



Democracy matters.

2014 Annual Report

www.memoryandconscience.eu

A Word from the President



Dear friends,

The year 2014 was a milestone for the Platform. We received the first major funding from an EU Member State – from the Government of Hungary. Thanks to the generous grant, the Platform was able to move into its own quarters in Prague, to rent a representative office in the heart of the European district in Brussels, to hire staff and to step up its activities.

At the same time, we saw the quality of democracy decline internationally in 2014 and we warned about it during the year. As Russia occupied Crimea and declared war on Ukraine, we gave the first Prize of the Platform to Mr Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the Crimean Tatar People.

We held an international conference “Legacy of Totalitarianism Today” in the Senate in Prague and sent letters about democracy in crisis to heads of government of all EU Member states, heads of the EU Commission and the EU Council and the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

We embarked on an important project called “International Justice for the Communist Crimes” aimed at identifying living perpetrators of crimes against humanity and cases for signal litigation.

We commemorated the 23 August European Day of Remembrance of Victims of Totalitarian Regimes in Riga with our travelling exhibition “Totalitarianism in Europe”. The exhibition then opened in Dublin, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice of Ireland.

Our Reader for Schools “Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe” had an official presentation in Berlin thanks to the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny. It was also presented to all members of the United States Congress by our U.S. Members, the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation and the Joint Baltic American National Committee.

We were proud co-organisers of a solemn classical music concert in Prague on 8 November in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain in Europe. We also inaugurated a memorial to victims of the Iron Curtain near Mikulov, Czech Republic with our Members, the civic association Paměť.

We took part in many more events in 2014 - you can find them listed on the following pages.

Our annual Council of Members took place in the European Parliament in Brussels on 4-5 November 2014. Six new Members from five countries were accepted to the Platform, bringing the total to 48 Members.

Three years after its establishment in 2011, the Platform is growing and gaining momentum. The pooling of knowledge, resources and experience of the wide range of our Members – former political prisoners’ associations and exile organisations, memory institutions and archives, museums, memorials, university departments and NGOs dealing with the totalitarian past – enables us to develop innovative approaches and projects on the international level.

It is more important today than ever for Europe and the world to deal with the totalitarian past and to learn the right lessons from it. Because democracy is fragile and DEMOCRACY MATTERS.

Yours sincerely,

Göran Lindblad

Contents at a Glance

A Word from the President	1
January	3
February	3
March	4
April	5
May	6
June	6
July	9
August	11
September	13
November	14
December	18
Members' Newsletter	20
Activities of the Board	21
Platform Staff and Collaborators	21
Acknowledgement of Support	21
Platform in the Media	22
Financial Report	23
Members of the Platform	24

Written by Neela Winkelmann
Graphics and design by Peter Rendek
Photos by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, unless stated otherwise.
© 2015 Platform of European Memory and Conscience

Platform suspends Membership of Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

Following a decision by the Council of Members, the Platform suspended the Membership of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes on 14 January 2014. The Institute was not willing to dispel a suspicion of violating the ethics Code of the Platform on two counts. The Institute responded by cancelling its Membership in the Platform on 26 February 2014.

Lest We Forget - official presentation in Prague

The Platform, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Všechno Association of Czech Lawyers held an official presentation of the four different language versions of the Reader for Schools at the Krásný ztráty café in Prague on 5 February 2014. Following a tradition, the book received blessings from the Chairwoman of the Confederation of Political Prisoners of the Czech Republic Ms **Naděžda Kavalírová**, the hero of one of the Reader's stories, sociologist, writer, politician and human rights activist Mr **Fedor Gál** and acclaimed Czech actor Mr **Ondřej Vetchý**. The event was well attended, the audience including several ambassadors and members of the diplomatic corps. It was opened by the Minister of Culture of the Czech Republic Mr **Daniel Herman**. A message from Platform Members in Ukraine was read out and a small sum was collected to support their cause.



Platform calls for permanent EU observer mission to Ukraine

In line with the European Parliament resolution on Ukraine, the Platform sent letters to EU Council President **Herman Van Rompuy**, Commission President **Manuel Barroso** and EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy **Catherine Ashton** on 7 February 2014 calling for a permanent observer mission of the EU in Ukraine. "There is a violent conflict swelling in an Eastern neighbourhood country of the EU. Fundamental human rights are being violated, civic rights and freedoms curtailed. The EU Council and Commission must urgently act and mediate in the conflict. It is in the interest of all Europeans," Platform President Göran Lindblad commented.

The European External Action Service replied by letter of 11 March 2014, assuring the Platform about the EU commitment to supporting the new Ukrainian government and continuing the association and integration process with Ukraine.

Slovenian archives must remain open

On 28 January 2014, the Slovenian National Assembly passed a new amendment to the Law on Archives which technically closes the archives of the former secret service of the totalitarian regime, because it prescribes the anonymisation of sensitive personal information of perpetrators and victims alike. The Platform sent a protest letter to the Slovenian government on 11 February 2014. Opponents of the measure were starting to collect signatures for a referendum.

"The perpetrators of totalitarian crimes must not be allowed to disappear in oblivion, they must be disclosed and put to trial. Closing archives is the first step toward erasing historical memory and preventing justice," said Platform President Göran Lindblad.

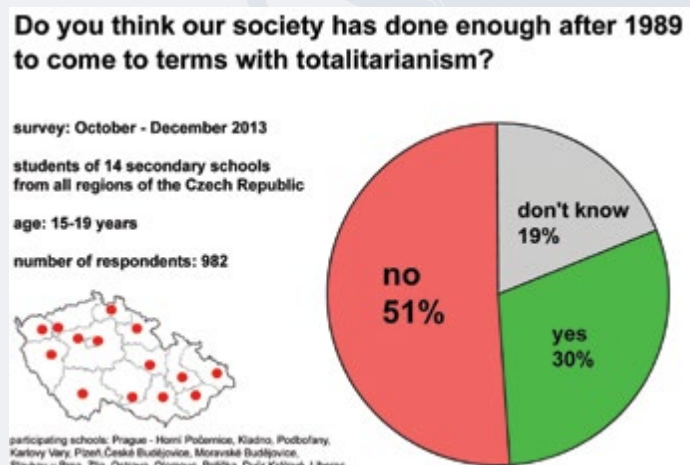
March 2014

Czech PM receives Platform Board

Representatives of the Platform – President **Göran Lindblad**, Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** and members of the Executive Board **Siegfried Reiprich** and **Paweł Ukielski** met Mr **Bohuslav Sobotka**, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic and Mr **Vladimír Špidla**, the Prime Minister's chief advisor on 4 March 2014. The Board presented the goals and activities of the Platform which were met with acknowledgement and appreciation by the Prime Minister.

