

“Commemorative Sites to the Communist Dictatorships in Europe in the 20th Century”

1. Summary of the Project

The Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship (Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung) is in the process of preparing documentation on sites, testimonials and museums that commemorate opposition, resistance, persecution and repression in the Communist regimes in the countries of Eastern, Eastern-Central and South-Eastern Europe and in the successor states to the former Soviet Union. Those European states will also be included in the documentation which lay temporarily within the sphere of influence of the USSR and in which political injustice took place under a Soviet regime of occupation (e.g. Austria).

Subsequently, those places will also be included which have been erected as memorials to the injustice that took place under Communist rule and to resistance and persecution and the overcoming of dictators outside the former Communist sphere of influence, i.e. in the West.

The aim of the project is to record as comprehensively as possible the (material) forms of coming to terms with the Communist dictatorships of the 20th Century. So, under the aegis of the project, documentation will be created on the “Topography of Commemoration” in the various regions, which in turn will make access possible to the national cultures and discourses of commemoration in the European context. With this project, the Foundation is fulfilling its duty to keep alive in public awareness the memory of the injustice that was perpetrated and of its victims and to promote international cooperation in coming to terms with the Communist dictatorships.

The central focus of the project’s attention is on the one hand those memorials and testimonials in the public space which testify to the diverse forms of political repression and persecution and their victims as well as to resistance and opposition. But it will also include testimonials erected in memory of the toppling of totalitarian Communist regimes in the revolutions of 1989-1991. Museums presenting contemporary ways of coming to terms with and presenting the Communist past as their main focus of interest will also be included in the project. The project will furthermore involve, albeit at a subordinate level, collecting data on sites, museums and memorials that have been established post-1989/90 with a positive

attitude to the Communist past.

The project's target groups are scholars, media professionals, political educators, teachers and politicians in European countries who deal with questions connected with the culture of commemoration, former victims of persecution in the Communist dictatorships and their descendants and the interested public.

2. Parameters of the project in terms of content and definition of the subject of study

2.1. Definition of the forms of the material and immaterial landscape of commemoration

With the aid of contact persons and local institutions, the Foundation is gathering all information on existing commemorative sites to which they have access and that they can obtain. This information on each site will be recorded in a database. Primarily testimonials, museums and memorials will be recorded, but also historic sites of exceptional significance which have been created in commemoration of the Communist regimes and overcoming them.

To ensure uniform classification and description, initial definitions for the separate categories are proposed in the following:

- As **testimonials**, material forms of commemoration are brought together that have been set up at historic sites or places. These are usually in the public space and are thus generally freely accessible in most cases. They include crosses, stones, tablets, and religious symbols such as shrines or sculptures and steles. Their artistic form is subject to religious, ethnic or political traditions. These testimonials provide information on the significance of the historic sites at which they have been set up.
- Half way between testimonials and memorials, **commemorative sites** are historic sites which, like memorials, in most cases commemorate an exemplary persecution complex in public awareness. Unlike memorials, however, these are not laid out as museums, but are specially set apart from the surrounding area and in most cases marked by several testimonials. Commemorative sites include above all cemeteries or grave fields such as the Donskoe Cemetery in Moscow or Parcel 301 in the New Municipal Cemetery in Budapest, which are in general freely accessible or, especially if they are part of larger complexes, subject to opening times.
- **Memorials** are learning and meeting places supported by various organisations at

historic sites, which provide information on the history of an exemplary persecution complex by means of exhibitions and educational amenities (guided tours, libraries, etc.). In addition to their museum aspects, memorials are usually enhanced by the presence of testimonials set up within the context of the past being remembered at the site. Memorials thus have a double function as places of information and enlightenment and at the same time of commemoration at the historic site.

- **Museums**, within the framework of the project, include facilities and institutions which concentrate in exhibitions of contemporary history wholly or partially on matters of resistance and persecution in Communist dictatorships or deal with the consequences and overcoming of totalitarian regimes. As a rule, they are not located at historic sites and regard their museum work as their prime aim. There are, however, overlaps with memorials if, as is the case with the House of Terror in Budapest or the Genocide Museum in Vilnius, these museums have been set up on historic sites. Exhibitions in these institutions do not, however, provide only information on the exemplary persecution complex associated with the particular site, but give priority to showing as well other and more general aspects of totalitarian rule. The commemorative aspect of these amenities is moreover secondary to the demands of information and enlightenment. If there is any doubt as to this, it is cleared up by reference to the institution's definition of itself.
- In the final category are **sacral buildings**, erected in most cases by various religious communities to commemorate victims from among their number. They can be located both at historic sites and at "unencumbered" sites in the public space. Their main function is to fulfill the task of institutionalized commemoration that fits into the traditions and rituals of the religious community and is thus selective with regard to symbolic language and historical content.

