

### **Democracy matters.**

### 2016 Annual Report

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#### A Word from the President



Dear friends,

We have experienced one more busy year of Platform activities. You will read all about in this report.

Besides our continuous work with the justice project, the annual conference held in Viljandi Estonia stands out. We discussed the forced displacement of populations and waves of migration in 20th century Europe caused by the policy of totalitarian States.

This was a very timely discussion as the world in 2015/16 faced the largest movements of refugees since the Second World War.

It is again very clear that an important mission of the Platform is to enlighten people about our common history in order to avoid atrocities and terror from the past to be repeated. Viljandi also included the 2016 Platform prize; this year given to the imprisoned opposition freedom fighter in totalitarian Venezuela, Leopoldo Lopez. The Prize was accepted by Mr Lopez' father.

Another important event worth mentioning was of course the traditional commemoration of 23 August. The Slovak EU Presidency hosted the festivity together with an EU conference. The Platform co-organized the event in Bratislava and presented the winners of a student competition for a proposal of a memorial to the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels.

Now we are looking forward to an even busier 2017!

Yours sincerely,

Göran Lindblad



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#### Strong mandate for Stasi Records Commissioner needed

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience was alarmed by attempts coming from the German SPD in the Bundestag to dismantle the mandate of the Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Records. On 22 January a letter was sent to all chairpersons of the political groups in support of a strong position for **Roland Jahn** who was standing for re-election in February 2016.

The Chairman of the Bundestag's Committee for Culture wanted to instate the Federal Commissioner for a short temporary time, under the pretext of necessary reforms. The Platform interpreted this as an attempt to paralyse the work of the Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Records as well as an attempt to pave the road to dismantling the Office itself. The Stasi Records Office has served as a blueprint for establishing many similar memory institutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

"The fact that we are witnessing attacks against memory institutions in difficult times for democracy in Europe is alarming. More than ever, these institutions need to be strengthened today", said Platform President **Göran Lindblad**.

#### February 2016

### "JUSTICE 2.0" Work-in-progress & strategy meeting in Prague on 17-18 February

The objective of the closed working meeting, which was not open to the public, was to assess the current state of the project and to discuss and plan the upcoming strategies and work until the end of August 2016. The discussions included the promotion of the results of the pilot project in different European countries, further research and documentation of cases, the initiative for a new supranational institution of justice led by Estonia, the possibility of employing extraterritorial jurisdiction, as well as commemoration and further awareness raising activities.

The meeting was attended by 20 participants; members of the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform, researchers working for the Platform, representatives of Platform Member institutions and organisations and victims' associations, as well as further guests. Most of them stayed on to participate in the "JUSTICE 2.0" presentation at the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic in Brno on the following day.









#### "JUSTICE 2.0" at the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic on 19 February

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience organised a discussion seminar "JUSTICE 2.0" under the auspices of Associate Prof. Dr. **Markéta Selucká**, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Masaryk University and Dr. **Josef Baxa**, Chairman of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic. The event took place on Friday 19 February 2016 at the plenary hall of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic, Moravské náměstí 6 in Brno, in partnership with the European Law Student Association ELSA.

At the seminar, we presented the results of the project "International Justice for the Communist Crimes" during which we identified surviving persons responsible for crimes against humanity committed under Communism in Europe. They include the surviving members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and others.

Speakers were project manager Dr. **Neela Winkelmann** and members of the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience Prof. Dr. **Frank Meyer**, Head of the Department of criminal law and criminal procedure including international criminal law at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. **Albin Eser**, Director emeritus of the Max Planck Institute for foreign and international criminal law and former









judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia from Freiburg, Germany. Moderator was well-known radio and TV journalist **Veronika Sedláčková**.

The audience of about 100 persons consisted of law students, Czech legal practitioners, judges, including former and current judges of the Supreme and Constitutional Courts, victims of Communist persecution and participants of the "JUSTICE 2.0" working meeting held on the previous days in Prague. The seminar was followed by a screening of the documentary film "JUSTICE 2.0".

#### Wałęsa case points to a reason for failed justice after 1989

The spectacular confiscation of incriminating documents by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance IPN from the widow of Communist politburo member Kiszczak demonstrated a mechanism whereby justice for the crimes of Communism in post-Communist Europe was hampered.

The reasons for the lack of prosecution of perpetrators of Communist crimes after the fall of the regime in 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe range from lack of political will, personnel continuity in the judiciary, police and prosecuting authorities to the issue of access to documents of the former secret police and repressive forces which were responsible for committing gross violations of human rights.

Official documents indicating the personal involvement of **Lech Wałęsa** with the secret police were kept privately for decades by his one-time Communist superior. This might point to a possible pattern whereby former perpetrators could be withholding sensitive documents from the public until today, hindering justice and enabling disinformation and blackmailing scenarios.

"We have repeatedly called upon states to provide full and unhindered access to the archives of the totalitarian dictatorships. Only an open and full access to the documents will enable the prosecution of perpetrators and re-instating justice for the crimes of the past," said **Paweł Ukielski**, Member of the Executive board of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

## Head of Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance visits Platform office; Platform publishes Reader for Schools in Ukrainian

**Volodymyr Viatrovych**, Director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance visited the Platform office in Prague on 24 February 2016. At the meeting with Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** they discussed and planned common projects. One of them has already





been successfully completed – the publication of the Platform's Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" in the Ukrainian language in December 2015. The Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance then distributed the Readers directly to 1,000 secondary schools across Ukraine.

#### Czech Communist party must apologise immediately

Sixty-eight years ago, on 25 February 1948, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia seized power in a violent coup, instating 41 years of totalitarian rule and massive human rights violations. The Platform of European Memory and Conscience demanded that the Czech Stalinist Communist party which used the occasion to publicly glorify the crimes of Stalinism, apologise publicly for the atrocities committed against fellow citizens between 1948-1989.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, which holds 15% of seats in the lower house of Parliament and has 3 Members of the European Parliament, issued a statement on 25 February 2016 praising the legacy of the coup of 1948 and "valuing the work and selflessness of the generations of constructors of the first form of socialism" (sic!). The Stalinist party was registered in 1990 as a territorial organisation of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia and is its direct, non-reformed legal successor.

The non-Communist citizens of Czechoslovakia and the hundreds of thousands of victims of Communism who were executed, killed, tortured, imprisoned, dispossessed and persecuted in many different ways have never received as little as an apology from the Czech Communist party. The Communists only issued one apology in the past – to own fellow party members!

"The international democratic community must stand up against those who celebrate gross human rights violations and the destruction of democracy, particularly if they are a parliamentary party within the European Union. We call on the Czech Communist party to apologise immediately and publicly for the statements made today," said Platform President Göran Lindblad.

### Commemoration of anniversary of Communist coup in Prague on 25 February





The Platform and its Czech Members, associations of victims of Communism, commemorated the anniversary of the Communist coup of 25 February 1948 at a solemn gathering in Nerudova street in Prague. At this site, a peaceful march of several thousand students – the only protesters against the Communist seizure of power – was stopped and beaten up by Communist-controlled police. The gathering was organised by the Vice-President of the Czech Senate, Mr **Přemysl Sobotka**.

#### Criminal complaint filed against the Communist party of Bohemia and Moravia

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience and its Czech Member organisations, the Confederation of Political Prisoners of the Czech Republic, the Union of Auxilliary Technical Units – Military Forced Labour Camps of the Czech Republic, the Prague Academic Club 48, the Centre for Documentation of Totalitarian Regimes and Post Bellum, together with partner organisation the Association of Former Political Prisoners – filed a criminal complaint against the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia with the police and the state prosecutor's office in Prague 1 on 2 March 2016, based on the suspicion that the criminal act of denying, casting doubt upon, approving and justifying genocide according to Article 405 of the Criminal Code of the Czech Republic was committed.

In its proclamation at the occasion of the anniversary of 25 February 1948, the Communist Party announced its support for "the revolutionary foundation of February 1948" and "valued the work and selflessness of the generations of the constructors of the first form of socialism". The announcers are convinced that the authors of the text have fulfilled the essence of the law which stipulates that:

"He who publicly denies, casts doubt upon, approves or attempts to justify the Nazi, Communist or other genocides or the Nazi, Communist or other crimes against humanity or war crimes or crimes against peace, shall be punished by a prison sentence from six months up to three years."

With its proclamation, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia is approving and attempting to justify not only the crimes of the Communists which they committed against their fellow citizens during the dictatorship in Czechoslovakia, but also the imprescriptible war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Communists in the Soviet Union and other Communist dictatorships until the fall of the regime. The criminal complaint was signed by the statutory representatives of all seven organisations.