70% of older secondary school students in the Czech Republic do not think that enough has been done to come to terms with totalitarianism

Seventy percent of older secondary school students in the Czech Republic do not think that the Nazi and Communist totalitarianisms have been overcome sufficiently. This is a result of a survey conducted by the Platform among older secondary school students in all regions of the country. The dictatorships of the 20th century and their crimes are a topic which is alive even for the youngest generation.



Between October – December 2013, the Platform presented the international reader "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" at secondary schools in all 14 regions of the Czech Republic. During the event, 3rd and 4th grade students were asked to fill out an anonymous survey form containing the question "Do you think that our society has done enough after 1989 to come to terms with the legacy of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism?" Out of 982 respondents, 296 students answered YES (30%), 501 students replied NO (51%) and 185 students could not or did not give an answer (19%) – see fig. The project was kindly supported by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The Platform published the results of the survey on 10 March 2014.

Platform welcomes new open history policy in Ukraine

The Platform welcomed the appointment of the new Director of the national memory institute of Ukraine, signalling a turn toward an open history policy. The **Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance** is to follow the example of other similar state institutions in Central and Eastern Europe in providing access to the archives of the repressive forces of the former totalitarian regimes.

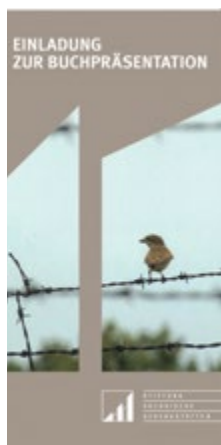
Volodymyr Viatrovych, Head of Platform Member organisation **Center for Research on the Liberation Movement**, was appointed to the new position by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. He plans to convert the Institute to a state institution with an own archive consisting of declassified KGB materials from 1918-1991. His partner in the task will be **Ihor Kulyk**, the newly appointed Archive Director of the Security Service of Ukraine, his former colleague from the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement.



(Photo: ÚSTR)

April 2014

Damit wir nicht vergessen – official presentation in Berlin



The Platform Reader **“Damit wir nicht vergessen. Erinnerung an den Totalitarismus in Europa”** was presented at the Saxon State representation in Berlin, Germany, on 1 April thanks to the **Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny**. Two of the protagonists of the Reader's 30 stories, Ms **Juliana Zarchi** (Lithuania) and Ms **Benita Plezere-Eglite** (Latvia), took part in the presentation, together with member of the Platform Board of

Trustees **Prof. Stéphane Courtois**, Platform President **Göran Lindblad**, Executive Board member **Siegfried Reiprich** and Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann**. The event was attended by an audience of over 100 people, including media.



European Remembrance symposium

Five Platform Members presented their activities during a well-attended workshop organised by the Platform as part of the European Commission's Europe for Citizen's Networking meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 9-11 April 2014 in Prague. They were the **Institute of National Remembrance**, the **Occupation Museum Association of Latvia**, the **Estonian Institute of Historical Memory**, the **Centre for the Study of Totalitarianism** and the **Hannah Arendt Center - Sofia**.

May 2014

Platform participates in consultation with UN Special Rapporteur

The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence Mr **Pablo de Greiff** conducted a series of regional consultations with relevant stakeholders. The Platform of European Memory and Conscience was invited to participate in the regional consultation for Europe and North America at the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on 14-15 May 2014. Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** presented some of the issues which the Platform is working on: justice for the crimes of Communism and the Declaration 2012, as well as the need for international protection of archives harbouring information on human rights violations.



(Photo: unmultimedia.org)

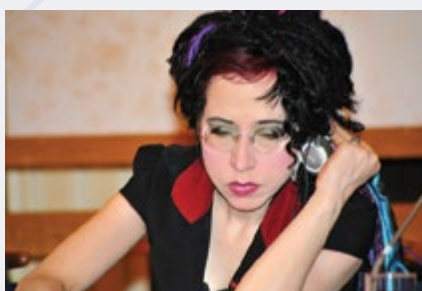
June 2014

Annual international conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today" in Prague on 12-13 June 2014



The Platform's third annual conference was hosted by Senate Vice-President Ms **Miluše Horská** in the Senate, Parliament of the Czech Republic under the auspices of Minister of Culture Mr **Daniel Herman**. Among its highlights were a keynote speech by acclaimed Finnish writer Ms **Sofi Oksanen**, the award of the Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience to the leader of the Crimean Tatar People Mr **Mustafa Dzhemilev**, the screenings of the film **"The Soviet Story"** by its Director, Mr **Edvīns Šnore** and of the film **"Katyń"** at the European Commission Representation in the Czech Republic.

The two-day international conference focused on areas where, even 25 years after the fall of Communism, the legacy of totalitarianism is still present in Central and Eastern Europe: the quality of democracy and rule of law, justice for the crimes of the past, corruption, quality of media and the importance of memory institutions. The role of the European Union in overcoming the divisions of the past was discussed and the lessons from the past were confronted



with current developments. Solutions to persisting common problems were sought by the participants. (Photos: ÚSTR)

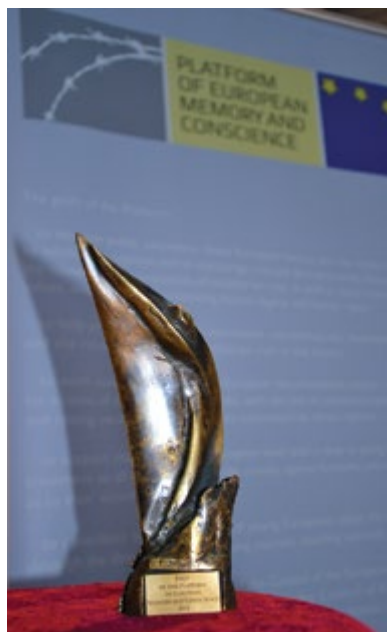
Close to forty renowned speakers and moderators from 19 countries of Europe and North America took part in the public event. Co-organizers of the conference were the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, partners were the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the International Visegrad Fund, the European Commission Representation

in the Czech Republic, Museum Kampa, the Polish Institute in Prague and the Embassies of Poland, Lithuania and Finland.

