over to the ERR in Paris, as well as warehouses and processing centers in Belgium and the Netherlands. The ERR retained priority for the cultural goods collected, including books, and in the Netherlands, it was essentially the ERR that was in charge of the process. ERR staff members (albeit representing Dienststelle Westen) often dictated shipping arrangements through local agents for transport of the appropriate furniture and other household goods to the Reich and farther east. After the German retreat from occupied Soviet territories and the curtailing of most RMbO functions, including the M-Aktion with the retreat from France, Rosenberg ordered the Dienststelle Westen rejoined to the ERR in November 1944.

Two important files of Dienststelle Westen documents concerning the M-Aktion and its shipments to the east have been identified within the RMbO record group (fond 1358k) in RGVA. Because of the close association of the M-Aktion with the ERR, those two files are herewith described as an auxiliary part of the ERR legacy.

The point of seizure of the RMbO fond held in RGVA has yet to be identified, because most of the fragmentary groups of files in the fond came to the former TsGOA SSSR from the MVD in 1953, without any indication of provenance.

### ***Finding Aid (unpublished)***

A typewritten Russian-language inventory in four parts (*opis'* 1-4) is available at RGVA, a copy of which can be ordered to the reading room for former TsGOA SSSR holdings. The first two *opisi* were compiled in 1953, the third in 1955, and the fourth *opis'* with files received later was compiled in 1966.

### ***Opis' 1, 302 files***

**File 40:** Documentation on Dienststelle Westen, with detailed operational plans and complete staff lists for the Möbel-Aktion in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, showing that the M-Aktion used ERR offices and ERR personnel in all three countries (1 July 1942-17 Feb. 1943).

**File 46:** Shipping documentation from the ERR for materials gathered in the M-Aktion; bills of lading, expense accounts for shipments, notification of shipments, a few sample inventories, and miscellaneous correspondence, mostly with the Berlin-based transport firm Kühne and Nagel, which had offices in Amsterdam and Antwerp, etc.; correspondence from Kurt von Behr, head of the Dienststelle Westen in Paris, and Hinrich Lohse, the Reich Commissar for Ostland in Riga, with Berlin offices, regarding furnishings from private residences for bombed-out individuals and organizations.

## 6.2. GOSUDARSTVENNYI ARKHIV ROSSIISKOI FEDERATSII (GA RF)

[State Archive of the Russian Federation]

**Previous name:** Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii, vysshikh organov gosudarstvennoi vlasti i organov gosudarstvennogo upravleniia SSSR (TsGAOR SSSR)

[Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Supreme Agencies of State Power, and Agencies of State Administration of the USSR], 1961-1992

ul. Bol'shaia Pirogovskaia 17; 119817 Moscow

Tel.: +7 495 / 580 81 41

Fax: +7 499 / 245 12 87

E-mail: [garf@online.ru](mailto:garf@online.ru)

Website: <http://www.rusarchives.ru/federal/garf/>; <http://garf.narod.ru>

### 6.2.1. FOND 7445: MEZHDUNARODNYI VOENNYI TRIBUNAL DLIA GLAVNYKH NEMETSKIKH PRESTUPNIKOV (NIURNBERGSKII PROTSESS)

[International Military Tribunal for the Major German Criminals (Nuremberg Trial)]

#### 2 inventories (*opisi*), 3,347 files, 1938-1947

The records of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg held in GA RF contain the files of the Soviet mission to Nuremberg. These include copies of the transcription of the Trial of the Major War Criminals, in the original languages and Russian translation, all of the documents submitted by the Soviet Union and the western Allies, as well as some of those prepared for the court but not submitted as evidence.

So far, however, no original ERR documents have been identified in the GA RF fond, and there is no evidence that Soviet authorities in Nuremberg used any documents from the ERR files now held in Kyiv and Moscow. A few related materials relating to Soviet participation in the IMT are held in the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii).