#### Platform sends protest letter to publisher of Die Zeit on 11 March

Representatives of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience sent a letter to the publisher of the Die Zeit newspaper in Germany, protesting an article which slandered **Siegfried Reiprich**, Director of the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remebrance of Victims of Political Tyranny, as well as the Platform itself.

Journalist and author **Anne Applebaum**, former Latvian EU Commissioner **Sandra Kalniete**, MEP, former Romanian Minister of Justice **Monica Macovei**, MEP, Polish historian Prof. **Wojciech Roszkowski**, former Czech Deputy Prime Minister for EU Affairs **Alexandr Vondra**, Slovenian MEP **Milan Zver** and Platform President **Göran Lindblad** signed a protest letter to Josef Joffe, publisher of the German weekly Die Zeit. On 11 February 2016, the newspaper had printed an article called "Wut und Willkür" (Rage and Despotism), an emotional attack against Siegfried Reiprich, who is also member of the Executive Board of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

The Saxon Memorial Foundation is one of few public institutions in Germany entrusted with commemoration of both totalitarian regimes and their victims. Mr Reiprich's work and leadership are broadly acknowledged, not least by his repeated appointment by the Free

State of Saxony. The members of the Board of Trustees of the Platform asked the publisher of Die Zeit to explain the slander of the Platform.

#### Consultations with leading German criminal law practitioners in Berlin on 14 March

A Platform delegation composed of Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** and researchers **Miroslav Lehký** and **Lubomír Morbacher**, travelled to Berlin, Germany, for consultations with the partners and specialists of the leading German criminal law office Derra, Meyer & Partner. Subject of the discussion was the Platform's "JUSTICE 2.0" project and possible further steps to be taken in Germany with the use of German criminal law.



### Platform concerned about revocation of László Tőkés' Romanian state order

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience is concerned about the announced revocation of the Order of the Star of Romania from **László Tőkés**, MEP. Bishop Tőkés received the medal for his role in the fall of the Communist dictatorship in Romania. The Platform appealed to the President of Romania to uphold the freedom of speech of Mr Tőkés and to support the promotion of historical truth and justice.

The President of Romania had announced that he would withdraw the medal bestowed upon Bishop László Tőkés, MEP, for his key role in the fall of the Ceausescu regime. The revocation came as a surprise retaliation for a statement made by Mr Tőkés regarding the Hungarian minority in Romania. In 2013, Mr Tőkés had asked Hungary to give more protection to the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. The Platform is convinced that Mr Tőkés was exercising his right to freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Mr Tökés and the Platform recently wrote to the President of Romania, asking him to finally de-classify the records of the Romanian revolution during which more than 1,100 civilians were killed and over 3,500 wounded.

"Revoking the medal from Mr Tőkés would be a worrying signal. His leadership in the struggle for freedom and democracy in 1989 remains a fact. We appeal to President Iohannis to uphold historical truth as well as justice for the victims of the Romanian revolution," said Platform President **Göran Lindblad**.

The Timisoara Society, Romanian Member organization of the Platform, released a statement highlighting the fact that while many other persons convicted for corruption or other crimes remain decorated, the President is revoking the state distinction given to László Tőkés for his historical role played in 1989. They asked the President to review the list of decorated persons and to withdraw state distinctions from those who collaborated with the former Communist secret service Securitate or those convicted for corruption.

### Thuringia Regional Commissioner for the Stasi records visits Platform office in Prague on 31 March

The Regional Commissioner for the Stasi Records of the Free State of Thuringia Mr **Christian Dietrich** visited the Platform office in Prague. The Commissioner was established by the Thuringian Act on the Commissioner for Evaluation of 2 July 2013, the "ThürAufarbBG".

The tasks of the Thuringian Commissioner and his staff are to provide information, individual counseling and discussions, information materials, public statements and events on the following spectrum of topics:

- political and legal evaluation of the legacy of the Ministry of State Security and the GDR
- rehabilitation and compensation for persons who were politically persecuted between 1945 and 1990
- advising public institutions, offices and bodies of public law
- offer of political education: events, exhibitions, publications, individual information, literature recommendations etc.



- for pupils: counseling tailored to age, curriculum and projects, work materials on regional history, lectures, project days
- for students and researchers: counseling related to research and archives
- regional history research on the Ministry of State Security and the GDR and cooperation with partners on different topics of the Soviet occupation zone and the history of the GDR, information about the history of Thuringia between 1945 and 1990.

At the meeting Commissioner Christian Dietrich and Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** discussed the situation in the field of coming to terms with the legacy of totalitarianism in Germany and Europe as well as possible cooperation.

<u>April 2016</u>

### Meeting with EU Commissioner Tibor Navracsics in Brussels on 5 April

Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** had a meeting with EU Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport Mr **Tibor Navracsics** in Brussels. They discussed the work of the Platform, the upcoming competition for a memorial to the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels and the auspices of Mr Navracsics for the project.

#### "JUSTICE 2.0" at the Faculty of Law, Komenský University, Bratislava on 20 April

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience organised a discussion seminar "JUSTICE 2.0" which took place on Wednesday 20 April 2016 at the Faculty of Law of the Komenský University in Bratislava, Slovakia. The event was held under the auspices of

Ass. Prof. Dr. **Eduard Burda**, Dean of the Faculty and in partnership with the European Law Student Association ELSA.

At the seminar, we presented the results of the project "International Justice for the Communist Crimes" during which we identified surviving persons responsible for crimes against humanity committed under Communism in Europe. They include the surviving members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and others.

Speakers were the project manager Dr. **Neela Winkelmann** and members of the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience Dr. **Clotilde Pégorier**, formerly of the Department of criminal law and criminal procedure including international criminal law at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, currently at the School of Law, University of Essex, UK, and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. **Albin Eser**, Director emeritus of the Max Planck Institute for foreign and international criminal law and former judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia from Freiburg, Germany. The seminar was concluded by a screening of the documentary film "JUSTICE 2.0".





### Meeting with Lucia Žitňanská, Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice in Bratislava on 20 April

At the occasion of the "JUSTICE 2.0" - presentation in Bratislava, Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** had a meeting with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Ms **Lucia Žitňanská**. They discussed the work of the Platform and the upcoming student competition for a memorial for the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels. The auspices of the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU were sought and the 23 August EU-wide remembrance event and conference in Bratislava were discussed. Mr **Ladislav Bukovszky**, Slovak Government commissioner for minorities, also took part in the meeting.

### "JUSTICE 2.0" at the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia on 21 April

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience organised a discussion seminar "JUSTICE 2.0" which took place on Thursday 21 April 2016 at the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana. The event was held under the auspices of Mgr. **Bojan Kekec**, Member of the National Council of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia and in cooperation with the Study Centre for National Reconciliation.

At the seminar, we presented the results of the project "International Justice for the Communist Crimes" during which we identified surviving persons responsible for crimes against humanity

committed under Communism in Europe. They include the surviving members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and others.

Speakers were Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Tamara Griesser Pečar**, head of the Research Programme at the Study Centre for National Reconciliation, Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Jernej Letnar Černič**, Professor of Human Rights, Graduate School of Governmental and European Studies from Kranj, manager of the project Dr. **Neela Winkelmann** and members of the International Legal Advisor Team of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience Dr. **Clotilde Pégorier**, formerly of the Department of criminal law and criminal procedure including international criminal law at the University of Zurich, Switzerland and currently at the School of Law, University of Essex, UK, and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult **Albin Eser**, MCJ, Director emeritus of the Max Planck Institute for foreign and international criminal law and former judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia from Freiburg, Germany. Moderator was Dr. **Jože Dežman**, historian, head of the Governmental Commission on the Concealed Graves. The seminar was concluded by a screening of the documentary film "JUSTICE 2.0".









# Platform's exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" opens in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on 19 - 22 April

The international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience opened in front of the Hemicycle, the main deliberations hall of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. It was on display during the spring session which ended on 22 April.

After being presented in sixteen large cities in fifteen countries on two continents, the exhibition was now hosted in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, courtesy of the President Mr **Pedro Agramunt** and the Chairs of the German and Hungarian Delegations, Messrs **Axel Fischer** and **Zsolt Németh.** 

"There is certainly a connection between Europe's totalitarian past and today's conflicts," said Göran Lindblad, President of The Platform of European Memory and Conscience. "The victims of torture and death suffer just as much regardless of the totalitarian ideology used as a pretext. Without understanding historical facts there will be problems understanding and solving present conflicts." Platform President **Göran Lindblad** and Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** participated in the opening of the exhibition.