As an outcome of the conference, the Platform sent a letter to all heads of governments of the European Union Member States and to the leaders of European democratic institutions, calling upon them to protect democracy which is coming under pressure.

Award of the Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience to Mr Mustafa Dzhemilev

The Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience is dedicated to a person/persons who is/are fighting anywhere in the world today against totalitarianism, for the ideals of democracy, fundamental human rights and freedoms and the rule of law.



In an electronic vote, the Platform members decided to give the Prize to Mr **Mustafa Dzhemilev**, leader of the Crimean Tatar People, in recognition of his personal courage and life-long struggle for the rights of his people during the era of the Soviet Union as well as in independent Ukraine. The Prize was awarded to Mr Dzhemilev during the international conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism in Europe" on 12 June 2014. The Prize, a bronze statuette, was created for the Platform by young Polish artist **Mikołaj**



Ostaszewski. The award ceremony and reception took place at Museum Kampa. The event was well attended by the public and Mr Dzhemilev had a number of media interviews following the award.

(Photo: AFP)



Democracy is in a crisis: Platform letter to EU governments and European democratic institutions

As a conclusion of the international conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today", the Platform sent a letter to the governments of the 28 European Union member states, to the Presidents of the European Commission and the European Parliament, to the President of the EU Council and to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, calling their attention to the crisis of democracy in Europe 25 years after the fall of Communism and 10 years after the EU accession of the post-Communist member states and urging them to act.



To
The Secretary General of the Council of Europe
Palais de l'Europe
F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex

Göteborg, 23 June 2014

Wake up call to Europe: democracy is in a crisis

As a conclusion of the international conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today" which took place in the Senate, Parliament of the Czech Republic in Prague on 12-13 June 2014, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience is issuing a call to the governments of the 28 European Union member states, to the European Commission, to the European Parliament, to the President of the EU Council and to the Council of Europe.

To all European democratic governments and institutions:

25 years after the fall of Communism, and defying expectations especially after the EU- accession of the post- Communist member states, we have not managed to establish advanced, developed democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. On the contrary, we are observing a crisis of democracy. It has become clear from the presentations of international experts from 19 countries across Europe and North America hailing from academia, memory institutions, the civic sector and politics that there is a measurable stagnation or decline in all the analysed parameters of a democratic society.

Based on results of international research, only 10% of citizens of Central and Eastern Europe trust politicians. The rule of law in the region has deteriorated over the past 10 years. The transition of the judiciary of the former regime to serving the democratic rule of law has not succeeded satisfactorily. The sentencing of Communist perpetrators has been very insufficient. Corruption has established itself as a ticket to power and efficient anti- corruption measures are lacking. Economic forces are gaining the upper hand over democratic ones. Alongside, we observe a loss of trust of citizens in the media which are finding themselves under political and economic pressure and are losing audience to so- called "social media".

The low public trust in the political system leads to its delegitimisation. The result is a tendency to search for undemocratic solutions, for "strong leadership" and extremism. This is of serious concern in view of the rise of extremist, nationalist and xenophobic parties both on the right and the left in last month's European Parliament elections, accompanied by marked losses for the established democratic parties, and the current armed conflict in Ukraine provoked by Russia on the Eastern fringes of the European Union.

The Russian aggression in Ukraine must be the wake- up call which the attack on Georgia in 2008 failed to be. Particularly the fate of the Crimean Tatars who are now again subjected to persecution and discrimination in occupied Crimea calls for international attention and solidarity action.

25 years after the fall of Communism, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, an education and awareness-raising association of 42 institutions and organisations from 18 countries of Europe and North America dealing with the totalitarian past of Europe, urges all European governments and the European democratic institutions to learn from the totalitarian past. To deal with the suffering of victims of totalitarianism as well as with the crimes of the perpetrators. To focus on strengthening democracy, improving the rule of law, fighting corruption and improving public participation, and to stand up, show solidarity and efficiently counter aggressive neighbours. Democracy in Europe is in danger. The Platform urges all democratic governments and institutions to act.

Thank you.
Yours truly,

Göran Lindblad, President

New office for the Platform in Prague



The first official seat and office of the Platform was located in the building of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in Prague. Since February 2014 when the Institute cancelled its Membership the Platform started looking for a suitable space to establish an independent office and to start operating fully on its own. A suitable spacious, modern property was found at the address **L o n d ý n s k á 159/43, 120 00**

Praha 2. The Platform office moved to the new location in July 2014. By letter of 17 December 2014, the Municipal Court of Prague confirmed the registration of the new seat of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience at the new address.



Working luncheon with the Reconciliation of European Histories group in the European Parliament



The luncheon in Brussels with Members of the REH group in the European Parliament **Sandra Kalniete**, chairwoman, and **Tunne Kelam, Andrej Plenković, Gabrielius Landsbergis, Monica Luisa Macovei, Joachim Zeller** and **Milan Zver** took place on 8 July. As a result of the discussion, a letter was sent to European Commission President-elect Jean-Claude Juncker by 25 MEPs on the need to include history and memory issues into the policies of the new European Commission, as well as to support the Platform of

European Memory and Conscience financially. On 9 July, Platform President **Göran Lindblad**, Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** and visiting scholar **Iga Kozłowska** attended a press conference of **Milan Zver** in the European Parliament on the political instrumentalisation of the judiciary in Slovenia.

Letter of 25 MEPs to Commission President-elect Juncker

European Commission
Mr. Jean-Claude Juncker
President-elect

Strasbourg, 16 July 2014

Dear President-elect Juncker,

We would like to wholeheartedly congratulate you on your election as the President of the European Commission. (...)

We believe that the European project is based on our common values of democracy, truth and reconciliation. (...) we would like to draw your attention to the need to increase public awareness about European history and the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes. We are of the opinion that the European institutions, and notably the European Commission, should encourage a broad, European-wide discussion about the causes and consequences of totalitarian rule.

