

# www.memoryandconscience.eu

# **Activity report**

October 2011 - October 2012

## Prologue 2008-2011

# Toward the establishment of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience

Until 2004, Germany was the only EU Member state which had had to deal with the legacy of two devastating totalitarian regimes on its soil – Nazism and Communism. However, with the enlargement of the European Union by the post-Communist countries Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia in 2004 and Romania and Bulgaria in 2007, the tragic twofold totalitarian experience and particularly the legacy of Communism and its crimes became an integral part of the common heritage of the European Union. And for the 10 new Member states, the EU accession opened a new level on which to address the insufficient coming to terms with the totalitarian past in Central and Eastern Europe.

On 8 April 2008, the Slovenian Presidency of the European Union together with the European Commission organised a European public hearing in Brussels "Crimes committed by Totalitarian Regimes". The participants called for a number of steps necessary in order to deal with the crimes of Communism, including the establishment of a Foundation which would promote public awareness at the EU level, develop cultural and educational projects and notably provide support to networking of national research institutions specialised in the subject of totalitarian experience, provide support for the European and national research and educational projects.

On 2-3 June 2008, an international conference "European Conscience and Communism" was hosted in the Senate, Parliament of the Czech Republic. It was organised by Senator Martin Mejstřík in cooperation with Jana Hybášková, Member of the European Parliament. At this conference, the Prague Declaration was adopted which in 19 points calls for a pan-European and international coming to terms with Communist totalitarian rule.

One of the demands of the Prague Declaration is the establishment of an **Institute of European Memory and Conscience** which would be both - A) a European research institute for totalitarianism studies, developing scientific and educational projects and providing support to networking of national research institutes specialising in the subject of totalitarian experience, B) and a pan-European museum/memorial of victims of all totalitarian regimes, with an aim to memorialise victims of these regimes and raise awareness of the crimes committed by them.

On the eve of the Czech Presidency of the European Union, the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in cooperation with 1st Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs Alexandr Vondra addressed all EU member states with an invitation to a joint establishment of a **Platform of European Memory and Conscience**. A working meeting took place on 10-11 November 2008 in Prague. Representatives of 19 states and 12 partner institutions decided to form a **working group on the Platform of European Memory and Conscience** which was coordinated by the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and which, by 2011, counted about 35 institutions and organisations from 19 European countries.

In the meantime, the **Prague Declaration** was joined by several dozen Members of the European Parliament. An informal working group was established in the European Parliament, called "**Reconciliation of European Histories**". The group is led by former Latvian EU Commissioner and Minister of Foreign Affairs Sandra Kalniete. Its members come from 16 states and all political groups of the European Parliament except the GUE/NGL. The **working group on the Platform of European Memory and Conscience** cooperated closely with the group of Ms Kalniete.

During the Czech Presidency of the European Union on 18 March 2009, the Office of the Government together with the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the office of Jana Hybášková, MEP organised a public hearing in the European Parliament called "European Conscience and Crimes of Totalitarian Communism: 20 Years After." In the final document, the participants repeated the call for the creation of a Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

The **Prague Declaration** and the conclusions from this hearing served as the basis for the historically first resolution of the European Parliament dealing with coming to terms with the Communist dictatorship, namely the resolution "**On European Conscience and Totalitarianism**" of 2 April 2009 which was adopted by 553:44:33 votes and which endorsed the call for the foundation of a **Platform of European Memory and Conscience**.

In its conclusions of 15 June 2009, the General Affairs and External Relations Council of the EU (GAERC) welcomed the initiative to establish the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and requested the Commission to provide financial instruments for this work.

<sup>1</sup> www.praguedeclaration.eu

On 24-26 February 2010, the **working group on the Platform of European Memory and Conscience** organised an international conference "**Crimes of the Communist Regimes**" which took place in the Senate, Parliament of the Czech Republic and at the Office of the Government of the Czech Republic under the auspices of Prime Minister Jan Fischer, the Deputy Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and several Members of the European Parliament. At the conference, a **Declaration on Crimes of Communism** was adopted.

The European Commission, in its Report to the Parliament and the Council of 22 December 2010 "The memory of the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes in Europe", presented the Platform of European Memory and Conscience as an important initiative at EU level and suggested funding for it from the Europe for Citizens programme.

