

THE COUNTRIES AROUND THE BALTIC SEA  
**BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING**  
INFORMATION ABOUT THE COLD WAR PERIOD  
TOLD FROM SITES WHERE EVENTS TOOK PLACE



HISTORICALLY VALUABLE SITES  
FROM THE COLD WAR PERIOD  
PROTECTION AND INFORMATION  
CONFERENCE IN BERLIN  
MARCH 2009

LANGELANDS MUSEUM AND THE INITIATIVE GROUP

## **CONFERENCE IN BERLIN THE 18th OF MARCH 2009**

### **TITLE**

THE COLD WAR PERIOD.  
INTERNATIONAL  
UNDERSTANDING.  
THE ROLE OF  
THE STORYTELLING SITES  
WHERE EVENTS TOOK PLACE

### **PLACE**

THE COMMON  
NORDIC EMBASSIES  
RAUCHSTRASSE 1, BERLIN,

### **ORGANISERS**

LANGELANDS MUSEUM,  
DENMARK, AND THE BALTIC  
INITIATIVE AND NETWORK  
FOR PROMOTION OF BET-  
TER INTERNATIONAL UNDER-  
STANDING

### **SUPPORTERS**

THE DANISH MINISTRY OF  
CULTURE.  
THE NORDIC CULTURE FUND.  
THE COMMON NORDIC  
EMBASSIES IN BERLIN

### **PLANNING GROUP**

MR. OLE MORTENSON,  
LANGELANDS MUSEUM.  
MR. ANDERS BERTELSEN,  
COLD WAR MUSEUM  
STEVNSFORT.  
MR. JOHANNES BACH  
RASMUSSEN, COORDINATOR.

### **THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE INITIATIVE**

MR. OLE LOEVIG SIMONSEN,  
FORMER MINISTER OF  
HOUSING AND BUILDING,  
DENMARK

### **SECRETARY**

MR. JOHANNES BACH  
RASMUSSEN,  
MØLLEGADE 20,  
2200 COPENHAGEN,  
DENMARK  
TEL: +45 35 36 05 59  
EMAIL: jbach@get2net.dk

## **The objectives of the conference**

The objectives of the conference were to motivate those local and national authorities directly concerned to take an interest in

- registration and protection of “history-telling” sites from the Cold War period
- initiating information activities for the most suitable sites.

## **“Historically Valuable sites from the Cold War period. Protection and information. Conference in Berlin. March 2009”**

The Chairmanship of the Initiative  
and Langelands Museum, 2009

*The conference was supported by:*

The Danish Ministry of Culture.  
The Nordic Culture Fund.  
The common Nordic Embassies in Berlin

*Published by:*

Langelands Museum  
Jens Winthers Vej 12  
DK – 5900 Rudkøbing  
Phone: +45 63 51 63 00  
E-mail: langelandsmuseum@langelandkommune.dk  
Home page: www.langelandsmuseum.dk

*Production:*

Mr. Johannes Bach Rasmussen  
Secretary of the Initiative and Network  
Møllegade 20  
DK – 2200 Copenhagen N.  
Phone: +45 35 36 05 59  
Mobile: +45 30 25 05 59  
E-mail: jbach@get2net.dk

*Layout:*

Morten Kjaergaard and Johannes Bach Rasmussen

*Photos:*

Dariusz Tederko, Tadeusz Wojewódzki and Krzysztof Adamczyk (7 first, second and fifth), Martin Esbensen (8 middle, 27 top), Albinas Kentra (8 below left and middle), The Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius (10 middle right, 16, inside the cover at the back), Danish Forest and Nature Agency, Regional Office Storstroem (11 top), Langelands Museum (12, 13 top and below), Morten Kjaergaard (13 middle, 15 left), Thomas Roth (29 top and below left), Fridthor Eydal (33, 34, 35), Aibolands Museum (37 middle and below left), Jorma Friberg (37 below right). The Berlin Wall Documentation Center (back page).

Additional photos: Johannes Bach Rasmussen.



THE COUNTRIES AROUND THE BALTIC SEA  
**BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING**  
INFORMATION ABOUT THE COLD WAR PERIOD  
TOLD FROM SITES WHERE EVENTS TOOK PLACE

PROTECTION OF HISTORICALLY  
VALUABLE INSTALLATIONS  
AND SITES FROM  
THE COLD WAR PERIOD

**DENMARK**

BEVARING AF HISTORISK  
VÆRDIFULDE ANLÆG OG  
LOKALITETER FRA PERIODEN  
MED DEN KOLDE KRIG

**ESTONIA**

KÜLMA SÕJA AEGSETE AJALOOLISE  
VÄÄRTUSEGA RAJATISTE JA  
PAIKADE KAITSE

**FINLAND**

KYLMÄN SODAN AIKAISTEN  
HISTORIALLISESTI ARVOKKAIDEN  
RAKENTEIDEN JA KOHTEIDEN  
SUOJELU

**GERMANY**

DER SCHUTZ HISTORISCH  
BEDEUTSAMER ANLAGEN UND  
GEDENKSTÄTTEN AUS DER  
ZEITPERIODE DES KALTEN  
KRIEGES

**ICELAND**

VARÐVEISLA MANNVIRKJA OG  
SÖGUSTAÐA ÚR KALDASTRÍÐINU

**LATVIA**

VĒSTURISKI NOZĪMĪGU AUKSTĀ  
KARA INSTALĀCIJU (OBJEKTU) UN  
VIETU AIZSARDZĪBA

**LITHUANIA**

ŠALTOJO KARO PERIODO  
ISTORIŠKAI VERTINGŲ ĮRENGINIŲ  
IR VIETŲVIŲ IŠSAUGOJIMAS

**NORWAY**

BEVARING AV HISTORISK  
VERDIFULLE ANLEGG OG  
OMRÅDER FRA DEN KALDE  
KRIGENS TID

**POLAND**

OCHRONA WARTOŚCIOWYCH POD  
WZGLĘDEM HISTORYCZNYM  
INSTALACJI, MIEJSC ORAZ  
OBSZARÓW Z OKRESU ZIMNEJ  
WOJNY

**RUSSIA**

ОХРАНА ИСТОРИЧЕСКИ  
ЗНАЧИМЫХ СООРУЖЕНИЙ И  
ОБЪЕКТОВ ЭПОХИ ХОЛОДНОЙ  
ВОЙНЫ

**SWEDEN**

BEVARANDE AV HISTORISKT  
VÄRDEFULLA LÄMNINGAR FRÅN  
KALLA KRIGETS EPOK

*The view from the prison yard or the “tiger cage”,  
Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen.*



## **WORDS OF WELCOME**

<i>Mr. Ole Loevig Simonsen</i> , Denmark. Chairman of the Initiative Group. Former Minister for Housing and Buildings . . . . .	3
<i>Mr. Markus Meckel</i> , Germany. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and dissident in the DDR. Member of the German Bundestag . . . . .	4

## **THE BALTIC INITIATIVE AND NETWORK**

<i>Mr. Johannes Bach Rasmussen</i> , Denmark. Secretary of the Initiative Group . . . . .	6
<i>Mr. Ole Groen</i> , Denmark. Director, Langelands Museum . . . . .	12

## **CONTRIBUTIONS**

<i>Ms. Carina Christensen</i> , Denmark. Minister for Culture . . . . .	14
<i>Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis</i> , Lithuania. Professor. Former Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament. Member of the European Parliament . . . . .	16
<i>Mr. Arseny Roginsky</i> , Russia. Historian. Co-founder and President of International MEMORIAL, Moscow . . . . .	18
<i>Ms. Danuta Kobzdej</i> , Poland. President. Solidarity Centre Foundation, Gdansk . . . . .	22
<i>Mr. Hubertus Knabe</i> , Germany. Director, Ged�ankst�tte Berlin-Hohensch�nhausen . . . . .	24
<i>Mr. Indrek Tarand</i> , Estonia. Director, Estonian War Museum . . . . .	26
<i>Mr. Thomas Roth</i> , Sweden. Museum Curator, Arm�museum, Stockholm . . . . .	28
<i>Mr. Richards Petersons</i> , Latvia. Historian. The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Riga . . . . .	30
<i>Mr. Fridthor Eydal</i> , Iceland. Manager Defence Liaison and Corporate Communications, Keflavik International Airport. Representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	32
<i>Mr. Aapo Roselius</i> , Finland. Historian. Helsinki University . . . . .	36

## **AFTERWORD**

<i>Mr. Niels Joergen Thoegersen</i> , Denmark. Former Director of Communications in the European Commission. Goodwill Ambassador for Copenhagen . . . . .	38
---	----

## **PARTICIPATING AUTHORITIES, INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS . . . . .**

40



## Words of Welcome

*Mr. Ole Loevig Simonsen, Denmark.*  
Chairman of the Initiative Group.  
Former Minister for Housing and Buildings

I hereby have the honour of addressing a few words of welcome to this conference.

First of all, I am pleased to be able to welcome all the speakers and other participants - and it is a special pleasure for me that we have representatives from all our 11 member countries here today.

The overall objective of our Initiative and Network is to inform people about the Cold War period, as told from the standpoint of historically valuable sites. It therefore makes sense to hold this conference in Berlin. It is a city that is intimately connected with the Cold War period because of the many confrontations that took place here between the Soviet Union and the Western European countries – and not least because of the existence of the clearest physical symbol of the Cold War: the Berlin Wall.

Yesterday I visited the former STASI prison, Hohenschönhausen, here in Berlin and it really strengthened my confidence in the future of our Initiative: to inform people about the Cold War period from the standpoint of protected and historically valuable sites – and especially for them to realize that: “It happened here”.

Today, Berlin probably has the most protected sites and museums connected to the Cold War period in the world. Unfortunately, the situation is different in many other countries and towns around the Baltic Sea. Either because the sites are simply not registered or not protected – many have unfortunately already been demolished – or because of insufficient information about protected sites or relevant museums. The objective of this conference is therefore to focus on the protection of the most valuable sites, and to follow this up with information activities. The relevant authorities of all countries must be involved in this work. We must also – not least - support the many enthusiastic people who are working on this subject. Fortunately, many of these people participate in our network.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks for the support received for this conference from the Danish Ministry of Culture, the Nordic Culture Fund and the Common Nordic Embassies here in Berlin.

*Opposite page: Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius, Lithuania. From the exhibition in the former execution room.*

*This page: The Freedom Monument, Riga, Latvia.*

## Welcome to Berlin

*Mr. Markus Meckel, Germany.*

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and dissident in the DDR.

Member of the German Bundestag

Welcome everybody to Berlin!

In 2009 we remember – and may indeed celebrate – the 20th anniversary of the Peaceful Revolution in the GDR that finally led to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Moreover, similar peaceful revolutions across Central and Eastern Europe brought freedom and democracy to our neighbours, and the large family of European democracies gained new members. This anniversary is therefore important for Europe as a whole.