This is not merely a historic or emotional problem. It is a problem for a truly comprehensive integration of Europe. It is a question of reasserting and defending European values, which are being challenged by those countries outside the EU that have not done Vergangenheitsbewältigung and are using falsified history to justify aggression against their neighbours.

Unaddressed and neglected heritage of totalitarian crimes has become a real obstacle to deepened integration and remains fertile soil for Euro-scepticism and extremism. (...)

In this respect we would like to remind you of the valuable work of the **“Platform of European Memory and Conscience”**, which gathers 42 institutions and organizations from 13 EU member states as well as Ukraine, Moldova, Iceland, Canada and USA. The Platform successfully acts through networking meetings and conferences, exhibitions and youth education in achieving these goals.

In order to attain the objectives of the EP 2009 Resolution, we believe that it would be necessary that one of the new Commissioners in your team also include in her/his portfolio topics related to the European history and memory. Also, we are of the opinion that the Commission should find the most appropriate means to ensure an adequate degree of institutional and financial support to the work of the **“Platform of European Memory and Conscience”**, which assumed a key role in promoting the prevention of intolerance, extremism, anti-democratic movements and the recurrence of any totalitarian rule in the future.

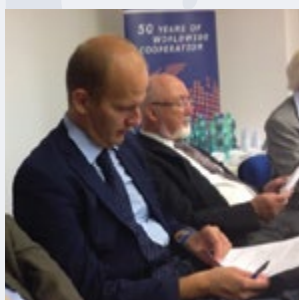
We hope that you will favourably consider our plea and would be very grateful for your support.

Sincerely yours,

EPP MEPs (signed)

Manfred Weber, Chairman of the EPP Group, Elmar Brok, Franc Bogovič, Michael Gahler, Andrzej Grzyb, Gunnar Hökmark, Sandra Kalniete, Tunne Kelam, Karinš Krišjanis, Eduard Kukan, Gabrielius Landsbergis, Monica Luisa Macovei, Ivana Maletić, Jan Olbrycht, Artis Pabriks, Lojze Peterle, Marijana Petir, Andrej Plenković, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, György Schöpflin, Davor Ivo Stier, Dubravka Šuica, Patricija Šulin, Romana Tomc, Milan Zver

Kick-off meeting for the project **“International Justice for the Communist Crimes”**



On 1 July 2014, the Platform launched the project „International Justice for the Communist Crimes“. Its aim is to identify several cases of international crimes committed during the Communist dictatorships in Europe in which justice has not been reached and in which the perpetrators are still alive, as well as witnesses and if possible also victims. The cases will be subjected to a legal analysis, documented on film and the results presented to the public at the end of May 2015 at an event in the European Parliament in Brussels.

The kick-off meeting to discuss the guidelines of the project and to establish the project team took place on 29 July 2014 in Prague at the office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Invitations to the kick-off meeting were sent to persons with long-term interest, experience and knowledge on the topic: representatives of victims' associations, representatives of institutions dealing with the crimes of Communism and the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparations and guarantees of non-recurrence.

The International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform which was established as an outcome of the Platform's 2012 international conference "Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes" is the key participant in the project.

A total of 23 persons from 15 countries participated in the event.

August 2014

Presentation of Platform reader "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" to all members of the U.S. Congress



The Platform together with its Member organisations **Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation (VOCMF)** and the **Joint Baltic American National Committee (JBANC)** prepared and organised an educational event at the occasion of 23 August, the Black Ribbon Day in the USA: a presentation of the international Reader of the Platform "**Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe**" with DVD

to all members of the Congress of the USA.

The Platform office shipped 600 Readers to the VOCMF in Washington D.C. VOCMF and JBANC then hand-distributed the Readers to the offices of each Representative and Senator of the U.S. Congress on and around Saturday 23 August 2014 as a part of the VOCMF commemorative event which took place at the Victims of Communism Memorial.



(Photos: JBANC)

European Remembrance Day for the Victims of Totalitarian Regimes in Riga

The Platform was co-organiser of the conference "**Molotov-Ribbentrop 75: Echoes Today**" together with the Latvian Ministry of Justice and the **Museum of the Occupation of Latvia**. The conference held on 22-23 August brought together scholars, experts, journalists and



politicians to discuss the legacy of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which split Europe into Nazi and Soviet spheres of influence.

Platform President **Göran Lindblad** held a presentation on the consequences of totalitarian regime crimes nowadays: victims, occupation and their echo in today's Europe, the existing problems and future challenges. Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** spoke in a panel on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its echoes in

modern law and held a presentation about history digitisation. The Platform's international travelling exhibition **"Totalitarianism in Europe"** opened as a part of the event in Riga. It was presented by the Museum of Occupation in Riga until the end of September 2014. After the conference, the Platform joined EU Ministers of Justice, the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs,



Members of the European Parliament and community members in a candle-lighting ceremony for the victims of totalitarianism held at the "Corner House", the former KGB building in Riga. The event was attended by about 200 people and was covered by the national media.



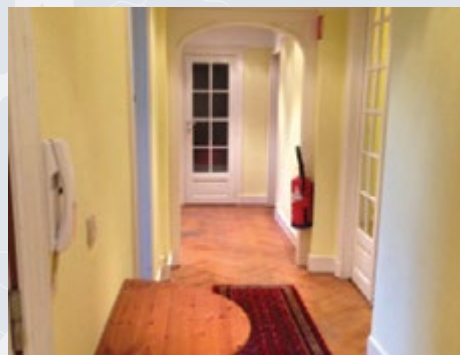
(Photos: okupacijasmuzejs.lv)

Remembering the Tiananmen massacre, Platform appeals for return of journalist standards at Deutsche Welle

The Platform condemned the apparent political decision by Deutsche Welle to fire its exile Chinese collaborator, the blogger Youtong Su for criticising the broadcaster's soft stance toward the Tiananmen massacre of 1989. "It is very worrying to see the quality of independent journalism at Deutsche Welle drop in favour of the Communist dictatorship in China. We appeal to Deutsche Welle to return to its high standards and its mission which used to be to defend democratic principles and human rights," said Platform President Göran Lindblad in a press release dated 25 August 2014.