#### May 2016

### Platform calls for stronger measures to protect the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People

On 5 May 2016 in a letter sent to the heads of governments of EU Member States, to the Presidents of the European Commission, Parliament and Council, as well as the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience called for stronger measures to protect the civic organisation of the Crimean Tatars who have been outlawed by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation and, subsequently, by the Supreme Court of Russia-occupied Crimea.

The Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People has been a Member organisation of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience since 2012. **Mustafa Dzhemilev**, leader of the Crimean Tatar people, was awarded the first Prize of the Platform in 2014, in recognition of his struggle for democracy, freedom and human rights.

On 4 February 2016, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the human rights situation in Crimea, in particular of the Crimean Tatars, strongly condemning the unprecedented severe human rights violations conducted against the Crimean Tatars and appealing to Russia to observe international humanitarian and human rights law.

Disregarding the concern of the European Union, the Russian Federation stepped up the pressure against the Crimean Tatars. Therefore, the Platform called upon the international community to adopt stronger measures which are urgently needed to protect the Crimean Tatars from further serious violations of their human rights.

"In dealing with President Vladimir Putin, we are asking European governments and institutions to introduce the protection of human rights and freedoms of the Crimean Tatars as an important priority," says Platform President Göran Lindblad.

#### Platform's exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" on display in the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest

The international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience was on display in front of the assembly hall of the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest from 6-13 May 2016.

The beautiful halls of the Hungarian Parliament housed the Platform's international travelling exhibition which presents the statistics of civilian victims of Fascism, Nazism and Communism from a dozen European countries, framed by pictures of selected top-ranking perpetrators.

At the occasion of an international conference of the Friends of Hungary at the opening on 6 May 2016, the Marshal of the Polish Sejm Mr **Marek Kuchciński** and his delegation visited the exhibition together with Platform President **Göran Lindblad** and Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann**. The exhibition serves as an education tool for the broad European public, as well as a memento for the present generations.





#### President of the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute visits Platform office in Prague on 10 May

Mr Ondrej Krajňák, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute visited the Platform office in Prague. With Platform Managing Director Neela Winkelmann they discussed topics of common interest, the work of the Slovak memory institution and the projects of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, as well as possible cooperation in the near future. The "JUSTICE 2.0" project, the Platform Reader for Schools and the commemoration events and activities during the upcoming Slovak Presidency of the Council of the European Union were a particular focus.



#### The EU must stop glorifying Communist perpetrators!

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience was strongly concerned about the recent official unveiling of a monument to a former Yugoslav Communist party apparatchik and secret police chief in Slovenia. The Platform warned that the celebration of Communist perpetrators in some EU Member States is a sign of a dangerous erosion of democratic values. The area of Kočevski Rog in Southern Slovenia, where tens of thousands of unarmed people were brutally murdered in 1945 after World War II by the Yugoslav Communists, has tragically become a site of commemoration of the very perpetrator who ordered the massacres.

A monument to former chief of the secret political police OZNA/UDBA and high Communist party official Ivan Maček – Matija was unveiled on 27 April 2016, on the so-called Day of Uprising Against the Occupation. The majority of the people murdered after WWII were unarmed people, mostly Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. As confirmed by the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia, the Slovenian Armed Forces also participated in the unveiling of the monument to the totalitarian perpetrator.

"The glorification of totalitarian perpetrators in EU Member States is scandalous," said Platform President **Göran Lindblad**. "Nobody would dare to erect a monument to a Nazi perpetrator anywhere. That this can happen in the EU for Communist perpetrators is a sign of a dangerous erosion of democratic values."

### Competition for a proposal of a pan-European memorial to the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels

The Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic on behalf of the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the European Union, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the European Shoah Legacy Institute cordially invited students aged 16 – 21 from around Europe to take part in a Competition for a proposal of a pan-European memorial to the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels under the auspices of EU Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport Mr Tibor Navracsics







In 2008-2009, the European Parliament established 23 August, the date of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, as the European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Totalitarianism. The European Union Member States commemorate the day with an EU-wide event. In 2009, the European Parliament also called for the creation of a pan-European memorial for the victims of all totalitarian regimes. However, no memorial has yet been created to the millions of victims of Fascism, National Socialism and Communism in Europe. Especially in these times, with the growing threat of extremism and nationalism, such a memorial would be of great significance. It should stand in the centre of the European Union, in the vicinity of the European Parliament, the EU Council and the European Commission, as a memento to present and future generations.

**The jury** included EU Commissioner Mr **Tibor Navracsics**; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice of Slovakia Ms **Lucia Žitňanská**; President and Managing

Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience Mr **Göran Lindblad** and Ms **Neela Winkelmann**; Executive Director of the European Shoah Legacy Institute Ms **Halyna Senyk** and Member of the European Parliament Ms **Sandra Kalniete**.

Deadline for the submission of entries was **10 July 2016** (receipt by e-mail or postal stamp). The announcement of the competition was done by a press release for the Platform, by distribution to mailing lists of the organisers and partners, as well as by a mailing to appr. 1,000 art schools in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Announcement and presentation of the winners: The winner and the runners-up were to be announced and notified on 31 July 2016. The winning entries were to be exhibited as an accompanying event of the European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Totalitarianism held on 22-23 August 2016 by the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU in Bratislava and thereafter in Brussels. The authors of the winning entries would be invited to both events and would be received by EU Commissioner Mr Tibor Navracsics.

# Platform of European Memory and Conscience starts cooperation with European Green Belt Initiative - conference "Preserving the Lesson of the Iron Curtain" in Nürnberg, Germany on 24 May

At a working conference with the title "Preserving the Lesson of the Iron Curtain" in Nürnberg on 24 May 2016, Members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience met with representatives of the European Green Belt Initiative for the first time. They underlined their interest in future cooperation on the European level.



The 12,500 km long European Green Belt, an ecological network traversing 24 countries

along the former Iron Curtain, the no-entry zone where thousands of Europeans lost their lives during their flight for freedom from Communism, is a site where the history of 20th century totalitarianism is imprinted in the relatively undisturbed nature and landscape.

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience as well as the European Green Belt Initiative are interested in preserving the region along the former Iron Curtain as a European site of conscience and in developing common projects aimed at educating the public, commemorating the victims and supporting soft tourism concepts.





"The memory of the people killed while trying to escape to the free world needs to be kept alive, especially today, to remind us why upholding democracy, freedom and human rights is so essential," said **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

"The European Green Belt is as unique memorial landscape of high ecological value. By preserving this ecological network along a former Iron Curtain also the traces of history will be maintained especially for younger generations," said **Melanie Kreutz**, Deputy Director of the BUND Project Office Green Belt, Regional Coordinator for the Green Belt Central Europe.

About 20 participants from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Netherlands, Romania, Austria and Germany took part in the working conference. As a follow-up, a practical workshop was planned for 10-11 July 2016 in Mikulov, Czech Republic.

#### **June 2016**

### Creative retreat - development of Platform board game on 7 - 11 June

For four days, the Platform office hosted a creative retreat for a small team developing the first Platform educational board game. To this end, one of the best Polish board game authors, award-winning **Karol Madaj** from the Polish Institute of National Remembrance IPN, was invited to Prague to create a new game in English on the topic of the Iron Curtain together with Czech colleagues **Neela Winkelmann**, **Peter Rendek** and **Luděk Navara**. Polish graphic artist from IPN **Tomasz Ginter** was also invited to help develop the graphic design.

The game was developed in a record time and tested with the help of the Czech Board Game society on uninvolved players during a game testing event. The game called "Across the Iron Curtain", designed for beginner players and families anywhere in Europe, is based









on real historical events - the oftentimes dramatic escape attempts of citizens of the former Eastern bloc to the West. It will be suitable for classroom use as well.

### Symposium "The year 1956 and the non-reformability of Communism" in the European Parliament in Brussels on 15 June

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the Hungarian Committee of National Remembrance cordially invited to an international symposium with the title "The year 1956 and the non-reformability of Communism" which took place on under the auspices of **László Tökés**, MEP. The symposium focused on events triggered by the secret speech of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at the XXth congress of the Communist party of the USSR in February 1956. Attempts at de-Stalinisation and revolutionary movements toward freedom and democracy which followed in the Eastern bloc were thwarted by force. Speakers were historians and activists of 1956 from Romania, Poland, Hungary, former East Germany and Czechoslovakia - **László Tökés**, MEP, Chairwoman of the Commiitee of National Remembrance NEB Dr. **Réka Földváryné Kiss** and Member of NEB Dr. **István** Ötvös, Deputy Director of the Polish IPN Dr. Paweł



**Ukielski**, 1956 student activists Dr. **Michael Heyrovský** from the Czech Republic and **Peter Herrmann** from Germany. Concluding remarks were held by Prof. **Göyrgy Schöpflin**, MEP and **Göran Lindblad**, President of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience. Moderator was Dr. **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform. The symposium was followed by refreshments.