The huge, non-violent demonstrations that took place in East Berlin on the 8th October and 9th November 1989 were significant and important in bringing about the end of communism and Soviet hegemony. We have to remember that these events – and the feelings they evoked – contributed decisively to the strong revolutionary development that spread across Europe and had the following agenda:

- the democratisation of Central and Eastern Europe, and
- the integration of the Central and Eastern European countries into the EU.

This process is still going on.

When remembering the Peaceful Revolution, we should not forget the numerous victims – a period of great injustice that shall never come again. In Europe, we need a common culture of remembrance, and therefore we have to discuss and to understand what has been going on in the our common recent history. Only by doing so can we build a basis of trust and understanding in order to find new perspectives for our common future.

In Berlin you will find many sites pointing to Germany's national history. You can and should, however, look at these sites bearing in mind the European context – a “House of European History”. Nor should global dimensions of contemporary history be forgotten. It would be a great mistake to look at history only through a national lens.

Monuments from the Cold War period can tell us a lot about our recent history. I would like to stress that they should be understood primarily as monuments for the freedom that the people fought for 20 years ago.



**Berlin has several museums focusing on recent history, particularly the Cold War period. Five of the most interesting are:**

***Allied Museum (Alliierten Museum).***

*This exhibition tells the history of the Western allied forces in Berlin from 1945 to 1990, i.e. the military forces of the United States, Great Britain and France. The museum is located in the centre of the former US sector. The permanent exhibition concentrates on the Airlift for West Berliners (The Berlin Blockade) during 1948-49. **For further information see:** [www.alliiertenmuseum.de](http://www.alliiertenmuseum.de)*

***Address: AlliiertenMuseum e.V., Clayallee 135, 14195 Berlin-Zehlendorf.***



***The Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial (Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen).***

*Former remand prison for the Ministry of State Security of East Germany (STASI) mainly used for opponents to the communist regime. The building consists of more than 200 cells and investigation rooms. The Gedenkstätte has the official task “to explore the history of the Hohenschönhausen prison between 1945 and 1989, to inform with exhibitions, events and publications and inspire visitors to take a critical look at the methods and consequences of political persecution and suppression under the communist dictatorship”.*

***It is only possible to visit the Memorial as part of a guided tour.***

***For further information see:*** [www.stiftung-hsh.de](http://www.stiftung-hsh.de).  
***Address:*** Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, Genslerstraße 66, 13055 Berlin.



***The Berlin Wall Documentation Centre (Dokumentationszentrum Berliner Mauer).***

*The Documentation Centre at Bernauer Strasse provides general background information on the historical and political situation and more detailed information on the Berlin Wall. The centre also has an excellent viewing tower with views over a protected part of the Berlin Wall.*

***Admission to the exhibition*** in the documentation centre is free of charge.

***Guided tours*** around the Memorial and the former border zone are arranged on Saturdays and Sundays along with themed tours and bicycle tours. Group seminars are also available.

***For further information see:*** [www.stiftung-berliner-mauer.de](http://www.stiftung-berliner-mauer.de)  
***Email:*** [info@berliner-mauer-dokumentationszentrum.de](mailto:info@berliner-mauer-dokumentationszentrum.de).  
***Address:*** Berlin Wall Documentation Centre, Bernauer Strasse 111, 13355 Berlin.



***The Marienfelde Refugee Centre Memorial (Erinnerungsstätte Notaufnahmelager Marienfelde).***

*This museum documents the flight and emigration of people during Germany’s post-war division (1949-1990).*

*Between 1949 and 1990, roughly four million people left East Germany (GDR) for West Germany (FRG). 1,350,000 of these individuals passed through the Marienfelde Refugee Centre. The exhibition recalls the reasons, course and consequences of this inner-German movement of peoples.*

***Admission to the exhibitions*** is free of charge.

***For further information see:*** [www.notaufnahmelager-berlin.de](http://www.notaufnahmelager-berlin.de)  
***Address:*** Marienfelder Allee 66-80, 12277 Berlin



***The STASI Museum (STASI Museum. Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Normannenstrasse).***

*The museum is located in House 1 in the central complex of the Ministry for State Security (Stasi) in Berlin-Lichtenberg, where Erich Mielke, the last minister for State Security, had his offices. These are preserved in their original state. In addition, there are exhibits that illustrate the activities of the State Security, the different aspects of the political system and resistance and opposition in the GDR.*

***For further information see:*** [www.stasimuseum.de](http://www.stasimuseum.de)

***Address:*** STASI Museum. Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Normannenstr., Ruschestrasse 103, Haus 1, 10365 Berlin

# The Baltic Initiative and Network

*Mr. Johannes Bach Rasmussen, Denmark.*  
Secretary of the Initiative Group

## The idea behind the Initiative

The main objective of the Initiative was to strengthen mutual understanding between the countries around the Baltic Sea through an exchange of information about their recent history.

The main idea is that history should be told from historically valuable sites at which events took place.

Relevant sites include, for example: military installations, prison camps, partisan bunkers, secret police offices, cemeteries, sculptures and architecture, museums or simply squares or buildings where memorable events took place. The opinion is that recent history can be told, effectively, from these sites.

## Network Members

The Members of the Network are authorities, NGOs, institutions, private persons or museums with a clear interest in the registration, protection and running of sites, installations or exhibitions and at the same time having an interest in promoting or dealing with information activities about recent history, mainly the Cold War period (1945-1991).

## History of the Initiative and Network

The history of the Initiative is as follows:

- The Initiative Group was founded in 2004. The Secretariat was at the Langelands Museum, Denmark.
- Research work was carried out in 2005-2006. The objective was to develop the idea of the initiative, to search for co-operative partners as well as sites worthy of protection in all member countries. The activity was supported by the Danish Ministry of Culture. The result is described in the report: "Historically valuable installations and sites from the Cold War period". Langelands Museum and the Initiative Group. December 2006.
- A workshop was held in Greifswald, Germany, in 2007. The objective was to discuss common regulations for the initiative and network. The workshop was supported by the authorities in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung)
- Appointment of National Contact Persons in all member countries.
- Adoption of "Regulations of the Network".

## The situation today is that we have:

- A well defined idea and field of action.
- A Network organization with appointed National Contact Persons.
- Many practical (and enthusiastic) people involved, mainly from NGOs and museums.

..... an amazing starting point for common projects and activities.



## Former military towns. Concentrations of story-telling locations connected to recent history.

An example is Borne Sulinowo, a small Polish town with 4000 inhabitants. In this small town we have outstanding remains and sites telling the story of World War II as and the Cold War period. To some extent not only European, but World history.

**1933-38:** The town was built by the Germans as a military base with a testing and training ground. An Artillery School was opened by Hitler in **1938**. The training ground housed Heinz Guderian's XIX Army Corps. An artificial desert was built for the units of Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps.

**1945:** Occupied by the Russian Army.

**1945-1992:** Soviet military base. One of the biggest bases in the Northern Group of Forces.

**1992:** The Soviet military was withdrawn and the Polish military took over.

**1993:** The town was officially opened to the public. Among the first inhabitants of the town were Polish repatriates from Russian Siberia and Kazakhstan, who were finally allowed to return to Poland after more than 50 years of forced resettlement in the Soviet Union.



*Interesting sites/locations: Kliminski Moorland, former military training ground with artificial desert. Exceptional architecture from German times e.g. the officers' house/casino, houses for Rommel, Goering and Eva Braun and barrack for soldiers. Ruins from the Pomeranian Wall e.g. bunkers constructed as dams. Prisoner-of-War camp for Polish soldiers. Two German concentration camps in the forest for Allied and Russian officers. Interesting Soviet architecture and houses with special functions, for example, KGB office. Ruined Russian military town and a missile base.*



### Eye witnesses from recent history

*must be involved in the information activities at the historical sites and museums. Some are already doing invaluable work.*

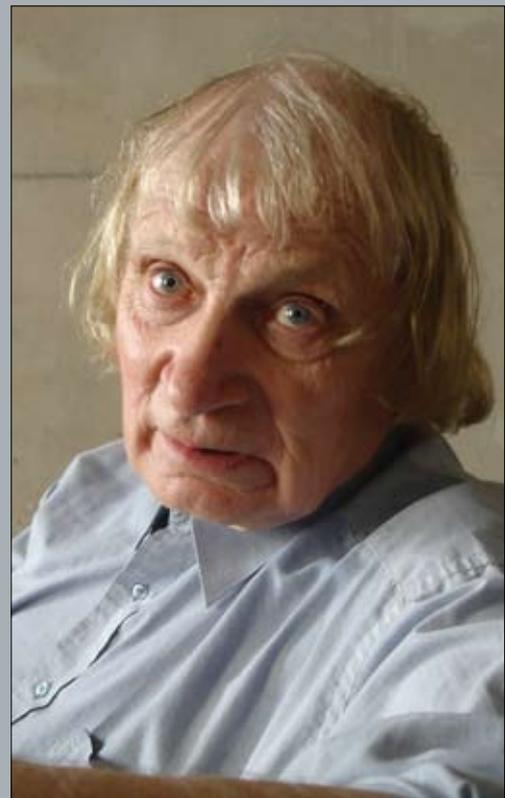
***Vytautas Andziulis**, a professional printer, and his wife **Birute**, founded a secret printing house in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1980. Only one other person, Juožas Bacevius, had any knowledge of the place. He distributed the books, mainly historical and religious literature. The printing house, never found by the secret police, can still be visited.*



***Emā Loorits**, Estonia. Daughter of a partisan ("Forest brother"). It is possible to visit her farmhouse and her father's secret hiding room in case of a secret police raid when her father was visiting. The secret police punished the family in several ways: one was that Emā was not allowed to go to school. When school children visit her farm today she tells them that they are very lucky because they can go to school and also have the possibility of going on to further education.*



***Albinas Kentra**, Lithuania, former partisan and Gulag prisoner. Most of his family was involved in the partisan movement. A secret partisan bunker was built under the family's farmhouse. Today, he is building a centre for partisan culture in Vilnius. Albinas Kentra has produced invaluable video films on the freedom struggles off the early 1990s.*



### Information to young people

An important target group of the Initiative will be young people who do not have any (clear) memories of life and society in the Cold War period. It means, in fact, people around 30 years of age or under. The photo shows Dorrit Krook telling school children at Degerby Igor Museum, Finland, about the time when she had to leave Porkkala in 1946. The area on the Finish south coast was leased to the Soviet Union for 50 years as a naval base. Strong feelings dominated the eight-year-old Dorrit but there was no time "to think and grieve". Most inhabitants, including Dorrit, went back in 1956 when the Soviet Union gave up the area.



### Existing museums. Amount of visitors

The public interest in museums on the Cold War period can be illustrated by the number of visitors to some different museums (in all the museums, the number of visitors has been increasing in recent years). The following comments can be made about each museum:

**The Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius, Lithuania**, has a high number of visitors compared with museums of the same size.

Half the visitors to the **Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga** are foreigners. The museum is the 5th most popular attraction in Latvia.