Institutions (e.g. associations) dealing with scholarly research and social reappraisal and/or political education in general and which may not have permanent exhibitions and are accessible to the public for the most part as archives or libraries are excluded from the project with reference to the project's objective of preparing an overview of commemorative sites in the public space. These institutions are included in the "International Vade-Mecums" series, which is also under preparation by the Foundation.

In addition to commemorative and memorial sites created in the public space, sites and places will as far as possible be included which, while not being marked by testimonials or amenities, become commemorative or memorial sites by virtue of specific rituals (such as remembrance days or anniversaries). They are traditionally used for example as substitutes

for historic sites for regular commemorative events such as rallies or temporary installations or performances. They include chiefly sites of particular national or international significance, such as Wenceslas Square in Prague, the Khreshchatyk in Kiev, Yanka Kupala Square in Minsk, the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, etc.

2.2. Limiting the commemorated past

2.2.1 Definitions of repression, resistance and victims

When the Communist dictatorships collapsed following the revolutions of 1989-1991, it became possible essentially for the first time to discuss publicly their crimes and the injustices that had been perpetrated. This was accompanied by social acknowledgement and honoring of the victims of these unjust regimes. On the basis of the diverse forms of political repression and against the background of the historical development of totalitarian systems, a new definition of victim came into being which only infrequently complied with the victim status codified into law at national state level under rehabilitation and restitution laws. In addition to this decision, subject to political and social conditions, which is by no means undisputed, individual actors or groups were accorded victim status simply against the background of an experience of (politically motivated) injustice suffered in the past. This self-definition as victim, which for democratic societies is quite legitimate, brings about a wide spectrum of definition of resistance and victim, this spectrum making clear the culture of commemoration in the respective state. This is also reflected in the material landscape of commemoration and memorial, especially in the variety and quality of testimonials.

Closer attention is paid in the following to some areas of cultures of commemoration in order to explain in more detail the special features to which the project should pay attention.

2.2.2. Dealing with the “multiple past”

The states in Eastern, Eastern-Central and South-Eastern Europe became, in the course of the 20th Century, the scenes of crimes committed by the two great totalitarian regimes, Communism and Nazism. These states often experienced several occupations, which has had a sustained impact on the culture of commemoration in these states. This is exacerbated by the existence of authoritarian regimes in the inter-war period, which also persecuted people or groups for political, religious or ethnic reasons. But the present social discourses concentrate on the crimes of Nazism and Communism. The Holocaust is nevertheless accorded special significance. A project dealing predominantly with the question of

commemoration of the crimes of Communism cannot avoid also including the impacts and consequences of Nazi rule. The project's brief being not to indulge in setting one lot of crimes off against another, the crimes of the two regimes can neither be relativized nor treated as minor; nonetheless, with regard to the objectives of the project, the impacts and consequences of the Communist dictatorships are of primary significance.

But even without this necessary limitation there are numerous overlaps between Nazi and Communist crimes at those sites with a "multiple past". Representative examples are the Katyn Memorial and the Genocide Museum in Vilnius. Katyn was not only, as is generally known, the site of the execution of Polish soldiers and civilians by the NKVD in 1940, but was already in use as a place of execution during the mass terror of 1937-38. Hundreds of Red Army members who had died of hunger, illness and exhaustion in German prisoner-of-war camps were given anonymous graves at the same site under Nazi rule. The overlap between Communist and Nazi crimes can be seen even more clearly in the Genocide Museum in Vilnius, the site of which was used as a place of imprisonment and execution by both the Soviet and German secret services. Under Soviet occupation in 1939-40 and 1944-49, Vilnius was the base for preparing the deportation trains to Siberia; and in 1941-1944 under German occupation, transports of Jews and political opponents left Vilnius for the Nazis' extermination camps. Contextualization of these sites in terms of the use of the sites in the two dictatorships which is not always mentioned at present in the existing memorials and is associated with it is an integral part of the project's work.

The situation is similar with the testimonials which have been set up to commemorate historical events or actors providing a link between Nazi and Communist injustice. As an example, the crimes of the NKVD in the evacuation of political prisoners from the western areas of the then Soviet Union (the Baltic states, Belarus and the Ukraine) in the summer of 1941 may be mentioned, which were used as an excuse for initiating pogroms after the German invasion and are thus to be seen in the context of the subsequent extermination of the Jewish population in these areas.

Further overlaps can be seen in the fight of Soviet security forces against the national freedom and underground movements, whose ranks also included Nazi collaborators and war criminals.

Finally the case of the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg may be mentioned, who rescued Hungarian Jews from being sent to the death camps, but was arrested by the Soviet secret service as an alleged spy after the liberation of Hungary and died in Moscow. A similar case is

that of Noel Field, an American.