During the Hungarian Presidency of the European Union, the **Justice and Home Affairs Council of the EU** in its **conclusions of 9-10 June 2011 on the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes in Europe** invited all interested parties to make full use of existing EU programmes to establish a **Platform of European Memory and Conscience** to provide support for current and future networking cooperation among national research institutes specializing in the subject of totalitarian history.

At the occasion of the first commemoration of the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarian Regimes during the Polish Presidency of the European Union, the EU Ministers of Justice adopted the Warsaw Declaration<sup>3</sup> of 23 August 2011, which once again endorsed the foundation and the funding of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience as a means of addressing Europe's fractured experiences and perceptions of its totalitarian past.

The Government of the Czech Republic declared the establishment of the **Platform of European Memory and conscience** one of the priorities of the Czech Presidency of the Visegrad group (July 2011-June 2012). The International Visegrad Fund kindly provided a Strategic grant to support the work of the **Platform of European Memory and Conscience** for the years 2011-2014.

The **Platform of European Memory and Conscience** was solemnly founded during an accompanying event of the summit of the Prime ministers of the Visegrad group on 14 October 2011 in Prague.





2008 – Conference European Conscience and Communism Martin Mejstřík;

Jana Hybášková, Lee Edwards, Göran Lindblad, Václav Havel Photos: Tomki Němec





2010 – Conference Crimes of the Communist Regimes Photo: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes





2011 – Warsaw Declaration Photo: Institute of National Remembrance

www.crimesofcommunism.eu/declaration.html

 $<sup>^3 \ \</sup>mathsf{http://www.memoryandconscience.eu/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/warsaw\_declaration.pdf}$ 

# Constituting meeting of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience under the auspices of the Prime minister of the Czech Republic Mr Petr Nečas Prague, 13-14 October 2011

During the two-day constituting meeting hosted by the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, the 20 founding Member institutions and organizations from 13 EU Member states discussed the final wording of the Agreement establishing the Platform and the Statute of the Platform and elected the President, the Executive Board and the Managing Director of the Platform. The founders unanimously awarded the first new Membership in the Platform to the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny. The solemn signing of the Agreement Establishing the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the Statute of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience took place on 14 October, 2011 in the Liechtenstein Palace in Prague in the presence of the Prime minister of Poland, Mr Donald Tusk, who was also acting President of the Council of the European Union, the Prime minister of Hungary, Mr Viktor Orbán, and the Prime minister of the Czech Republic, Mr Petr Nečas. After the signing, the founding Members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience took part in a wreath laying ceremony at the Memorial to the victims of Communism in Prague-Újezd.

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience was established as an interest association of legal persons according to the Civil code of the Czech Republic. It was registered at the City Hall of Prague under reg. No. 23/11 on 14 October 2012.

## The 20 founding Members of the Platform:

Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial (DE)

Estonian Institute of Historical Memory (EE)

Foundation History of Totalitarian Regimes and their Victims (NL)

Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania (LT)

Hannah Arendt Center - Sofia (BG)

Hannah Arendt Society (DE)

Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (RO)

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (CZ)

Institute of National Remembrance (PL)

Jan Langos Foundation (SK)

Secretariat of The International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania (LT)

Security Services Archive (CZ)

Study Centre for National Reconciliation, (SI)

The Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former GDR (DE)

The Institute for Information on the Crimes of Communism (SE)

The Occupation Museum Association of Latvia (LV)

The Occupation of Latvia Research Society (LV)

The Public Foundation for the Research of Central and East European History and Society – House of Terror Museum (HU)

Unitas Foundation (EE)

Warsaw Rising Museum (PL)

# Representatives of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience elected on 14 October 2011:

### **President:**

Göran Lindblad (SE), former Member of Parliament and former Chairman of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

## **Executive Board:**

Siegfried Reiprich (DE), Chairman of the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of

Zsolt Szilágyi (RO), Head of Cabinet of László Tökés, Vice-President of the European Parliament

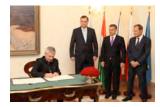
Paweł Ukielski (PL), Deputy Director of the Warsaw Rising Museum

Andreja Valič Zver (SI), Director of the Study Centre for National Reconciliation

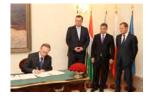
### **Managing Director:**

Neela Winkelmann (CZ), Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, coordinator of the working group on the Platform of European Memory and Conscience since 2008

The solemn signing of the founding documents of the Platform of European Memory and Coscience on 14 October 2011 at the Liechtenstein Palace in Prague, in the presence of Prime ministers Petr Nečas, Viktor Orbán and Donald Tusk.