The number of people visiting the **former STASI prison Hohenschönhausen** in Berlin is remarkable.

The museum is located in the suburb of Berlin and with quite limited public transport options.

**The Stevns Fort, Denmark**, opened in late spring in 2008. The number of visitors was expected to be 9,000 in 2008. In spring 2009, more than 100 groups booked a visit to the underground installations.



### Examples on sites and installations from recent history

Many different kinds of sites and installations should be protected and followed up with information activities. Each site can, effectively, tell a small part of recent history, especially the Cold War period.



Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania: Three small but outstanding museums tell of the occupations of the Baltic states:

- The Genocide Victims' Museum, Vilnius. The museum is established in part of a former KGB building. From the execution room in the KGB prison (below)
- The Museum of Occupations, Riga. Reconstructed barrack from a Gulag camp (below, left)
- Museum of Occupation, Tallinn. The museum has an interesting collection of everyday equipment from the occupation period (left).



*Estonia: Restored partisan bunker. "Forest Brothers Farm" and neighbouring farm with secret hiding places (Several restored partisan bunkers can also be found in Lithuania).*

*Latvia: Exhibition in cattle wagon used for deportations of (mainly) farmers from Latvia to Siberia. Skrunda. (Such wagons are also preserved in other countries e.g. Lithuania.)*



*Denmark: Several small houses or cottages were built along the Danish coast for monitoring ships from Warsaw Pact countries passing through the belt. Some of them will be protected. Here, from Albuen, Lolland.*



*Latvia: Bunker for the communist government of Latvia in case of nuclear war. The 2000 square meter underground bunker, with all needed facilities, is located underneath the Ligatne Rehabilitation Centre.*



*Russia: the Anna Akmatova Museum at the Fountain House, St. Petersburg. Anna Akhmatova, one of the best known Russian poets of the 20th century, lived in this flat for almost 30 years. Her masterpiece Requiem was about Stalin's Terror. Her husband Nikolaj Gumiljov was executed by the Bolsheviks in 1921. A later husband, Nikolaj Punin, died in a Gulag camp. Her son Lev spent his youth in a camp.*



## The Baltic Initiative and Network. A basis for Collaboration and Exchange

*Mr. Ole Groen, Denmark.*  
Director, Langelands Museum

The Cold War and today's society – why not ignore unpleasant ghosts from the past?

I have a clear memory of the Cold War from my childhood. Not as 'the Cold War' but as something potentially disastrous constantly lurking as a possibility that I was unable to grasp and categorise. Beyond my imagination. Comparable to the other situation I feared constantly – that our planet would collide with an enormous meteorite.

I saw on our black and white television the concrete blocks of the Berlin Wall being placed in a line. I heard my parents discuss the air bridge. My first essay in school was about the disaster that followed an accident with the Russian nuclear submarine 'Nikita Khrushchev' in the sound off Copenhagen. Contact with the atmosphere was fatal after that...

My childhood was in Denmark's poor 1950s and, especially, in its materially ever wealthier 1960s. Life was safe and democratic. Things made sense. Efficiency. There was no bribing. Teachers acted with kind authority. There was free education for all. You got what you qualified for and what your interests justified. There was no hunger but an ever-increasing welfare. People were not afraid of expressing what they thought and felt. It was a perfect world – at least it could have been mistaken for one.

I sensed the grown-ups' tension from their attitudes and body language. Without any spoken words, I sensed the shadows and risks they knew about. Most difficult to handle was the Cold War's absurd quality of something 'unspoken' in such a safe world.

Looking back today, it is obvious that the Cold War was the most important cultural factor of its time. We just have to step back to get it into the right perspective. Its chilling ghost-shadow saturated the graphics and paintings of the time, its poetry, its literature, its films and theatre. The egocentric self-realisation, typical of late 60s thinking, may well be more understandable from that period's perspective of 'we may go to Hell at any moment anyway'. Why bother with moral norms, education, ambitions? With a high material standard of living, it was a tempting choice just to enjoy it and get the best out of it as long as it lasted!

The Vietnam War became very present in our minds. Probably because it came at the right time for the soldiers to start considering why they were risking their lives in such an unenjoyable war!

Nuclear charges increased to a level where their definition as weapons that one party could use to inflict more damage on their counter-part than on



*All photos are from the Langelands Fort, Denmark*



themselves became questionable from a long-term perspective.

All this forms the foundation of today's world. The collapse of the Soviet Union disturbed the subtle hidden balances and created a world of hitherto unknown and unpredictable dynamics. Political ideologies became suspicious. Even the post-Cold War's super-liberalism has demonstrated its inability in the present economic crisis. The main international tension today is therefore – possibly - to be found in the sphere of religion.

I am well aware, that my Cold War youth experiences were of a luxury nature in comparison to those of my contemporaries in Korea, Vietnam, the Baltic States etc. I am also well aware that the Cold War is an unpleasant acquaintanceship. But recognising and understanding the degree to which it penetrated and affected all aspects of our lives for such a long time, is – probably - one of the most important and basic requirements for understanding the formation of our international society today.

As some of the secret aspects of the Cold War are now starting to emerge from the archives, in retrospect it seems to reveal itself as being worse than we ever imagined. It is my strong conviction that we have to deal with this traumatic memory by facing up to it and recognising its significance for our situation today. To ignore it and to accept the destruction of unpleasant data from the secret archives would be to accept the destruction of something that is key to understanding our own situation today.

I think it is important that we are very much aware of the fact that the Cold War was basically an ideological conflict between a collectivistic and an individualistic system. Neither of them was, of course, consistent within its own ideological framework. But the basic conflict as it materialised in an extreme and uncompromising competition over armaments, technology, intelligence etc. was underpinned by an ideological justification. From a wider perspective, I think this is a good basis for understanding ideologies and their nature.

In my opinion, the Baltic Initiative and Network represents a well-suited vehicle for its members' exchange of ideas regarding the preservation and communication of important Cold War memory landmarks in the Baltic landscape as well as for all kinds of collaboration. Here and now, we need no strict agenda for how this should be done. With members in all of the Baltic countries and a generally increasingly positive attitude to our issue from our governments, we need time to find each other, to discuss, to understand our similarities and differences and to develop numerous different ways and levels of cooperation.



## The Story about the Cold War. Important to tell

*Ms. Carina Christensen, Denmark.*  
Minister for Culture

A world split apart. World peace threatened by a cold war, frighteningly close to getting hot. An iron curtain descending. The world, divided into us and them. Secret landscapes. Endless armament. 1989 – the curtain falls – and a new era dawns. But we must never forget!

Scattered across Europe are the silent relics of the Cold War. The military and civilian installations that played an active part in that strange state of things we call “the Cold War”. Incredibly, the Cold War armament was the largest construction project in history.

Denmark participated in the military armament, in line with other NATO countries. And, for our part, it was strategically aimed at the Warsaw Pact. Geographically, it was aimed at expected attacks from the Baltic Sea area, Poland and East Germany. The Cold War installations are sinister manifestations of the history of our society. Both nationally and internationally. Our civil and military history. That is why we must remember the Cold War. But how do we go about it?

International conferences such as this one are important. A conference across the Baltic Sea can break down old barriers and create new

*The Cold War Museum of Stevnsfort was opened to the public in spring 2008. The fort was built in 1952-54 to control the entrance to Oeresund and thereby Copenhagen. All the installations are 20 meters underground, built into the calcareous rock (except the gun turret and radio and radar antennae). Underground there are 1.6 km of tunnels, ammunition magazines, soldiers' living quarters, a hospital etc. The main battery consists of two gun turrets with 15 cm guns. The shooting range was approximately 23 km. The guns were originally from the German warship “Gneisenau”.*



understanding. Most Cold War installations no longer form part of defence and security policies in either the East or the West. But they still constitute an important part of our collective consciousness. The physical relics should not only be seen as a supplement to the written contemporary information. They themselves contribute to strengthening our collective historical consciousness.

Several initiatives for the protection and dissemination of knowledge about Cold War installations have been launched at European level. In Denmark we are contemplating how best to preserve and disseminate information about them as modern cultural heritage. Even in a small country such as Denmark, hundreds of areas and thousands of buildings have a bearing on the Cold War. So how do we determine what should be preserved? And how can we disseminate information about the selected installations as part of our historical heritage? One of the objects of this conference is to see how this is being done in neighbouring countries, in order to gain inspiration for similar initiatives in Denmark.

One Danish example of how we tell the story of the Cold War is the Stevnstøft. Situated on the eastern coast of Seeland, facing the frontline of the Warsaw Pact, this was a remarkable control and intelligence installation. What visitors see today is a place of accommodation, deep underground. Here, several hundred soldiers would have been able to survive in case of nuclear war. Here, they would monitor the Baltic Sea and the military movements of the Warsaw Pact. Here, they would collect and pass on intelligence to the CIA. A secret military installation was hidden under an anonymous field until very recently. Now it is a Cold War Museum and Experience Centre. The place is buzzing with schoolchildren, there to experience and understand what went on during the Cold War. And to become acquainted with a curious relic of the Cold War that is like something out of a James Bond film. But, unlike James Bond, this was not fiction... it was harsh reality!

The Danish Ministry of Culture has supported the network behind this conference. And I would like to take this opportunity to commend the organisers for an excellent initiative. At the same time, I would also like to praise the network and its national members. Not least for the great efforts of the many volunteers to create contacts across northern Europe.



## The Side or Site

*Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuania.*

Professor. Former Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament.

Member of the European Parliament

As I have, seemingly, to speak on the main topic of the conference from a Lithuanian point of view, the first question must be: Was Lithuania a side in or the site of the Cold War?

Please understand first and foremost that Lithuania was not a side in the Cold War.

Lithuania was a site or location in which the hot and hidden after effects of World War II continued for an extremely long time. It thus played a role in the Cold War as a victim, and as the captive of one of the warring parties, serving as a reminder that, while the Atlantic Charter remained broken and betrayed, World War II was not over.

These two things, not to be confused, are very simple.

Military occupation is an act of war. Continued occupation is therefore war endured. It was not true to call it a cold one. A cold hell is hell anyway. Do not call those tens and hundreds of thousands of deportees sent from occupied Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian lands, dying from Arctic cold and starvation in distant Siberia or in the Far North, victims of

*A meeting of fighters in Vaidotas corps of the Kęstutis military district with representatives of the South Lithuania region on their way to the congress, the surroundings near Jurbarkas, 4 February 1949. Standing, third from left, Aleksandras Grybinas (alias Faustas, 1920–1949), chief of the Taurus military district, signatory of the 16 February 1949 Declaration of the Council of the Lithuanian Movement for the Fight for Freedom.*



*Farmstead of Stanislovas Miknius in Minaičiai village. The Declaration of the Council of the Lithuanian Movement for the Fight for Freedom, was signed in the partisan bunker, which was fitted in this farmstead.*





## The Gulag Camps and other Memorials from the Communist Period: Information and Protection

*Mr. Arseny Roginsky, Russia.*  
Historian. Co-founder and  
President of International MEMORIAL

It was very interesting for me to hear about the successful projects presented here by our colleagues. Our situation is a different one and we face different difficulties. I would like to speak to that issue now.