2.2.3. National and nationalist context

Following the collapse of the totalitarian Socialist regimes, commemoration of the injustice perpetrated during that period also acquired the task of establishing the basic values of freedom and democracy in the public consciousness. As well as establishing democracies under the rule of law, some of the states of the former Eastern Bloc (e.g. the three Baltic States regained their independence, with the result that the collapse of Communism is at the same time also commemorated as an act of (re-) gaining national sovereignty. The resulting linking of the construction of national identity with commemoration of the injustice perpetrated under the Socialist regimes plays an important part in many countries of Eastern-Central and Eastern Europe; when the victims of Communism are being commemorated today, this is combined with commemoration of historical people and groups who saw themselves exposed in various ways to persecution by the Socialist regimes because of their anti-Communist or nationalist values and political ideas. At the same time, however, they are not seen in every case, according to today's Western European standards, as pioneers in the struggle for a democratic social order. Against the background of national cultures of commemoration in which the legitimate struggle for independence and freedom is emphasised and in which a lack of relation to democracy in corresponding aspects of the culture of commemoration is often also subjected to critical discourse, these monuments are also included. In the actual work, this affects above all taking in testimonials set up after 1989-90 to commemorate the independence and liberation movements after the First and Second World Wars. The same is true of the commemoration of victims who belonged to various religious communities, some of whom have no historical connection with basic ideas of democracy and freedom or at most adopted them very selectively (e.g. in parts of the Russian Orthodox Church). Such testimonials will be placed in their historical context taking account of this problem area and, at the same time, embedded in and explained in terms of the specific features of each respective national culture of commemoration.

2.2.4. (Un-)critically affirmative forms of commemoration

As well as a wide range of documentation of the existing material commemorative landscapes, the project will also expose the various forms and periods of political persecution in the name of Communism. This means that all the testimonials will also be included that have been set up to commemorate state and Party functionaries as well as artists and scientists who were bound in with the system and who fell victim to persecution in various

phases of purging or repression and have today been rehabilitated into the public space.

Against the background of the history of the Socialist system, in which there were time and again phases of “self-purging”, many cadres of the nomenklatura were the victims of politically-motivated persecution, especially in the 1930s and 1950s. Public commemoration of these functionaries, such as Imre Nagy in Hungary or Dmitri Žilunovič in Belarus, has taken place essentially in two phases; between 1956 and 1972, and at the end of the 1980s in the course of Glasnost‘ and Perestroika. Thus, several prominent residents of the “Riverside House”, an apartment block for the higher ranks of the nomenclature of the Soviet Union, were victims of the mass terror of 1937 and honored with commemorative plaques in the 1960s. They included Aleksandr Kosarev, the chairman of the Komsomol and Jakov Peters, Head of the Party Monitoring Commission of the Communist Party of the USSR. The rehabilitation of these people and groups, who were frequently themselves part of the apparatus of repression, is seen within the framework of the project within the larger context of discussion of and coming to terms with political persecution. So testimonials erected to commemorate these actors will also be included (e.g. testimonials for Red Army generals (Tuchaevski), former secret service functionaries (Beršin), and Party functionaries (Trockij)).

As well as testimonials, there are also above all museums that are dedicated to specific topics in the context of political persecution, without having any decided interest in coming to terms with them. These include particularly museum treatments of former security organs (police and secret service), which necessarily have to deal in the presentation of their history with questions of political repression, but mostly without any critical clearing-up work. (Documentation of the Russian security service Federal'naya Služba Bezpanosti (FSB), Secret Service Museums in Dnipropetrovs'k in the Ukraine, the Police Museum in Char'kiv in the Ukraine, the Secret Service Museum of the Republic of Mariy El in Russia) They are therefore assigned to the area of (un-) critically affirmative commemoration and included in the project in this connection.

This also includes those forms of clearly affirmative commemorative culture expressed in the (re-) erection of monuments to political leaders of the Communist movement since 1989-91. So testimonials erected for example for Dimitroff, Stalin, Lenin or the founder of the Čeka, Dzeržinsky, are included in this project, albeit at a secondary level, in the interests of completeness of the documentation. Those museum projects are also included which can be counted as clear, affirmative commemoration. This mainly affects tradition cabinets or memorials and museums for leaders of the Communist Party (for example Lenin memorials or the Brežnev Museum in Dnipropetrovs'k). Knowledge of the place of such retro-

commemorations in the public space is an important factor in placing and evaluating the commemorative landscapes and cultures that have come into being since 1989-91.

2.3. Commemoration beyond remembering victims

Coming to terms with the consequences of Communist dictatorships in individual countries does not take place only by honoring the protagonists of resistance and their actions and the victims by means of testimonials in the public space, but also includes for example other aspects of the history of everyday life. Above all, it is the various attempts at and concepts for museum presentation that have come into being in this area in the course of critical coming-to-terms with the past (Socland-Projekt, Poland).