The founders of the Platform with the Prime ministers of the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary.

Photos: Government of the Czech Republic













The founders of the Platform at the Memorial to the victims of Communism in Prague. Photos: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

## A word from the President

The first year of the Platform has been an active one. Not only have we been travelling to Brussels and Strasbourg to lobby our cause, but we have also organized and taken part in major events.

Most important was the first Platform conference in June 2012 in the European Parliament with the title "Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes", our initiative to try and find a way to bring the perpetrators to justice as well as to achieve restitution for survivors.

Also the production and opening, together with our Members, of the international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" in Bratislava in September 2012 was a success.

As one of our priorities, we have started establishing a cooperation with the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU.

And of course we took part in the commemoration of the European day of remembrance for victims of totalitarianism on 23 August in Budapest and participated in a number of international conferences.

The Platform is growing, many are applying to join us.

All in all a very busy year for a newcomer.

Yours sincerely,

Göran Lindblad

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### Office of the Platform

Daniel Herman, Director of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and Göran Lindblad, President of the Platform signed an agreement on 14 October 2011 based on which the Institute is provides an equipped office for the Platform, free of charge, at the seat of the Institute until 2019.

### Website of the Platform

The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes transferred the website www.memoryandconscience.eu, created in 2011, to the Platform of European Memory and Conscience as of 10 February 2012.

October 2011

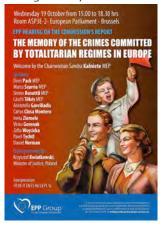
# Hearing in the European Parliament on the Commission Report on totalitarian crimes

On 19 October 2011, the newly elected Board of the Platform participated in the hearing of the European Peoples' Party group in the European Parliament, organised by Sandra Kalniete, MEP, on the Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and to the Council: "The memory of the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes in Europe". Several Members of the Platform also took part in the hearing. Daniel Herman, Director of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, presented the results of a survey among Platform Members on the difficulties of attaining EU funding according to which Platform Members more often than not fail to obtain EU grants. Of 8 Platform Members who applied to EU programmes, only 5 were successful. Out of 20 submitted projects, only 8 were funded; seven of those from the Europe for Citizens programme Action 4 which is the key source of EU funding used by the Platform

Members and which has a very small budget in view of the importance of the goals it is meant to support. Suggestions were presented to substantially increase funding, to lower self-financing requirements for applicants and to introduce new instruments to support the important work of Platform Members which serves as one of Europe's important safeguards against possible future threats to democracy.







Photos: Mateja Miksa, European Parliament

January 2012

# Platform supports former political prisoners` Declaration 2012

Seventeen associations and organisations of former political prisoners and victims of Communism in the Czech Republic under the leadership of Zdeněk Boháč (90), Chairman of the Prague academic club 48 and victim of both Nazi and Communist persecution, joined forces in a initiative called "Legal Settlement of Crimes of Communism". On 17 January 2012, at a meeting in the Residence of the Lord Mayor of Prague attended by leaders of the initiative and representatives of embassies of EU countries belonging to the former region of Soviet Communist influence, they finalised the text of the Declaration 2012 which calls for justice on the international level for Communist perpetrators. Managing Director of the Platform Neela Winkelmann assisted in the formulation and translation of the Declaration 2012 and participated in the

follow-up meetings on 17
April, 19 June and 16 October
2012. The **Declaration 2012**is presented on the Platform
website and organisations
from around the world are
welcome to join it. By 3 June
2012, altogether 45
organisations and
institutions from 9 countries
had joined the Declaration.

### **Declaration 2012**

"Driven by a sincere effort to achieve legal redress for the crimes of communism and redeem the immense suffering that affected millions of citizens under totalitarian communist regimes, we request the legislative bodies of these countries and the authorities of the European Union to adopt effective legal norms that will allow just punishment of communist criminals and the abolition of all benefits they still enjoy."