First of all, one has to address the question of what the correlation between the terms Gulag and Cold War is. I think it is a very direct one. That is, of course, if by Gulag we refer not only to the camps but the entire Soviet system of political terror and, in particular, the way it was targeted.

For the USSR, the Cold War did not begin in 1946. Rather, it was an integral part of the Great Confrontation between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world, which – in the forms typical for the Cold War – began no later than the end of the 1920s. Its main feature was that our country was a "besieged fortress", our enemies lay beyond our borders, and within the fortress there was a fifth column at work. This model existed until the Second World War, and was revived immediately after it.

The Great Terror of 1937-1938 was the peak of the pre-war stage of the Cold War. Hundreds of thousands of citizens were shot, hundreds of thousands more were sent to camps on charges of causing damage to the USSR, spying or engaging in sabotage on the orders of foreign countries. The State border was viewed as the front line, all foreigners as enemies, cross-border correspondence was practically prohibited and visiting foreign countries was simply unthinkable. It was in those days that the Iron Curtain fell, not a decade later. It was in the 1930s that Soviet propaganda, supported by the Terror, planted the virus of suspicion against everything foreign in the mass consciousness. And it was those years that saw the formation of the stereotypes about the capitalist countries' desire to conquer, enslave and subjugate us.

The war muddled those stereotypes and did much to shatter them, particularly among those who fought in it. But the propaganda campaigns of the early post-war years immediately brought back and strengthened the old stereotypes. Of course, these stereotypes altered as the years went on. First, the Cold War soon lost its ideological stuffing. It transformed into a conflict of civilisations, yet another stage of the age-old confrontation between Russia and "the West". Second, beginning in the 1940s, the besieged fortress had an additional fortified line, the "Socialist camp". Third, propaganda positioned the USSR not so much as a party to the Cold War but as a force resisting it. We wanted to see ourselves - and we did see ourselves - not as combatants in the Cold War but as fighters against it, as apostles of peace.

The perception of the Cold War in Soviet Russia did not change in substance after that. And, throughout all that time, the Terror remained. Under Stalin and after his death, when the Terror was no longer so massive in scale, propaganda presented those arrested as the proponents of a hostile Western ideology, acting on the orders of Western anti-Soviet centres. These stereotypes began to disappear only during the era of the "new thinking" proclaimed by Gorbachev, very quickly and without visible resistance. Polls conducted in the late 1980s showed unusual results: they revealed obvious friendliness on the part of the Soviet (and also Russian) citizens towards that same West which only yesterday had appeared to be an eternal enemy.

The Wall in Berlin came down, the rule of the Communist Party was

*All photos on pages 18 to 21 are from Levashovo Memorial Cemetery, St. Petersburg. Execution ground for Stalin's victims. A site with outstanding historical atmosphere and worth to visit.*



coming to an end, the Soviet Union collapsed, and it seemed to us that the Cold War was over.

I will return in a moment to what happened next. Let me turn now to the memorialisation of the GULAG sites. How many sites were there?

One of the first objectives of Memorial, the NGO that I represent, was to make a map of the GULAG. Twenty years ago, when Memorial was established, we understood GULAG to refer to the camps, not to all sites of the Terror. We soon found that it was almost impossible to make such a map. Instead, we drew a map of the camp administrations. From the 1920s to the 1950s alone, there existed over 500 of them in the USSR. Every administration had several divisions, and the divisions were further broken down into camp units. Even if we assume an average of 20 units per administration, this adds up to at least 10,000 sites, each of which was encircled by barbed wire. If we add the prisons, corrective labor colonies under local jurisdiction and, last but not least, the special settlements for the approx. seven million deportees, we arrive at no less than 15-17,000 sites where people were deprived of their freedom. Should these places, where people suffered and perished, have commemorative signs? Ideally, yes. In reality, we do not even know how to approach this problem, because many of these camps have been irrevocably lost: forests have grown where some once stood, asphalt and residential houses or factories have taken the place of others, and some camps have been rebuilt into today's penal institutions and scarcely resemble their predecessors.

Only two places of confinement can be viewed as having truly been memorialised. One is a camp for political prisoners 100 kilometers from Perm (Ural); the other is a prison cellar in Tomsk (West Siberia). Both have been turned into museums thanks to the efforts of their surrounding communities, including those of the local offices of Memorial.

But what should be done with the camp cemeteries? Sometimes prisoners were buried in cemeteries belonging to neighbouring villages although the camps almost always had their own cemeteries. There were small cemeteries and there were very large ones located next to camp hospitals or camps for invalids. There were thousands of camp cemeteries. So far, we have managed to find perhaps one percent of them.

And the sites where people who were shot were buried? From the early 1920s, official instructions required that everything related to the executions, the shootings, must be kept top secret. The locations of the sites where the shootings took place are kept secret, as are the burial sites. Between 1937 and 1938, around 1.7 million people were arrested on political charges, and 725,000 of them were shot. After many years of searching, we have learned of only 100 of the burial sites for people shot in those two years alone. According to our calculations, this is less than a third (perhaps a quarter) of the total. The proportion of identified burial sites dating to other periods is smaller. As a result, millions of our fellow citizens do not know where their parents or grandparents are buried – those who were shot or died in a camp.

We might have had much more success in tracing the sites of former camps and burial sites had we been able to work in the archives without restriction. Alas, we do not have access to many of the documents that are necessary for our research. This is due to Russian legislation and, more importantly, due to the 'reality-in-practice' in our country.

Our regional activists, as well as the descendants and local compatriots of the victims, undertake expeditions to the former sites of camps and special settlements, in search of camp cemeteries and the sites of shootings, and then erect commemorative signs on their own initiative. The problem is that these sites, with very few exceptions, do not receive any official status. Neither the



Prosecutors' Offices nor the local authorities want to investigate or provide official documents.

But camps, prisons and cemeteries were not the only sites of the Terror. There were also the places of forced labor – plants, mines, buildings and thousands of kilometres of rail track. A year ago, Memorial contacted the current owners of all these business assets with a simple request: to recall how their prosperity began and to do something about it. For example, to hang a memorial plaque by the entrance to the factory, or at railway stations. To tend the neighboring cemeteries of prisoners. To arrange a display for employees. We did not receive a single response to our proposals. Some electric power stations did hang memorial plaques last autumn. Not many, but at least it was a start.

The federal government has consistently balked at taking any steps towards commemorating the sites of the Terror. Russia still has no national Museum associated with the Terror nor a national monument to its victims. This is not solely due to the federal government's policy, because Russia does not have a national memory of the Terror. The memory we do have is a regional one, a memory about local victims, and the memory held by religious, ethnic and professional groups about their victims.

Still, there are at least 700 signs commemorating the Soviet Terror in Russia (including memorial plaques and monuments). This is a very small figure in comparison with the scale of the Soviet Terror. Commemorative signs have been erected thanks to the efforts of communities and local administrations. All of these sculptures, chapels, crosses and memorial stones immortalize the memory of victims. Their inscriptions usually say that they commemorate "victims of political repression". To the people of Russia, this language is barely understandable. What historical images does it promote? Ones similar to those held by the contemporaries of the Terror: images of a natural disaster, something like a plague or an earthquake that descended on the country, taking many lives. In this memory there is no image of the crime, nor of the criminals.

Memory of the crimes committed by Stalin and the state that he headed has transformed into a memory of those who perished as a result of those crimes. The perpetrator of the crime has been dropped from this memory, as has the crime itself. This is much more comfortable, both for the state and, regrettably, also for the public. Our country has not come to terms with the Stalinist Terror.

Of course, memorialisation of the objects of the Terror could help us to do so – it might at least promote a nation-wide debate about Stalinism, its legacy and ways of overcoming it. But it seems that, outside of relatively small groups, nobody perceives such commemoration as a priority. Alas. Yet we still hold out hope for the success of our hopeless cause.

I have much less hope when I think about the possibility of memorializing the objects related to the Cold War. There are two reasons for this. First, it would involve hanging memorial plaques on tens of thousands of government buildings – not only on army barracks and headquarters (there were thousands of them) but on all buildings of the Party committees, from top to bottom, on all editorial offices of the Party and Komsomol newspapers (there were thousands of them), all KGB offices, buildings that housed censors and, most importantly, on a huge number of industrial premises – there were tens of thousands of them. In some cases, not just on buildings but on whole cities: we had (and still have) dozens of restricted-access towns. Almost the entire country worked for the Cold War. And yet the main problem lies elsewhere.

As I said, we decided in the late 1980s that the Cold War had been



relegated to the past once and for all. That, however, was an illusion.

The situation had already begun to change in the 1990s. In my opinion, the most important factor was that the events of 1989-1991 very soon came to be perceived as a defeat in the Great Confrontation. This made some unhappy while, for others, it was cause to rejoice. But even those who were glad understood the events as a defeat of the USSR in the Cold War. Almost nobody offered any other model. This concept took firm root after the collapse of the USSR.

Putinism appeared in the context of this understanding of Russia's historical fate. The foreign policy aspect of Putin's doctrine, as perceived by the mass consciousness, is the following: Russia has been recovering from the defeat of 1991 and is now, once again, able to oppose "the West", i.e. Europe and, above all, the USA. This perception is closer to the early Stalinist concept of the Cold War than to the concept that existed under Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Russia is once again being perceived as a besieged fortress, again one encircled by enemies (Georgia, the Baltic states, at times Poland and even Ukraine) and, again, there is a fifth column in the country (these days it is the NGOs, "human rights advocates", etc.). This concept includes some features of the world outlook typical of late Stalinism: the absence of an ideological component in the confrontation and the emphasis on Russia's incompatibility with the West in cultural and civilisational respects.



As there was in the 1960s and 70s, there is now opposition to this understanding of history and the present, and this opposition has grown even tougher. But it lacks influence and authority. In other words, Cold War stereotypes are again taking firm root in the collective consciousness of the majority of Russia's citizens. That being the case, can we consider the Cold War to be over? That is one question. There is another question as well: do the causes for this lie only in Russia and in the specific features of its leadership and citizens? Is the West not partially responsible, too? But the discussion of this issue goes beyond the topic of this conference.

What the mass consciousness in Russia completely lacks is an understanding of the Terror and the GULAG as a necessary and natural component of the Cold War. The two concepts are not connected in any way in the mind of the public. The Terror is seen as a very bad thing. People feel pity for its innocent victims. The terror is a tragedy. By contrast, many people perceive the Great Confrontation as part of Russia's glorious history. People earnestly believe that our country has been defending peace in the world for many decades, guarding its unique identity, its system of values and its own Russian path. And they are proud of this. So how could there be any connection between our tragedy and the things we are proud of? The image of the Terror and the image of the greatness of the country scarcely combine in the minds of the people.