### "JUSTICE 2.0" at the Max-Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg on 26 May

At a symposium with the title "Verbrechen unter kommunistischer Herrschaft: Aufarbeitung und Umgang" (Crimes committed under Communist rule: Coming to terms and dealing with them) held at the Max-Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg, Germany, the Platform project "JUSTICE 2.0" was presented to a specialist audience from the legal community, including a number international scholars who are doing research at the MPI. The organiser was the International Max Planck Research School on Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment.

Following an introductory presentation by the Director of the Institute, Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. **Hans-Jörg Albrecht** and an overview of the results of the Institute's project "National criminal law in reaction to system injustice" by Dr. **Helmut Kreicker**, Judge at the Regional Court in Celle, Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. **Albin Eser** spoke about "Transnational criminal prosecution of crimes committed under totalitarian regimes", and Dr. **Neela Winkelmann**, Platform Managing Director presented the results of the "JUSTICE 2.0" project. The colloquium concluded by a screening of the documentary film "JUSTICE 2.0" and a lively discussion among the speakers and the audience, including Mr **Miroslav Lehký**, researcher for the "JUSTICE 2.0" project.





### International conference "Totalitarianism, Deportation and Emigration" in Viljandi, Estonia on 28 - 30 June





The annual international conference of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience on the theme "The forced displacement of populations and waves of migration in 20th century Europe caused by the policy of totalitarian states" was held in the historic town of Viljandi, Estonia on 28–30 June 2016.

Co-organisers were the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory and the Unitas Foundation. A broad range of topics was considered at the





conference, starting from the time of the beginnings of the Soviet Union until the collapse of the Eastern Bloc at the onset of the 1990s.

The aim was to try and create an overview of deportation and emigration from totalitarian dictatorships in Europe – during the time of National socialism and during Communism. The political, social, demographic and economic consequences of emigration were discussed, as well as the political life of émigré communities in exile and the role of different émigré communities after the collapse of the Soviet Union and fall of the totalitarian systems in Eastern Europe. The lessons from the past were confronted with current developments. The conference concluded with a panel discussion on the massive emigration from war and conflict regions in the Middle East and North Africa to Europe, its reasons, historical roots and parallels.

Twenty speakers from eleven countries participated in the conference, which had an audience of about 80 persons. Special guests were Prof. **Vytautas Landsbergis**, former President of Lithuania and MEP, and Estonian Minister of Justice Mr **Urmas Reinsalu**. An accompanying programme including a visit to an anti-Communist partisan bunker was organised for the participants.

As another accompanying event, a presentation of the Platform Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" was held by Platform Managing director **Neela Winkelmann.** 

As a highlight, during the conference the Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience 2016 was awarded. It is dedicated to a person who are fighting today against totalitarianism, for the ideals of democracy, fundamental human rights and freedoms and the rule of law.

#### Leopoldo López receives Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience 2016

On 28 June 2016 the Prize of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience 2016 was awarded in Viljandi, Estonia to the imprisoned Venezuelan opposition leader Mr **Leopoldo López**, in the presence of the Minister of Justice of Estonia, Mr **Urmas Reinsalu** and former President of Lithuania Prof. **Vytautas Landsbergis**. The father of the laureate, Mr **Leopoldo Lopez Gil**, accepted the Prize for his son who is being held in solitary confinement in the military prison of Ramo Verde.

In September 2015, Mr Leopoldo Lopez was sentenced to almost fourteen years of imprisonment in what is being internationally regarded as a politically motivated trial. Mr López, formerly a successful and popular mayor the Chacao district of Caracas, has been leading an opposition movement to the marxist populist government of Hugo Chávez and his successor, Nicolás Maduro.

At the ceremony at the opening of the conference "Totalitarianism, Deportation and Emigration", Mr López's father spoke about the distressing conditions in Venezuela, the shortages of food and medicines.

"We call upon the international community to ask the Venezuelan government about the current situation and well-being of Mr Leopoldo López and other political prisoners in the country," said Platform President **Göran Lindblad**.





#### **July 2016**

#### On the world premiere of the film Anthropoid at the opening of the 51st Karlovy Vary International Film Festival on 1 July

Call for the exhumation and dignified burial for **Jozef Gabčík, Jan Kubiš, Josef Valčík, Adolf Opálka, Jan Hrubý, Josef Bublík, Jaroslav Švarc** and other members of the 2nd and 3rd resistance lying in mass graves in the Czech Republic:

At the occasion of the premiere of the British-French-Czech coproduction film Anthropoid at the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival, non-governmental organisations reminded the public of the tragic fact that the bodies of the Czechoslovak parachutists who carried out one of the bravest and most important resistance acts of WWII – the attack on

Reinhard Heydrich, are probably lying in a large mass grave in Prague – Ďáblice, where they were thrown over 70 years ago.

In the British and French traditions, fallen members of the resistance are treated with all respect. Jozef Gabčík, Jan Kubiš, Josef Valčík, Adolf Opálka, Josef Bublík, Jan Hrubý and Jaroslav Švarc are national heroes. Until this day however, the Czech state has not provided them with a dignified resting place where they could be commemorated with honour.

Organisations of political prisoners and organisations dealing with coming to terms with the totalitarian past are therefore calling on the Government and Parliament of the Czech Republic to adopt a legal amendment as quickly as possible which would enable the exhumation and identification of the remains of members of the 2nd and 3rd resistance who are lying in mass graves, and their dignified burial.

Signatories: Platform of European Memory and Conscience, Centre for Documentation of Totalitarian Regimes, Confederation of Political Prisoners of the Czech Republic, Union of Former Political Prisoners Union of Auxilliary Technical Units – Military Forced Labour Camps, Prague Academic Club 48, Antonín Švehla Society, Association for private agriculture, Post Bellum, Václav Morávek Society, civic association Paměť.

### "Preserving the Lesson of the Iron Curtain" - workshop in Mikulov, Czech Republic on 10 - 11 July

The purpose of the workshop for about 25 participants was to get acquainted with a successful project – a memorial to 53 victims of the Iron Curtain created by the civic association Paměť outside Mikulov in 2013 and to discuss the possibilities of funding for similar projects aiming at commemorating the history and the people killed along the former Iron Curtain together with landscape and nature protection and soft tourism concepts. It was a follow-up to the working conference "Preserving the Lesson of the Iron









Curtain" which took place in Nürnberg, Germany on 24 May 2016, in cooperation of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the European Green Belt Initiative.

On the arrival day, participants gathered at the memorial outside Mikulov to listen to real stories of escapes across the Iron Curtain during Communism, narrated by survivors from Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany. On the second day, the workshop convened at Mikulov castle where the participants were greeted by Mr Roman Celý, deputy governor of the South Moravia region, by mayor Mr Rostislav Koštial as well as representatives of two neighbouring Austrian communities, mayor Ms Brigitte Ribisch of Laa an der Thaya and deputy mayor Mr Herbert Bauer of Poysdorf. The conception and construction of the Mikulov memorial was presented by the civic association Paměť, followed by a presentation of funding possibilities for similar projects given by representatives of the state administration and finally, by participant discussions in groups about concrete project proposals along the Iron Curtain.

#### Travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" opens; "JUSTICE 2.0" project presented at summer university in Tusnád, Romania on 20 July

The Platform's international travelling exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe" opened in Tusnád, Romania, at the summer university organised by leaders of the 1989 revolution in Hungary and Romania together with a number of non-governmental organisations. The summer university, which has the form of a camp with lectures, workshops, discussions, presentations and music concerts was taking place for the 27th time this year. The number of visitors ranges at about 20,000.

The Platform's travelling exhibition depicting the numbers of civilian victims of Nazism, Fascism and Communism from 13 European countries framed by photographs of select perpetrators was hosted at the municipal centre of Tusnád. The opening ceremony on 20 July 2016 was held by Mr **Albert Tibor**, Mayor of Tusnád, Mr **Zsolt Németh**, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament, Mr **László Tökés**, Member of the









European Parliament, **David Campanale**, BBC journalist and on behalf of the Platform, President Mr **Göran Lindblad**, Managing Director Ms **Neela Winkelmann** and member of the Executive Board Mr **Zsolt Szilágyi**.