## The COMDOS case

In January 2012, the Platform was approached by Evtim Kostadinov, Chairman of the Committee on the Disclosure of the Documents and Announcing Affiliation of Bulgarian Citizens to the State Security and the Intelligence Services of the Bulgarian National Army (COMDOS) in a letter formally requesting the membership of COMDOS in the Platform of European Memory and Conscience. According to the Statute of the Platform, organisations wishing to apply for membership must sign the **Code of the Platform** declaring, among others, that the candidate organisation does not knowingly employ former members or collaborators of repressive forces of totalitarian regimes or former functionaries with paid jobs in totalitarian political structures, in paid or unpaid functions. Mr Kostadinov enclosed a signed copy of the Code of the Platform. However, to the knowledge of the Platform, several members of COMDOS do not fulfil the criteria listed in the Code of the Platform, including Mr Kostadinov himself, who was an officer of the Communist regime's people's militia until 1989. The Executive Board of the Platform turned down the Membership application of the Bulgarian COMDOS and on 13 February 2012, the Platform President wrote a letter to the President of Bulgaria, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Interior and the President of the Bulgarian Parliament asking for an explanation how the Chairman of COMDOS, a state institution, could have wrongfully signed the ethics Code of the Platform.

# Special status for archives proposed

The Board of the Platform participated in the meeting of the Reconciliation of European Histories group led by Sandra Kalniete, MEP, in the European Parliament in Brussels on 28 February 2012.

The meeting was scheduled to prepare for a potential hearing on the state of archives in the Member states and to discuss what the EU can do to provide guidelines for the better management of archives. A brief overview of the situation in Member States showed that in some of them, efforts are made to restrict access to or even to revise archives harbouring documents from the period of non-democratic rule. The Platform representatives suggested the introduction of a special **status of European importance** for archives containing information on totalitarian crimes. The proposal was endorsed by the REH group.

March 2012

# Platform President visits former political prisoners in Bulgaria

On 23-24 March 2012, the Platform President visited Sofia upon invitation by the former President of Bulgaria, Mr Petar Stoyanov and associations of former political prisoners of the Communist regime. He discussed the issue of international justice and coming to terms with the crimes of Communism on a European level, as well as the role of COMDOS, which was facing a new five-year election term. During his stay, Mr Lindblad had meetings with former President Mr Petar Stoyanov, with young historians studying the Communist dictatorship, with psychotherapists working with torture victims of the Communists and with several associations of former political prisoners of the Communist regime. At a press conference, Mr



Lindblad presented the international appeal of former political prisoners and victims of the Communist regimes **Declaration 2012**. He also explained the position of the Platform on the Membership application of the Bul garian committee COMDOS. Bulgaria's only official institution providing access to the Communist regime's state security documents is facing strong criticism by the victims of the Communist regime for its limited scope and its personnel composition. Only in March 2012 did the Bulgarian Parliament amend the Act on COMDOS. Until then, it had been prohibited for former political prisoners to become members of the committee.

# Successful EU grant application – Honouring civil courage

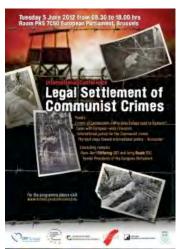
On 20 March 2012, the Platform together with Platform Members Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial, the Occupation Museum Association of Latvia and the Institute for Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile applied for a grant within the European Commission's DG Justice call "Criminal Justice – action grants". On 23 August 2012, the European Commission announced that the application for the project "Honouring civil courage" is eligible for a grant of 246,240 EUR. The goal of the project is to create an overview of the crimes committed, as well as the compensation and restoration measures taken for the victims of crimes committed by the Communist states. The outcome should be practical suggestions on how to better support and compensate the victims of Communist crimes in Europe.

However, other applications submitted by the Platform alone, together with other Platform Members, or by Platform Members alone, for grants from the European Commission's Europe for Citizens programme in 2012 have been unsuccessful, which represents a worsening compared to 2011.

## **Conference "Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes"**

Raising the issue of justice for the most serious crimes committed by the Communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe from the national to a European level, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience convened an international conference under the auspices of a number of prominent Members of the European Parliament including former Presidents of the Parliament Mr Hans-Gert Pöttering and Mr Jerzy Buzek. The conference took place on 5 June 2012 in the European Parliament in Brussels.

The conference was conceived as a response to growing calls for strengthened international justice formulated e.g., in the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism of 3 June 2008, in the European Parliament resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism of 2 April 2009, in the Declaration on Crimes of Communism of 26 February 2010, in the European Council's Stockholm programme of 4 May 2010 and in the Warsaw Declaration of the Justice and Home Affairs Council of the EU of 23 August 2011 as well the international call for justice by former political prisoners **Declaration 2012**.