Under these circumstances, it is highly problematic to speak about memorializing the objects of the Cold War. That is, if we want to advance the message that such a war is a bad thing, not to be repeated.

What can and should we – the society – do today in the context of the problems on which this conference focuses?

First, continue the routine work of finding those sites of the Terror, the GULAG and the Cold War that deserve to be memorialized, compile lists and catalogues, map these places, i.e. help the future generations in their work. Second, continue our efforts to promote the values of human rights, freedom, democracy and peace among our fellow citizens, i.e. values that are contrary to the ideology of the Cold War.

This is a challenging job. And a lasting one.

## International Travel Exhibitions. A tool for International Understanding

*Ms. Danuta Kobzdej, Poland.*  
President. Solidarity Centre Foundation, Gdansk

I would like to share with you my experience of organizing touring historical exhibitions and the effect they should have on their audience.

A touring exhibition is surely an effective tool for providing a wide audience with information. Whether a presentation meets our expectations depends, however, on many factors.

First we need to ask ourselves who the message is for: who is the main target of the topic we are presenting? We must remember that the content to be communicated through an exhibition should appeal to the consciousness and historical culture of the visitor, to his value system.

**When attempting to reach a wide spectrum of people** with our information, as is the case with open-air exhibitions, we must be aware that visitors are often simply ordinary passers by, and we need to be extremely careful when analysing the subject of our exhibition in terms of:

- what archival material to select,
- what means of expression to use to intrigue people and hold their interest, and not to bore them,
- how to make our exhibition clear but not too long; how to present it so that it reaches our target audience.

**The public space in which we want to show our exhibition also matters.** As a means of expression, an open-air exhibition must, in a way, function as an advertisement— attracting the attention of the public with images and texts that will touch the consciousness and even sub-consciousness of individual viewers. It is essential to focus on the most important things, on what can and should be remembered. Open-air exhibitions must thus seek simple content and strong means of expression, as they are addressing a general public.

Today, in an age of globalisation and continuous haste, an historical exhibition requires, in comparison with culture and art exhibitions in the broadest sense of the term, very special means of expression to make it interesting, in particular for young people.

One needs to remember that:

- the texts should not be too long, just enough to keep people focused for a while,
- attractive visualization, use of multimedia presentations, proper selection of iconographic material and historical reconstructions – strongly stirring the imagination - are of the utmost importance,
- finally, it is good if visitors can take some souvenirs home with them.

All these things should contribute to evoking the feelings that the organizers meant to evoke in the public. And those feelings should make people want to stop and reflect on the theme of the exhibition for a while.

Clearly presented historical exhibitions can:

- encourage visitors to try to gain a deeper insight into the subject of the exhibition at a later date;
- shape positive attitudes (in young people in particular) based on the past,



The photos are from the "Roads to Freedom" Exhibition, Gdansk.



- stories of people and eye-witness accounts;
- make visitors reflect on the past as it refers to the present;
- teach people respect and understanding for past generations;
- encourage people to be more active at the interconnections between past, present and future.

**An exhibition telling the story of a country, presented abroad for the general public,** must be prepared in a way that enables effortless understanding. The history of a country must be presented in a way that attracts the interest of representatives of other nations. It must show what is common in the history of the nations or countries, what can help them get to know each other and bring them closer together.

Building understanding between often divided societies and communities, both at home and abroad, should be the main objective of a touring exhibition presented in different countries.

**Historical exhibitions must be based on facts and, through these facts, teach mutual acceptance by gaining a knowledge and understanding of a given nation or country – also through its history.**

Our touring exhibitions are aimed at promoting an awareness of our common European heritage, making visitors realize that the contemporary world in which they live is the sum of its historical experiences, good and bad alike.



The historical exhibitions that we, the Solidarity Centre Foundation and, now, the newly established European Solidarity Centre, promote in Poland and abroad are intended to make people reflect on the past and, on this basis, face the challenges of today's multicultural Europe. This was our objective when we, the citizens of Gdansk – a very special multicultural city of Freedom and Solidarity – first went abroad to present our exhibition 6 years ago.

And although the Cold War period has been presented on numerous occasions, on both sides of the iron curtain, depicting various (and not only historical) aspects, it does not mean that we should not continue what we are doing. It is still important to look for ever more appropriate and appealing means of expression with which to remind the younger generation about both their recent and more distant past, to maintain and preserve the Cold War memorial sites as a warning to future generations. And it would be much better if what we show and try to make a part of our common memory were to trigger thinking about the community spirit that results from overcoming destructive ideologies.



It is a pity that the wishes of Richard Nixon, then Vice-President of the United States, as expressed to Nikita Khrushchev, then first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, at the inauguration of the American exhibition in Moscow in 1959, did not come true – "Wouldn't it be better if we competed for washing machines instead of rockets?"



## The Development of Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen. Results, Possibilities and Problems

*Mr. Hubertus Knabe, Germany.*

Director, Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen

In a world of conflict, in which Europe stands out as a haven of peace and freedom, anti-totalitarian consensus has always been one of the most important pillars of European cooperation and integration.

The Union's recent eastward enlargement showed that those countries which shared the experience of communist oppression could be successfully integrated into the former Western European community, whose main experience of political terror now dates back over 60 years. It remains a priority to imbue Europe's integration with life, not least through an exchange of historical and political experiences.

Transferring a common European historical awareness of dictatorship and political terror to the younger generation will be one of the most important ways of increasing political integration, and the East of the Union should not be left by the West to deal with this huge endeavour alone. Twice already, in 1996 and 2006, the Council of Europe has demanded measures to rectify the heritage of the fallen communist regimes in our part of the world, and to clearly address the innumerable crimes committed by them, such as deportations, the imprisoning, torturing and killing of millions without trial, the destruction of the cultural heritage of numerous nations, the persecution of ethnic groups, religious creeds or rival political parties.

While communist parties are still legal in many former communist states of Eastern Europe, Germany too faces several severe "mortgages" from the former German Democratic Republic, the GDR.

In recent years, we have witnessed a growing lack of public concern for the communist past of East Germany. This is also caused by a lack of advanced training on the part of German teachers, many of them (and a good proportion of Germany's leading politicians as well) being unaware of the true character of the SED dictatorship, or even being past followers of the regime's ideology.

Memorials and museums dealing with the communist dictatorship therefore play a central role, albeit as a negative component, in promoting an anti-totalitarian political heritage, supplementing school education.

After the peaceful revolutions of 1989/90, memorials were set up almost everywhere in Central and Eastern Europe— mostly at authentic locations of persecution. Nowhere else is the dictatorial nature of communism so apparent. In their respective countries, these places have become the core of accountability for recent history.

The Berlin-Hohenschönhausen memorial has so far been a success story in terms of connecting experiences of the former communist realm and mediating these to a young, pan-European audience which is – especially (and of all places!) in Eastern Germany - unaware of the political persecution that took place between 1945 and 1989 in the former Eastern bloc. The memorial benefits from a combination of two advantages – the first being its former inmates, providing their invaluable experience as contemporary witnesses, the other being the sensual impact of the authentic location and buildings.

The former central remand prison for those persecuted by the former East German Ministry of State Security, or 'Stasi', has had an ever-changing history as a place of suppression ever since 1945. It first served as a transition and collection camp for the Soviet army, then as a special interrogation jail





for the KGB's predecessor, the MGB. After its consignment to the newly-founded Stasi in 1951, it constituted the core of violent political oppression under the ruling party's dictatorship until its collapse in 1989/1990.

In the early 1990s, former inmates took up the cause of turning the remand prison into a memorial. In 1992, the prison compound became a listed historical site and, in 1994, it first opened its doors to visitors.

In 2000, the Berlin State Senate turned the former prison into the "Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial" Foundation, the primary purpose of which is to research political justice in the GDR and the history of the Hohenschönhausen prison between 1945 and 1989. It is also deeply involved in public dialogue on how to deal with the past in Germany and Europe.

This includes exhibitions, events and publications, and encouraging a critical awareness of the methods and consequences of political persecution and suppression under the communist dictatorship. In guided tours, former inmates provide first-hand information on the inhumane prison conditions, the will-breaking isolation and the brutal interrogation methods used by the Stasi. This approach is unique in the world, save for the famous Robben Island prison museum.

Since most of the buildings, equipment and furniture have survived intact, the memorial provides a very authentic picture of the destruction of those that opposed the ruling party. Its location in Germany's capital makes it the key site for victims of East German communist tyranny.

Unfortunately, recent political developments in Germany have caused a revival of ageing Leftist visions in the last 3 to 5 years, and with this has come a lack of public concern, and even disbelief, in historical facts as depicted by current historical research and as presented in East German memorials such as Berlin-Hohenschönhausen.

The partial roll-back of society that is now happening has been kindled by the growing influence of former Stasi perpetrators and their former political bosses and, due to the wide-spread "Eastalgia" phenomenon, huge public circles in the media and today's political circles in eastern Germany support and profit from this development.

One of the Memorial's most important achievements has been to counteract this public lack of awareness.

In 2006, the Memorial was visited by more than 171,000 visitors. In 2008, a new record was reached with almost 250,000 visits, demonstrating the public perception of the Hohenschönhausen memorial that has been achieved.

With students now accounting for more than 50% of visitors, the Memorial increasingly helps to compensate for the shortcomings of the German curriculum, which still fails to take into account the history of political terror in the former GDR and other communist regimes.

But this issue can only be addressed effectively by a further strengthening of the role of communist memorials, by large-scale media involvement in accounting for the past, and by the involvement of the political stakeholders. In the long term, there can only be one way – a combined effort on the part of all of Europe's nations to prevent the past from slipping away into oblivion. And Germany can bridge the gap between Western and Eastern Europe's differing historical experiences of the last 60 years.

But the key is a shared endeavour to bring together contemporary witnesses and Europe's youth in memorials such as those we all gained our experience in setting up: built to remind us of a dark past but also to point out the importance and fragility of democracy, and of the personal freedom we have today.

# **Lennusadam-Patarei. A new Development Project. National and International Aspects**

*Mr. Indrek Tarand, Estonia.*

Director, Estonian War Museum

A big, new development project including harbour areas with quays, hangar and artillery battery (later prison) near the centre of Tallinn. Several museums, institutions and organizations are involved in the project. The following text gives some facts about the project.

## **Hydroplane hangar & artillery battery**

- 1844 inaugurated
- 1854 first battle in Crimean War
- 1914 hydroplane squad established
- 1917 hangar building almost finished
- 1920 Estonian Air Force takes over. Battery changed to prison.
- 1940/44 Soviet Navy takes over and prison to be used in deportations to Siberia.

## **Estonian Museums take over**

- Estonian Naval and Sea Museum starts activities in 2004
- Estonian War Museum starts its project in 2006

## **Situation of the site**

- We have 14 hectares and quays for ships
- Hangars cover 120 x30 metres
- Altogether the Battery (3 floors) covers almost 5 hectares within the walls and under the roof
- Naval and Sea Museum has full right to operate the harbour and hangars. War Museum has been effectively left out of possible future development.