In the aternoon of 20 July, a discussion with the title "JUSTICE 2.0" was held at the main presentation tent of the festival. Hungarian State Secretary for EU Affairs Mr **Szabolcs Takács**, Platform President Mr Göran Lindblad and Managing Director Ms Neela Winkelmann took part in a panel in which the work of the Platform and the results of the "JUSTICE 2.0" project were presented and discussed with the audience.

August 2016

### Inauguration of a Memorial to Hartmut Tautz in Bratislava on 9 August

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience together with the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute and the Bratislava Self-administration Region inaugurated a memorial to eighteen-year-old Hartmut Tautz, East-German refugee from Magdeburg who was assaulted by specially trained dogs of the Czechoslovak Border guards and died 30 years ago on 9 August 1986. The memorial stands just outside Bratislava-Petržalka, at the field where Hartmut's dream of freedom was severed only 22 metres from the Austrian border. It was created by Slovak artist **František Guldán.** 



Call on 21 representatives of Communist Czechoslovakia to apologise for the killing of Hartmut Tautz and other civilians on the Iron Curtain

At the inauguration of a memorial to Hartmut Tautz, eighteen-year-old East-German refugee who was killed on the Czechoslovak-Austrian border in 1986, participants signed

an open letter to 21 representatives of Communist Czechoslovakia calling on them to publicly apologise for his death and killings of other defenceless civilians on the Iron Curtain.

More than 100 people gathered in Bratislava – Petržalka for the unveiling of a monument to Hartmut Tautz. The event was organised by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience together with the Bratislava Self-administration region and the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute. It was attended by **Pavol Frešo**, Governor of the Bratislava Region, **Iveta Plšeková**, deputy Mayor of Bratislava, **Ondrej Krajňák**, chairman of the Nation's Memory Institute, **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, **Jaroslav Müller**, Chairman of the Prague Academic Club 48, members of the diplomatic corps, several Members of the Slovak Parliament, guests from Magdeburg **Birgit Neumann-Becker**, Regional Commissioner for the Stasi records and **Maik Reichel**, Director of the Central office for political education, representatives of organisations of victims of Communism, the public and numerous representatives of the media.

At the occasion, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience announced the names of 21 persons responsible for the death of Hartmut Tautz. Participants signed an open letter to them, asking for a public apology for the killing of Hartmut Tautz and other refugees on the Iron Curtain during Communism.

### EU commemoration event and ministerial conference in Bratislava on 22 - 23 August



The Platform of European Memory and Conscience was a partner at this year's EU-wide European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Totalitarian Regimes hosted by the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the European Union in Bratislava on 22-23 August 2016.

The event started on the afternoon of 22 August, with a commemorative ceremony by the 'Gateway of Freedom Monument' below Devín Castle, devoted to the victims of the Iron Curtain.

The programme continued with an exhibition of the winning entries of the competition for a proposal for a pan-European memorial to the victims of totalitarianism in Brussels and a gala dinner hosted at the Palugyay Palace in Bratislava. The competition was staged in cooperation of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience together with the Slovak EU Presidency, EU Commissioner **Tibor Navracsics** and the European Shoah Legacy Institute. The winning student contestants had the opportunity to meet Commissioner Tibor Navracsics.

On 23 August, the ministerial conference took place. Session I was attended by representatives of Justice Ministries from EU countries. In Session II, hosted by the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute and moderated by Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann**, representatives of 17 memory institutions from EU Member States and the Minister of Justice of Estonia **Urmas Reinsalu** dicussed the issue of justice for the totalitarian crimes of the past.

In her contribution, Neela Winkelmann presented the results of the 2nd year of research and documentation work within the Platform's "JUSTICE 2.0" project - a list of appr. 170 persons in the chain of command responsible for the killing of the last 30 victims of the Iron Curtain in Communist Czechoslovakia. The results, described in a brochure, were distributed to the participants.

A Statement of Support for the Estonian initiative to establish a new supranational institution of justice was adopted unanimously, representing a strong endorsement from the expert community.

#### **Statement of Support**

The representatives of instutions and organisations working in the field of totalitarian legacy on European soil gathered in Bratislava, Slovakia at the occasion of the European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Totalitarianism on 23 August 2016 endorse the work led by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Estonia since 23 August 2015 aimed at the establishment of a new supranational institution or international legal body which would deal with the unresolved crimes of totalitarianism.

#### Winning entries of the competition for a proposal of a pan-European memorial to the victims of totalitarianism

Finalists of the competition were five students from the Czech Republic (Milan Chrobák, Štěpán Šmejkal) and Slovakia (Anna Korbašová, Daniel Knizner and Michaela Kacsiová). They were invited by the Platform to Bratislava to present and explain their works to the guests of the ministerial conference in the evening of 22 August 2016. They then met Commissioner Tibor Navracsics in the morning of 23 August 2016 and received diplomas signed by Commissioner Tibor Navracsics, Deputy Prime Minister Lucia Žitňanská, Platform President Göran Lindblad and Managing Director Neela Winkelmann.

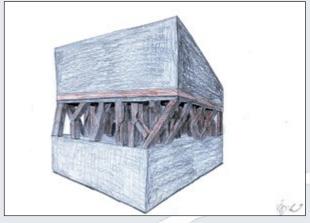




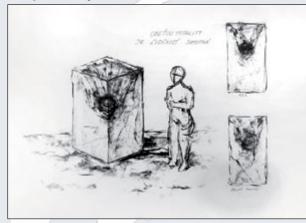




The Winning Entries

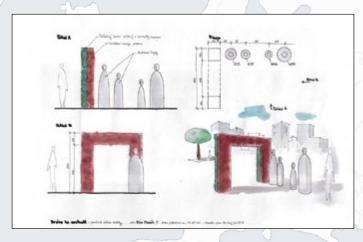


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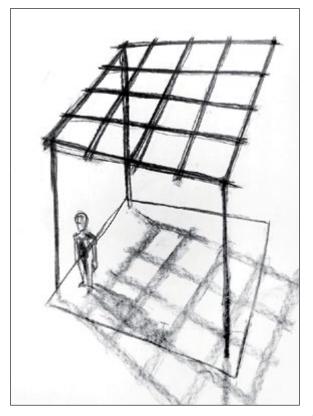


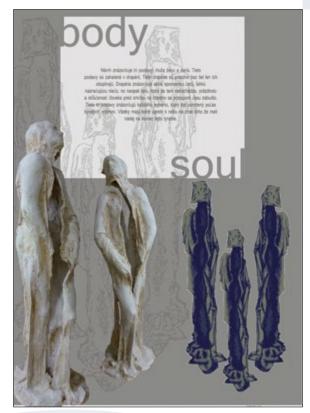
Michaela Kacsiová

Anna Korbašová



Milan Chrobák





Anna Korbašová

**Daniel Knizner** 

# Criminal complaint against 67 representatives of Communist Czechoslovakia filed with the German Federal Prosecutor General on 19 August

As an important milestone of the "JUSTICE 2.0" project and a pioneering legal step, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience prepared and filed a criminal complaint against 67 representatives of the former Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, starting from the top responsible persons - the last surviving members of the Politburo of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, Messrs **Milouš Jakeš, Lubomír Štrougal** and **Peter Colotka**, for the killing of 5 Germans along the Iron Curtain in the years 1967-1986. The criminal complaint represents a result of almost two years' work by Platform researchers and legal specialists. The criminal complaint was delivered by courier to the German Federal Prosecutor General in Karlsruhe.

### Press conference: Justice for victims killed during Communism in Berlin on 25 August

The Union of Victims of Communist Tyranny UOKG, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Remembrance of Victims of Political Tyranny invited to a press conference which was held on Thursday, 25 August 2016 at the Federal Representation of the Free State of Saxony, address Brüderstr. 11/12, 10178 Berlin, Germany.

The topic of the press conference was a criminal complaint which has been filed by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience with the German Federal Prosecutor General. It is directed against 67 persons of Czech and Slovak nationality covering the entire chain of command who are responsible for 5 cases of killings of German victims at the Iron Curtain





which separated former Czechoslovakia from Western Europe.

Speakers at the press conference were: Dr. **Wolfgang-Christian Fuchs**, CEO of the UOKG and President of Inter-Asso, Dr. **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience from Prague, **Konrad Menz**, attorney-at-law from the law office Derra, Meyer & Partner from Berlin and the **mother of Hartmut Tautz**, an eighteen-year-old refugee who was assaulted by so-called independently attacking dogs of the Czechoslovak border guards and died on 9 August 1986, 30 years ago.