Rental of representative office for the Platform in the European district in Brussels

The office was rented as of 1 September 2014 and furnished by us. The space suits the needs of the Platform excellently. It has two fully equipped separate offices, a meeting room, a library, a small kitchen and bathroom and a dining space with a terrace. It is located within 10 minutes' walking distance from the **European Commission**, the **EU Council** and the **European Parliament** and it also has a garage and a parking space in the yard. The address of the office is Rue Bélliard 197, 1040 Brussels, Belgium.



International Call for Cases as a part of the “International Justice for the Communist Crimes” project

On 8 September 2014, the Platform announced a Call for Cases addressed to the Members of the Platform, their partners and other contacts, aimed at identifying cases of crimes against humanity committed during Communism in Central and Eastern Europe for which the perpetrators, witnesses and if possible also victims are still alive and available to testify. The cases would be forwarded to the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform for analysis and assessment.

Inauguration of the new office of the Platform in Prague

On 17 September 2014, the new office of the Platform was inaugurated in Prague. Colleagues, friends, partners and collaborators of the Platform were invited to the festive event which was accompanied by the opening of an exhibition of photographs “Autumn ‘89 as seen by Martin Mejstřík”. **Martin Mejstřík**, student leader of the Velvet Revolution, later independent Senator and now member of the Board of Trustees of the Platform, provided a selection of pictures from his archives documenting the developments in the streets of Prague leading to the end of Communist totalitarian rule in Czechoslovakia – the exodus of East Germans through the embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Prague, the demonstrations in the city centre in October and the student demonstration on 17 November 1989 which led to the fall of Communism. Platform Executive Board member **Siegfried Reiprich** gave a speech at the event which was attended among others by the Ambassadors of Romania H.E. Ms **Daniela Gitman**, Hungary H.E. Mr **Tibor Petö**, Lithuania H.E. Mr **Aurimas Taurantas** and Kuwait H.E. Mr **Ayman Mohammad Aladsani** and the Counsel of the Embassy of Poland Ms **Izabella Wołłejko-Chwastowicz**.



President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe declines Platform exhibition

Platform President **Göran Lindblad** participated in the Fourth Part of the Plenary session of the PACE, in order to prepare the presentation of the Platform’s international travelling exhibition “**Totalitarianism in Europe**” in Strasbourg and to hold meetings with European parliamentarians aimed at raising support for the work of the Platform. Three PACE delegations (Hungarian, German, Estonian) launched a request for the presentation of the Platform travelling exhibition in Strasbourg with the President of PACE, Ms **Anne Brasseur**. However she replied by letter of 3 November 2014, declining the exhibition for reasons which the Platform cannot agree with. The Platform will continue the discussion with the aim of presenting the exhibition in the PACE. By the end of 2014 it has been presented in 14 large cities in 13 European countries including the European Parliament in Brussels.

Platform Board meeting in Brussels

The Executive Board of the Platform, the President and the Managing Director held a Board meeting at the new Platform office in Brussels on 24 September 2014, in order to discuss the upcoming agenda and the annual Council of Members of the Platform. The meeting was attended by members of the Board of Trustees, MEPs **Sandra Kalniete**, **Tunne Kelam**, **László Tőkés**, and the assistants of **Milan Zver**.



November 2014

Council of Members meeting 2014

The annual Council of Members meeting of the Platform took place on 4 – 5 November 2014 in the European Parliament in Brussels. Rooms in the Parliament were reserved by Ms **Sandra Kalniete**, Mr **László Tőkés** and Mr **Milan Zver**. On the first day, the annual report for 2013 was approved and ongoing work was discussed. An afternoon discussion on the topic of “Democracy matters” with British journalist **Edward Lucas** and representatives of **Memorial** from Russia was held



at a commercial facility. On the second day, the Council of Members approved the Membership of six new institutions and organizations. Mr **Miroslav Lehký** (right), representative of the **Ján Langoš Foundation** from Slovakia, was elected as a new member of the Supervisory Board. To conclude the meeting, the Platform attended a meeting of the Reconciliation of European Histories group in the European Parliament. As a highlight, the Platform opened its representative office in Brussels in the European district.

New Members of the Platform elected on 5 November 2014:

- Centre for Documentation of Totalitarian Regimes (CZ)
- Confederation of Political Prisoners of the Czech Republic (CZ)
- Truc sphérique (SK)
- Hungarian Committee of National Remembrance (HU)
- Nova Slovenska zaveza (SI)
- Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance (UA)



Inauguration of the representative office of the Platform in Brussels

The Brussels representative office of the Platform was inaugurated on 4 November 2014 as a part of the Council of Members meeting. The next-door neighbour is the Brussels office of the **Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung**. Mr **Tibor Navracsics**, **Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport**, cut the tape at the special event which was also attended by Members of the European Parliament Mr **György Schöpflin** and Mr **László Tökés**.



Appeal for creation of a memorial to victims of Communism in Berlin, Germany



The Platform supported the public appeal to the German Parliament to erect a memorial to the victims of Communism in Germany launched by Platform Member **Union of Victims of Communist Tyranny (UOKG)**. The Appeal with more than 1,000 signatories was handed over to the President of the German Bundestag Mr **Norbert Lammert** on 4 November 2014. The Platform returned to the issue at the occasion of the election of the new Prime Minister of Thuringia whose party includes former East German Communists.

In a press release of 9 December 2014, the Platform linked the rise of former Communists back to power in Thuringia with the insufficient reflection of the Communist past in Germany. While the 70 years of honest coming to terms with National Socialism since the end of WWII have produced exemplary results and a widespread culture of commemoration and democratic civic education in Germany, 25 years after the collapse of Communism, there is no central memorial to the victims of Communism in Germany.

There was no response from the Bundestag by the end of 2014.

(Photo: UOKG)

Platform statement of 7 November 2014

Stop the erosion of democracy in Europe: Democracy matters.

The Platform sounds alarm about the danger of widening armed conflict and the rise of extremist parties in Europe.

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience is deeply concerned about the continuing Russian aggression in Ukraine and the threat posed by extremist parties in Europe, on both the left and right. The resurgence of neo-Nazi, neo-fascist, neo-Communist and non-reformed Communist parties is alarming. The latest example is Die Linke (a party consisting of former East German Communists and left social democrats) forming the government in the German federal state of Thuringia. We are also witnessing the rise of nationalist and xenophobic parties in many areas of Europe, including the European Parliament. It is unfortunately not a coincidence that the only “observers” in the fake elections in Crimea were recruited from those parties.