## **Our partners**

- Estonian Naval and Sea Museum
- University of Tartu, Institute of Ocean Research
- Estonian Defence Force
- Etc. etc. smaller partners
- No international cooperation set up yet.

## **Revel, 1844**

- Aivazovski

## **Need for resources**

- Naval museum just obtained 144 million EEK
- War Museum estimates Battery & Hydroplane project will cost a total of 1 billion EEK = approximately 625 000 EUR.

## **Timetable**

- 2006-09 project started, no success
- 2011 – to resolve the ownership dilemma
- 2014 – research and blueprints ready for bid
- 2018 – everything ready, operation starts
- 2020 – full-scale operations, becomes a famous site all over Europe ☺



*The hydroplane hangar, amazing architecture.*

*The quays for museum ships.*



*The former battery, later prison.*



## Registration and Valuation of Sites from the Cold War Period. Swedish Experiences

*Mr. Thomas Roth, Sweden.*  
Museum Curator, Armémuseum, Stockholm

During the Cold War, and right up until the beginning of the 1970s, Sweden had the fourth largest air force in the world. Once mobilized, the armed forces were supposed to consist of around 800,000 men and women and our fixed coast artillery was made up of around 50 batteries of different types. The coast was lined with bunkers and pillboxes, as were our borders. There were more than 30 air force bases, five of them with underground atomic bomb-proof hangars large enough to house 25 airplanes each and covering an area of approx. 25,000 square meters.

In the 1950s, a naval base was built in the archipelago to the south of Stockholm. It had three underground docks large enough to hold destroyers and a total underground area twice the size of Monaco. We also had a large number of military and civilian headquarters underground, so you could say that Sweden in those days bore a striking resemblance to a Swiss cheese.

Because of the number and size, it has been considered impossible to maintain all these structures as museums or public sites. The government agencies involved, chiefly the Board of National Heritage, the National Property Board and the Board of Military Fortification, the Swedish Fortifications Agency and my agency, the National Swedish Military Museums, have worked for nearly 20 years selecting which structures it would be possible to maintain as some kind of museum. The government has declared around 20 different structures as memorable and protected by law. Most of them are now in the care of the National Property Board although a few of them still belong to the Fortifications Agency. In all, there are more than 115 buildings etc. protected by law, although most of them are more than 100 years old.

During the selection process, we tried to bear different considerations in mind. The places should be of some military interest or value, they should be possible to visit on the part of ordinary tourists and they should be possible to understand – that is – an elderly woman with no previous military knowledge, we call her Aunt Elsa after my one of my old aunts, should be able to understand what it was all about.

Last year, the government decided to give my agency the task of setting up a network of museums and other establishments that had previously had some kind of support from the armed forces. The government also, strangely enough, gave us the money, around 3 million Euros, to do this. We founded Swedish Military Heritage, which is now in the process of being set up and today exists at 24 different sites around the country. About 14 of these are fortifications of some kind, the oldest dating from 1830 and the youngest from 1986. We also cooperate with the National Property Board to make other old fortifications, castles and ruins easier to understand for Aunt Elsa. We try to stress the three most important things concerning public work of this kind at every opportunity – clean toilets, a good gift shop and good coffee.

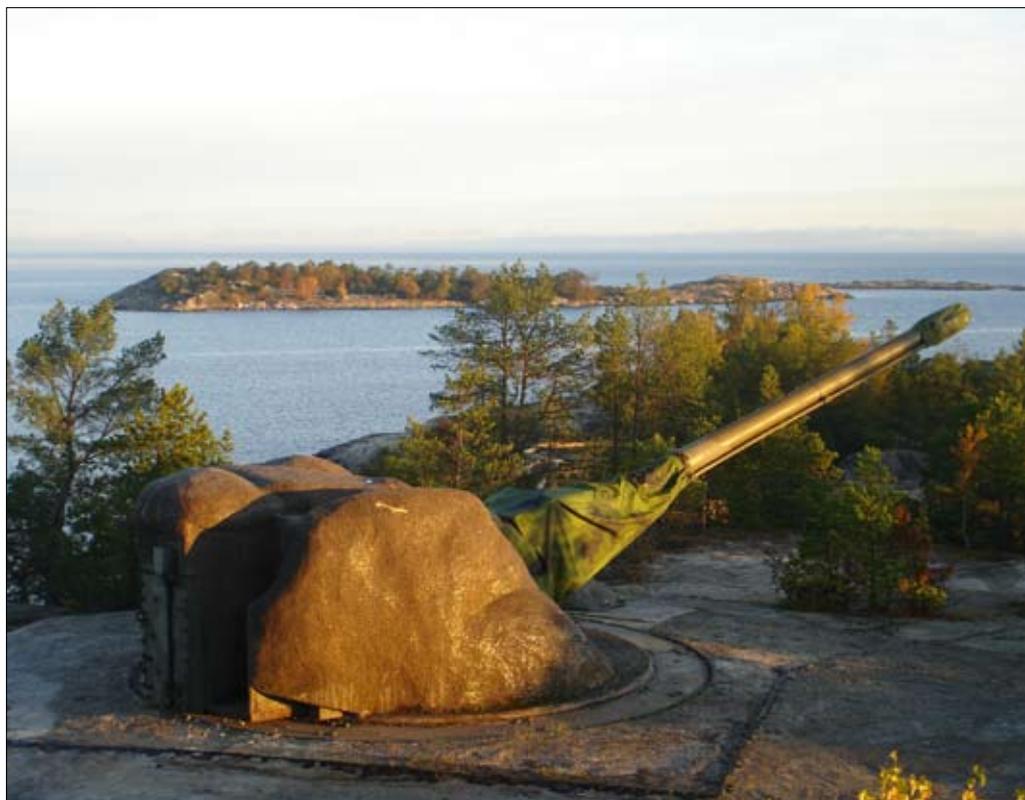


*Sweden had the four largest air force in the world in a long period after the Second World War with more than 30 air force bases and a very big amount of smaller hangars spread all over the country. Here an underground mountain hangar from the 50-ties.*



*A big naval base was built in the 50-ties in the archipelago south of Stockholm with three underground docks large enough to hold destroyers. Here one of the entrances to the base.*

*Typical 7,5 cm coastal artillery canon from the 60-ties and with big connected underground installations. There were 90 of such installations along the Swedish coastal areas. Here from the battery Arholma Nord on the island Arholma near Stockholm. The underground installations are today opened for the public.*





## The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia and Protection of Memorial Sites

*Mr. Richards Petersons, Latvia.*

Historian. The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Riga

The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, previously, in the 1970s, the museum of the Latvian Red Riflemen, is situated in Old Riga, behind the rebuilt renaissance-style House of the Blackheads and with St. Roland's statue on one side. On the opposite side, closer to the Daugava River, is the Latvian riflemen's monument. The Museum of the Occupation was established in 1993. It is a non-governmental organisation, funded mostly by donations, which account for approx. 85% of the annual budget. 15% comes from the state. Entry is free.

We are a state-accredited museum and, what is very important to my mind, included as an option in the Latvian government protocol. We are popular. In the last four years, the Museum has been visited by more than 100 000 visitors annually. Last year, we were the 5th most popular attraction in Latvia, after such well-known museums as the Rundāle Palace and Turaida Castle, or the very attractive Open-air Museum near Riga.

High-level state officials visit the Museum. For example, the Emperor of Japan Akihito and the Empress Michiko. After the visit, some time later, we received a beautiful gift from Japan – a waka composed by the Emperor.

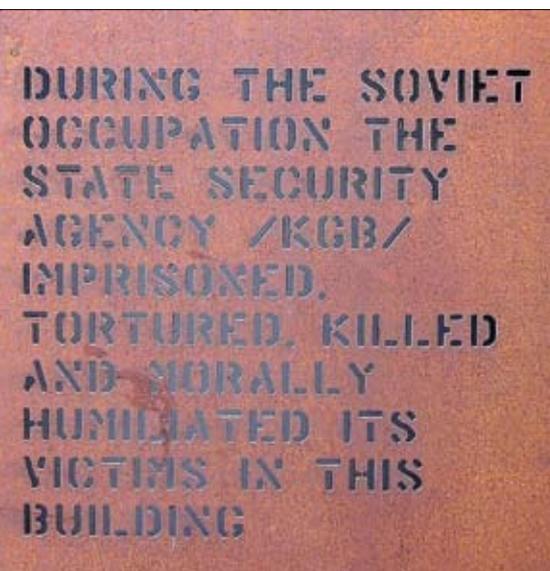
Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom; the First Lady of America Mrs. Laura Bush; the President of the Republic of Ireland Mrs. Mary McAleese; Arnold Rüütel, the President of Estonia and many others have also visited.

Some years ago, we started our path towards a future modern Museum. The additional, light-colour part was designed by Latvian-American architect Gunnars Birkerts, who devoted his vision as a gift to the reconstruction project.

And at last, in October 2006, the Latvian Parliament (Saeima) passed the Law on the Occupation Museum. This Law provides a legal basis for the relationship between the State and the Occupation Museum Association (OMA), which is the owner and operator of the Museum. The Law grants the right to the OMA to use the property to operate the Museum. The Law provides for co-financing of the Museum's operations. The Law requires the Museum to maintain accreditation, to preserve its archival collections, provide public access to the Museum and service official state visits.

The structure of the Museum shows that, among other activities, there is a "Memorial sites programme". It collects information, organizes projects for upkeep and restoration, ensures the registration of memorials at the national and local levels, popularises the memorial sites and so on. For example, "The Black Threshold" at the former KGB building in Riga is memorial created by donations collected in the Museum. The KGB building was used by the Latvian Police throughout the 1990s and up until 2007 but is now empty and, of course, we are little worried about the future of this building. Because it is a unique place, an authentic structure that must remain as a historical monument for future generations.

Another result of our work is the railway wagon that is kept as a monument at a railway station near Riga Central, from which thousands were deported to the farthest regions of the USSR (GULAG) on June 14, 1941.



*Memorial in front of the former KGB building in Riga – formed like an iron door. The building was used by Latvian police up to 2007 and is empty now. Thousands of people (later deported or executed) were interrogated in the building during the Soviet period. The building needs to be protected as an historical monument.*



*The photos on these pages show three memorial projects initiated by the Museum of Occupation of Latvia.*

The latest project is the memorial site "White Crosses" in Riga Forest Cemetery. More than 120 communist victims were buried there in the first year of Soviet occupation in 1941. After the Second World War, this place was razed to the ground. In 1995 the soil from GULAG camps was also buried there. This time the money to create the memorial has come from Riga City Council but the initiative comes from the Museum and non-government organisations.

In Latvia there are more than 800 memorial sites connected with the 50 years of occupation. There are primarily 4 types of memorial site. They are:

1. places to commemorate the civilians, the victims of terror;
2. graves and memorial sites, devoted to the national partisan movement,
3. Holocaust memorials,
4. graves and memorial sites devoted to the soldiers, Latvian citizens, killed in the Second World War and in the post-war period.