These include the huge public impact of displays of relics of the Communist commemorative culture such as that in Grutas Park in Lithuania or the Sculpture Park in Hungary. They indisputably reflect an aspect of social discourse.

2.4. Evaluating importance and depth of treatment

In the past fifteen years there has practically been an explosion in the number of testimonials, museums and memorials in Eastern Europe commemorating the many historical actors and events. According to cautious initial estimates, at present probably some seven to eight thousand commemorative sites have been created. Against the background of this wealth of information, a few criteria are introduced in the following for developing the project in a meaningful way.

It should be mentioned to begin with that all available information on commemorative sites relating to the subject of study will be documented as a matter of course. Individual testimonials can, however, only be dealt with in depth step-by-step and on a successive basis. This means that a priori importance must be assessed and certain sections must be given preference, without it being certain in each case that this is in line with the actual situation in the state in question or with the value accorded to any given testimonials there. This fact must be allowed for in any evaluation of research results and if necessary the user's attention must be especially drawn to this problem.

As well as concrete working proposals for solving this problem, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, the following forms of material commemoration will be comprehensively documented as a matter of course.

- Museums and memorials.

These include museums covering the history of political persecution (occupation museums, the House of Terror in Budapest, the Museum of Communism in Prague); and memorials at important historical sites (the Sighet Memorial, the Katyn Memorial, the Perm 36 Memorial). Also historical museums devoted wholly or partially to the subject of study (national museums and military history museums). In addition, there are numerous museums in rural areas that are devoted to a more or less exhaustive treatment of questions of political persecution. These range from regional museums showing local aspects of political persecution in permanent exhibitions to small, privately-initiated commemorative sites for individual opposition members or resistance fighters. Because the number of these amenities can at present scarcely be guessed at, these museums (if they are known) will also be documented in accordance with the research conditions.

- Testimonials and commemorative sites of national and international importance, which commemorate certain examples of political persecution or political persecution as a whole.

This covers, for example, the hundreds of commemorative signs in the form of plaques or crosses commemorating the Forest Brotherhood in Lithuania and Latvia or the UPA fighters in the Ukraine. Documenting all these testimonials would put far too much strain on the project, so a few of them felt to be especially important in the national context will be documented as examples with reference being made in presenting the historical background to the fact that there are countless other such testimonials in the country. A crucial indication for the evaluation of importance is the inclusion of testimonials in the official and social practice of commemoration (state ceremonies and official commemorative acts). The attribution of a commemorative site of national importance is, however, uncommonly difficult, so that selection, if it is necessary, is made in agreement with national experts.

2.5. Geographical restriction

The documentation includes all those states in the European region which existed as Socialist regimes prior to 1989-91. Germany is not included, however, as there is a separate Stiftung Aufarbeitung project, to which reference is made, dealing with the treatment of testimonials, memorials and museums to the dictatorship in the Soviet zone of occupation (SBZ) and the GDR. The second, revised, edition of the volume with over 600 commemorative sites is currently in preparation.

All those states will be included which gained independence as states after 1991 as successor states to the USSR. Because of the territorial expansion of the USSR and the fact that in particular Central Asia became the scene of massive political injustice (deportations, special residential areas and camps), these states cannot be excluded. Together with the testimonials and institutions located there, they form an integral part of the project.

Furthermore, all those states in Europe will be included which were within the sphere of influence of the USSR in the context of the Second World War and in which political injustice was perpetrated under a Soviet regime of occupation. This affects mainly Austria and Finland and to a certain extent Norway and Denmark as well, which were temporarily subject to Soviet military administration. The extent to which political injustice perpetrated by the Soviet occupying power is reflected in the commemorative landscape still has to be investigated. Greece is in a similar situation, where with regard to the civil war of 1946-48 injustice was also perpetrated in the name of Communist ideology.

The Appendix includes a list a list of the states covered so far.

2.6. Testimonials of the diaspora

In the course of the Second World War, but also following failed revolutions in the Eastern Bloc, many resistance fighters and opposition members emigrated to the West. Political conditions meant that it was only there possible to erect testimonials to commemorate resistance, persecution and opposition. In particular the Hungarian and Polish diaspora initiated a great many testimonials in Western Europe, North America and Australia, which will be recorded if they are found, although their documentation is not a primary aim of the project.

3. Realisation of the International Guide to Commemorative Sites

3.1 Provenance of the Project

The International Guide to Commemorative Sites is a project of the Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship (Stiftung Aufarbeitung). Led by Dr. Anne Kaminsky, the project is being carried out by Ruth Gleinig and Ronny Heidenreich. The project is being realised in cooperation with scientific and scholarly institutions and experts and with foreign partners. The Stiftung Aufarbeitung is in charge of organisation.