### Press conference: Justice for victims killed during Communism in Prague on 26 August

Senator **Jiří Šesták** opened a press conference which was held under the auspices of **Miluše Horská**, Vice-President of the Senate on Friday, 26 August 2016 at 10.00 in the Zaháňský Salon of the Senate, Parliament of the Czech Republic.

The topic of the press conference was a criminal complaint which has been filed by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience with the German Federal Prosecutor General. It is directed against 67 persons of Czech and Slovak nationality covering the entire chain of command who are responsible for 5 cases of killings of German victims at the Iron Curtain which separated former Czechoslovakia from Western Europe. On 25 August 2016 a press conference on the same topic was held in Berlin, Germany.

Speakers at the press conference were: Senator **Jiří Šesták**, Vice-President of the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Human Rights and Petitions, **Luděk Navara**, member of the civic association Paměť, Dr. **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, **Konrad Menz**, attorney-at-law from the law office Derra, Meyer & Partner from Berlin and the **mother of Hartmut Tautz**, an eighteen-year-old refugee who was assaulted by so-called independently attacking dogs of the Czechoslovak border guards and died on 9 August 1986, 30 years ago.





### Reprint of Platform Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" in English and German

The Platform Reader for Schools was reprinted in the English and German versions. Both language versions are in good demand.





### Canadian launch of Platform Exhibition and Reader on European totalitarianism at Toronto City Hall, Canada on 27 August

A major international exhibition on European totalitarianism was launched at the Toronto commemoration of Black Ribbon Day on August 27 at Toronto's City Hall Rotunda. The exhibition "Totalitarianism in Europe", which ran until September 2, features 27 graphic panels, outlining the crimes of Nazi, Soviet and Communist occupying regimes in Europe. The exhibit was developed and created by the EU mandated Platform on European Memory and Conscience. An educational curriculum reader "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" on European totalitarianism developed by PEMC was also launched at the event. PEMC President and former Swedish MP and VP of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Göran Lindblad attended and spoke at the event. Canadian MPs Peter Kent, James Maloney and MPP Yvon Baker also delivered speeches at the launch among other community representatives.

Black Ribbon Day was formally adopted as A Canadian Day of National Remembrance for the Victims of Nazi and Communist Totalitarianism in Europe after a resolution introduced by Bob Rae was adopted unanimously by Canada's Parliament in 2009. The annual event recalls the signing of the 1939 friendship treaty between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, which is widely recognized as facilitating and triggering the Nazi and Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, triggering the start of the WWII.

"It's important for all Canadians to recognize the terror and suffering inflicted upon millions of Europeans during the last century under Nazi, Soviet and Communist regimes," said organizer and President of the Estonian Central Council in Canada, **Marcus Kolga**.

"Its historical importance has grown as the Putin regime aggressively ramps up its efforts to whitewash this sinister history and specter of radical right wing xenophobia continues to rise





on the European continent." Black Ribbon Day was organized in the 1980's by members of the Central and Eastern European communities in Canada to protest the ongoing Communist occupation of Central and Eastern European states. The movement spread to the United States, Europe and other countries around the world.

#### September 2016

#### International conference "Central European countries under Soviet oppression and attempts at democratisation" – Senate, Prague on 22 September

The main aim of this conference was on one hand to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the 1956 revolution and freedom fight against the Soviet oppression and occupation in Hungary; on the other hand to give a broader comparative insight into the analogous uprisings throughout the region in the 1950s and their possible impact of the democratisation attempt of what we call Prague Spring. What was common in the 1953 Berlin, the 1956 Poznań and Budapest uprisings? Why did the revolutions in different countries lead to a different outcome? How did these attempts determine the following decades in the life of the respective Communist countries? What was common in these revolutions and why













did a revolution not take place in the Czech Republic? How does the common history of the countries in the region determine their present role/position in the European Union?

#### Platform online library of literature and film on totalitarianism

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience is building an online library of recommended book and film titles for the broad public interested in understanding totalitarianism. They are to be viewed on the Platform website under "Library". As of now, 35 book titles and 15 films are presented with their covers, brief synopses and an exact link to Amazon.com where they can be purchased online. The collection is being put together by Prof. **Hannes H. Gissurarson** from the University of Reykjavik, Iceland.





October 2016

### Platform representatives meet Chinese civil rights activist Chen Guangcheng in Brussels on 8 October

Platform President **Göran Lindblad** and members of the Board of Trustees, MEPs **Milan Zver** and **Tunne Kelam** met in Brussels with **Chen Guangcheng**, "the barefoot lawyer," a Chinese civil rights advocate working for women's rights, land rights, and the welfare of the poor. Mr Chen, who is blind from an early age, was placed under house arrest in China in 2005 and then imprisoned for more than four years. In 2012, he fled from his continuing house arrest to the U.S.



Embassy in Beijing, and was eventually allowed to leave for the USA where he lives today. Mr Chen was accompanied by an interpreter and Ms **Yutong Su**, also a refugee from Communist China. Ms Yutong Su works as a journalist in Germany.

### Fifth anniversary celebration of the establishment of the Platform on 14 October 2016

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience celebrated its 5th anniversary with a birthday party in the Prague office. On 14 October 2011, the Platform was established as an accompanying event of the summit of the Visegrad Prime Ministers in Prague. Twenty governmental and non-governmental institutions and organisations from 12 EU Member States had signed the founding documents of the Platform. In the five following





years, the Platform has established itself as a respected international non-governmental organisation, with a constantly growing membership, now including also Members from European non-EU countries and from Canada and the USA.

The event was opened by Platform President **Göran Lindblad** who expressed gratitude to governments, institutions, private organisations and individuals who have been supporting the work of the Platform in its first five years. Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** presented the Platform's past, present and planned activities. A slide show highlighted some of the important events and achievements by the Platform. The solid international standing of the Platform is based on good-quality projects designed to fulfill the Platform's main goals – to increase public awareness about European history and the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes and to encourage a broad, European-wide discussion about the causes and consequences of totalitarian rule – , and on the dedicated work of the large spectrum of colleagues who take part and make the work possible.

The Ambassadors of Estonia H.E. **Sten Schwede**, Latvia H.E. **Alberts Sarkanis** and Lithuania H.E. **Edvilas Randonikis** and the 1st Counsel of the Hungarian Embassy Mr **István Buczkó** were among the guests, as well as representatives of Platform Members, collaborators, partners, supporters and friends. Live jazz music was provided by the Samuel Tremko trio.

#### Platform game "Across the Iron Curtain" released

The first international educational board game of the Platform called "Across the Iron Curtain" in English was produced in October 2016. The game aims at educating the broad European public about life under Communism, the violations of human rights and the importance of freedom and democracy. The game players assume the role of an escape helper during the Cold War and try to get their characters from the "Communism" to the "Democracy" side of Europe across the Iron Curtain. The characters come from 15 different former Communist countries, each having a short story explaining why they want to flee the dictatorship. The game manual also contains eight real life stories of escapees and one real story of an escape helper.





### Platform Managing Director participates in first Memory Days in Tirana, Albania on 24-28 October

The Institute for Democracy, Media & Culture, together with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and other partners organised the first Memory Days in Tirana, a week-long event dedicated to coming to terms with the Stalinist Communist past of Albania. Albanians suffered under the particularly brutal dictatorship of Enver Hoxha and his successor Ramiz Alia between 1945-1991, living in complete isolation from the outer world. The extent of the horrific crimes of Communism in Albania remains to be documented. The number of people executed by the Communist regime in Albania ranges at a staggering 7,000 out of a population of 2 million, among them a significant proportion of women. Court sentences sent entire families of so-called "enemies of the state", including small children, to concentration camps for life. Prisoners in these camps were only released in 1991.

At the conference, representatives of state institutions, NGOs and victims' associations presented the current situation in the field, with a particular focus on teaching students about the past, school curricula and preserving memory. Several speakers from abroad participated in a panel discussion on applied history. Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann** presented the Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of totalitarianism in Europe" as an example of a teaching aid. The exchange of experience and information with Albanian partners gave impulses for future cooperation in Platform projects.





November 2016

### Proceedings of the international conference "The Iron Curtain – Consequences of WWII"

The objective of the conference was to fill in some of the remaining white areas on the map of Europe's history and to analyse how the post-WWII division of Europe was planned and prepared, to create an overview of the ascent of the Communist dictatorships to power in the wake of WWII, to present the latest research on the statistics of the people killed on the Iron Curtain as well as to examine the knowledge in the West about the reality of the life behind the Iron Curtain and aspects of Western economic collaboration with the Communist bloc. The conference also discussed the issue of justice for the crimes and possible modes of commemoration of the victims of the Iron Curtain in Europe today. Published by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience © 2016, 1st edition, softcover, 268 pp.