The conference brought together legal experts, representatives of institutions and organisations dealing with the totalitarian past, associations of victims as well as important European institutions from at least 16 European countries. Its aim was to seek a new model of international justice which could finally settle the ethical, moral and legal debt which the European Union has toward its citizens who suffered severe violations of human rights under totalitarian Communist rule and toward the perpetrators who committed them. The objective of the conference was to contribute toward supporting equal rights for all EU citizens, upholding the values anchored in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, and thus to contribute toward strengthening the process of reconciliation and integration of Europe.



Jerzy Buzek

Partners of the conference were the offices of Members of the European Parliament Sandra Kalniete, László Tökés and Milan Zver, the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny, the Robert Schuman Foundation, the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity, the European Solidarity Centre, the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory and Aarhus University.



Göran Lindblad and Hans-Gert Pöttering



Sandra Kalniete, Jerzy Buzek and panelists

# Platform will seek the establishment of a new court for the international crimes of Communism

At the conclusion of the international conference "Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes", the Platform of European Memory and Conscience announced a call for the creation of a supranational judicial body for the gravest crimes committed by the Communist dictatorships. To this end, the Platform is founding an international legal expert group to work on a road map for establishing a supranational institution of justice. The Platform endorses the initiative of the Reconciliation of European Histories group in the European

Parliament to give the **national archives which harbour information on the crimes of totalitarianism a status of European importance** and is calling upon institutions of the European Union and national governments worldwide to support this work.

An International Legal Expert Group of the Platform has been established, consisting of international legal experts from several European countries.

Photos: European Network Remembrance and Solidarity



## Platform in the NZZ

**Verschollen, gesperrt, verdrängt** – Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 10 May 2012. This interesting article with the translated title "Lost, inaccessible, suppressed. The restrictive way of dealing with the Stasi files in Eastern Europe shows that in many places, the power of the old Communists has not been broken yet" deals with the establishment of the Platform, the position of the Platform on the membership application of the Bulgarian COMDOS and the reluctant and restrictive approach to archives of the former state security in the former Communist countries.

# Grant projects "Totalitarianism in Europe-Reader for Schools and Travelling Exhibition"

On 6 June 2012, after obtaining consent of the grant donors, Platform President Göran Lindblad and Director of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes Daniel Herman signed an agreement confirming that the Platform of European Memory and Conscience is a partner in the grant projects "Platform of European Memory and Conscience" supported by the International Visegrad Fund and "Totalitarianism in Europe - Reader for Schools and Travelling Exhibition" supported by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency of the European Union – Europe for Citizens programme. Fifteen founding Members of the Platform had applied for the grants together in 2011, prior to the establishment of the Platform, with the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes as the project coordinator. The agreement between the Czech Institute and the Platform has enabled the participation of further Platform Members from further countries in the projects.

# Platform President commemorates deportations from the Baltics in the European Parliament

On 13 June 2012, President of the Platform Göran Lindblad addressed a ceremony in the European Parliament in Strasbourg to commemorate the 1941 mass deportations from the Baltic countries, when more than 30,000 people from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were sent to Siberia on Stalin's orders.



Photo: European Parliament

# Appointment of Board of Trustees and election of eight new Members

The Platform Members voted by e-mail in May - June 2012 on the appointment of the Board of Trustees of the Platform and on new Platform Membership candidates. Altogether 18 of the 21 Members took part in the elections. By a simple majority, the Members appointed the first five members of the Board of Trustees of the Platform, Members of the European Parliament.

The members of the Board of Trustees are outstanding personalities who helped to bring about the democratic changes in former Eastern Europe in 1989-91. They have been patrons of the working group on the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and its international activities since 2008, and of the Platform since its establishment in 2011.

The first members of the Board of Trustees of the Platform:

Sandra Kalniete (LV) Vytautas Landsbergis (LT) Tunne Kelam (EE) László Tökés (RO) Milan Zver (SI)

Photos: European Parliament



Sandra Kalniete



Vytautas Landsbergis



Tunne Kelam



László Tökés



Milan Zver

As of 29 June 2012, three quarters of the Members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience approved the Membership applications of eight new Member institutions and organisations from 4 EU Member States and the Ukraine.