There are of course places in Latvia connected with the Cold War period. They must be examined, listed and protected also but, at this time, this activity is only just beginning and the results will depend on the interest of the local authorities, non-governmental organisations and individuals. Maybe this conference will also inspire the Occupation Museum and Latvian government.

*Cattle wagon used for deportation of Latvians to Gulag camps in 1941. Railway station near Riga.*



*The memorial site "White Crosses", Riga Forest Cemetery. More than 120 communist victims were buried here in the first year of Soviet occupation in 1941. After the Second World War, this place was razed to the ground and used for new graves. In 1995 the soil from Gulag camps was brought to the place. The decision was made not to move the graves from the period after the Second World War but to create a memorial site surrounded by white crosses and raise a monument to the victims of communism.*



# The NATO Defense System in the North Atlantic Area in the Cold War Period and the Role of Keflavik Airbase

*Mr. Fridthor Eydal, Iceland.*

Manager Defence Liaison and Corporate Communications,  
Keflavik International Airport.

Representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Iceland occupied a dominant position on sea lanes crossing the North Atlantic in the 20th century. The German geo-politician, Karl Haushofer, appreciated the strategic importance of Iceland in the 1930s when he characterized the island as “a pistol firmly pointed at England, America, and Canada”. Aspiring airpowers also soon recognized the potential for major air routes that would later increase that importance.

A second strategic location factor was the increased shipping to the Soviet Union, which began during the war with convoys assembling in Iceland. The Kola Peninsula had the only major Soviet ports with clear access to the open sea. During the Cold War Iceland’s location astride the routes of the Northern Fleet was to become equally as important as her location near the trans-Atlantic routes.

Winston Churchill offered Haushofer a reason for the occupation of Iceland by British forces in 1940. He later also referred to Iceland as an unsinkable aircraft carrier available to protect North Atlantic shipping. This analogy would later become a household phrase when it came to surveillance of Soviet Northern Fleet activities and planning the forward maritime strategy.

Keflavik Airport played a major role of strategic importance. In 1941, American military site surveyors found the barren but relatively flat lava fields of the Reykjanes Peninsula, 50 km’s from the capital, Reykjavik, to be excellent for long runways, offering a clear approach for large aircraft.

There was major use made of the American-built airfield and other smaller British airfields during World War II for stopovers on the emerging North Atlantic air routes and for convoy protection.

After the war, the strategic importance of Iceland and Keflavik only grew in the estimation of American planners. At the onset of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance in 1948, American military planners insisted that continued access to the stepping stone air bases of WW II in Greenland, Iceland and the Azores was imperative for sustaining American reinforcements for Europe.

Even before the onset of the Cold War, American planners had devised a fortress strategy that ringed America with forward bases to prevent another Pearl Harbour disaster. The North Atlantic islands also played a paramount role in this plan.

British forces left Iceland after the war but the U. S. requested long-term leasing of bases. Keflavik was essential for the staging of strategic bombers at the time. The political balance in an infant republic of only 130,000 people was too delicate, however, to allow for base rights, especially so shortly after an intimate presence of nearly 50,000 foreign troops. The request was flatly denied. A limited agreement in 1946 allowed the United States to operate the airport for transiting military flights in support of occupational forces in Europe. Keflavik became an Icelandic International Airport although the work was undertaken by an American contractor with



withdrawal of the air defence forces from Iceland did not meet with the approval of NATO or the joint U.S. command level.

The Army also came to the conclusion in the late 1950s that a mere battalion in Iceland was not cost effective. The political situation soon turned volatile, however, with the emerging fisheries dispute - or Cold War - with Britain. The plan to withdraw the only unit that the Icelanders recognized as their tangible defence was therefore delayed until 1960, when the Army withdrew all its units, predicating its new flexible response doctrines on rapid air deployment.

As the Army and the Air Force were losing interest in supporting the joint mission in Iceland during the late 1950s, the Navy began drawing up its own plans for a greatly enhanced defence posture in the North-East Atlantic to meet the growing threat of the long-range submarine force being developed by the Soviet Northern Fleet.

### **Changed structure**

The U.S. Navy Barrier Force, Atlantic was established in 1955 with continuous aircraft radar surveillance between Newfoundland and the Azores. A similar barrier in the Pacific protected the U.S. West Coast. Radar picket ships were augmented in 1957 with long-range radar aircraft based in Argentina in Newfoundland.

In 1961, the Navy moved the headquarters of Barrier Force Atlantic from Newfoundland to Keflavik and greatly enhanced anti-submarine patrols. At the same time, a Navy Rear Admiral took charge of the joint Iceland Defence Force and NATO's Island Command, Iceland. The admiral also had operational control of the Air Force units.

Navy long-range radar aircraft were deployed to Keflavik in July 1961 to maintain the alert over the straits between Greenland, Iceland and the United Kingdom. At the same time, the Navy relieved the Air Force as host military service in Iceland and the Keflavik base support function changed to a Naval Air Station. From then on, the total military force was around 3,000.

The 1960s saw a considerable increase in Soviet military activity in the North Atlantic. Shortly after the Cuban Missile Crisis and the arrival of new fighter jets at Keflavik in 1962, long-range Soviet military aircraft started to appear unannounced in the vicinity of Iceland. Tracking and intercepting these flights became a routine operation.

In 1965, the Navy decided to terminate all its airborne radar surveillance forces, leaving Iceland with only two ground radars. When Soviet flights showed a marked increase in 1968, however, the Air Force sent their own radar aircraft to Keflavik. The capability was greatly enhanced with twin-engine "Phantom" fighters in the 1970s and the deployment of air refuelling aircraft in 1980.

Air defence was a combined NATO effort. Radar coverage in Norway gave early warning of flights coming from the Kola region to air defence forces in Norway, Iceland and Scotland. American fighter pilots stood a continuous 10 minute alert at Keflavik throughout the Cold War and visually identified and escorted more than 3,000 Soviet military aircraft within the air defence zone around Iceland's airspace.

### **Anti-Submarine Warfare Capital**

Naval aviation also played a significant role in operations at Keflavik, especially during the build-up of the Soviet Navy. One Patrol squadron with nine P-3 Orion aircraft was usually deployed to Keflavik and, in 1982, a Dutch Navy P-3 was added.



The Soviet Northern Fleet nuclear missile submarines had to transit through Iceland on the way to patrol stations off the coast of Europe and North America. Long-range hydrophone arrays around the Norwegian Sea Basin tapped the deep sound channel for telltale sounds of submarine activity. This priceless intelligence was processed at special terminals in Iceland and Norway and passed on to NATO anti-submarine forces, which also worked closely together.

The tracking of Soviet submarines and surface ships and the interception of military flights near Iceland continued to increase, reaching a peak in 1986, the very year that many would come to regard as the beginning of the end of the Cold War. This was the year that President Reagan and Premier Gorbachev held their summit meeting in the Höfði House in Reykjavik.

Naval forces in Iceland played a significant role in NATO's anti-submarine operations, rightfully earning the Keflavik base the distinction of being the "Anti-Submarine Warfare Capital of the World".

### **Readiness upgrade**

The Soviet Navy's acquisition of new attack submarines and the Backfire bomber prompted NATO authorities to make decisions in the late 1970s and early 1980s about defence improvements in the North, and specifically in Iceland. A review of the force posture showed a need for improved capability in the air defence of Iceland and the sea lines of communication. These plans coincided with U.S. Defence Secretary Lehman's doctrine of Forward Maritime Strategy adopted in the 1980s to meet Soviet Forces far in the Norwegian and Barents Sea in wartime.

A defence and support infrastructure program was initiated in the early 1980s, largely funded by NATO. This included hardened aircraft shelters for more capable F-15 fighter aircraft and the total reconstruction of the air defence warning and control system with new ground radars and hardened communications, command and control centres. Keflavik airfield was improved for better efficiency and dispersal of combat aircraft.

### **Changed world order**

The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War resulted in a sharp decline in the operational requirement for military forces in Iceland. In March 2006, the United States government announced its intention to deploy the Iceland-based forces elsewhere. However, the commitment to defend Iceland in wartime remained intact, although the Iceland Defence Force was officially inactivated on September 30th, leaving a legacy of 55 years of service and a host of Cold War relics.

It is important that these relics of a very controversial and eventful period in our history are preserved. In Iceland, many of the significant sites remain a part of the International Airport and the security area at Keflavik. Both are in active operation for international aviation and periodic deployments and exercises of NATO forces. The former base encampment area is slowly being rejuvenated for local civilian use, including an educational institution under the "swords into ploughs" edict.

A local enthusiast group, the Reykjanes Aviation and Military Museum Group, strives to obtain recognition of the important history of Keflavik Airport and the former air base. It is my hope that this great initiative of friends and like-minded nations who share the same concern and enthusiasm for the preservation of Cold War history may raise attention regarding the importance of remembering the history of the Cold War and the price of freedom.



## **Landscape in Turmoil. The Archipelago as a Site of Memory in the Contacts between Swedish-speaking Minorities in Finland and Estonia**

*Mr. Aapo Roselius*, Finland.  
Historian. Helsinki University

A landscape is much more than just a geographical term or a physical place. Above all a landscape is a social product, a collective construction, and thus an ideological concept. The catastrophes of the 20th century, with the ensuing erratic social and political changes, changed landscapes dramatically throughout Europe. Since the Cold War, a re-construction and re-conquering of those landscapes has been taking place, especially in the former eastern bloc of Cold War Europe. One illustrative example is the north-western coast of Estonia and the landscape of the Estonian-Swedes. The Swedish-speaking coastal people of Estonia were transformed, in the wave of national awakenings, into a historically and linguistically defined minority, the Estonian-Swedes. It was as much a creation of the Swedes and Finnish-Swedes as an internal movement. For the Swedish minorities in Finland and in Estonia, the archipelago became a symbol, creating a landscape clearly differentiated from the main population both geographically and culturally. For the Finnish Swedes, their brothers in Estonia were portrayed as an ancient coastal Swedish population, with much of the purity and originality that had almost disappeared amongst the Finnish Swedes. The landscape was bound to morally coloured images of a harsh but sound life with healthy spirit and to the mythical past of Viking romanticism and heritage of an ancient freedom. The contacts between coastal people in Finland and Estonia were intense, with Finland offering mainly cultural assistance with priests, teachers and other support, and purchasing power for Estonian products.

All this came to an end during WWII. The occupations, first by the Russians, then by the Germans, and then followed by the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union, struck the coastal minority hard. During the war, much of the Estonian-Swedish landscape was transformed into military bases and the inhabitants were removed. At the end of German occupation, there occurred a possibility for the minority to escape to Sweden. This was organized by the Germans and Swedes but also happened illegally by means of small boats across the Baltic Sea. Almost 90% of the population took this opportunity and were treated in Sweden as returnees, not refugees. With the departure of the inhabitants and the entry of the Soviet army, the landscape also changed dramatically. From an imagined idyllic coastal landscape of windmills, small villages, peasant-houses and fishing-boats it became a strictly closed frontier line of the Cold War. The military took over the islands as the westernmost outposts of the Soviet empire and the border zone against a de facto NATO. The area was filled not only with border guard and coastguard troops but also rocket bases, radar stations, military airports and training grounds for bombings. The landscape of the Estonian-Swedes ceased to exist.