The Members of the Platform, gathered at their annual meeting in Brussels on 4-5 November 2014, declared their support for the democratic forces in Russia. The Platform is especially concerned about the crackdown on the memory and human rights organization Memorial. Memorial is carrying out critical work researching the victims of the totalitarian Soviet Communist regime. It is a tragedy that the present authoritarian leadership in the Kremlin is attempting to silence their voices.

The Platform warns that the loss of historical memory endangers peace, prosperity, human rights, democracy and the rule of law and calls upon all Europeans to learn from the totalitarian past and stop the assault on democracy in Europe.

- adopted at the Council of Members and published with a press release -

Memorial Concert on the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain in Europe



The Memorial concert was staged on 8 November 2014, the eve of the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, in the Rudolfinum Hall in Prague. The event took place under the auspices of the Ambassador of



of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czech Minister of Culture. The North German Philharmonic Rostock was conducted by **Ulrich Backofen** (DE), himself a former victim of Communist persecution in the GDR, singers were the **Kühn Choir Prague** (CZ), **Romana Vaccaro** (DE), soprano and **Alexander Spemann** (DE), tenor. Special guests were former East German refugee from the West German Embassy in Prague from 1989 **Jens Hase** and famous Czech dissident actress and singer **Marta Kubišová**. She was an icon of the Prague spring in

1968. After being banned from public view for political reasons for 21 years, she also became an icon of the Velvet Revolution in November 1989. Her engagement for the concert and her performance of her famous song “Prayer for Marta” were organised by the Platform.

Public discussion “Searching for the Czech identity” in Prague

Together with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the DOX Centre for contemporary Art, the Platform staged a public discussion on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution in Prague with the title “Searching for the Czech Identity”. It took place on 12 November 2014 at the DOX Centre for Contemporary Art in Prague 7. Fashion designer **Liběna Rochová**, actor **Ondřej Vetchý**, volleyball coach **Zdeněk Haník** and Polish historian and



writer **Mariusz Surosz** exchanged views on the current face of the Czech identity. Moderator was prominent TV news anchorwoman **Daniela Drtinová**. It echoed through the evening that some of the key values which need to be fostered in Czech society, a former showcase of democracy before WWII which badly suffered through 20th century totalitarianism, are high quality work, humility, decency and education.

Commemoration of the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia

The Platform commemorated the 25th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia by attending a student discussion with the Presidents of the Visegrad countries and Germany staged at the Faculty of Law of the Charles University in Prague on 17 November 2014. The Platform cooperates closely with the Všehrd Association of Czech Lawyers, one of the hosts of the event. Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann**, Executive Board member **Pawel Ukielski** and President of the Polish **Institute of National Remembrance Łukasz Kamiński** joined the discussion. Thereafter, they laid flowers at Národní street at the site of the violent crackdown on the student demonstration of 17 November 1989.



Inauguration of memorial to the victims of the Iron Curtain



On 21 November 2014, Platform Member organisation **Memory** (Paměť) inaugurated a memorial outside the town of Mikulov, Czech Republic, to 53 people killed along the Iron Curtain falling under the command of the 4th border guard brigade Znojmo between 1948 and 1989. The memorial is the first of its kind in the Czech Republic listing the names of all documented victims. Czech and Austrian local politicians, personalities of public life, NGOs, students, eyewitnesses of the crimes and former

political prisoners gathered at the occasion. Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** was a speaker at the solemn opening and laid a wreath on behalf of the Platform. The inauguration was followed by a conference entitled “The Gate to Freedom” at Mikulov Castle where Neela Winkelmann held a presentation on killings along the Iron Curtain and the right to justice.



December 2014

Presentation of the international travelling exhibition “Totalitarianism in Europe” in Dublin



The presentation of the Platform’s travelling exhibition **“Totalitarianism in Europe”** in Dublin was organised in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice of Ireland. It took place on 2-4 November at the European Parliament Information Office

and thereafter for 1 week at the German-French school in Dublin, courtesy of the Ambassador of Germany to Ireland, H.E. Mr **Mathias Höpfner**. It was opened by Minister of State **Aodhán Ó Riordáin TD** and Platform President **Göran Lindblad**.



“We can never allow ourselves to forget the realities of this period in European history. We can only have confidence that these horrors will not be repeated when we face the past honestly and with rigour, and when there is accountability within all societies for the crimes of the past.”

Minister of State with special responsibility for New Communities, Culture and Equality, Aodhán Ó Riordáin TD at the opening of the Platform exhibition.

Letter to Czech PM about mass grave in Prague containing bodies victims of National Socialism and Communism



On 10 December 2014, the Human Rights Day, the Platform and its Czech Member organisations sent a letter to Prime Minister **Bohuslav Sobotka** asking for special attention to the site at the cemetery in Prague-Ďáblice where the remains of at least 2,800 people are buried in a mass grave. Among them are members of the anti-Nazi and anti-Communist resistance and victims tortured to death or executed by the Nazis and the Communists between 1943-1961. The people were buried in 70 pits containing 40 coffins each, stacked in four layers, some coffins containing multiple bodies.

Meeting of Platform Board with Commissioner for Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Mr Tibor Navracsics in Brussels

Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** and Executive Board members **Siegfried Reiprich** and **Zsolt Szilágyi** met with Commissioner **Tibor Navracsics** in his office in Brussels on 11 December 2014. Together, they discussed the awareness raising and education work of the Platform on EU level and possible cooperation on future Platform projects.



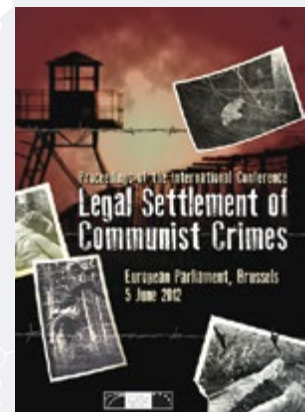
Platform congratulates Slovenia on the exoneration of political leader Janez Janša

On 12 December 2014, the Platform welcomed the decision of the Slovenian Constitutional Court to free democratic opposition leader Janez Janša immediately from prison. After six years of legal proceedings which culminated in his imprisonment on fabricated charges, Mr Janša is now a free man. The Platform had protested the politically motivated ruling of the Slovenian judiciary in June 2014.