By the end of October 2012, the Platform has received **eight further new Membership applications** from institutions and organisations from five EU Member States, Moldova and Canada, showing that the goals and activities of the Platform are finding positive resonance in Europe and overseas.

### The new Members of the Platform elected on 29 June 2012:

Center for Research on the Liberation Movement (UA)
International Association of Former Political Prisoners and Victims of Communism (DE)
Koknese Foundation (LV)
Meetingpoint Music Messiaen (DE)
Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People (UA)
Memory (Paměť) (CZ)
Prague Academic Club 48 (CZ)
The Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Anticommunist Resistance (RO)

July 2012

# Cooperation with the EU Fundamental Rights Agency

On 26 July 2012, Platform President Göran Lindblad and Managing Director Neela Winkelmann met Morten Kjaerum, Director of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in Vienna for a discussion of possible areas of cooperation between the Platform and FRA. A particular field of common interest are the rights of victims – their access to justice and rights to compensation and recognition. FRA is currently preparing a new multi-annual project "Totalitarian Crimes and Human Rights Education". Platform Members addressed their national representatives on the Management Board of FRA asking them to support the project in September 2012. FRA has also agreed to be a partner of the Platform conference planned for mid-May 2013 in Warsaw. Friso Roscam Abbing, Head of the Communications Department of FRA, was a speaker at the opening of the international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" on 17 September 2012 in Bratislava.

August 2012

# Logo of the Platform

In March 2012, a logo competition was announced for Members of the Platform. Fourteen entries were received of which the Executive Board chose a provisional logo symbolizing the overcoming of the totalitarian past and the growing European awareness and identity. Czech award-winning graphic designer, art director and typographer Gabriela Kopecká, who was also active in the student movement leading to the "Velvet revolution" in 1989, was commissioned to elaborate on this motif. Out of her series of suggestions, the official logo of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience was picked in August 2012. Gabriela also designed the Platform stationery, visiting cards and newsletter.



**Genesis of the Platform logo.** Top row – some of the entries from the logo competition. Bottom row – design Gabriela Kopecká.

# European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarianism

During a ceremony commemorating the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarianism in Budapest, Hungary, on 23 August 2012, the President of the Platform signed an agreement on the creation of a **European museum of totalitarianism**. The document expresses the will of institutions and organisations active in the field of memory and study of totalitarian regimes to establish such a museum, which would also serve as a memorial for the victims. The solemn event was held at the House of Terror Museum and in the Hungarian Parliament. It was opened by the Hungarian President, Mr János Áder, and attended by the Ministers or State Secretaries of Justice from a number of European countries, as well as Members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and other institutions and organizations.

Photographs: augusztus23.kormany.hu



Ceremony at the House of Terror Museum



Participants of the event in the Hungarian Parliament

# Agreement on the establishment of a museum centered on the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century Budapest, 23rd August 2012

### 1) Antecedents

The establishment on 2nd February 2005 of the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity in Warsaw by the Ministers of Culture of Germany, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia;

Resolution 1481 (2006) of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly on the 'Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes';

The European Council conclusions 11268/11 on the remembrance of the crimes committed by the totalitarian regimes in Europe;

The Warsaw Declaration on the occasion of the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarian Regimes, adopted by the participating Ministers of Justice on 23rd August 2011; Foundation of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience in Prague on 14th October 2011.

### 2) Foundation of a Museum

We, the undersigned Parties, hereby declare the importance of cooperation with regard to the uncovering, documentation and presentation of the history of totalitarian regimes, and will accordingly make joint efforts to establish a museum demonstrating the history of those European nations which were forced to suffer oppression under the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century

In addition to the previously adopted documents, the task of the prospective museum is to more effectively display to future generations the impact on nations, the ideologies, the crimes and the functioning of the Communist, National Socialist and other totalitarian regimes. The museum will also bring these facts to the attention of the citizens of countries which did not have to suffer these horrors, so that such crimes may never be repeated.

Our objective is for everybody to learn from the mistakes of the recent past, and for History to pass verdict on these anti-human regimes.

Our further objective is that the prospective museum shall be a common memorial for the victims of the totalitarian regimes.

We, the undersigned Parties, shall hereby cooperate to find a suitable home for such a museum, to assemble its contents as soon as possible, and to show through the history of our nations the similarities between these tyrannies and the experiences we shared in our collective state of oppression.