A project advisory team has been set up to provide scholarly supervision and support and includes representatives of all the participating institutions as well as acknowledged experts. In addition, country-specific workshops, colloquiums and expert discussions are envisaged at which the state of research that has been achieved can be discussed as well as open questions and problems, for example in classifying specific forms of national commemorative culture.

3.2 Project results

Recording testimonials, memorials and museums in a database is the first step towards documenting the material landscape of commemoration in Central and Eastern Europe. This database can only, however, provide selected glimpses into the subject matter. So it is intended to offer various additional features to complement the database. The end result will be a comprehensive information and discussion forum dedicated to matters of the culture of commemoration of Communism.

The following facilities and projects are envisaged.

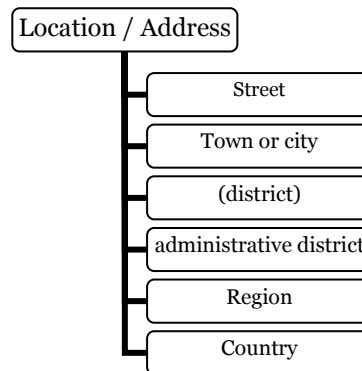
3.2.1. Database

Testimonials, memorials, commemorative sites and museums will be recorded in an Internet-capable Access database including all information that will facilitate evaluation and use of the research results according to historical, descriptive, regional and content-based perspectives.

Material will be included with as much detail as possible in order to be able to represent as wide a range as possible.

In detail, the following information will be gathered on the individual commemorative sites:

- a) Regional location in the local language (if necessary transliterated), German and English



- b) Contact partners (if available), with details of institution if applicable

- c) Background description

This will be uniformly in German, English and the local language. In the first stage of the project, only German descriptions will be prepared. The background description is structured as a continuous text as follows:

- 1.) Nature and location of the commemorative site
 - 2.) Description of its history (initiators, date of erection, etc.)
- Description of historical background

The historical background will be briefly described, relating chiefly to the concrete relationship of the testimonial to the region. To guarantee contextualization, references to complementary texts will be provided at the relevant places which offer users the possibility of getting comprehensive information on the history of Communist rule in individual regions.

To avoid redundancies of content, which can come about if, say, there are a large number of testimonials and commemorative items for any given historical event or group of persecutees or victims, only what is specific to each commemorative site will be recorded and a link will be provided to a basic contribution giving the necessary historical background information for all associated testimonials and sites.

- d) Inscriptions

Inscriptions will be recorded separately. They will be recorded in their local language and in German and English translation. A separate note will be made of the language in which the text was written. Details will also be recorded of the exact position of the inscription on the testimonial.

e) Photographs

If possible, photographs showing the full view and various details of the testimonial will be attached to the brief descriptions. This is intended to enable the user to form as exact a visual impression as possible, as the description especially of complex monuments cannot include all aspects of the language of forms and symbols.

The photos will be kept in a separate photo archive.

f) Details of sources and literature

References for further reading will be provided for users and the sources used for the descriptions will be detailed. This will enable users to engage in further work on their own.

- Usability

Users can undertake research in the database along historical, descriptive, regional and content-based lines.

a) historical

Each testimonial will be allocated certain key words relating to the subject of commemoration. These will be firstly chronological in the order of periods of persecution as outlined in the Appendix.

A second key word will relate to normative criteria, thus making it possible to research all testimonials with reference to camps, secret service, prisons, forced labor, etc.

Practical catalogues of key words are in preparation for this purpose.

b) descriptive

Descriptive research means searching for external characteristics of the commemorative site. This could involve differentiation into museums, memorials, commemorative sites, sacral buildings and testimonials. The latter category will be subdivided into commemorative stones, commemorative plaques, commemorative crosses, roadside crosses, shrines, monuments, steles and inscriptions.

c) regional

Using an exact description of the location, a selection can be made of testimonials in any given region. This can be done hierarchically for countries, regions, administrative districts and towns or cities.

To make things simpler for users, it is intended that various interactive maps are to be provided. Individual regions can then be called up using these and the commemorative sites can be selected with their descriptions. The model for this is the way this has already been done in the “Memorials to the Victims of Political Repression in the Territory of the Former USSR” database created by the Sacharov Center.

In addition, a list of commemorative sites grouped by country will be provided.

d) content

The information that can be called down here is: date of dedication, initiators (inquiry by person and institution), and designer. It should also be possible to search for particular words within inscriptions and descriptions of commemorative sites. It is likewise possible to classify according to the language of the inscription.

A search within the text of the brief description is not envisaged. All information included there can be researched in parallel via the relevant key words.