#### **Council of Members 2016:**

### Platform meets politicians, admits five new Members and pays tribute to Holodomor victims in Kyiv, Ukraine

At the annual Council of Members held in Kyiv on 24-26 November 2016, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience admitted five new Member institutions and organisations: – from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine and Albania. At the conclusion of the annual meeting, Platform delegates participated in the official commemoration event at the Holodomor Victims Memorial.

At its annual gathering hosted by the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance in Kyiv, Ukraine, the Platform discussed decommunisation in Ukraine and elsewhere. Beside visits to Maidan, the St. Sophia cathedral and several museums, the Platform had meetings with **Hanna Hopko**, Chairwoman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, **Mykola Knyazhytsky**, Chairman of the Committee on Culture of the Parliament and **Yevhen Nyshchuk**, Minister of Culture.

New Members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience elected on 26 November 2016:

- The Institute for Democracy, Media & Culture (Albania),
- the Traces of Memory association (Czech Republic),
- the Nation's Memory Institute (Slovakia),
- the Witold Pilecki Center for Totalitarian Studies (Poland)
- and the Foundation to Preserve the History of Maidan (Ukraine)

On 26 November, the Platform participated in the official Holodomor commemoration ceremony and lit candles for the victims of the great famine organised by Stalin in 1932-1933.





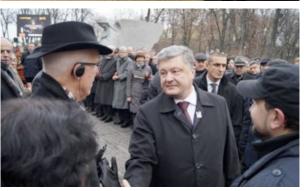














# Platform Reader presentation in schools in all regions of the Czech Republic continues for third year

For the third time this year, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience presented its international Reader "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" at different types of secondary schools in all 14 regions of the Czech Republic, kindly supported this time by a grant from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of the Czech Republic.



Well-known actors/actresses and witnesses of totalitarian persecution participated in the events. Actors taking part this year were **Ondřej Vetchý**, **Otmar Brancuzský**, **Zdeňka Žádníková**, **Vít Roleček**, **Roman Vencl**, **Lenka Krčková**, **David Vacke** and **Tereza Groszmannová**. Eyewitnesses were provided in collaboration with the Confederation of political prisoners of the Czech Republic, Prague Academic Club 48, the Union of Auxilliary Technical Units - Military Forced Labour Camps, the Enemy's Daughters and the civis association Memory (Paměť). Each school received a gift of 10 or more Readers from the Platform.



# December 2016

# Platform endorses decommunisation legislation in Bulgaria

The President of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience sent an open letter to the President and the members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria, expressing support of the Platform for a new decommunisation amendment currently under discussion.

The Council of Members of the Platform expressed its support for the new legislative amendment. The law would introduce mandatory education about the Communist dictatorship in school curricula, as well as a ban on the public display of symbols, objects and monuments of the Communist dictatorship.

"It is encouraging to see parliaments coming up with similar legislative proposals in different post-Communist countries. On the road to overcoming the dark totalitarian past, it is necessary to remove any symbols, objects and monuments of the dictatorship which were used to keep people in mindless obedience, subjugation and fear," says Platform President Göran Lindblad.

# Ján Langoš Award presentation in Bratislava on 10 December

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience representatives visited Bratislava, Slovakia at the occasion of Jan Langos Foundation Prize presentation which took place on 10 December 2016 at the Faculty of Law, Comenius University.

The laureate of the international award this year was Czech philosopher, translator, university teacher and journalist Prof. **Jan Sokol**. The laureates in memoriam were Mr **Alfred Wetzler** and Mr **Rudolf Vrba**, who in 1944 escaped from the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau and exposed the truth about the Nazi extermination camps.

The new biography of **Ján Langoš** "The Guardian of Memory" was introduced. The book was written by Langos` longtime friend and journalist **Alexander Balogh**.

The presentation concluded with the preview of the stage play "Vultures versus Clarinet" by the well-known journalist and author Ms **Ľuba Lesná**. The story is about Hartmuth Tautz, the Eastgerman victim of the Communist regime, who was killed rying to cross the Iron Curtain.





# German ARD airs documentary about Platform's criminal complaint against Czechoslovak Communist perpetrators

German 1st TV channel ARD aired a documentary on the work of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience on 14 December. The film depicts the flight of 18-year-old East German Hartmut Tautz who was attacked by Czechoslovak border guard dogs and died in Bratislava, Slovakia in 1986 and presents the criminal complaint filed by the Platform in Germany against the perpetrators responsible for the death of Hartmut and four other Germans on the Iron Curtain during Communism.

In August 2016, the Platform filed a criminal complaint with the German Federal Prosecutor General against 67 representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist regime for the killing of five Germans in the years 1967-1986. Platform researchers reconstructed the chain of command of the perpetrators ranging from the border guard soldiers to the last surviving members of the politburo of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia **Milouš Jakeš, Lubomír Štrougal** and **Peter Colotka**.

The documentary was aired on 13 December 2016 at 21.45 within the "FAKT" programme. It can be viewed on the ARD website here at 14.00-20.00 minutes (until 20 December 2016).

"We are pleased by the nationwide broadcast and hope that it will support our pioneering quest for justice for these crimes of the Czechoslovak Communist regime in Germany," says Platform Managing Director **Neela Winkelmann**.

# JUSTICE 2.0 presentation in Timisoara, Romania on 20 December

**Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director of the Platform presented the actual progress in the "JUSTICE 2.0" project at a conference in Timisoara, Romania. Together with representatives of the Timisoara Society they discussed the unpunished crimes of Communism committed on Romanian soil during the Communist dictatorship. The presentation was a part of an annual commemoration event of the Romanian revolution which began in Timisoara in December 1989.

# Survey: two thirds of Czech secondary school students do not think coming to terms with totalitarianism has been sufficient; improvement of history lessons wanted

Two thirds of Czech secondary school students do not think that coming to terms with totalitarianism in the country has been sufficient. This is the result of a long-term survey by the Platform of European Memory and Conscience carried out in the years 2013, 2015 and 2016 among 2,500 respondents from 42 secondary schools in all regions of the Czech Republic. Students want less focus on prehistoric times and the antique world, and better modern history education instead. The survey is part of a presentation of the Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe", kindly supported by the KOnrad Adenauer Foundation in 2013 and 2015, and by the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic in 2016.

During the event, in which also well-known actors/actresses and witnesses of totalitarian persecution participate, students fill in an anonymous questionnaire asking them "Do you think that our society has sufficiently come to terms with the legacy of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism after 1989?" In three years, the statistically significant survey has had 2 485 respondents. Of those, 843 students answered YES (33.9%), 1 227 answered NO (49.4%) and 415 (16.7%) did not know how to answer – see Fig.

An active approach to teaching, meetings with witnesses, presentation of biographies and films, visits to museums etc. figure strongly among this years' answers on how to improve history lessons. The students see a problem in the disproportionate amount of lessons dedicated to prehistoric times and the antique world as opposed to the history of the second half of the 20th century.

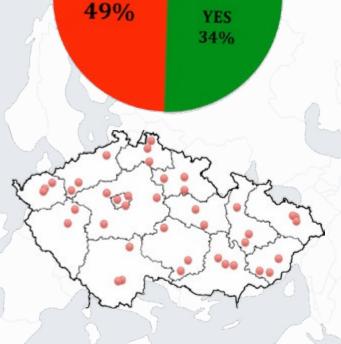
"For the third time this year, our statistics are confirmed. Our youngest generation wants to know its history and sees the unresolved legacy of totalitarianism as a problem. It is essential to support modern history education in schools," says Neela Winkelmann, Managing Director of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience who accompanied the project in schools in the Czech Republic.

Do you think that our society has sufficiently come to terms with the legacy of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism after 1989?

Survey: 2013, 2015 and 2016

Students of 41 grammar schools, specialised secondary schools and vocational schools in all regions of the Czech Republic

No. of respondents: 2 485, 42 participating schools; answers from 41 schools



DON'T

KNOW

17%

NO

## Member`s Newsletter

The monthly electronic Members' Newsletter was put together by editor **Gillian Purves** and graphic artist **Dana Bellany**, bringing information from the Platform Office and from our Members, including Platform projects and a "Member of the Month" feature. 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. Issues were published for the months of October 2015 – February 2016, March, April, May, June, July – August, September – November 2016 and December 2016 – May 2017. A **Calendar of events** is published at the end of the Newsletter as well as on the Platform website.