"Yesterday's decision is of utmost importance for the democratic processes in Slovenia. It underlines the need to reform the judicial system in which top positions are still occupied by former Communists who grossly violated human rights under the totalitarian dictatorship," Platform President Göran Lindblad commented.

Proceedings of the Platform conference "Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes" held on 5 June 2012 in the European Parliament in Brussels

The Platform annual conference "**Legal Settlement of Communist Crimes**" held on 5 June 2012 brought together key thinkers and experts in the field of international justice and crimes of totalitarian regimes, as well as representatives of associations of victims and European policy makers. A viable new model of international justice was sought which could finally settle the ethical, moral and legal debt which the democratic European Union of today has toward its citizens who suffered severe violations of human rights under totalitarian Communist rule and toward the perpetrators who committed them. The proceedings were published in English at 1,000 copies.



International conference "Temesvár 25: 1989-2014" in Budapest and Temesvár on 16-21 December 2014

Platform Executive Board members **Paweł Ukielski** and **Zsolt Szilágyi**, Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** and President **Göran Lindblad** held presentations during the commemorative week dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the Timișoara uprising which took

place on 15-21 December 2014 between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest and the Regional Development Centre in Temesvár, Romania. As a part of the event, **Bishop Tökés** organised an ecumenical service in his church, attended by leaders of 10 different religious congregations – from Orthodox to Reformed, Catholic to Jewish.

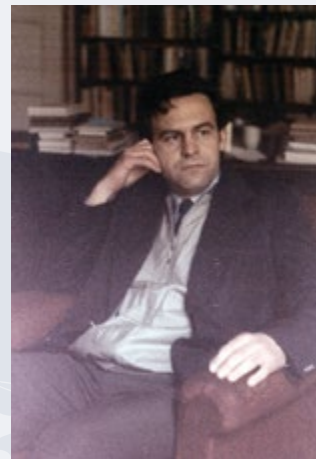


Platform thanks Bishop László Tökés for the Romanian revolution of 1989

To conclude the year, the Platform acknowledged the “spark that ignited the revolution” in Romania in 1989, Rev. **László Tökés** who bravely stood up against Communist tyrant Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Rev. **László Tökés** of the Reformed church in the Western Romanian town of Temesvár / Timișoara preached to his fellow countrymen that they should not obey the word of man (i.e. the dictatorship), that they should obey the word of God instead. It took a person of his courage to face the brutal Ceaușescu regime and to endure severe long-term persecution. On 16 December 1989, people protesting the upcoming eviction of Rev. Tökés from his home decided to turn to town and attack the headquarters of the Communist party, starting the revolution and eventually the fall of the dictatorship in Romania at Christmas 25 years ago.

“We would not have today’s democratic Europe without brave people such as Bishop **László Tökés** and the citizens of Timișoara. We owe personalities like him a lot. We must not forget that democracy was bought at a very high cost in 1989 and we must do all we can to protect it from the threats it is facing today,” said Platform President Göran Lindblad in a press release of 23 December 2014.



Member's Newsletter

For the months September - December 2014, we published an electronic Members' Newsletter put together by editor **Gillian Purves**, bringing information from the Platform Office and from our Members, including Platform projects, a “Member of the Month” feature and a calendar of events. Its aim is to keep the information flow and communication within the Platform alive. The Newsletter has about 8 pages per month. It is well appreciated by the Platform Members.



Activities of the Board

The President and the Executive Board of the Platform - **Göran Lindblad** and **Dr. Andreja Valič Zver**, **Siegfried Reiprich**, **Zsolt Szilágyi** and **Dr. Paweł Ukielski** worked for the Platform on an honorary basis. The Board and Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** discussed important decisions of the Platform and planned further work during video conferences on 12 February and 27 March and meetings on 24 September and 3 November in the Platform office in Brussels. Neela Winkelmann and Zsolt Szilágyi also travelled to Budapest on 25 March to talk to representatives of the Hungarian government.

Platform Staff and Collaborators

The Platform team in 2014 included **Peter Rendek**, IT and project manager; **Agnieszka Delis-Szeląg**, Brussels office manager; **Gillian Purves**, editor; **Dana Bellany**, graphic artist; **Lucie Včeláková**, accountant; **Veronika Schováňková**, maintenance; and **Dr. Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director. Legal advisors in the Czech Republic were NH Partners, s.r.o. and the year-end closing was done by MAZARS s.r.o.. For the project "International Justice for the Communist Crimes", we engaged researchers **Martin Slávik**, **Miroslav Lehký** from the **Ján Langoš Foundation**, **Miroslav Kasáček** and **Luděk Navara** from the civic association **Paměť** and **Vasil Kadrinov** from the **Hannah Arendt Center - Sofia**, as well as members of the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform **Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Albin Eser** from the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg, **Prof. Dr. Frank Meyer** from the University of Zürich, **Doc. Dr. Jernej Letnar Čerňič** from the Graduate School of Government and European Studies in Kranj and **Dr. Nika Bruskin** from Vilnius University. Volunteers in the Prague office were undergraduate student **Cian Dinon** from New York University and visiting scholar **Iga Kozłowska** from the University of Chicago.

Acknowledgement of Support

The Platform gratefully acknowledges the support by a grant from the **Government of Hungary** awarded for its activities from 1 June 2014 - 31 May 2015. The Platform thanks the **Konrad Adenauer Foundation** for the partnership in the conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today" and other events. A grant from the **International Visegrad Fund** to the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes supported the conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today".

The Platform is grateful to the **Czech and Slovak Association of Canada** for a donation and to the **Citizens' Initiative for Dismantling the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia** and Members of the European Parliament Ms **Sandra Kalniete** and Mr **Milan Zver** for providing loans toward the deposit for the Brussels office of the Platform.

The Platform is further indebted to the **Embassy of France** for financing the transportation of 750 copies of the Platform Reader for Schools from Prague to Paris, to the **Embassy of Finland** for translating the speech of Sofi Oksanen at the conference "Legacy of totalitarianism Today", to the **Embassy of Lithuania** for the hospitality for the member of the Board of Trustees Prof. Vytautas Landsbergis during the conference "Legacy of totalitarianism Today", to the **Embassy of Latvia** for providing transportation of the Platform travelling exhibition from Prague to Riga and from Riga to Dublin and to the **Embassy of Poland** and the **Polish Institute in Prague** for the partnership in the conference "Legacy of Totalitarianism Today".