3.2.2 Internet

It is intended to make the results of the database documentation accessible to the public in the form of a website, embedding the database in a larger Internet presence. This will include various offers, such as selected texts, reviews and press reports on the topic. For the writing of the texts, scholars, journalists etc. could be offered the opportunity to create a freely-accessible information pool here. Other projects, such as that of the Virtual Library Eastern Europe, follow this concept and have been very successful with it.

For further information, bibliographies on individual topic areas will be prepared and kept updated. It is also planned to create a comprehensive collection of links to websites of institutions, associations and relevant subject matter. So that the user can be actively involved, a discussion forum will be set up in which issues in relation to culture of commemoration can be discussed. Just as useful will be the preparation of events diaries and overviews of relevant events and conferences.

It is planned that an editor in the Stiftung Aufarbeitung will be in charge of the editorial and technical aspects of this labor-intensive undertaking. To ensure networking and the flow of information, this person will cooperate with relevant institutions. Moreover, cooperation will be sought with existing information portals such as H-Soz-Kult, the Joe List, the Eastern

Europe Network, etc., in order to concentrate offers relevant for the project on the website.

3.2.3 Individual projects

Because of the sheer number of testimonials commemorating Communism, it is planned to work on certain areas of the culture of commemoration in the context of the IGCS project in cooperation with specialized scholars and/or institutions. This would involve focussing documentation and research on certain regions or subject matter. Proceeds would be used for the database. Essays, etc., resulting from this could be used on the website.

3.2.4 Public events

To promote networking between relevant institutions and associations and to make a wide public aware of the International Guide to Commemorative Sites project, it is planned that public events and scholarly discussion forums should be held on selected areas of the culture of commemoration. Contact and exchange of views with scholars and media from the regions in question is of particular importance here. They will be organised in cooperation with other interested institutions.

The Stiftung Aufarbeitung will moreover provide regular information on its own events with international relevance via the International Guide to Commemorative Sites.

3.3. Cooperation and collaboration

The Stiftung Aufarbeitung relies on experts and institutions in Germany and abroad for research and for evaluation of the information gained. So the international networking of the Foundation will be promoted as part of this project.

In researching the commemorative sites, the Foundation will be working with the prisoners' associations and reappraisal initiatives that are usually the initiators of the testimonials. The assistance received from these organisations is an important part of the work. As far as possible, the Foundation will also approach national museums and institutions such as the occupation and Communism museums and ask them to support this project.

German institutions based abroad, such as the Goethe Institute, and locally-active foundations (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Robert Bosch Stiftung, Heinrich Böll- Stiftung, etc.) will also be involved.

In this way, information on locations of commemorative sites and testimonials is to be gained, and where possible supplemented by local partners with further background

information on their erection and historical context. At the same time, it is intended to provide photographs which will be used by the Foundation to publicize results by means of assignment of rights.

In cooperating with local partners, reference will be made to the project's objectives of offering an insight into the European culture of commemoration of Communism. This will supplement the national topographies of commemoration that have been realized in nearly all countries. Cooperation will be sought with the institutions and associations involved in these.

As well as collecting data on commemorative sites, users will be offered introductory articles on national cultures of commemoration and political persecution in individual countries. This additional offer is important for placing the commemorative sites, especially the ones that are the subject of controversial discussion, in a historical and political context. At the same time, these experts will check the brief descriptions of the commemorative sites and testimonials prepared in the Foundation for accuracy and comment on them if necessary.

For this task, the Stiftung Aufarbeitung is gaining the assistance of scholars specializing in the relevant areas and cooperating with institutions in Germany and abroad. These can be offered the opportunity to use the results gathered together in the Foundation in part as the basis for external projects in these institutions. In this connection, the database will be made available for research use.

The networking of the project will above all have recourse to the national and international connections of the Stiftung Aufarbeitung already in existence and to the skills represented in the various specialist advisory teams and the project advisory team.

Appendix I

Time Frame and Classification into Periods

1. Between October Revolution and World War Two (1917-1945)

- Civil war 1917-1923

The persecution of opponents of Communist dictatorships started immediately after the seizure of power by the Bol'sheviki in 1917. Until the end of the civil war and the foundation of the USSR in 1923, events were dominated by armed conflict with the White Army and the

new peripheral states. In the course of these events, the Bol'sheviki time and again perpetrated excesses of violence. Although these may also be seen in the context of the civil war, the persecution of political opponents began here in 1917-18. The memorials in Southern Russia commemorating the massacres of the civilian population by the Čeka and the Red Army thus provide the chronological starting point for the database project.