### 3) Final Clause

The present agreement shall enter into force on the day following its signing. Signed in Budapest on the twenty-third of August, 2012

# International Travelling Exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" opens in Bratislava

An audience of about 60 people, representatives of partner institutions and associations of victims of totalitarianism from Poland, Germany, Romania, Croatia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia as well as persons of public life and members of the press, attended the solemn opening of the international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" at the Aréna Theatre in Bratislava on 17 September 2012.

The opening started with the screening of a documentary film about the discovery, in 2008, of one of the largest mass graves on the territory of the EU – in Huda jama in Slovenia. Opening speaker Daniel Herman, Director of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, said he hoped the exhibition would help in building bridges between citizens of the former "East" and "West" of Europe. Filip Vagač, Slovak

Government Commissioner for the civic society and Trustee of the Ján Langoš Foundation, recalled the widespread support of totalitarian leaders like Tito who turned out to be the worst perpetrators, with their onetime victims rising to be heroes. Göran Lindblad, President of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, stressed the need to present this exhibition as widely as possible – at schools, public libraries, museums and other public spaces in Europe.The commitment of the European Union to the upholding of fundamental rights, including the rights of victims of crime, was underlined by Friso Roscam Abbing, Head of the Communications Department of the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU.





The exhibition presents the statistics of the victims of the gravest crimes of 20th century Fascism/Nazism and Communism from 12 EU Member States. It is conceived as a black album, presenting, on individual pages per country and totalitarian regime, the victims, some of the main persons responsible for the crimes and the prosecution of perpetrators after the fall of the regime. The exhibition, prepared by around twenty institutions and organisations associated in the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, is accompanied by a screening of short documentary

films on the topic of crimes of the totalitarian regimes from different

countries and is addressed to the broad public. Its aim is to educate about the criminal nature of the totalitarian regimes and about the interconnection of both European totalitarianisms of the 20th century. Its goal is to increase the awareness about this grave common European legacy and about the importance of upholding fundamental human rights, to promote better understanding among citizens of Europe and to help prevent any possible rise of totalitarian rule in the future.

The project is supported by grants from the International Visegrad Fund and from the European Commission's Europe for Citizens programme Action 4.

The exhibition was open to the public in Bratislava until 11 October 2012 and was seen by more than 2,100 visitors, including students who visited it as a part of their history lessons. The itinerary of the travelling exhibition for the next months will include Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Romania, Poland, Estonia, Lithuania and the European Parliament.





Neela Winkelmann and Filip Vagač

Daniel Herman

Friso Roscam Abbing and Göran Lindblad Photos: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

## Activities of the Platform Board

The representatives of the Platform – the President, the Managing Director and the Executive Board – have been working for the Platform on a volunteer basis without pay, only claiming their travel expenses.

The Board of the Platform held the following meetings:
19 October 2011, European Parliament Brussels
23 November 2011, European Parliament Brussels
17-18 January 2012, European Parliament Brussels - conference call
2 February 2012 – conference call
28-29 February 2012, European Parliament Brussels
6 June 2012, European Parliament Brussels
22-23 August 2012, Kempinski Hotel, Budapest

On 23 November 2011, the Board discussed with Taja Vovk van Gaal, project leader of the Academic Project Team of the **House of European History**. On 28 February 2012, the Board participated in the meeting of the **Reconciliation of European Histories group** in the European Parliament dedicatd to the **situation of archives** harbouring information on totalitarian crimes. Guests at the Board meetings were László Tökés, MEP, Tunne Kelam, MEP, Daniel Herman, Director of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Martin Mejstřík, former Czech Senator, and Łukasz Kamiński, President of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance.

On 2-3 February 2012, Platform President Göran Lindblad visited the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes to negotiate an agreement between the Platform and the Institute. In the first half of 2012, the President of the Platform attended all sessions of the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, networking on behalf of the Platform.

On 23 April 2012, Managing Director Neela Winkelmann and Board member Paweł Ukielski attended a meeting with the **European Network Remembrance and Solidarity** in Warsaw to discuss cooperation between the ENRS and the Platform. Neela Winkelmann and Göran Lindblad attended a second round of discussions with the ENRS on 16 October 2012 in Prague.