Platform in the Media

In 2014, we published altogether 35 press releases bringing the activities of the Platform closer to a wide range of partners, contacts and media worldwide. All information, including audio and video recordings and photo galleries can be found on the Platform website www.memoryandconscience.eu.

The work of the Platform is being noticed and quoted in international media. Here we present three articles published in important German daily newspapers in 2014.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 January 2014

Kritik an Prager „Stasi-Behörde.“ Europäische Institutsgemeinschaft schließt Tschechen aus

(Criticism of the “Stasi-Institution” in Prague. European association of institutions excludes the Czechs)

By **Karl-Peter Schwarz**

The article informs about the suspension of Membership in the Platform of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (ÚSTR), its founding Member. It describes the change of management of ÚSTR, the allegations of money laundering by the new director in the past and the refusal of the new leadership of ÚSTR to provide information about the past of five members of the new scientific council, former members of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, the issue being whether they held paid political offices with the Communist party.

Die Welt, 8 April 2014

“Juliana litt unter den Nazis wie unter den Sowjets”

(“Juliana suffered both under the Nazis and the Soviets”)

By **Pavla Francová**

Juliana Zarchi from Lithuania and Benita Plezere-Eglite from Latvia, two of the survivors of 20th century totalitarianism whose life stories are depicted in the Platform reader **“Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe”**, attended the presentation of the German version of the Reader at the Saxon state representation in Berlin on 1 April 2014. Host of the evening was the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny. The article tells about Juliana’s life story and presents the Reader.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 June 2014

Organisiertes Wegschauen. In vielen postkommunistischen Ländern herrschen noch die alten Eliten

(Organised looking-away. In many post-Communist countries, the old elites still rule)

By **Karl-Peter Schwarz**

The article summarises the presentations and the message of the conference “Legacy of Totalitarianism Today” organised by the Platform in Prague on 12-13 June 2014, quoting a number of its speakers. It describes worrying contemporary developments in post-Communist Europe, contrasting the hopes that once flew high for the region with the sobering current situation. The blame lies with the insufficient coming to terms with the criminal totalitarian past.

Financial Report as of 31 December 2014

Period

1 Jan – 31 Dec 2014

Account name

Closing balance EUR

Cash on hand EUR	0,00
Bank account in CZK	-47.41
Bank account in EUR	91780.11
Customers	106.68
Receivables to employees	445.48
Other receivables	2681.97
Total assets	94966.82

Suppliers	9021.39
Liabilities to employees and institutions	5270.68
Donations	73587.97
Tax payable	670.08
Other payables	4426.63
Profit/loss for period	1990.08
Total liabilities	94966.82

Office supplies	20374.33
Energy consumption - office	1093.76
Travel expenses	62619.92
Representation expenses	7478.95
Mechandise sold	0.00
Services	80361.14
Salaries costs	24890.17
FX losses	3402.32
Other expenses	50.85
Shortages and damages	0.00
Bank fees	1131.50
Depr. expenses	0.00
Total costs	201402.94

Bank interest	97.57
FX gains	1168.86
Other revenues	9.11
Revenues from merchandise	5217.51
Revenues from services	0.00
Received contributions	196899.96
Total income	203393.01

Members of the Platform as of December 2014

United States of America

Joint Baltic American National Committee
Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

Canada

Czech and Slovak Association of Canada
Black Ribbon Day Foundation

Iceland

Icelandic Research Centre for Innovation and
Economic Growth

Sweden

The Institute for Information on the Crimes of
Communism

Estonia

Estonian Institute of Historical Memory
Kistler-Ritso Eesti Foundation. Museum of
Occupations
Unitas Foundation

Latvia

Koknese Foundation
The Occupation Museum Association of Latvia
The Occupation of Latvia Research Society

Lithuania

Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of
Lithuania
Secretariat of The International Commission
for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and
Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania

Poland

Institute of National Remembrance
Remembrance and Future Institute
Warsaw Rising Museum

Germany

Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial
Hannah Arendt Society
International Association of Former Political
Prisoners and Victims of Communism
Meetingpoint Music Messiaen
Saxon Memorial Foundation for the
Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny
The Federal Commissioner for the Records of the
State Security Service of the former GDR
Union of the Associations of the Victims of
Communist Tyranny (UOKG)

Netherlands

Foundation History of Totalitarian Regimes and
their Victims

Czech Republic

Centre for Documentation of Totalitarian
Regimes
Confederation of Political Prisoners of the Czech
Republic
Memory (Paměť)
Political Prisoners.eu
Post bellum
Prague Academic Club 48
Security Services Archive
Union of Auxilliary Technical Units (PTP)

Slovakia

Inconspicuous Heroes
Ján Langoš Foundation
Truc sphérique

Hungary

Hungarian Committee of National Remembrance
The Public Foundation for the Research of
Central and East European History and Society,
House of Terror Museum

Slovenia

Nova Slovenska zaveza
Study Centre for National Reconciliation

Bulgaria

Hannah Arendt Center – Sofia
Citizens' Initiative for Dismantling the Soviet
Army Monument in Sofia

Romania

Institute for the Investigation of Communist
Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile
The Memorial to the Victims of Communism
and to the Anticommunist Resistance

Moldova

Centre for the Study of Totalitarianism

Ukraine

Center for Research on the Liberation Movement
Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People
Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance





Platform of European Memory and Conscience

Londýnská 43, 120 00 Praha 2, Czech Republic

Managing Director

Neela Winkelmann

tel.: +420-222561053

e-mail: director@memoryandconscience.eu

President

Göran Lindblad

tel.: +46-706710366

e-mail: president@memoryandconscience.eu

Bank account EUR:

Account No. 4977492, Česká spořitelna, a.s., Czech Republic IBAN: CZ160800000000004977492 BIC: GIBACZPX

Bank account CZK:

Account No. 5004692, Česká spořitelna, a.s., Czech Republic IBAN: CZ030800000000005004692 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 and registered at the Municipal Court of Prague. Id.-No.: 72559071

www.memoryandconscience.eu