Testimonials will also be included which were erected in connection with the expulsion, deportation and execution of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, "class alien elements" in the eyes of the Bol'sheviki, during the civil war phase from 1918-1922. In concrete terms, this relates to the culture of commemoration in Russia with reference to the murder of the Tsar's family and relations, the confiscation of the property of the German and Polish aristocracy and their expulsion and the murder of Tsarist generals (e.g. Kolčak) during the civil war.

The situation is similar for the culture of commemoration for the underground and liberation movements in the early 1920s which revolted against the establishment of a Socialist regime in particular in Belarus and the Ukraine. Here there were various uprisings which were suppressed by the Red Army (the revolt in Sluč'k in 1920 and the "Blue Sharpshooter" movement in the Ukraine). If the people involved in these did not die in combat, they were classified as political enemies during the subsequent periods of persecution and became victims of repression. These revolt movements have a central place in their national cultures of commemoration and are therefore included in the database.

Similarly to Russia, a short-lived Communist regime was established in Hungary under Bela Kun in the early 1920s. Here, too, many people fell victim to the Hungarian Communists for politically-motivated reasons in the few months of the regime's existence. Kun himself was later executed in Moscow in the Great Terror and his body thrown into the mass grave at Komunarka outside Moscow.

- Inter-war period 1923-1939

The culture of commemoration is restricted to the Soviet Union for the period between the wars. Three main periods of persecution can be distinguished: collectivization, the mass terror of 1937-38 and the persecution of political opponents and the intelligentsia.

- Collectivization and Holodomor

Collectivization also includes the artificially-induced famines in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and

Southern Russia in 1922-23 and 1930-34. Although scholars have long disputed this issue, there is today a consensus of opinion that the Golodomor/Holodomor was a form of political repression. These memorials are therefore included in the project alongside those for deported or executed “kulaks”.

- Mass terror and persecution of political opponents

The memorials to the victims of the mass terror of 1937-38 occupy a great amount of space in the commemorative landscape in the CIS. They include the testimonials commemorating the victims of the gulags, of exile and of forced relocation,

Testimonials erected for the persecution of members of various religious communities are also included.

- Soviet occupation in Poland and the Baltic States (1939/1941/1944/1991)

The Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland in 1939 and of the Baltic States in 1940 are serious caesural events in the history of these states and are remembered accordingly in the national cultures of commemoration. The persecution of political opponents and “class alien elements” and the beginning of the collectivization of agriculture, and above all the planned deportation of large parts of the population on socio-ethnic grounds are central elements of the culture of commemoration. These memorials are included.

- Evacuation of the NKVD prisons in the summer of 1941

The monuments relating to the evacuation of the NKVD prisons in June and July 1941 should likewise be included because of the further course of the Second World War, even if they are partly overlaid in terms of commemoration policy by the German occupation. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Stalin ordered that inmates of all prisons should be evacuated to the interior of the USSR. Where this evacuation did not seem possible because of the rapid advance of the German troops, the NKVD was instructed to execute all political prisoners immediately. This happened in many places. The corpses were then discovered by local inhabitants in the context of the German invasion. These Soviet crimes were instrumentalized by the Germans with parts of the population to initiate pogroms against the Jews. These claimed many victims in the summer of 1941. Thus, some prisons were not only the scene of NKVD crimes, but also of the persecution of the Jews (L'viv, Sambir, Dubno, Zoločiv, Riga etc.). Today, however, and for various reasons, only the victims of the NKVD are remembered in the culture of commemoration above all in the Western Ukraine and the

Baltic States, and to a lesser extent in Belarus. As these monuments have an important position in the culture of commemoration, they cannot be excluded. But it is useful to provide additional background information here clearly drawing attention to the double past of these sites.

The overlap of Soviet and Nazi crimes can also be observed at other sites if they became the scenes of German crimes with the continued use of prisons and camps under German occupation. This double past is expressly pointed out for sites with a multiple past, such as the Sighet Memorial, the Genocide Museum in Vilnius or the testimonials at the theater in Rivne in the Ukraine.

2. Post-war period /establishment of the people's democracies (1944/45)

- Freedom and underground movements

When the Red Army liberated large parts of Eastern Europe, anti-Communist freedom movements arose in all these countries, which countered that advance with military means and began an underground struggle which varied in intensity from country to country. The political ideas of these organizations varied widely, but in each country they recruited at least in part from groups that had collaborated with the German occupation. Commemoration of these freedom movements is therefore the subject of controversial discussion.

Their objective was the re-establishment of the respective national states, frequently with reference to the regime existing between the wars. The layering of collaboration, participation in pogroms of the Jews (the Ukraine and Baltic States), members of national fascist movements (the Arrow Cross Party in Hungary, Archangel Michael in Rumania or the Hlinka movement in Slovakia) and democratically-minded resistance fighters forbids any general statement on more far-reaching political ideas of the movements. In most of these countries, therefore, it is only the relation to freedom and anti-Communism that is commemorated and very seldom is mention made of the role of pioneers of democracy. Nonetheless, especially in the Baltic States (the Forest Brotherhood), the Ukraine (the Ukrainian Resistance Army, the UPA and the OUN, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), Poland (Armia Krajowa and others) and to a lesser extent in Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia (White Legion) they are an important, if not uncontroversial, part of the national culture of commemoration.