### Presentations at international conferences



Platform President Göran Lindblad represented the Platform at the seminar **Life after the Soviet Union** organized by the EPP group in the European Parliament in

Brussels on 7 March 2012, at the First Symposium of European Institutions dealing with 20<sup>th</sup> century History organised by the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity on 14-15 September 2012 in Gdańsk, Poland and as a panelist at the 5th International Conference on Global Support for Democratization in China and Asia on 8-9 October 2012 in Budapest, Hungary.

Managing Director of the Platform Neela Winkelmann was an opening speaker at the international conference **Repressive methods of totalitarian regimes** organised by

the Study Centre for National Reconciliation on 9-10 May 2012 in Maribor, Slovenia and at the conference **Education for Human Rights through the History of the Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union** organised by





On 25 June 2012, Ms Rong Yi and Mr Dayong Li, President and Director of the **Global service center for quitting the Chinese Communist party** from New York, USA, visited the Platform office. They presented the Tuidong movement which gathers written statements of Chinese people on their quitting the Communist party. The signatories who need not be Communist party members, thus denounce its violent ideology and the practices and consequences of its rule.



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On 30 October 2012, Vesna Teršelič, laureate of the Right Livelihood
Award and director of the **Documenta Centre for Dealing with the Past** from Zagreb, Croatia visited the Platform office in Prague to discuss common issues and approaches toward international justice. Documenta, founded in 2004, collects testimonies and documents from victims of war crimes and totalitarian crimes and collaborates with criminal prosecution authorities. Vesna came to visit the Platform on a Richard-von-Weizsäcker scholarship from the Robert Bosch Foundation.

# Financial report as of 31 October 2012

Period	1.1.2011 - 31.12.2011	1.1.2012 - 31.10.2012
Account name	Closing balance EUR	Closing balance EUR
Individual movable assets		1527
Depr. individual movable assets		-382
Cash on hand EUR	100	0
Bank account in CZK		65
Bank account in EUR		3750
Total assets	100	4960
Basic capital		1526
Profit or loss to be approved		100
Estimated payables		3150
Profit/loss for period	100	184
Total liabilities	100	4960
Travel expenses		16613
Representation expenses		2481
Services		1235
FX losses realized		85
Shortages and damages		100
Bank fees		322
Depr. expenses		382
Total costs	0	21218
Bank interest		8
FX gains realized		121
Received contributions	100	21273
Total income	100	21402

# **Acknowledgement of support**

Between 14 October 2011 and 31 October 2012, the Platform received financial contributions toward its work from the following persons, organisations and institutions: Vasil Kadrinov, the Occupation Museum Association of Latvia, Simone Matthaei, the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny, the Robert Schuman Foundation, the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity and the European Solidarity Centre. A computer was donated to the Platform office by Fritjof Winkelmann. The work of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience was further kindly supported by Sandra Kalniete, László Tökés and Milan Zver, Members of the European Parliament, the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, Aarhus University, the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the International Visegrad Fund.



## **Code of the Platform**

The undersigned Member fully agrees with the Agreement and with the Statute and supports their purpose and goals. The Member does not knowingly employ former members or collaborators of repressive forces of totalitarian regimes or former functionaries with paid political jobs in totalitarian political structures, in paid or unpaid functions (as an exception, tolerance in this particular point is granted to the Office of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR, acknowledging that a legal solution to the personnel problem is being elaborated). No Member shall be represented in the Platform by a person who was part of the above mentioned categories.

To their best knowledge, no sources of financing of the undersigned Member come from non-democratic political structures or persons affiliated with such structures or from organisations promoting, supporting or tolerant to racial, nationalist or religious and social hatred or totalitarian rule or anti-democratic movements.

The Member is not connected with, does not and shall not support, in any form, be it financial, personal or material, non-democratic political structures or persons affiliated with such structures or organisations promoting, supporting or tolerant to racial, nationalist or religious and social hatred or totalitarian rule or anti-democratic movements.

Failure to comply with the Code of the Platform may lead to the cancellation of Membership in the Platform.















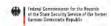




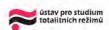








Hannah Arendt Gesellschaft





















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Account No. 5004692, Česká spořitelna, a.s., Czech Republic BAN: CZ0308000000000005004692 BIC: GIBACZPX

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience is an interest association of legal persons founded in 2011 based on the Civil Code of the Czech Republic. Id.-No.: 72559071