Their assimilation into Swedish society took place rapidly, especially as going back was not an option. Instead, a lively remembrance culture emerged and the escape over the sea became a central part of the Estonian Swedish myth, even to the extent that you actually can regard the Estonian Swedish identity as being only created inside the refugee boat. Peoples awareness of the definite loss of their homes and the fact that it was impossible to visit or to get any information from the soviet occupied

coastal area, strengthened the memories of the idyllic landscapes from the pre-war period. The first time that people from Sweden were allowed to visit their old homes was not until 1988. For the Estonian-Swedes, the Soviet era and the Cold War forms an important part of their collective identity, a key story of their history.

After the Cold War, it was possible for the Estonian-Swedes to recover their land. They arrived back to find the dramatic remains of the Cold War in all its destructive capacity. And yet a lot of the old landscape could still be seen. The Estonian Swedish ruins, the remains of villages, the roads and stone walls laid and almost untouched in fifty years. Anything of value had, of course, been looted. Today the archipelago is also a memory of the Soviet regime and, at the same time, a site of re-construction of the Estonian Swedish identity, recapturing the landscape with red-painted summerhouses, museums, newly-built windmills, replicas of old fishing boats and cultural activities. Still, this recapturing has its limits. The coastal area is no longer a Swedish-speaking area, the area has only a marginal population compared to the 1930s and the Estonian-Swedes and their relatives have returned only for short periods during vacations and not permanently. The landscape has lost a large part of its symbolic meaning and is today connected increasingly with new values and identities.



*Sviby harbour before the dramatic change.*

*The Estonian Swedish landscape becomes a border area of the Soviet empire.*

*Sviby harbour on Ormsö island.*



*Traces of the Estonian Swedish past on the island of Runö.*



*Traces of the Soviet era on the island of Odensholm.*



## European Greetings to the Baltic Sea Network

*Mr. Niels Joergen Thoegersen, Denmark.*  
Former Director of Communications  
in the European Commission.  
Goodwill Ambassador for Copenhagen

History is, by definition, the past. But this does not mean that it is not important today. On the contrary. The Cold War period is a very good example. All of us in Europe were, in one way or another, involved in it. But the problem was that we had no idea about what was going on the other side of the so-called Iron Curtain. We were all neighbours – and yet still far apart. This was particularly the case of the Baltic region.

It is therefore a GREAT initiative that has been established with the Baltic Sea Network. A network of former Cold War sites across all countries of the Baltic. Sites which are now open to the public, although not yet very well-known.

By working as a network, all the participating sites can support each other. Inspire, help, promote and run joint projects. Be active together on the Internet, on TV and in many other concrete ways.

Many similar initiatives throughout the rest of Europe can provide ideas and inspiration. Such as West Flanders in Belgium, the Somme and Verdun in France – all from World War I. And places like Normandy and the Maginot Line in France, Bergen-Belsen and the Jewish Museum in Berlin - both in Germany – from the Second World War.

The new trend in modern tourism – people wanting to go to places to learn and try out new things – is another very positive point for the Baltic Sea Network.

And how about school excursions, which often visit other countries ? Make your sites relevant for school visits from all countries in the area. And from other parts of Europe, too. This will give a totally new dimension to what is possible for our schools.

The European Union can also support your initiative. For example, through its large town twinning programme and, not least, the European Regional Fund and the European Social Fund. The Baltic Region is a top priority for both funds in the years to come. Ensure that you are very proactive so that you can be involved in concrete projects. They are mostly managed by the national ministries on behalf of the EU.

I had the pleasure of taking part in a very, very stimulating study tour to the three Baltic countries in early April 2009. We visited many of the sites of the Baltic Network. Very, very interesting and a great potential for further development.

This trip convinced me even more about the fantastic potential and the possibilities you have of developing it into something really unique and breathtaking.

This will, in particular, be possible if you all do your utmost to work actively as a network – to the evident benefit of everybody.

**“A human being is forgotten when their name is forgotten”**

**Stolpersteine** represent simple yet very strong memorials to people who were deported and then killed by the Nazis, mostly in Nazi KZ camps - Jews, gypsies, members of the resistance during World War II, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Christians in opposition and the disabled/disabled. **Stolpersteine** means “stumbling blocks”, obstacles or something that is “in the way” in German. The project is the brainchild of the artist Gunter Demnig.

A Stolperstein is a small concrete stone (10x10 cm) covered with a brass plate. In the plate is engraved the name of the victim and place of death. The stone is laid as a memorial into the street in front of the victim’s last home. (Gunter Demnig: “A human being is forgotten when their name is forgotten”).

By the end of 2008, Gunter Demnig had laid more than 17,000 Stolpersteine in more than 400 towns around Germany. The project has been extended beyond the German borders to Austria, the Netherlands, Poland, the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Hungary (Belgium, Denmark, Italy and France are also planned).



*Stolpersteine in front of the victim’s home in Berlin.*

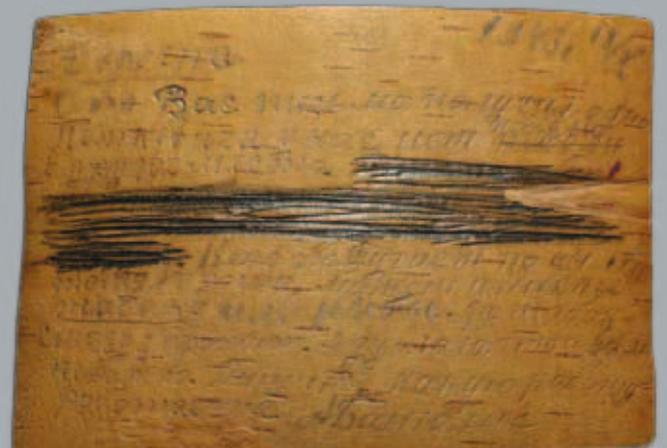


## Participating organisations, institutions and museums

Beredskapsmuseet, Helsingborg, Sweden  
The Royal Danish Embassy, Berlin  
Department of Landscape and Urbanism,  
Aarhus School of Architecture, Denmark  
The Embassy of Lithuania, Berlin  
The State Inspection for Heritage Protection, Latvia  
Industrial Heritage Trust of Latvia  
The Icelandic Embassy, Berlin  
Novaya Gazeta, Moscow – St-Petersburg (newspaper), Russia  
Department of Architectural Heritage, Aarhus Architect School, Denmark  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iceland  
Degerby Igor Museum, Porkkala Parentesen, Finland  
Langelands Museum, Denmark  
Forsvarsbygg , Ministry of Defence, Norway  
Militaergeschichtliches Forschungamt, Potsdam, Germany  
The Danish Cultural Institute, St. Petersburg, Russia  
Museum of Victims of the Genocide and  
Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania  
The Heritage Agency, Ministry of Culture, Denmark  
Lithuanian Freedom Fighters and Forest Brothers Association  
Ministry of Culture, Denmark  
Berlin Wall Foundation, Germany  
Norwegian Aviation Museum, Bodoe, Norway  
National Heritage Board of Poland  
IcoFort, ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on  
Fortifications and Military Heritage  
Gedänkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, Germany  
Solidarity Centre Foundation, Gdansk, Poland  
International MEMORIAL, Moscow, Russia  
Academic Travel Agency, Denmark  
Estonian War Museum  
Historisch-Technisches Informationszentrum, Peenemuende, Germany  
Stockholm University/ Södertörn University and Centre for  
Baltic and East European Studies, Sweden  
Zemaitija National Park (with missile base), Lithuania  
Smaalands Museum, Sweden  
The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Riga  
Estonian Heritage Society  
Helsinki University, Finland  
The Naval Museum, Karlskrona, Sweden  
Army Museum, Stockholm, Sweden  
Brandenburg University of Technology,  
Department of Architectural Conservation, Germany  
Municipality of Borne Sulinowo (former military town), Poland  
Point Alpha Memorial, Germany  
Cold War Museum at Misa Missile Base (under construction), Latvia  
“Politische Memoriale”, Schwerin, Germany  
Institute for Cultural Programs, St. Petersburg, Russia



Needlework made by an unknown political prisoner in 1949. It was made for a friend in the prison Bronė in Kaunas (a hard labour prison). The text on the needlework says: "Bronė! Remember not only me but our enslaved fatherland and brothers who suffer in Siberia and call for freedom. To "Godparent" – "Jurgis". 14 June 1949." (The Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius, Lithuania).



The political prisoner Antanas Baniulis wrote this letter on birch bark from the Reshoty labour camp to his family, who were deported to the Altay region. 1943. Remark: The letter was censored. (The Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius, Lithuania).

**CONFERENCE IN BERLIN  
THE 18th OF MARCH 2009**

**TITLE**

THE COLD WAR PERIOD.  
INTERNATIONAL  
UNDERSTANDING.  
THE ROLE OF  
THE STORYTELLING SITES  
WHERE EVENTS TOOK PLACE

**PLACE**

THE COMMON  
NORDIC EMBASSIES  
RAUCHSTRASSE 1, BERLIN,

**ORGANISERS**

LANGELANDS MUSEUM,  
DENMARK, AND THE BALTIC  
INITIATIVE AND NETWORK  
FOR PROMOTION OF BET-  
TER INTERNATIONAL UNDER-  
STANDING

**SUPPORTERS**

THE DANISH MINISTRY OF  
CULTURE.  
THE NORDIC CULTURE FUND.  
THE COMMON NORDIC  
EMBASSIES IN BERLIN

**PLANNING GROUP**

MR. OLE MORTENSON,  
LANGELANDS MUSEUM.  
MR. ANDERS BERTELSEN,  
COLD WAR MUSEUM  
STEVNSFORT.  
MR. JOHANNES BACH  
RASMUSSEN, COORDINATOR.

**THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF  
THE INITIATIVE**

MR. OLE LOEVIG SIMONSEN,  
FORMER MINISTER OF  
HOUSING AND BUILDING,  
DENMARK

**SECRETARY**

MR. JOHANNES BACH  
RASMUSSEN,  
MØLLEGADE 20,  
2200 COPENHAGEN,  
DENMARK  
TEL: +45 35 36 05 59  
EMAIL: jbach@get2net.dk

THE COUNTRIES AROUND THE BALTIC SEA  
**BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING**  
INFORMATION ABOUT THE COLD WAR PERIOD  
TOLD FROM SITES WHERE EVENTS TOOK PLACE



*Original segments of the Berlin Wall. From the viewing tower of The Berlin Wall Documentation Centre.*