The reappraisal process is furthermore burdened by inter-ethnic conflicts which were carried

on in the confusion of the post-war period between individual freedom movements. The conflict in Volhynia between Ukrainians (UPA) and Poles (Armia Krajowa) is at the top of the list here. Monuments relating to this area are outside the scope of the project.

- Expulsion, resettlement and deportation in the course of establishing the post-war order (not including Germany)

The post-war borders drawn in Yalta called for massive transfers of populations in all parts of Europe. It is difficult to place these events within the context of political persecution, but such a placing cannot be rejected out of hand in all cases. In the Baltic States, for example, the deportations of whole population groups which were stopped in 1941 were resumed with the same motives but a different political motivation. The expulsion of the Polish minority from Eastern Poland also had a strong political component in view of the Sovietization of these areas. The same holds, albeit controversially, for the “Vistula” program for resettling Ukrainians in 1947. There were also similar cases in Bessarabia, Slovakia and Rumania.

Since no strict differentiation can be upheld between the aim of ethnic cleansing and politically motivated restructuring of societies on social, economic and ethnic grounds (Sovietization), all relevant memorials in this context will be recorded sporadically. Moreover, the transfers of populations were not infrequently accompanied by politically motivated acts of arbitrariness carried out with ideological motives. Deportations or resettlements in the post-war period therefore have a clearly political character if, as in the Baltic States or the Ukraine, they took place with the aim of “border security” or in connection with the underground movement. These testimonials, even if they are in part seen within the historical context of flight and expulsion, are included in the project and comprehensively documented.

- Persecution of political opponents and “bourgeois elements”, and collectivization

Persecutions of political opponents and members of bourgeois society were carried on in all Eastern European countries, as were repressive measures against various religious communities.

- State anti-Semitism

Memorials commemorating the persecution of the Jewish minority under the umbrella of various (ideological) political campaigns in the post-war years and revealing an anti-Semitic

background will also be included. This affects above all those testimonials commemorating operations carried out under the heading of anti-Zionism and cosmopolitanism against Jewish scientists, doctors and Party functionaries in the USSR and other Eastern European countries (Poland) at the end of the 1940s.

Repressive measures against the Jewish religious community in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s are excluded here. These are being dealt with within the context of the persecution of religious communities.

- Collectivization

Memorials to the victims of dispossession of land and industries will be included.

- Uprisings

The focus of interest is on monuments commemorating the people's uprisings in Poland in 1953 – 1956, 1970 – 71 and 1980 – 83, in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the workers' uprisings in Rumania in 1987 (Braşov) and the USSR (Novočerkassk) in 1962.

Here, too, the uprisings and strike movements which broke out mainly after 1953 in the various camps and prisons (Vorkuta, Noril'sk, Karaganda and others) will be included.

- Dissident movement /opposition

As well as testimonials for prominent members of opposition groups, the general monuments commemorating citizens' movements in the countries of Eastern Europe (Solidarnosc, Charta 77, etc.) will also be documented here.

- Ethno-political repression

This includes forms of political persecution such as forced resettlement and forced assimilation aimed at ethnic and religious minorities. In particular, this affects the consequences of the nationalities policy in South-Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s (Bulgaria) or the policy of ethnic repression under Stalin.

- Independence movements 1989 - 1991

As well as testimonials to the revolutions of 1989 – 1991 which led to the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the independence of the individual countries, monuments commemorating the actors or groups of actors will also be included here. Likewise, testimonials to the victims of the independence movements on the opposition side will also be taken into consideration.

Monuments erected to commemorate events closely connected with the ecology and civil rights movement form an area of their own. Numerous civil society initiatives arose from the environmental movement, which were later instrumental in the political caesura. This aspect will be honored by taking in testimonials erected, for example, to commemorate the reactor disaster at Chernobyl.

Appendix II

Overview of countries included

Albania

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Belarus (White Russia)

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bulgaria

Croatia

Czech Republic

Estonia

Georgia

Hungary

Kazakhstan

Kirghizia

Latvia

Lithuania

Macedonia

Moldavia

Mongolia

Poland

Rumania

Russian Federation

Serbia and Montenegro

Slovakia

Slovenia
Tadzhikistan
Turkmenistan
Ukraine
Diaspora
Canada
USA
Great Britain

This list is complemented by the treatment of the following countries, which were temporarily under Soviet occupation:

Austria
Denmark
Finland
Greece
Norway