# **Activities of the Board**

The President and the Executive Board of the Platform - **Göran Lindblad, Toomas Hiio, Siegfried Reiprich, Zsolt Szilágyi** and Dr. **Paweł Ukielski** - worked for the Platform on an honorary basis. The Board held meetings in person in Prague on 15 February, in Brussels on 15 June and in Kyiv on 25 November 2016.

# **Platform Staff and Collaborators**

The Platform team in 2016 included **Peter Rendek**, IT and project manager; **Gillian Purves**, editor; **Dana Bellany**, graphic artist; **Yveta Schmalzová**, payroll and tax advisor; **Veronika Schovánková**, maintenance; and Dr. **Neela Winkelmann**, Managing Director. Legal advisors in the Czech Republic were **NH Partners**, s.r.o. and accounting services were provided by **MAZARS**, s.r.o.. For the project "JUSTICE 2.0 - International Justice for the Communist Crimes", we engaged researchers **Martin Slávik** from the Centre for Documentation of Totalitarian Regimes, CZ; **Miroslav Lehký** from the Ján Langoš Foundation, SK; **Miroslav Kasáček** and **Luděk Navara** from the civic association Paměť, CZ; Dr. **Ĺubomír Morbacher** from the civic association Living Memory, SK; and Prof. Dr. **Stephan Appelius** from the Freie Universität Berlin, DE; 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 Černič** from the Graduate School of Government and European Studies in Kranj and Dr. **Nika Bruskina** from the Faculty of Law of Vilnius University. Volunteer was **Alžběta Majerová**.

# Acknowledgement of Support

The Platform of European Memory and Conscience gratefully acknowledges the support by two grants from the Government of Hungary awarded for its activities in 2015 -2016 and 2016 - 2017. The Platform thanks the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of the Czech Republic for a grant for the presentation of the Platform Reader for Schools "Lest We Forget. Memory of Totalitarianism in Europe" in 14 schools across the Czech Republic. The Platform is grateful to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for the continuing partnership and support.

We are finally indebted to the Czech foundation BLÍŽKSOBĚ for providing sponsorship to the Platform in 2016.

## Platform in the Media

In 2016, we published altogether 23 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. We also share them on the Platform facebook page www. facebook.com/platformofeuropeanmemoryandconscience.

In the period 1 January – 31 December 2016, the official Platform website had 8103 unique users with 12712 sessions and total 69066 page views, according to the Google Analytics statistic code.

The work of the Platform, particularly the ongoing project "JUSTICE 2.0", is being noticed and quoted in international media. Most international media attention focused on the inauguration of the memorial to Hartmut Tautz in Bratislava - Petržalka and the

subsequent criminal complaint filed in Germany against 🔎 67 persons responsible for the death of Hartmut and 4 other Germans on the Czechoslovak Iron Curtain.

British media were particularly interested in the work of the Platform toward the opening of the mass grave in Prague with bodies of victims of Nazism and Communism, including, most likely, the bodies of the men who assassinated Reinhard Heydrich.

## 12 May 2016

"Tudi v Sloveniji ni prepozno, da sprejmete zakon o lustraciji!" (Telegraf, Slovenia)

29 August 2016 Wird der Tod ihres Sohnes endlich gesühnt? (Bild.de)

20 August 2016

The Times: Fight to honour heroes who killed top Nazi

# Fight to honour heroes who killed top Nazi Sohnes



letzt beschät-tigt sein Fall den Generalbundes-anwalt in Karts-tuhe Die Op-

freiheit-denkender

»Tudi v Sloveniji ni prepozno, da sprejmete zakon o lustraciji!« sacijo, v kateri ljudje iskreno mislijo, da je resnica prikrita, ostaja občutek nezadovoljstva, s katerim pa je sprava kot končni cilj soočanja s preteklostjo težko dosegljiva,« je med drugim v pogovoru dejal prof. drr. Albin Eser iz Nemčije



ne Lebenson

# Financial report as of 31 December 2016

Period	1 January 2016 – 31 December 2016
Account name	Closing balance EUR
Cash on hand EUR	308,30
Bank account in CZK	787,23
Bank account in EUR	629 085,16
Goods in stock	4 766,65
Customers	580,20
Receivables to employees	60,00
Other receivables	2 700,00
Accrued assets	78,12
Deferred costs	3 433,04
Total assets	641 798,70
Suppliers	1 037,53
Liabilities to employees and institutions	79,20
Tax payable	13,32
Other payables	2 196,25
Accrued payables	11 459,56
Deferred revenues	537 131,93
Loss for last period	-26 826,93
Profit/loss for period	116 707,84
Total liabilities	641 798,70
Office supplies	8 248,84
Energy consumption - office	3 561,16
Travel expenses	80 568,47
Representation expenses	9 963,50
Donations	1 733,35
Services	171 058,65
Salaries costs	48 178,00
FX losses	6 351,39
Other expenses	484, 25
Bank fees	1 753,70
Total costs	331 901,31
Bank interest	236,18
FX gains	280,54
Revenues from merchandise	730,70
Received contributions	447 361,73
Total income	448 609,15

# **Platform Representatives**

The Board of the Platform elected as of 19 November 2015



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



MANAGING DIRECTOR Neela Winkelmann (CZ)

## **EXECUTIVE BOARD**



**Toomas Hiio (EE)** Estonian Institute of Historical Memory



Siegfried Reiprich (DE)
Director, Saxon Memorial
Foundation for the
Remembrance of Victims of
Political Tyranny



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



Paweł Ukielski (PL) Deputy Director, Warsaw Rising Museum

## SUPERVISORY BOARD



Valters Nollendorfs (LV)
Chairman of the Board of
Directors, The Occupation
Museum Association of
Latvia



Marek Mutor (PL)
Director, Remembrance and
Future Institute



Miroslav Lehký (SK) Ján Langoš Foundation

## **BOARD OF TRUSTEES**



Sandra Kalniete (LV), Member of the European Parliament, former Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs and **EU Commissioner** 



**Vytautas Landsbergis** (LT), former leader of the democratic opposition, former Member of the European Parliament, former President of Lithuania



Tunne Kelam (EE), Member of the European Parliament, former leader of the democratic opposition and Member of Parliament



László Tőkés (RO), Member of the European Parliament, Bishop of Temesvár, leader of the democratic opposition in the 1989 revolution



Milan Zver (SI), Member of the European Parliament, former Minister of **Education and Sports** 



**Paweł Robert Kowal** (PL), Member of the European Parliament



Werner Schulz (DE), former Member of the European Parliament, former East German dissident



Monica Macovei (RO), Member of the European Parliament, former Minister of Justice



Radvilė Morkūnaitė-Mikulėnienė (LT), former Member of the European Parliament



Martin Mejstřík (CZ), student leader of the 1989 "Velvet revolution", former Senator



Alexandr Vondra (CZ), former Minister of Defence, former dissident, former Minister of Foreign **Affairs** 



Wojciech Roszkowski (PL), former Solidarność leader, historian, former Member of the European ParliamentJustice



Stéphane Courtois (FR), historian, author of the "Black book of Communism"



Anne Applebaum (GB), Janez Janša (SI), journalist and Pullitzer-Prize winning author



former dissident, former Prime Minister of Slovenia



Ondřej Vetchý (CZ), award-winning actor

# Members of the Platform as of December 2016

#### **ALBANIA**

Institute for Democracy, Media & Culture

#### **BULGARIA**

Citizens` Initiative for Dismantling the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia

#### CANADA

Czech and Slovak Association of Canada Black Ribbon Day Foundation

#### **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

The Memory Traces

Union of Auxilliary Technical Units (PTP)

#### **ESTONIA**

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

## **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)

#### HUNGARY

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

## **ICELAND**

Icelandic Research Centre for Innovation and Economic Growth

#### 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

#### **MOLDOVA**

Centre for the Study of Totalitarianism

#### **NETHERLANDS**

Foundation History of Totalitarian Regimes and their Victims

#### **POLAND**

Institute of National Remembrance Polish History Museum Remembrance and Future Institute Warsaw Rising Museum Witold Pilecki Center for Totalitarian Studies

#### **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 Timisoara Society

#### **SLOVAKIA**

Inconspicuous Heroes Ján Langoš Foundation Nation's Memory Institute Truc sphérique

#### **SLOVENIA**

Nova Slovenska zaveza Study Centre for National Reconciliation

## **SWEDEN**

The Institute for Information on the Crimes of Communism

#### UKRAINE

Center for Research on the Liberation Movement Foundation to Preserve the History of Maidan Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People National museum "Holodomor Victims Memorial" Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance

## **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Joint Baltic American National Committee
Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation













# **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: CZ0308000000000000000000 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